The Interface between Education and Social Change Efforts in Civil Society Agencies

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Abstract

Social change strategies grounded in theory help change agents to be more effective in their efforts. This study attempts to make explicit the links between public education efforts and the social change goals of non-profit organizations through an examination of both radical humanist thought and various social change theories.

This thesis maintains that public education is an essential component of lasting change, serving eleven identifiable roles in the social change process. Of particular note, education can serve to challenge the dominant corporate paradigm and to develop an informed, critical, and more active citizenry. Education can also help create an environment conducive to achieving systemic changes. It is argued that civil society organizations are well situated to play a leading role in the creation of a more just and healthy society. Public education is proposed here as an approach that shows considerable promise to move us in that direction.

Résumé

Les stratégies du changement social à base théorique peuvent augmenter l'efficacité des agents de changement. La présente étude est une tentative pour expliquer les liens qui existent entre l'éducation populaire à caractère informel et les objectifs du changement social visés par les organismes à but non lucratif, et cela au moyen d'un examen de la pensée humaniste radicale ainsi que de plusieurs théories du changement social.

L'éducation populaire est une composante essentielle du changement durable et joue dans le processus du changement social onze rôles clairement identifiables. Il est particulièrement intéressant à noter que l'éducation peut remettre en question les injustices du modèle corporatif dominant et développer des citoyens informés, critiques et plus actifs. L'éducation peut également aider dans la création d'un environnement propice aux changements systématiques. Cette étude prétend que les organismes de société civile sont bien placés pour détenir un rôle décisif dans la création d'une vie plus saine et plus juste. L'éducation populaire se trouve proposée ici comme piste très prometteuse pour nous mener dans cette direction.

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Introduction and Rationale

The need for global social change is well documented. Despite enormous global economic growth, two billion people are living in absolute poverty resulting in fifteen million infant deaths per year. (UNDP, 1998) Disparity between rich and poor, however, is not limited to the "developing nations".

In Canada, almost 25 per cent of all Canadian children are living in permanent poverty (NAPO, 1998). Canada also ranked ninth of all industrialized countries in terms of the Human Poverty Index with a functional illiteracy rate at 17% and a $55,000 (CAN) separation between the Gross Domestic Product of the poorest 20% of the Canadian population and the richest 20% (UNDP, 1999). As the report indicates, "The result [of such disparity] is a grotesque and dangerous polarization between people and countries benefiting from the system and those that are merely passive recipients of its effects" (UNDP, 1999a, p. 1). This leads to the assertion that free markets along with the neo-liberal policies that support them "may be the best guarantee of efficiency but not necessarily equality" (UNDP, 1999a, p. 3). These figures do not reflect the unprecedented social isolation, the violence against women, the desecration of natural habitats, and the erosion of democratic process throughout the country. In no way does this depict an exhaustive list of what ails our society but it does hint at the amplitude of injustice and the imperative for change both here and abroad.

This growing list of injustices coincides with a significant, "withdrawal of the state and government from the historic responsibility of caring for its citizens and promoting the general welfare of society, whether in health, education, . . . urban development, food security, rural transformation, and the protection of local economies" (Murphy, 1999, preface). Driven by the corporate sector, responsibility for many services and programs has shifted explicitly or otherwise to the voluntary sector. This has sent the voluntary sector into a state of crisis as civil society organizations attempt to fill the void without receiving government financial support to do so. To demonstrate this, the actual number of non-profit organizations and charities in Canada, estimated at 175,000, is increasing at an unprecidented rate of 2,000 per year (Statistics Canada, 1998). This figure does not

include the roughly 17 million Canadians, aged 15 and over, who are involved in various forms of care-giving or civic involvement outside of the home not affiliated with any formal or informal group or association (Ministry of Industry, 1998).

As a result of these trends, there has been a marked increase in interest in community involvement and the role of non-profits among governmental, private and civil society sectors alike. This "birth of the third sector" is exemplified by several initiatives such as the formation in 1995 of the Voluntary Sector Roundtable—a group of national charitable organizations and coalitions that first came together in 1995, the National Survey of Giving, Volunteering and Participating conducted in 1997 by Statistics Canada, and the creation in 1999 of the Federal Interdepartmental Working Group on Engaging the Voluntary Sector. Furthermore, the rebirth in the 1990s of the term 'civil society', coined in the 1920s by the Italian intellectual Antonio Gramsci, in addition to Robert Putnam's landmark book entitled Bowling Alone point to the new-found interest in community involvement and public participation.

The initiatives above begin to fill the urgent need for information and research on the voluntary sector otherwise unavailable especially in Canada. Whether internally driven or required by funders to do so, non-profit organizations ("non-profits") are beginning to conduct and publish research and create new models and tools in order to improve on their present practice. As a result, there is a growing body of research and resource materials specific to the voluntary sector, especially originating from the United States, to help organizations more critically examine their practices. This isn't the case for research dealing with non-formal public education strategies however. [1] Despite the fact that public education campaigns are considered by non-profits as an essential component of community development and social change, few resource materials have been published dealing specifically with the subject of public education strategies. Widely practised but little understood, organizations are often forced to "fly by the seat of their pants" when designing and implementing education campaigns since the

[1] The use of the term "non-formal public education" is described below under 'Definitions'.

information is, at best, sporadically interspersed throughout published materials from various fields such as psychology, sociology, social work, education, communications, and marketing.

It can be argued that the work of both large-scale national organizations and local non-profits may be far too pressing to permit the development of theory to help guide their educational efforts. Although it's true that time and money are extremely limited in the non-profit sector and that those working and volunteering in the field are not necessarily formally trained in social change theory, these are exactly the reasons why civil society agencies must afford the time to develop a collective understanding of why we are doing what we are doing and how we can do it better. Any commitment to sustainable social transformation can't be done without such a thorough understanding of how to educate for change.

So how do we promote social change and create more vibrant communities? How do we promote change in attitudes, values and actions without manipulation or force? More specific to this study, what is the role of public education in the change process? It is believed by most social scientists and agents of social change that education is not only a desired component of social change, but is also essential. Writing in the first half of this century, noted philosopher of democracy John Dewey took up a quest to discover how modern society with its complex connections and specialization of labour could become a "Great Community". Key to this for Dewey was "the perfecting of the means and ways of communicating meanings so that genuinely shared interest in the consequences of interdependent activities may inform desire and effort and thereby direct action" (Dewey, 1927, p. 332). But how do educational change agents in civil society learn to best communicate meaning when the literature on non-formal public education strategies is so scant, disparate, and multi-disciplinary?

It is in the hope of beginning to grasp and perhaps contribute to the understanding of ways consensual meanings are developed and communicated that I have undertaken this study. It is assumed that once we have a clearer understanding of i) a desired future

state, ii) the links between education and social change efforts, and iii) the elements that shape values, learning and behaviour, those working in the non-profit field will be able to design more effective educational messages, programs, and campaigns to better meet today's challenges and help create the world they envision. It is those interested in exploring these issues and more specifically, those working toward social change through education, with whom I'd like to share this study.

Research Question

The principal research question for this study is, "How are the public education efforts of civil society organizations linked to social change?"

Research Objectives

The objectives of this study are:

1. To explore the importance of non-formal education to radical humanist[2] visions of social change. The core questions drawn from this objective are what are the characteristics and values of a humanist future society? and why is education important to that vision?

2. To demonstrate the roles education can play in social change processes. This objective is fulfilled by asking how is education used in the different social change mechanisms employed by various civil society agencies?

Originally, I had also envisioned a third objective, namely to devise an educational framework that could be used by educators to assist them in the design and implementation of educational strategies for social change. This objective proved far too ambitious and, although much of the research was conducted for this objective, it had to be dropped in order to make this study manageable.

[2] The term "radical humanism" is defined in Chapter 1

Focus and Scope

It is important to note that not all forms of adult education are aimed at social change. In fact most are not. Accordingly, contemporary adult education approaches can be characterized by four different tendencies: academic, training, professional education, and empowerment (Shanahan, cited in Mayo, 1997). Academic and training approaches aim to help provide the individual with academic accreditation or augment their skills or pleasure in the current market-led context. Professional education and empowerment education, according to Shanahan, aim to alter the current socio-cultural and politico-economic environment. The former focuses on training professionals to act as change agents on other people's environments, and the latter is aimed at education and training for groups and communities and is geared toward empowering individuals and collectives to transform the current context (ibid.). The present paper will focus on the empowerment approach to adult education, excluding strategies that are institutional or curriculum-based, and opting more for those "non-formal" approaches that reach out to the "unconverted" public.

Based on theory, research, contemporary Canadian practice, and my own observations, the study will attempt to create a theoretical foundation to support the worthiness of educational efforts within civil society agencies. It is also hoped that this study can be used as a reference for social change workers and those involved in the design and implementation of public education strategies to ground their practice in theory. It is my impression as both a practitioner and student of education campaigns and in my role as a community worker, that grounding practice in theory helps organizations create more thoughtful programs, and by extension, helps increase their impact. Having said this, the study will not attempt to create a prescriptive, pre-packaged checklist of educational strategies for organizations to implement, nor does it attempt to provide a definitive list of elements shared by "successful" public education campaigns. This text is however, designed to help engage educational change agents in an ongoing reflective process toward social change strategies that recognize both the context of the world around us, and a vision of the world toward which we are working.

The focus of the educational strategies examined in this study is the non-profit organization or citizen association, whether it is operating at the international, federal, provincial or local level. Correspondingly, this study will not focus on curriculum design nor the design of formal education systems that may lead to social change. Education strategies and social change mechanisms in this paper will be explored from the perspective of developing citizens' rational thinking skills, influencing the public agenda[3] and influencing behaviour. Although ideas expressed in this text transcend geographic, political and cultural profiles, the backdrop for much of what is expressed will reflect (but not be limited to) the Canadian urban, multicultural, industrialized, and liberal democratic setting from which it was written.

Why This Topic Engages Me

It is widely assumed that education is an integral component of lasting social change. The educational work that I have undertaken in the past in the fields of human rights, environmental education, literacy, labour, gay and lesbian discrimination, and more recently, globalization is based upon this premise. It is my hope that exploring the relationship between education and social change in this study may help confirm this assumption and help validate my past and future educational efforts. Because I have worked, and continue to work as an educator within civil society agencies, I, at times, opt for the pronoun 'we' throughout this text.

Secondly, my interest in promoting social change through education is also in part a reaction to the "law and order" social conditioning approach that uses litigation and law enforcement as opposed to public and political discourse to achieve desired ends. It is also in part a reaction to the use of violence and armed struggle by some activists to achieve social change.

[3] The notion of the "public agenda" is explored in further detail under Definitions.

Thirdly, my interest is due to the observation that, by and large, people are ill informed about the world around them and have great difficulty forming an opinion or taking on leadership roles in their communities. The clarity that I have felt on very rare occasions when I have had access to information or had a solid understanding of the root causes of a problem has brought me the power to speak and act (and not react) with direction. Based on applying this personal experience more generally, I am interested in exploring here the potential for educational strategies to create a more thinking and empowered citizenry.

My interest in linking education strategies to social change also stems from the realization that recalcitrant problems plaguing our communities and our globe occur due to our shortsighted actions. Attempting to deal with these issues requires a long-term commitment by today's adults, a notion that is shared by Myles Horton, founder of The Highlander Folk School in Tennessee:

> I got into adult education because I got tired of hearing each generation say that our only hope is with the children—the next generation will clean up our mess, make our society better. I realized the world would only change if the people who are now running things, who are already adults, changed. So I decided that if we want a more decent society, we would have to work with today's adults on today's problems (cited in Darkenwald and Mirriam, 1982, p. 243).

Furthermore, these systemic problems cannot be resolved with solutions emanating from the confines of the present value base. Public education strategies are being profiled here in part to explore their potential at shifting the value-base upon which our society is constructed.

Finally, my interest in public education is born from my sense of the growing need and capacity for civil society to become a significant force in creating a more just and healthy world. History has shown us what can happen when this role is exclusively relegated to the church, governments, or corporations.

Theoretical Framework and Structure

I will attempt to answer the principal research question above in two distinct ways. In Chapter 1, I will explore the social change theories of radical humanist authors and their interpretations of the importance of education to the realization of a future society. These theories will provide the conceptual framework or the lens through which I will view and mould my analysis. It will be argued that social change efforts need to focus on transforming the assumptions of the current social (corporate) paradigm rather than transforming common practice. This is because practice will automatically follow a shift in paradigm.

This study will also attempt to gain a broad understanding of how education is used within various social change mechanisms employed by civil society agencies (Chapter 2). Here public education strategies will be explored from a multidisciplinary perspective including: social change theory, adult education, planning theory, community organizing, psychology and motivation, social marketing and communication studies.

Finally, Chapter 3 aims to discuss the implications of this work for educational change agents. In this chapter, the roles education appears to play in the social change process will be summarized based on the theory stemming from the first two chapters and the limitations of public education strategies, ethical implications, opportunities and conclusions will also be discussed.

Assumptions

One of the primary assumptions of this work is that social change is necessary both from an ethical and ecological perspective. With unchecked poverty, social isolation, environmental exploitation and all of their symptoms plaguing our communities, citizens in the 21st century cannot afford to remain passively indifferent. The assumption here is that not only does the status quo grossly undermine our humanness (Murphy, 1999), but failure to act threatens both the planet and our very survival (Brown, Flavin, and Postel,

1992). Poverty and inequalities are not genetically programmed, nor are they a result of entire categories of people simply "not pulling themselves up by their bootstraps." Rather these very unjust experiences are largely due to "the economic system and the social acquisitive relationships produced by Capitalism and bureaucracy" (Bill Lee, 1992, p. 5) and the "unbridled greed and exploitation" that accompanies it (Berry, cited in Prakash, 1994, p. 1).

Along with this comes the assumption that the world is not entirely erratic or determined and that deliberate action is possible, and may lead to intended outcomes. Most, if not all, interpretations of reality are socially constructed and therefore amenable to attempts to shape or manipulate them. This implies that things can be done differently, that change is possible if it is willed and acted upon, and healthier and more just communities can be actualized.

It is assumed here, though many would disagree, that human qualities can be used to address intractable social problems and that the space can be created within a functionally democratic nation like Canada (in concert with other countries), to overcome omnipotent private interests to develop an informed, caring, and active citizenry. It is also assumed here that noticeable change takes years, often decades, to manifest. Public education is proposed here as one approach that shows some promise to move us in this direction.

Finally, it is also assumed that biology isn't the only factor shaping and determining human attitudes and behaviours—learning has a great deal to do with why we think or act in a particular fashion. As will be maintained by many authors cited in this study, information can lead to the acquisition of knowledge, that knowledge can lead to shifts in attitudes, that in themselves can lead to shifts in behaviour.

Definitions

a) What is meant here by "public education" and the "public agenda"?

Before discussing what is meant by the term "public education" it may prove useful to explore what is meant by a "public". Seyla Benhabib (1992) believes that a public—"those affected by general social norms and by collective political decisions" (p.104)—should be involved in the formulation and reflective questioning of issues (i.e. the public agenda) and be actively involved in the "the determination of norms of action" (ibid.). She challenges the common belief of ancient Greece as the epitome of democratic practice engaging a widely defined public. She reminds us that even then, public space was an elitist, competitive, and anti-democratic project in that the "agonistic political space of the polis was only possible because large groups of human beings like women, slaves, labourers, non-citizen residents, and all non-Greeks were excluded from it" (p. 91). She maintains that ever since the French and American Revolutions, the scope of the public gets extended with the emancipation of every new group into the public space of politics,

> The emancipation of workers made property relations into a public-political issue; the emancipation of women has meant that the family and the so-called private sphere become political issues; the attainment of rights by non-white and non-Christian peoples has put cultural questions of collective self- and other-representations on the "public" agenda. (p. 94)

Benhabib feels that the Liberal "legalistic" public sphere we presently find ourselves in is distinguished by a search for just, stable and tolerant political order that focuses on the rule of law and limits dialogue and public participation. She is critical of the fact that "in western democracies, under the impact of corporatization, the mass media, and the growth of business-style political associations... the public sphere of democratic legitimacy has shrunk" (p. 112).

Borrowing from Benhabib, the term "public agenda" in this study will refer to all matters that are considered and debated by a widely interpreted public resulting in the formation of collective values, beliefs, and norms. It is this very public agenda that the public education strategies considered in this paper seek to shape and influence.

There are many loose terms that can be used to encompass the education efforts that I am attempting to describe in this text. Although the term "public education" is often associated in North America with the formal education system and schooling in the formative years, it will be used here as a generic term to describe the "non-formal" educational efforts of civil society agencies. "Non-formal" rather than "informal" is used to recognize that it is not necessarily unstructured, nor incidental as the word "informal" can imply. The fact that there does not exist a commonly used term to encompass all forms of educational efforts in civil society is telling of the fact that it is multidisciplinary and to date has not been grouped into a clearly defined field of study. Other terms such as 'civic education' and 'popular education' describe certain aspects of this area of study but are restrictive. Furthermore, describing this work as "public education" makes it difficult to marginalize its importance as is the case with the above two terms. Using the term in this fashion is in keeping with the tenets of "lifelong learning" and challenges the idea that the public can only learn in formal school-based settings.

A large component of the target population for public education strategies are those 16 years of age and older and therefore the term "public education" cannot be isolated from the term "adult education". I have borrowed elements from the definition of adult education provided by UNESCO (cited in Darkenwald and Merriam, 1982, p. 9) to create a new one here. For the purposes of this paper, public education strategies will be defined as: The entire body of informal, organized educational processes that aim to develop or enhance the abilities of, enrich the knowledge of, or bring about changes in the attitudes, beliefs and/or behaviour of citizens toward the creation of a healthier and more just society.

b) What is Meant Here by "Social Change"?

Social change means different things to different people and hence has no one unrefuted definition. Many feel that social change can be used to describe any shift, large or small, in attitudes, beliefs and behaviours of a society. Lakey, Lakey, Napier and Robinson (1995) see social change as "intentional steps that move society in the direction of equality, support for diversity, economic justice, participatory democracy, environmental harmony, and waging and resolving conflicts non-violently" (p. 5). Others, like Murphy (1999), feel that it is any action that struggles "to confront the structures that oppress and reduce humanity and dignity" (p. 4). He goes on to say that social change "promotes the sustainability and health of our communities and our natural world and the equality and involvement of its citizens" (ibid.). Social change to Murphy involves a shift of power in that it "appropriates power away from corporate and elected elite and places it in the hands of citizens," so that citizens ultimately have "free authorship of our own future" (p. 10). Some would describe the type of social change described by Murphy more as 'social transformation'. Not all efforts falling under the educational strategies umbrella "struggle to confront structures that oppress". It is for this reason that the Lakey et al. definition in its broader sense will be used to define social change. Social change in this sense is more inclusive of incremental change efforts such as a local legion hall's effort to promote recycling within its tiny rural community as it is of a national organization's efforts to promote a full-scale paradigm shift in order to value diversity. The term "social transformation" will however be used from time to time in the text to highlight efforts that are felt to get to the root of injustice.

There is no need for universal agreement on what constitutes social change. However, most would agree that it involves some sort of quest for equality and justice as mentioned above. What is important is that any group working toward it needs to develop its own understanding of what it means by social change as this study attempts to do in Chapter 1 with the help of radical humanist thinkers. This paper will promote social changes that are reflected upon and freely acted upon by the citizenry, in addition to those

attitudes and behaviours that empower and attempt to get at the source of injustices rather than the simple promotion of charity.

c) What is Meant Here by "Civil Society Agencies"?

Van Rooy (cited in Sawatsky, 2000) outlines six common uses of the term 'civil society' in the literature: i) as values and norms, ii) as a collective noun, iii) as a space for action, iv) as an historic moment, iv) as anti-hegemony, and vi) as anti-state (p. 1).

Jamie Swift (1999) in his book Civil Society in Question, borrows more from the third usage of the term when he associates civil society with the "activity of citizens in free association who lack the authority of the state... [and whose] activities are motivated by objectives other than profit-making" (pp. 4-5). He goes on to demonstrate the breadth of this definition by exploring some of the agencies that compose its ranks:

> Civil society hints at volunteerism, charity, community organizing, grassroots activity. It means advocacy groups, representation, citizen engagement, and service delivery. In Canada civil society groups include not only NGOs [non-governmental organizations] like Oxfam, CUSO, and CARE but also the venerable VON (Victorian Order of Nurses) and the 1970s-born lobby group Business Council on National Issues (BCNI), with its agenda of deficit-cutting, social program slashing, and privatization. (p. 6)

Based on this definition, there is little separating a non-profit's efforts to put a face on homelessness from a white supremacist group's foray into information dissemination on the Web. Both are civil society agencies, both desire social change. For the purposes of this text, the term "civil society agencies" is reserved to those organizations both formal and informal that can be said to support social change as defined above.

Although technically there is nothing stopping a white supremacist group from employing the education strategies to be outlined in this study, it is unlikely they will

prove effective. The definition of social change of such a group prohibits the development of critical thinking skills, a premise for most of the strategies described in this study.

An Example of an Education Campaign Leading to Social Transformation

Before we begin to examine the foundations of social change theories, it might prove useful to look briefly at what might be considered a successful education campaign that links the public education efforts of a celebrated non-profit with societal transformation. In denouncing modern human service systems that promote clienthood where citizenship once grew, McNight (1995) describes a classic example of an education campaign that affirms traditional knowledge over scientific and biochemical interventions that negate traditional knowledge:

> One of the most vivid examples involves the methods of a new breed of technologists called paediatricians and obstetricians. During the first half of the twentieth century, these technocrats came, quite naturally, to believe that the preferred method of feeding babies was with a manufactured formula rather than breast milk. Acting as agents for the new lactation technology, these professionals persuaded a generation of women to abjure breastfeeding in favor of their more "healthful" way. In the fifties in a Chicago suburb, there was a woman named Marion Thompson who still remembered that babies could be fed by breast as well as by can. However, she could find no professional to advise her. She searched for someone who might still remember something about the process of breastfeeding. Fortunately, she found one woman whose memory included the information necessary to begin the flow of milk. From that faint memory, breastfeeding began its long struggle toward restoration in our society. She and six friends started a club that multiplied itself into thousands of small communities and became an international association of women dedicated to breastfeeding, La Leche League. This popular movement helped reverse the technological

imperative in only one generation and breastfeeding has again been established as a norm in spite of the countervailing views of the service technologists. Indeed, the American Academy of Pediatrics finally took the official position that breastfeeding is preferable to nurturing infants from canned products. (pp. 9-10)

Chapter 1- The Vision and Values of Social Change

A) The Current Socio-Political Context

An inherent part of imagining what could possibly be involves understanding what presently is. Writing on adult education for social change, Marjorie Mayo reinforces this idea, "Educators need to start from a critical understanding of the sources of exploitation and oppression on a global scale" (Mayo, 1997, p. 28). Developing a collective understanding of what is—the socio-political conjuncture at which we find ourselves—not only helps provide the backdrop for imagining a better world but also helps in understanding the forces shaping the issues with which we work. It can also help us in our strategies to identify opportunities, challenges and pitfalls.

To begin, it is important to note that people generally have an incomplete and imperfect understanding of the world around them. Walter Lippmann in Public Opinion (1965) provides us with two explanations for this situation. Firstly, despite the barrage of information hitting us on a daily basis, we more often than not have limited access to relevant factual information—research and social inquiry remain in private hands. We are witnessing this to the highest degree in modern times in an effort to privatize research on such things as the Human Genome or keep secret international free trade agreements. In a speech on the multi-billion dollar business of genetic engineering organized by The Council of Canadians, consumer advocate and ex-presidential candidate for the US Green Party, Ralph Nader, stated:

> The increasing compromise of academic scientists who engage in consultantships and joint ventures with corporations in Canada and the US under strict confidentiality agreements is a rupture of one of the essential ingredients in the advance of science in the public interest. (Council of Canadians, 2001, p. 8)

"Democracy," John Dewey (1927) once said, "will have its consummation when free social inquiry is indissolubly wedded to the art of full and moving [public] communication" (p. 350).

In the event where we actually do gain access to information, it is usually acquired through intermediary sources which often deliver inadequate, subjectively modified information. Our vision of the real world is limited by,

> artificial censorships, the limitations of social contact, the comparatively meager time available in each day for paying attention to public affairs, the distortion arising because events have to be compressed into very short messages, the difficulty of making a small vocabulary express a complicated world, and finally the fear of facing those facts which would seem to threaten the established routine of men's lives (Dewey,1965, p. 18).

The second cause of our misconceptions according to Lippmann (1965) is a result of the distortion of the facts by the mind itself:

> In the great blooming, buzzing confusion of the outer world we pick out what our culture has already defined for us, and we tend to perceive that which we have picked out in the form stereotyped for us by our culture (p. 55).

In other words, we interpret information about the world around us through the lenses of our life philosophies that are most often shaped by dominant paradigms. As will be discussed in the work of John Ralston Saul below, modern stereotypes are shaped to a large degree by the corporatist paradigm ingrained within western culture. Wallerstein corroborates when he states that culture has "always been a weapon of the powerful" (cited in Mayo, 1997, p. 13). People accept given sets of ideas as common sense and these assumptions influence their views and their actions. For example capitalist assumptions, such as that the free market guarantees individual freedoms, provide ammunition against any government policy that attempts to regulate the market.

To take this analogy even further, it can be argued that active opposition to social change efforts has never been stronger than in the last 50 years. The Reagan, Thatcher and Mulroney period in the 1980s, served as a watershed for deep government cutbacks to social programs. The role of the state shifted from caring for the welfare of the people to caring for the welfare of corporations (Fisher and Shragge, 2000). Noam Chomsky in Profits Over People (1999) provides us with critical examples of how governments and the corporations that run them continue unchecked to place the private interests of few—very few—before the basic human right for life of millions of people both at home and abroad. Chomsky cites the example of the signing of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) by both the US and Canadian governments which cedes sovereign immunity by permitting corporations to sue governments for actions taken that restrain the enjoyment of an investment. He illustrates how under this provision in 1998 the Canadian Government settled out of court and rescinded a ban on MMT, a gasoline additive known as a dangerous toxin and significant health risk, as a result of a $250 million law suit filed by Ethyl Corporation. They cited damages to their "good reputation" and market losses to other countries that followed Canada's lead to ban the substance.

The social costs that result from the present neo-liberal paradigm are in a large part the result of governments catering to the strongly flexed muscle of the corporate sector, refraining from exerting sovereign control over national, provincial, municipal and foreign policy. As Lakey et al. (1995) point out,

> Decisions about the new order are either left to market forces or made by corporate chiefs. Chief executives are forced to do what is best for their own corporations, even if it hurts society and the environment. The North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), for example, gives even more permission for corporations to juggle currency, pollution, credits, labour supply, production sites, and taxes from one nation to another, mixing and matching to boost the bottom line, leaving communities in ever greater jeopardy. (p. 8)

If present trends continue, grassroot groups will also witness increasing pressure on their educational efforts as a result of the non-democratic nature of international regulating bodies and the treaties they construct. In 1988, a subgroup of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Treaties (GATT) ruled that Mexican hospitals could not educate new mothers about breastfeeding to increase the health of their new-borns because this constituted a non-tariff barrier to the multinational corporations that manufacture infant formula (Dale, 1996, p. 179). In a similar incident, an old-growth logging company launched a million-dollar lawsuit against a grassroots group that successfully encouraged the company's client companies to boycott their products. Fortunately, in this particular instance, the right to lobby the company's clients was upheld (Multinational Monitor, 1994). The right to lobby is also repressed by the laws governing non-profit charities in Canada. No more than 10 % of an organization's programming can be devoted to lobbying. The constant fear of revocation of charitable status is a sure-fire way of curtailing critical educational efforts in the vast majority of Canada's charitable organizations.

Educational agents of change also need to be aware of how corporate interests influence dominant paradigms and the tight grip they have over mainstream media, the supposed tools of democracy. "Corporations can afford to lobby, influence the public through the media and buy their way out of certain predicaments. The larger the corporation and its resources, the more resistant it is to attack or reform" (Speeter, cited in Lee, 1992, p.15). The Science Council of Canada estimated that by 1996, biotechnology would be worth $180 billion:

> It has the clout—through professional and business associations, linked particularly to the federal government, to national governments in all the industrialized countries, and to international para-governmental organizations through some sectors of the World Health Organization—to establish its views as dominant in economic, science, medical and health policy. (Burstyn, 1992, p. 15)

In addition, popular groups are up against enormous barriers in getting their message out through mainstream communication media governed by private interests. These dilemmas are further explored in Chapter 2.

Besides the many social, political and environmental ills enumerated earlier in the Introduction, the transformation of the world of work from an industrial-based economy to an information and technology-driven economy has left many unemployed and nearly all others in situations of increasing precariousness. And if people must work two jobs (often far from their community), longer hours, and shut their mouths to keep their jobs, is it reasonable to expect that people will have the time to reflect on alternative ways of thinking or question the way things are presently done?

Indeed, fear is a backdrop to all contemporary social change efforts. In a book entitled McLuhan's Children: Greenpeace Message and the Media, Stephen Dale (1996) speaks of how the media have contributed to the disinterest and the paralysis in (the shrinking) middle-class North America:

> The active fear of losing one's livelihood; [and] the passive, paralysing fear of the world as a place of insurmountable and inevitable violence, work together in a way that almost forecloses on the possibility of mass, moral resistance... Caught in this pincer movement, most people just count their blessings and keep their heads down. (p.199)

He feels that, while in the past images of violence and injustice could have provoked moral outrage, as during the Vietnam War, today saturating people with images of violence and misery has resulted in a sense of "numbness that feeds public apathy" (ibid.). This public apathy is nurtured by structures and discourse that promote docility and inevitability.

Aside from widespread apathy, four other threats to our personal and collective health in modern society have been identified: the rapid dispersal of family groupings, a

communication explosion, the transformation of cultural processes, and the profusion of non-creative structures (Murphy, 1999). "We are all lonely immigrants" (ibid, p. 21) constantly required to fend for ourselves or establish new groupings as families separate and villages dry up to follow work prospects in large urban centres where neighbours are transient and a sense of community, a rare phenomenon. At the same time, we now live with the world in our living room. And although this development could serve as a tool to help link all of our struggles, we most often are ill prepared to assimilate the vast amount of information or misinformation that bombards us. More often than not we become overwhelmed and desensitized. The privatization of our leisure time by television has been sited by Robert Putnam (2000) as the most significant cause of our growing sense of atomization and decreased civic involvement. Other factors include: increased freedom to travel, greater economic opportunity, new communication technologies and mass entertainment, changes that have swept the workplace, and suburbanization (ibid.).

Linked to the information explosion is the transformation of cultural processes that at one time served to link communities. Now fast food American culture is served up to the world in rapid soundbites while ethnic, linguistic and geographic heritage is often reduced to a superficial commodity. Finally industrialization, bureaucratization and urbanization have resulted in systems that stress convenience, expedience and consumption. Additionally, our activity in work, leisure, study, and civil responsibilities is rarely an expression of the self: "Individuality is obsolete and dysfunctional in a massified cycle of production and consumption of goods and services, most of which are non-essential" (Murphy, 1999, p.23). Business and government have taken advantage of this social isolation and divisiveness to reduce the level of public influence that once did exist and have replaced the identity of citizen with that of consumer.

In the year 1900, 90 % of the people working in the United States were employed in the manufacturing of goods and 10 % in the service sector. By the year 2000, it was predicted that these figures would be completely reversed (Stanford, 1999). Because services are now such a critical component of our economy [70% in Canada (ibid.)], the push is on to increase services in order to increase the Gross National Product: "In an

economy primarily based on the production of services, the essential "raw material" is people in need" (McNight, 1995, p. 29). Just as General Motors needs more steel, a service economy needs more human problems or deficiency if it is to grow. This is just as true for the cosmetic industry and fast food outlets as it is for welfare offices and psychological therapy centres. In order to generate more service, people must be convinced that they are somehow incomplete or incapable and that they are in need of more products and more services. Once again the over-riding theme here is that the citizen is relegated from the position of active participant to one of passive consumer. Here, western culture is being used as a weapon to kill the thought, action, and the spirit of the citizenry.

B) What Kind of World Do We Envision and What Values Does This Elicit?

Ask civil society organizations to articulate their vision of a transformed society and the vast majority will be hard pressed to present a statement, written or otherwise, that captures the collective vision of those working within the organization. It is important that agents of social change and educators alike embark on collective reflective processes asking themselves the above question in order to attempt to articulate what a future world might look like and in doing so explicate their philosophical foundations. It is here that values surface that can be used as a basis for decision-making, actions, programming, and for the purposes here, the design of educational strategies. It is here that the world of possibilities can unfold to drive the efforts of our actions. Presented below are some of the thoughts of three humanist authors, John Ralston Saul, Brian K. Murphy, and John Dewey, in an attempt to make explicit their visions of a future world and their underlying values.

i) John Ralston Saul: Questioning Our Value System

> Let no day pass without discussing goodness . . . [E]xamining both myself and others is . . . the very best thing a man can do . . . . [L]ife without this sort of examination is not worth living (Socrates' most famous passage of his trial defence).

In a book entitled The Unconscious Civilization (1995), John Ralston Saul argues that seen from a political, economic, or social perspective, our civilization is in a long-term crisis. He attributes this to the claim that Western societies have taken "a great leap backwards" moving away from our search for the "examined life" of Socrates in fifth century BC and the "life worth living" of John de Salisbury in 1159, a philosophy which he refers to ironically as "individualism". In its place, he claims, we are a society addicted to ideology—the one currently in vogue being corporatism:

> The acceptance of corporatism causes us to deny and undermine the legitimacy of the individual as citizen in a democracy. The result . . . is a growing imbalance which leads to our adoration of self-interest and our denial of the public good. (p. 2)

Within this ideology, inevitability and fear of doom are used as universal arguments to justify the human costs associated with its application. Valued within this ideology are passivity and conformity for things that matter such as civic participation whereas non-conformity is encouraged for things that don't impact on power (e.g. fashion and sex appeal). Within corporatism, value is placed on wealth accumulation, consumption and minding your own business. Additionally, loyalty to the interest group and not to society is valued. And for the millions for which the corporate "invisible hand" doesn't protect, value is also placed on faith, hope and charity.

In his attack on ideologies in general and corporatism in particular, Saul lays to rest the argument that democracy was born of the Industrial Revolution. He opines that corporatism was created as a replacement to democracy proposing a shift in the legitimacy from the individual to the interest group: "Corporatist society has structured itself so as to eliminate citizen participation in public affairs, except through the isolated act of voting and through [charitable] activities." Sports, meals, sleeping, holidays, work—every thing we do except participation as citizens—is formally structured into our social and financial reward system. Evidence, he feels, that in a corporate society, democracy is formally discouraged. He makes a case for a return to Socratic individualism where every person has an obligation to think critically with "disinterest" as a citizen rather than acquiesce to ideology, concerning oneself exclusively with self-interest— in other words, stop minding just your own business.

Saul feels that a corporatist system cannot be overthrown. He does believe however that social change can happen. "The effects of corporatism are so invasive that the strategy of the citizenry should be to change not the policies in place but the dynamics" (p. 179). He feels we need to find mechanisms of inserting the individual as

citizen into the public debate and involvement in whatever ways we can. Once in the debate, the mechanisms of critique based on the human qualities of common sense, creativity, ethics, instinct, memory and reason—and not just reason alone (highly valued in a corporatist world)—would combine with high levels of involvement to provoke a questioning of what is valued. This would help to move us away from ideology and more toward humanism. And humanism, Saul reminds us, is the voyage toward equilibrium without the expectation of ever arriving there.

Saul remains cautiously optimistic of our collective abilities to shape the value system of the future: "What is coming, bit by bit, is an intuitive reaction from the public who, although they have been allowed to understand little of what is going on, nevertheless sense that we are slipping down a dangerous delusionary road" (p.190). "But even this simple role of criticism will remain an impossible ideal unless we are able to consciously identify how far we have slipped—as citizens—into verbal conformism" (p.173) and for that to happen we need to be willing to part with our innocence.

ii) Brain K. Murphy: Free Authors of Our Own Future

In his book Transforming Ourselves Transforming the World (1999), Brian K. Murphy attempts to transcend the conclusion of many that "fundamental change will never be achieved in the face of the globalized power and greed and authoritarianism of the elite who have come to control the world we share" (preface) and explores the role of transformative knowledge in the change process. Murphy, similar to Ralston Saul above, calls for a paradigm shift based on what Erich Fromm (1965) has called "humanist radicalism" and proposes the development of an "open conspiracy" publicly confronting "the established order with critiques of current practice and with alternative feasibilities" and in so doing we will become "free authors of our own future" (p.10).

Murphy describes human beings as "possibilities in process" and is convinced that if it is willed, the world could be a "creative, open and human existence" just as much as it could be a "brutal, miserable" one (p.1). The assumption here is that the future is not

predetermined. Rather, it is only limited by the possibilities we envision and the actions we are prepared to take to make this a reality. In Paulo Freire's (1970) terms, we must look beyond our 'limit-situations' toward 'untested feasibilities'.

To clarify, Murphy (1999) calls upon a definition of humanist radicalism provided for by Fromm:

> By [humanist] radicalism I do not refer to a certain set of ideas, but rather to an attitude, to an 'approach' as it were . . . [where] everything must be doubted, particularly the ideological concepts which are virtually shared by everybody . . . To doubt in this sense does not imply a psychological state of inability to arrive at decisions or convictions . . . but the readiness and capacity for critical questioning of all assumptions and institutions which have become idols under the name of common sense, logic, and what is supposed to be "natural" . . . . [H]uman radicalism questions every idea and institution from the perspective of whether it helps or hinders man's capacity for greater aliveness and joy (p. 34).

Doubting in this sense does not mean to simply negate but is dialectical and encourages the unfolding of contradictions. Radical humanism has the full development of the human being at the root of its exploration and humans are seen as a work in progress, and are constantly evolving to explore their full human potential for greater harmony, love and awareness. At the same time, humanism is also guided in its reflection by insights into the destructive nature of human beings toward corruption, abuse of power and violence. Besides critical investigation, humanism commits itself to "authentic consciousness, and radical intervention against inhumanity, injustice and irrationality . . . [and seeks] not truth, but humanity; not structure, but community; not form, but creativity; not civility, but mutuality" (Murphy, p. 35). Humanism professes that freedom, growth, and health for every individual are both possible and essential and maintains that dedication to dialogue, mutuality and shared vision, decision and action will ensure the actualization of our humanness. Although each individual is born with characteristics and capacities, in humanism, there is no such thing as 'human nature'. Humans have the capability to learn and remake ourselves and our world. From a social change perspective,

the most significant characteristics of humans are the ability to acquire knowledge and act intentionally to realize a vision.

Unlike contemporary society, in a humanist world, a dichotomy is not struck between the needs of the individual and the needs of society. Communities and societies were conceived by humans to promote the health of the individual. Presently, however, Murphy feels that societies have lost their validity in that the individual's needs are negated by most social systems. He claims that it is essential that individuals negotiate to arrive at mutually acceptable actions to create a reality that meets the needs of each individual and all individuals as a collectivity.

Like Saul, Murphy feels the consciousness necessary for basic social change is more widespread than commonly believed. However, since the dominant structures and discourse in most societies impede change and promote obedience, docility and inevitability toward power structures—in addition to promoting competition among each other—individuals face a dilemma, act in correspondence with our consciousness or admit defeat and focus on self-preservation. After many failed attempts to change things, we often opt to insulate ourselves from reality and retreat into the small domain that we can control. Murphy refers to this phenomenon as the "psychology of inertia".

Murphy's humanist future sees consciousness and an active citizenry in the place of inertia. By 'consciousness' Murphy means the awareness that we can be subjects of our own perceptions and actions rather than mere pawns or objects in a predetermined environment. We can learn through experience, language, or acquire knowledge, we can feel emotions, we can make abstractions, and we can create, hope and choose. Equipped with these conscious capacities, we can act intelligibly not only *on* but *with* our world.

iii) John Dewey: A Radical Vision of Democracy

> "[T]he conception of education as a social process and function has no definite meaning until we define the kind of society we have in mind" (Dewey, 1916, p. 103)

By the above statement John Dewey, arguably one of the most important philosophers in modern American history, reinforces the importance of making explicit the type of society we envision before undertaking educational social change efforts. Surprisingly, neither Saul nor Murphy mentions the influence of John Dewey to their visions of a better world despite the uncanny similarities in their thinking and Dewey's 70 years of contributions to radical humanist and democratic thought.

Dewey spent a lifetime in search of the 'Good Society' or as he called it "The Great Community". He felt it was to be found in a radical form of participatory democracy that both educated and empowered publics. In a participatory democracy (as opposed to a political democracy) a community not only selects its governors but also determines its policies. In a participatory democracy, government exists to serve its community and operate in the public interest, not to serve personal interest or the interest of private groups as he claimed was the case in industrial capitalist societies. The liberalist values of liberty, individuality, and the freedom of inquiry, discussion, and expression are at the heart of Dewey's democracy, not as they are espoused by conservative ideology in the interests of few but rather in their broad sense. Dewey was of the impression that the values that had once liberated the bourgeoisie from the arbitrary authority of lord, church, and state were now being called upon by corporatist elite to defend the inequities of a new system of class power. As Dewey (1935) noted,

> they mean something very different when they are uttered by a minority struggling against repressive measures [than] when expressed by a group that has attained power and then uses ideas that were once weapons of emancipation as instruments for keeping the power and wealth they have obtained. Ideas that at one time are means of producing social change assume another guise when they are used as means of preventing social change. (p. 291)

Dewey was convinced that if the values espoused by liberalists were exposed to show their original meaning, the foundations upon which capitalist pseudo-liberalism believed it stood would be thrown seriously into question.

Dewey (1935) understood liberty as power—"the effective power to do specific things"(p. 360). Dewey was dismayed that the concept of liberty had become identified with the right for the maximum amount of unrestricted individualistic action by the institutions of capitalist finance. Dewey warned radical democrats not to fall victim to the capitalist argument that social control jeopardizes liberty. He stated that all political systems have social and economic control at their heart. What radical democrats were proposing was simply "some other system of social control which would bring about another [fairer] distribution of liberties" (p. 362). Likewise equality did not endanger liberties, it merely was a demand for a more democratic distribution of liberties in order to encourage "effective freedom", the opportunity to make the best of oneself by fully realizing one's capacities (1932, p. 392). Dewey did not believe that this equality would be an absolute equalization of resources among members of society, rather it would mean that no one would be "deprived of whatever was necessary for him to get for himself and to give to society the full benefit of what is in him" (cited in Westbrook, 1991, p. 93). Equality would be assured by creating the conditions of effective freedom, namely 1) an environment that promotes self-realization, 2) control of the resources necessary to carry out purposes, and 3) the development of critical thinking skills throughout the citizenry.

Dewey saw people not only as consumers but also as doers and creators, and sought to maximize the potential for developing and using the unique human qualities of all. Dewey believed that schools, if willed, could be an important vehicle for the development of democratic virtues and skills. He complained that, at present, schools promoted "positively individualistic motives and standards" that employ fear, conformity, rivalry, and class distinctions. In this environment, "the weaker gradually lose their sense of capacity and accept a position of continuous and persistent inferiority" and " the stronger grow to glory, not in their strength, but in the fact that they are stronger" (cited in Westbrook, 1991, p. 105). It was his impression that the school had to become "an institution in which the child is... a member of a community life in which he feels that he participates, and to which he contributes" (cited in Westbrook, 1991, p.106).

The democracy Dewey envisioned placed primacy on the belief in the capacity of all citizens for scientific inquiry and rational political action, and the necessity to maximize the participation of citizens in public life. "All those who are affected by social institutions must have a share in producing and managing them" (Dewey, 1937, p. 217-218). Dewey forcefully believed that by limiting democratic participation in social life, society suffered the loss of the resources within its citizenry. Leaving such work to social scientists, and the bureaucratic and political elite, does not provide people with the opportunity to reflect upon what is good for them:

> This form of coercion and suppression is more subtle and more effective than is overt intimidation and restraint. When it is habitual and embodied in social institutions, it seems the normal and natural state of affairs. The mass usually becomes unaware that they have a claim to a development of their own powers. Their experience is so restricted that they are not conscious of restriction. It is part of the democratic conception that they as individuals are not the only sufferers, but that the whole social body is deprived of the potential resources that should be at its service. (Dewey, 1937, pp. 218-219)

Dewey was adamant that government by the people was the only way of securing government for the people.

According to Robert B. Westbrook in John Dewey and American Democracy (1991), Dewey considered private pecuniary profit to be the chief obstacle to the creation of citizens of a radical democracy: "The pursuit of private gain isolated individuals from one another, and the exploitive possessive individualism fostered by capitalism inhibited the formation of the participatory communities of democratic action essential to self-development and social welfare" (p. 434). The cause of liberalism was doomed unless it was prepared to "socialize the forces of production, now at hand, so that the liberty of individuals will be supported by the very structure of economic organization" (Dewey, 1935, p. 62). The program of socialization Dewey proposed was a massive program of public works, particularly in housing; a thorough redistribution of wealth through taxation;

and the nationalization of banking, public utilities, natural resources, transportation, and communication:

> Power today resides in control of the means of production, exchange, publicity, transportation and communication. Whoever owns them rules the life of the country, not necessarily by intention, not necessarily by deliberate corruption of the nominal government, but by necessity. Power... must act according to the nature of the machinery through which it operates. In this case, the machinery is business for private profit through private control of banking, land, industry, reinforced by command of the press, press agents, and other means of publicity and propaganda. In order to restore democracy, one thing and one thing is essential. The people will rile when they have power, and they will have power in the degree they own and control the land, the banks, the producing and distributing agencies of the nation. Ravings about Bolshevism, Communism, Socialism are irrelevant to the axiomatic truth of this statement. They come either from complaisant ignorance or from the deliberate desire of those in possession, power and rule to perpetuate their privilege. (Dewey, 1934, pp. 76-77.)

Dewey believed that three basic conditions needed to be in place for the Great Community to come into being. Firstly, Dewey looked to a radically reformed school system as the primary vehicle through which all of these beliefs and skills should be developed. Secondly, as Murphy maintains, the liberation of individuality and the expansion of effective liberty required the development throughout society of scientific inquiry and the democratization of knowledge. Thirdly, life needed to be breathed into local associations to promote the institution of democratic planning. Possible mechanisms leading to Dewey's conditions for social change will be discussed in Chapter 2.

C) The Importance of Educating a Public

Saul, Murphy, and Dewey have given us strikingly similar visions of what a transformed society might look like along with a host of humanist values that they believe are at its core. But why is education so important to this vision of social change? Why not

simply enact laws or strike social policies to make it all happen? Below, the work of John Dewey and Brian K. Murphy are used to elaborate on the importance of educating a public.

i) Socialization of Intelligence (Dewey)

Although he envisioned it otherwise, Dewey believed that knowledge in contemporary industrial political democracies was manufactured for the most part by government and corporate agents, which work hand-in-glove to protect the interests of the elite in power rather than the public interest. Furthermore, when it is deemed in the interest of those who manufacture it, certain information is released for public consumption. Even here, the terminology, and the medium through which it is made public, are not necessarily accessible to the average citizen. As a result Dewey called for a radical democratization of knowledge—public interest research created as a result of public demand and made accessible to its citizenry for its deliberation. Clearly, the link between education and social change here is that people often don't demand change or become involved because they have limited access to knowledge and information. By developing the machinery of knowledge (i.e. vehicles for information dissemination and the critical thinking skills of the public), people will be more socially engaged and more inclined to create structures and policies that reflect their needs and not the desires of those having access to power.

For John Dewey, a democracy run by the political and capitalist elite and their experts was necessarily a contradiction in terms—democracy required the active participation of an informed public. Dewey did agree with critics like Walter Lippman that democratic theory suffered from the illusionary assumption that ordinary citizens had the necessary understanding and competence to govern modern democratic societies. However, unlike Lippmann, he did not feel that this was due to an inherent inability to acquire the social intelligence to run their own affairs. Rather, Dewey,—rejecting Lippman's notion that the public should defer this task to social scientists and political

elite—felt that this understanding could and must be acquired by the average citizen. For this to happen, three things are required.

For one, individuals in the modern world lack a shared understanding of the consequences of their interdependence and require a truly public knowledge. Public knowledge refers to knowledge that has been agreed upon by community. Therefore, information must be made accessible:

> a thing is fully known only when it is published, shared, and socially accessible. Record and communication are indispensable to knowledge. Knowledge cooped in a private consciousness is a myth, and knowledge of social phenomena is peculiarly dependent upon dissemination, for only by distribution can such knowledge be either obtained or tested. A fact of community life which is not spread abroad so as to be a common possession is a contradiction in terms" (Dewey, 1984, p. 345).

In this line of thinking, anything that obstructs dissemination of public information, distorts thinking on social affairs, or limits public opinion is an obstacle to the acquisition of public knowledge.

Secondly, access to information is insufficient in and of itself as a guarantor of public understanding of information and its consequences. Accessibility requires that people can read and write and understand the language of communication and the terminology. Thirdly, ordinary citizens also require the skills to critically analyze the meaning and implications of information in order for them to have the competence to govern their modern democratic societies. Critical thinking and an understanding of the political, social, economic, and technological world are essential skills for the democratization of knowledge.

It is true that the barriers to the democratization of knowledge were then and still are enormous. The concentration of media in the hands of few, the lack of monies for

public research, and an education system driven by private interests present significant challenges. Yet perhaps the largest challenge facing the democratization of knowledge is the need to change public attitudes and values regarding the processes of inquiry and interaction. In modern North American society we are taught to let others do our thinking and make the decisions for us, so much so that we have come to prefer this over controlling our own destiny, letting go of our freedom. Genuine freedom, Dewey felt, required access to the means of freedom: "The freedom of an agent who is merely released from direct external obstructions is formal and empty. If he is without resources of personal skill, without control of the tools of achievement, he must inevitably lend himself to carrying out the directions and ideas of others. If he has not powers of deliberation and invention, he must pick up his ideas casually and superficially from the suggestions of his environment and appropriate the notions which the interests of some class insinuate into his mind" (Dewey, 1932, p. 392). Dewey (1935) proposed the development of the mind through scientific inquiry in its place: "The crisis in democracy demands the substitution of intelligence that is exemplified in scientific procedure for the kind of intelligence that is now accepted" (p. 51).

In Democracy and Education, Dewey (1916) stated that, "Without initiation into the scientific spirit [of deliberative, practical reflection and reasoning] one is not in possession of the best tools which humanity has so far devised for effectively directed reflection" (p. 197). Teaching people how to think and encouraging them to do so was an essential component of democracy because it permitted the society to tap into the well of social intelligence. Dewey felt that a habit of deliberation could also counteract the formation of steadfast stereotypes and fixed life philosophies. Unfortunately, few possess such habits, and as a result "real space, real time, real numbers, real connections, real weights are lost. The perspective and the background and the dimensions of action are clipped and frozen in the stereotype"(Lippmann, cited in Westbrook, 1985, p. 100). With fully developed rational abilities, citizens would be freed from the shackles of stereotype and would be able to use reason not reflex to weigh ideas.

"Realist" democrats and other critics of Dewey's theories of participatory democracy often levelled the claim that such knowledge and skill were beyond the reach of the average individual, often using racial and classist genetic arguments to justify such a claim. Dewey fervently discredited this claim, blaming, instead, such incapacities on inequities of capitalist society:

> There does not now exist the kind of social organization that even permits the average human being to share the potentially available social intelligence. Still less is there a social order that has for one of its chief purposes the establishment of conditions that will move the mass of individuals to appropriate and use what is at hand. Back of the appropriation by the few of the material resources of society lies the appropriation by the few on behalf of their own ends of the cultural, the spiritual, resources that are the product not of the individuals who have taken possession but of the co-operative work of humanity. It is useless to talk about the failure of democracy until the source of its failure has been grasped and steps are taken to bring about the type of social organization that will encourage the socialized extension of intelligence (1935, pp. 38-39).

Dewey felt that critical inquiry skills could be cultivated as a set of habits. The best time to encourage these skills is in the early years. Reasoning, judging, and perceiving—the elements of intelligence according to Dewey—can be developed as enduring habits and enable individuals and communities to adapt to changing situations. But Dewey was aware that such intelligent habits were not to be found in routine, unintelligent, mechanical habits encouraged in modern American culture. It was Dewey's belief that formal education systems could naturally play a big role in fostering critical thinking.

For this to occur, Dewey acknowledged that a radical change in formal public education would be required. Education would necessarily be geared to provide every individual with the knowledge and skill to participate to the best of his/her abilities in the planning process as a worker, consumer and citizen. The critical task of education in a Deweyian society was to help children develop the character—the habits and virtues—that

would enable their full self-realization and would, in turn, lead not only to self-fulfilment but also to community well-being. Schools and, by abstraction, informal public education strategies, must:

> enable the child [or citizen] to translate his powers over into terms of their social equivalencies... in terms of what they are capable of accomplishing in social life....[Educators would] cultivate the habit of suspended judgement, of scepticism, of desire for evidence, of appeal to observation rather than sentiment, discussion rather than bias, inquiry rather than conventional idealizations (Dewey, 1922, p. 334).

In such a model, schools would be "the dangerous outposts of a humane civilization" and "begin to be supremely interesting places" (ibid.).

But Dewey knew that a democratic reconstruction of society was not going to be led by a revolution in the classroom (Westbrook, 1991). A radical curricular shift "could not take place until the society's adults had been won over to radical democracy" (p. 192). It was true that we could reproduce the values, curriculum, and structures of a model democratic society in schools (as he did in the Dewey Laboratory School at the University of Chicago), but the creation of the democratic ideal in the education system:

> had to contend not only with the inertia of existing educational traditions, but also with the opposition of those entrenched in command of the industrial machinery, and who realize that such an educational system if made general would threaten their ability to use others for their own ends. (1916, p. 326)

Dewey's awareness of the limits of school reform led him to understand that the ideal of radical democracy needed to be disseminated in other very public ways. The democratic message had to reach " all the agencies and influences that shape disposition....[E]very place in which men habitually meet—shop, club, factory, saloon, church, political caucus—is perforce a school house"(1932, p. 426). To do this, Dewey encouraged democratic social scientists to take on a larger public role. He himself turned to the print

media to serve as his platform for public education and for two decades was a regular contributor to the weekly magazine New Republic.

Of course, in contemporary society "men" don't necessarily meet in "saloons". In fact, due to social isolation and the dissolution of community in urban areas, people don't necessarily meet at all. They do, however, read or listen to various forms of media, take part in various forms of cultural events or entertainment, shop, and interact with family and friends and therefore can be reached by the messages of public education campaigns conducted by civil society agencies. And although Dewey didn't elaborate on the important public educational role of non-profit organizations in his writing, he was a founding member of the American Civil Liberties Union, Keep America Out of War Congress, and the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People and therefore did understand the sector's importance to social change.

In addition to the need for a revolution in the education system and the socialization of knowledge, Dewey believed that the restoration of the public life of local associations, which was destroyed through industrialization, was a critical third agency in the creation of the Great Community. Dewey proposed the expansion of the community of inquiry that forms and shapes public knowledge to include as many people as possible. The Great Community required "the perfecting of the means and ways of communication of meanings so that genuinely shared interest in the consequences of interdependent activities may inform desire and effort and thereby direct action" (1927, p. 332). Dewey posited that the best way for this to happen was through face-to-face contact. But this would necessarily involve the creation of mechanisms and structures to enable inquiry and democratic decision-making to take place. Although he did not elaborate on how this would occur, many others have. In Chapter 2 we will explore community organizing and the involvement of local associations as instruments of social change. Attempts will be made to highlight the role public education plays in these efforts.

ii) Self-Transformation and the Open Conspiracy (Murphy)

Brian Murphy elaborates on Dewey's concept of developing the skills of inquiry but focuses further attention on the transformation of the individual. According to Murphy, making information accessible will not lead to social change unless the "psychology of inertia" is overcome and people's consciousness is awoken:

> The extent to which individuals behave in the same way—that is the extent to which we are predictable—is largely the extent to which our society, its conventional wisdom and dogma . . . deaden individual potential, and promote rote behaviours and perceptions. To this extent our consciousness is stifled, thinking is stultified, experience is limited, individuality is negated (Murphy, 1999, p. 53).

He proposes that the locus of our social change efforts needs to shift from targeting overt structures, barriers and sanctions to targeting covert barriers in its place. Murphy elaborates on the socio-political factors that are erected to prevent social upheaval and block social change, "Societies protect themselves from substantive change through a complex dynamic of overt and covert sanctions against ideas and behaviours that deviate from the norms and interests prevailing at the time" (p. 19). Examples of overt or formal sanctions might include corporate union busting and the trend toward indiscriminate arrests at mass demonstrations that began in the late 1990s. Informal or covert sanctions such as a parent's disapproval of a child's decision to study dramatic arts instead of medicine or the "glass ceiling" preventing women and people of colour from obtaining executive positions, are far more wide-spread and insidious. Murphy feels that our education efforts need to be focused on informal sanctions in that "it is this phenomenon that is the real debilitating force . . . [r]egulatory and legislative structures and sanctions will be transformed only when the consciousness which spawns and authorizes them is transformed" (p. 20).

From this perspective, the success or failure of an activist or community group lies less in its ability to convince the 'powers that be' to change than in its ability to convince

you and me, fellow citizens, to demand change, and to bring it about. That is: "their success or failure lies in the realm of education, and in their ability to connect with you and me...to educate and motivate us. Our inertia is a prime cause of the failure of activism in our community" (Murphy, 1999, p. 119). For Murphy, education in all its forms is key to overcoming this inertia:

> We share certain convictions that the local and global amelioration of these conditions, and the success of humankind as an experiment in rationality and ethics, will come about only through our own individual knowledge, choice and action . . . and that the ability and will to act is directly bound to human learning and 'education'. (p. 109)

Murphy spells out the difference between learning and education and in doing so makes a strong case for informal mechanisms of learning such as those offered by non-profits and media. Learning, he claims, is

> an individual, subjective, inventive and dynamic process, within which we acquire the skills, knowledge, attitudes, perceptions and behaviours that define our interaction with the world. Education, on the other hand, is systematic social action to direct this essentially undirected . . . learning process 'productively' to achieve social goals . . . . Education has become a synonym for 'schooling' . . . But education is <u>not</u> learning. Learning takes place in people's minds and bodies, not in schools, and is accomplished by people themselves, not by schools (p. 79).

Murphy affirms that human learning begins at conception and continues to death—"the process of learning is the process of life, and the preparation for a full life is the preparation for full and dynamic life-long learning, development, change and action" (p. 94). "To this day", he counters, "[formal] education is a societal institution that works counter to fundamental social change; perpetuates the status quo; . . . and is actively counterproductive to human growth and creativity" (p. 80). Like Dewey, Murphy realizes the limitations of looking to formal education in order to realize a humanist future:

> To become a viable force that enables and encourages each person to participate in lifelong action to make a world that is a healthy, safe and humane place for all people, the process in homes, schools, churches and [all] other social institutions must undergo radical change (ibid.).

Murphy envisions radically changed social institutions that through education: 1) encourage the development of individual consciousness and human capacities; and, 2) help create thinking individuals and 3) in doing so, generate new, collective knowledge. As already articulated, social transformation cannot happen without this awakening of consciousness. In full complement to Dewey's pronouncements on the importance of self-realization Murphy adds,

> It is our capacity to become constantly and critically aware of self as a possibility, and to assert our consciousness and rationality so that we are active and creative participants in the complex processes of which we are part, constantly remaking ourselves and the world in our daily actions with others. (p. 66)

Additionally, educators who follow humanist principles, help citizens to develop critical thinking skills by encouraging doubt of established, conventional truths. The 'knowledge', not truth, which this process generates, is then shared with others. 'Knowledge' in this sense would be defined as "an ever-widening, ever-changing understanding of reality" (Murphy, p. 59). "That fund of knowledge that is accepted as common among a group of people . . . [is] arrived at through a negotiation of individual perceptions and a common agreement . . . [where] the sum of individual experience leads the group to a common conclusion about reality." (p.56)

In addition to consciousness, inquiry skills, and knowledge, Murphy's self-transformation also underlines the importance of action. He maintains that to remove us from the shackles of inertia toward realizing our full humanness we need to first, become conscious as individuals that "we are a species with the capacity to determine our own

actualization" (p.75) and secondly, to commit ourselves to action regardless of whether our actions lead to change. Not to act is almost certain to lead to the destruction of what is left of human emotional, physical, intellectual and creative health: "I must act because it is sane, and healthy, and human to do so. We will act together, because it is sane, and healthy, and human, and more effective to do so." (p. 38)

In our actions to confront this inertia, Murphy opines that we need to put forth as change agents ideas that bear witness to the madness and to initiate new perceptions of human potential. To do so he proposes an "Open Conspiracy", based on a process of action, a public questioning of the established order with critiques of present practice and the provision of alternative feasibilities with the full actualization, health, and 'authorship' of people at its base. The Open Conspiracy is a social project that provides a call to collective action, "because action now is imperative, and sane, and healthy; a call for people to join together in bearing witness to their own vision, sharing with others, daring to confront conventional irrationality, and inviting others to participate" (p. 96). Murphy presents the concept of an open conspiracy based on "responsible citizenship to hold accountable those who would use their privilege to betray the human values of equality, justice and social solidarity in the interests of greed and power" (p. 4). For Murphy, "[e]ducation as true praxis—reflection and action in dialogue—is the hub and the spokes of open conspiracy" (p. 122).

To drive this Open Conspiracy Murphy proposes the setting up of countless reference/action groups naturally created around a civic interest, issue, or problem of common concern, much as the kitchen meetings of the feminist awareness groups in the late 70s and early 80s, and not unlike the working groups of the organizations for whom this present text is intended. The 'reference' component of such groups provides us with both affective and analytical support. Such a group would help us transcend personal difficulties arising from our efforts and help us all beyond despair and the psychology of inertia. In dialogue we benefit from a wide range of knowledge, experience, perspectives and approaches. Dialogue with others helps to dissipate our negative fantasies and helps introduce new feasibilities that would not have been generated in isolation.

For Murphy, community groups could work to create this new knowledge and resultant paradigm shift in two ways: 1) By community development whereby the group works with concerned or affected citizens to form the Open Conspiracy reference/action groups and guides them through a process of analysis and direct action, and 2) by modelling humanist values and knowledge in programming, education campaigns and social action events. But Murphy reminds us that the educational work is not the sole exclusive responsibility of social change educators—we are all directly involved in all arenas of our lives, home, work, school, social and community.

Murphy maintains that the difference between the groups he proposes and present-day pressure groups is that most of today's groups are focused on action and rarely on reference. It is no longer the concrete result of the group's work that is of ultimate importance, rather it is the process of the work that holds value as within it individual growth is nurtured as people help each other explore their personal and collective potential. Pressure groups also tend to have a narrow scope and lack shared vision and "a comprehensive and ongoing social analysis" (p.108).

Conceived as necessarily a multi-issue approach, the one central issue uniting groups of the Open Conspiracy "is the right of all individuals to express and actualize themselves in the practice of freedom to transform their society" (ibid.). But Murphy warns us of the inherent resistance to an Open Conspiracy:

> [A]ny fundamental challenge to the consciousness-forming institutions of our society . . . will be resisted and undermined—not because this approach is idealistic, and will not work, but precisely because it <u>will</u> work, and if implemented would be a threat to the prevailing social order. (p. 98)

Chapter 2- Social Change Mechanisms and Their Educational Implications

Often public education work undertaken in civil society is designed with very little theoretical understanding of how the educational element contributes to the social change process. This is as true for big-budget national organizations as it is for the local, neighbourhood groups. That's not to say that these organizations are oblivious to the links between education work and social change, nor are they necessarily unskilled in the design and implementation of effective educational campaigns and projects. It is to say however that these theoretical foundations are not necessarily made explicit within the organization, that educational strategies are rarely formally grounded in theory.

The following section attempts to examine some of the theories outlining the mechanisms used by contemporary organizations in their attempts to trigger change. Some of the theories and mechanisms hold that the individual is the centre of social change, for some it is groups and communities and yet others political systems and institutions (Churchman, 1979; Toffler and Toffler, 1995). Regardless, most theories involve some level of public education effort in their strategy. Advantages may be had in using a single mechanism or any number of mechanisms in combination at any given time. Due to the focus of this paper, preference is given here to those mechanisms that promote the shifting of attitudes and behaviours through education rather than coercion, force, or by decree. Efforts are not made here to provide arguments for or against the efficacy, appropriateness or implications of these theories. Rather, attempts will be made to make explicit some of their more implicit educational links.

A) Public Information Campaigns and Social Marketing

Murphy's assertion, discussed in the previous chapter that an activist group's "success or failure lies in the realm of education, and in their ability to connect with you and me" (1999, p. 119) highlights the strong link that exists between motivation and education. The psychology behind the impetus to learn has often been overlooked by

various movements of the past. In speaking about opposition movements in the 60s and 70s in Quebec, Marc Raboy (1984) makes the observation that 'a number of movements have been unduly influenced by the erroneous orthodox Marxist notion that ideology is determined by social conditions. According to this view it should be a simple matter to "open the workers' eyes" and they will rise up in revolt against the bourgeoisie' (p. 121). Seen in this way, communicating your message and shifting people to change their behaviours (moving them to action), is no more than a mechanical operation—get the word out and people will listen. But making people hear and appropriate the message is a much more complex process involving many different factors. Below are some of the elements from the fields of social psychology, social marketing, learning theory and sociology that show the existent links between education, motivation, and behavioural change.

i) Information Campaigns

Information campaigns are an inherent component of the social change mechanisms to be discussed below. However, an information campaign can also be seen as a distinct social change mechanism in itself rather than a means to another end as in the case of a change to a particular piece of legislation. Known under many monikers: awareness campaigns, public education campaigns, health communications, media advocacy, social advertizing, etc., information campaigns can be classified under one of the following four basic approaches based on the various learning theories and theories of motivation they adopt as proscribed by Andreasen (1995). They are: 1) the Education Approach, 2) the Persuasion Approach 3) the Behaviour Modification Approach, and 4) the Social Influence Approach.

The 'Education Approach' operates on the premise that people will do the right thing if they are shown why they need to do what is being advocated. Attempts are made here to bring the message to the audience in the clearest and most compelling way possible. Many health campaigns have adopted this approach whereby behaviour is seen as being driven by the following set of beliefs: perceived susceptibility to a given health

problem; perceived severity of the problem; perceived benefits from acting; and, perceived barriers to taking the action. Attention is given in this approach to using the right channels—like Vélo-Québec's upbeat bike safety mottos directly spray painted on Montreal bike paths—and the right spokespeople like televised AIDS prevention messages by basketball great, Magic Johnson, after his announcement in 1991 that he was HIV positive.

The 'Persuasion Approach' employs the belief that action will take place only if people are both informed and sufficiently motivated. Attempts are made here to discover the careful arguments and motivational "hot buttons", for example fear and guilt, that will encourage or persuade audiences to adopt the values espoused in the message and move people toward action. Many social advertizing campaigns like "Just Say No" to drugs in the U.S. or Canadian commercials graphically depicting women being beaten by their spouses are examples of this popular approach. Examples can also be found in the campaign against drunk driving, "C'est Criminel", in addition to the shocking commercials against speeding put out in spring 2001 by The Societé des automobiliste du Quebec under the motto "An entire life for a few lousy minutes" depicting a crash re-enactment along with gory stills of someone dead at the wheel.

The 'Behavioural Modification Approach' tends to minimize the influence of thoughts and feelings on behaviour and instead stresses two principles of learning theory: people will enact the desired behaviour if 1) they learn the required techniques, and 2) find the experience rewarding or receive a reward for enacting the behaviour. Multi-city Healthy Heart Programs (cited in Andreasen, 1995, p. 12), weight loss programs, and energy conservation campaigns with mail-in rebates are examples of this educational approach.

It is believed by some that the 'Social Influence Approach' aimed at influencing community norms and collective behaviour is the most cost-effective way to reach and change individual and familial behaviours (Wallack, 1990). Here, it is said that the best way to convince individuals to act in a prescribed way is to appeal to their desire to be

liked by the group or to avoid social isolation. According to Andreasen, this is a particularly effective in groups where the pressure to conform is strong. Such is the case in the teenage years; in communities where ties are strong such as United Way's workplace giving pep rallies; or in situations where the behaviour to be influenced is socially important or highly visible such as bright recycling boxes in a suburban neighbourhood. This approach to changing social attitudes has also had an revolutionary impact over the last 30 years on smoking in public spaces in Canada and the U.S..

ii) Social Marketing

The above-mentioned education strategies are by and large born out of the field of strategic communications, a discipline concerned with mass information dissemination. However, in 1952, G.D. Wiebe (cited in Salmon, 1989) launched the field of social marketing by asking the question, "Why can't you sell brotherhood and rational thinking like you sell soap?". What was being advocated here was the application of principles normally used to sell products to the marketing of ideas beneficial to society.

Social marketing is a form of social change strategy that attempts to "influence the voluntary behaviour of target audiences in order to improve their personal welfare and that of their society" (Andreasen, 1995, p. 7). Social marketing borrows from many elements of information campaigns but like the discipline of sales and marketing always judges success by the "customer's" actions. Unlike information campaigns that might use the number of people who have learned some fact as an indicator to judge success, social marketers argue that success can only be measured by behavioural outcomes. Where an information campaign may educate women about the risks of breast cancer, a social marketing campaign would focus on how education among other strategies would move these newly "educated" women to actually practising self-examination or schedule regular mammograms.

In Marketing Social Change, Alan R. Andreasen (1995) makes a first-ever attempt to set down a comprehensive, conceptual framework for sound social marketing. Similar to all sound social work practice, the central tenet of social marketing is starting (and

ending) where the "customer" is at. Listening to segmented "target markets" through market research before, during and after campaigns is essential to help guide cost-effective marketing strategies. Questions such as, What do the customers want? What do they actually do? and What is keeping them from acting?, serve to help guide strategy and the way messages are framed. Also guiding the course of action are the 4 'P's of marketing namely: the product (the sought-after behaviour), Promotion (the frequency, quality, and medium of the messages being delivered); the Place (the accessibility or ease of enacting the behaviour); and the Price (the perceived costs of undertaking the behaviour). Social marketers consider all of these elements when developing their strategic social marketing plans. This planning process involves a continuous upwardly spiralling sequence of steps involving listening (research), planning, structuring (benchmarks, securing human and financial resources, monitoring, collaboration), pre-testing, implementation, and monitoring (research) that lead back to planning again. Social behaviours are often complex, and so although research can help identify appropriate actions, social marketers are willing to take reasoned risks even if outcomes are not certain. And because they anticipate that not all tactics will lead to anticipated outcomes, good marketers develop contingency plans. They will also stay alert to monitor changes in the environment that might make existing strategies obsolete.

Social change through social marketing does not try to persuade target audiences to accept the marketer's beliefs and values or do what the marketer believes they ought to do, rather they realize that the audience will only take action when they believe it is in their interest to do so. Social marketers therefore always start with an understanding of the needs, desires, beliefs, values and perceptions of their audience. They are well aware that they must often change what they are offering and how it is being presented to be in line with the target audience.

The primary difference according to Andreasen between information campaigns and those of social marketing is that the former are often organization-centred and the later are customer-centred. Figure 1 below highlights the difference between these two mindsets. It is important to point out that many contemporary information campaigns

borrow elements from social marketers and vice versa blurring the distinctions made below by the author, however presenting the two ends of the spectrum helps to show how they often differ.

Figure 1

Organization-Centred Approaches	**Customer-Centred Approach**
The organization's mission is seen as inherently good.	The organization's mission is seen as bringing about behaviour change by meeting the target audience's needs and wants.
Audiences are often seen as ignorant or unmotivated and may be scapegoated as the reason why the campaign might not be working.	The customer is seen as someone with unique perceptions and needs to which the marketer must adapt.
Marketing is seen as only involving communications.	Marketing is seen as involving communications, social psychology and sales theory.
Marketing research is non-existent or has a limited role.	Marketing research is vital throughout campaign.
Customers are treated as a mass.	Customers are grouped in segments.
Competition is often ignored.	Competition is seen to be everywhere and never ending.
Staffers are drawn from those with knowledge of the desired change or from communications.	Marketers are chosen for their knowledge of consumers.

iii) The Knowledge/Behaviour Continuum and Motivation of Behaviour

So what moves audiences of information and social marketing campaigns to adopt new attitudes and behaviours? Many, like Brian Murphy, believe that there is a strong link between knowledge, motivation, and social behavioural change:

> There is an intrinsic connection between knowledge and action. What people do is absolutely bound in what they know and think, and what they know and think is bound up in what they do. If we wish to transform practice, we have to identify and decode critically what it is that people know and think, what makes them do what they do and what makes them accept the practices and structures they accept. (Murphy, 1999, p. 122-23)

Because social marketing draws heavily upon the field of social psychology and behavioural theory, it provides us with an excellent opportunity to briefly explore what makes people do what they do and the process of how individuals move from knowledge acquisition to carrying out a desired behaviour; in short, the motivation for behaviour.

The majority of public education campaigns designed to solicit an attitudinal or behavioural change operate around the basic assumption that if you provide people with information (e.g. drinking and driving can kill), it may trigger reflection leading to an attitudinal change (e.g. wow, maybe I might kill somebody too), which may lead to a behavioural change (e.g. I will only have 2 beers at tonight's party not 6). If this is the case, why have traffic accidents in Quebec due to alcohol consumption remained unchanged in the 10-year period from 1989-1999 despite intensive awareness campaigns? (CBC-TV, 1999) An argument could be made claiming that the awareness campaigns are faulty in their design and are not inducing an attitudinal shift in their target audiences. But it could be highly possible that attitudes have shifted yet there is something blocking the shift in behaviour. Could it be, for example, that the desire to block out unhappiness, addiction, or the need to be "one of the gang" over-rules our noble attitudes and intentions?

One of the classic theories that can help us understand why people do what they do is Abraham Maslow's (1954) Hierarchy of Needs Theory. Generally considered to be the major theoretician of the humanist psychology movement in the United States (Darkenwald and Meriam, 1982), Malsow argued that motivation is derived from an internal drive to satisfy one's needs. Humanistic psychologists like Maslow understand that behaviours are motivated by biological, socio-psychological and cognitive factors and cannot just be reduced to behaviourist notions of stimulus/response and reflexes. Maslow believes that human needs can be ranked or prioritised according to how closely they are linked to the survival of the organism and that attempts are made to satisfy them in the following ascending order: physiological needs, safety needs, the sense for belonging and love, esteem, and self-actualization. Given how powerful physiological addictions can be, it is no wonder education campaigns focusing on the esteem for one's health are not effective at changing the behaviours of smokers and intravenous drug users. Similarly, HIV educators must take into consideration the primacy of the need for love and pleasure in their prevention campaigns. Furthermore, as supported by Piven and Cloward's (1979) work on poor people's movements, attempting to motivate poor people to advocate for policy changes to help move them out of poverty so they can live self-actualized lives may be an impossible task given that basic physiological needs must be satisfied first. Thus the hierarchical nature of needs has important implications on such things as the attainment of self-realization as earlier advocated by Dewey and Murphy.

Further understanding of human motivation can be found by examining the field of adult education or 'andragogy' as proposed by the father of adult education in North America, Malcolm Knowles. Knowles (1980)claims that adults are self-directing in their own growth and development; have accumulated experiences that set them apart from others; prefer learning that is closely related to their social role; and are more problem-centred than subject-centred requiring a more immediate application of learning. Facilitating learning thus involves gaining knowledge of the experiences, goals, and needs of the individuals involved and selecting or providing free choice of relevant subject mater. Carl Weinberg's principles of learning (cited in Darkenwald and Merriam, 1982) support those of Knowles. He also concludes that adults "rely upon others to support the

learning experience rather than retard it" (p. 85) and that people learn in relation to their human qualities. Furthermore, Wlodkowski (cited in Ravensbergen, 1993) underlines the importance of choice and benefit but also adds enjoyment as the third element in cultivating motivation.

In Human Nature and Conduct, Dewey was also critical of the view that human behaviour was predetermined by basic instincts and conceived that human nature was shaped more by social education and experience (cited in Westbrook, pp. 287-293). Therefore, even though there is a tendency toward competition and violence in our society as expressed in capitalism and war, this doesn't mean that these are inevitable states resulting from an inborn human nature. Rather, "[h]abit is the mainspring of human action, and habit is formed for the most part under the influence of the customs of a group" (Dewey, 1984, p. 334). Dewey claimed that social change is best achieved through education in a child's formative years when impulses and behaviours have not yet been formed into habitual patterns of behaviour. Dewey also recognized that habitual ways of doing and thinking both for the individual and collectively are extremely resistant to change. Dewey did not try to reduce behaviour however to only a simple chain of stimulus and response but also "gave conscious thought—intelligence—a central place in his social psychology. One did not have to subscribe to a superstitious psychology to appreciate the power of rational deliberation in human action, he argued. Intelligence was itself a collection of habits: "concrete habits do all the perceiving, recognizing, imagining, recalling, judging, conceiving, and reasoning that is done"' (Dewey, cited in Westbrook, 1991, p.292)

The Theory of Reasoned Action by Ajzen and Fishbein (1980), adds that two significant elements driving behaviour include the values of the individual (or that which is valued by the individual), and social pressure. Jaccard and Davidson (cited in Andreasen, 1995) found that this model was able to explain 79% of the variance in intention of college students to use birth control pills. Andreasen elaborates on how such values are acquired,

> Consumers acquire basic values as they are socialized into a culture and then more particularized values from their mothers and fathers. These values are then changed as cultures change and as the individual becomes part of other social organizations, families, work forces, neighbourhoods, and villages. (p. 158)

Andreasen proposes shifting values—and ultimately behaviour—through the use of existing values.

Andreasen's behaviour change model incorporates many of the above theories of motivation and is based on the premise that audiences do not undertake behaviour change rapidly in one step; they move toward the desired outcome in definable stages. Based on the Transtheoretical Model of Prochaska and DiClemente, Andreasen proposes these stages move hierarchically from pre-contemplation, to contemplation, to action, to maintenance. Prochaska and DiClemente's work reveals that the appropriate type of intervention strategy for each person depends on the stage at which the individual is at in the continuum. The marketer's goal should be to move the consumer from one stage to the next toward a permanent behaviour change.

The Precontemplation Phase is where awareness and interest is generated leading to a shift in values or that which is valued. Here the educational tools of information campaigns are employed by the marketer to make the target population aware of the issue and show that the proposed behaviours do not run counter to the beliefs and values of people like them and that the behaviours may even improve the individual's own life.

Turning to Murphy can help us explain the importance of grounding messages in held beliefs and values. He explains to us that everybody behaves according to an internalized paradigm, world view or life philosophy. Most people accept new information only as far as it conforms to that person's conception of reality which is why promoting change is so difficult. When inconsistencies are identified in the assumptions of an individual's paradigm, a person often attempts to justify them in the unquestionable truths of ideology or perform great leaps of logic. For example, a person will have difficulty in

accepting the idea that the government provides temporary social assistance to refugees if that person believes people must earn every cent they receive. If it is explained that new refugees don't speak either official language and can't necessarily find work, the person may respond simply that this country should take care of its own or that refugees should line up jobs before getting here. Educators must find creative ways of demonstrating how new information and ideas are in keeping with their audience's basic values.

On the contrary, Andreasen observes that education campaigns often inundate target audiences with information that the educator thinks is important for audiences to know. Alternatively he argues, social marketers start by listening to people, adjusting their messages to what is important to the audience, and deliver it in a language and through a vehicle that is familiar or attractive to them, not the educator. In this phase "[e]ducators, propagandists and media advocates tend to regard getting out the message as the important part of the job, while social marketers concentrate on changing behavior" (Andreasen, 1995, p. 149). If the marketer has not created a value shift in the target group in this phase, it is difficult for individuals to move to the next step.

In the Contemplation Stage people begin thinking about and evaluating recommended behaviours. It is here that people begin to make decisions on the basis of the consequences that they believe will follow from their choices. The marketer's task in this phase is to motivate behaviour change using the target group's own beliefs. According to the Theory of Planned Behavior (Ajzen, 1991) individuals act on the basis of beliefs, both social beliefs at the macro level and personal beliefs at the micro level. Four important sets of beliefs are important in the contemplation phase: beliefs about the positive consequences of the behaviour, beliefs about the negative consequences, beliefs about what others expect, and beliefs about the individual's ability to carry out the action. All of these beliefs are tied very closely to an individual's deeper needs and wants and these in turn are tied to even deeper values (Homer and Kahle, 1988).

According to a central paradigm of marketing (Bagozzi, 1978), the consumer ultimately makes an exchange between what he or she must give up (e.g. familiarity,

peace of mind, social acceptance, time, etc.) in comparison to the benefits received (e.g. cleaner water, praise from workmates, or higher neighbourhood security). In the Contemplation Stage, individuals engage in an internal dialogue that weighs "bundles" of beliefs in a good outcome versus bad outcome, cost/benefit analysis until a decision is made to act or not. By reinforcing or adding to the benefits and providing counter arguments to the perceived costs, social marketers can persuade and motivate people toward action. This is especially true of those benefits and costs that are of top priority to the target audience.

Beliefs are not the only thing influencing behaviour—competition with habit or inertia require that old behaviours and beliefs need to be de-marketed too and deficiencies brought to light (Kotler and Levy, cited in Andreasen p. 153). Also weighing on the 'cost' side is the fear of risk. Murphy (1999) reminds us that we tend to focus more often on what it is we will lose in terms of our emotional and physical security by taking a risk—we rarely focus on what can be gained (e.g. self-worth, creativity, etc.): "Growth is entirely dependent upon our willingness to risk . . . . Every decision of risk is a choice of values" (p. 26). Rather than be seen as threats to psychological health, ambiguity and risk need to be viewed as the very sustenance of health.

As previously mentioned, research and common sense make clear that family members, peers, neighbours, co-workers, and media personalities can have very important roles as sources of information and sources of social pressure (Bearden and Etzel, 1982). According to a World Health Organization publication (Dupree and Beck, 1991), people who belong to the community or group in question may often be the best health promoters. This is true whether culture, religion, sex, sexual orientation, political persuasion, or age defines the community. Additionally, well-known spokespeople, due to their role-model status, can play an important part in helping target audiences to hear messages and influence behaviour change. This understanding often results in commercial and political marketing campaigns being designed in a two-step fashion. First the message is communicated to "opinion leaders" and then these individuals pass on this information. Finnegan, Bracht and Viswanath (1989) emphaisize the value of conducting a community power and leadership analysis to identify appropriate opinion leaders to disseminate

specific messages. A community can also serve as an agent of social control by regulating values, attitudes and behaviour (Warren, cited in Brager, Specht, and Torczyner, 1987). In research on social pressure, Hornik (1992) has argued that community norms may play a more important role than individual attitudes in communities where more than half the population has already adopted a target behaviour. Providing target audiences with the knowledge of just how many members of their group are practising the target behaviour may help move people from the later stages of contemplation to the action phase.

HIV prevention work informs us that information and increased motivation does not necessarily lead to people practising safer sex (Hornik, 1992). This discord between one's values and one's actions is known as 'Cognitive Dissonance' (Brehm and Cohen, cited in Andreasen, 1995). To help reduce this cognitive dissonance and help the individual move from the Contemplation Stage to the Action Stage, a person must hold the belief that the behaviour can actually be accomplished. Noted behavioural psychologist, Bandura (1978), emphasizes that an individual must possess "perceived self-efficacy", the belief that the person of concern has the esteem and skill to undertake the desired action. In condom use, campaigns must necessarily tackle issues of self-worth in addition to practice putting on condoms.

In addition to internal self-efficacy, Balch (cited in Andreasen, 1995) refers to the importance of perceived "External efficacy" to increase the occurrence of behaviour change. Here, structural and environmental variables blocking a behaviour from taking place such as products or services availability or resistance by others must be taken into account (Hornik, 1989). If condoms are too expensive or can't be attained easily or if one's sexual partner resists wearing one it is highly possible safer sex practices will not take place. If tenants get treated with disdain or indifference when they call the housing board for basic information on their rights, it is unlikely that many of them will resist being manipulated by abusive landlords. At times community pressures also make it difficult to bring about change even if the target audience finds it attractive. Many information campaigns do not succeed because they fail to take these environmental

factors into consideration. Social marketers endeavour to overcome barriers like these that may be preventing people from acting.

The final stage in the Transtheoretical Model of behaviour change is Maintenance. Here, it is useful to consider B. F. Skinner's psychological construct of behaviour modification. It happens that once someone carries out a behaviour change for the first time, they are not sure if they have made the right decision or they feel insecure about their new actions. It is helpful at this stage to find ways to reinforce the likelihood that the behaviour will be maintained. Making it easy for the target audience to carry out the desired behaviour and rewarding their efforts are suggested as ways of making the experience of shifting behaviours more enjoyable. Alcoholics Anonymous which hosts different meetings every night and has adopted a pin system illustrates how accessibility and reward may help maintain socially desired behaviours. Social marketers also pay a great deal of attention on making sure that the impacts are lasting by focusing on administrative, norm, and system changes.

An excellent example of social marketing by a small non-profit organization is the gay men's HIV education and prevention campaign led by Montreal's Sero Zero. Sero Zero has always been effective at inventing new and novel ways of reaching their target audience from hilarious drag queens dressed in outlandish attire distributing condoms from bar to bar to circulating in areas where male prostitutes work to provide education, free condoms, and security. Sero Zero has stepped boldly forward and created a public education campaign including giant posters in subway advertizing panels that proudly illustrate gays and lesbian relationships to the general public. The thinking here, as supported by other studies (Community-based Research Centre, 2001), is that men who are not proud of themselves due to the social stigma of being gay will have difficulty negotiating condom use with their partners. Interestingly enough, Montreal is the only major city in North America where we have not witnessed a rise in the number of new infections in gay men (Canadian HIV/AIDS Clearinghouse, 2001).

Similarly, social marketing has also been cleverly used by government for decades as a form of social and political manipulation as observed by economist Jim Stanford of the Canadian Auto Workers: " . . . it seemed as if the 'productivity' issue might be the vehicle for another right-wing policy offensive. [A] top liberal pollster . . . headlined a special conference on how to sell the issue to Canadians; focus groups tested ways of marketing productivity growth as the meta-issue of the next decade. After all the tried-and-true conservative strategy has been to seize on one economic issue as the root of all our problems, whip up public concern, and then force through the desired policy changes" (Stanford, 1999, p. 12).

B) Community Organization

"Throughout the ages, human beings have sought to control their own destiny. The development of democracy is an expression of this fundamental human striving, and community organizing has a key role in the development of democracy" (Lamoureux, Mayer, and Panet-Raymond, 1989, p. 9). The observation that humans have a natural tendency to act toward controlling their quality of life bodes well for public educators and community workers provided that appropriate conditions can be created to trigger a shift in thought, value or behaviour. And here lies the biggest challenge. How do we as educators overcome the overwhelming public apathy, fear and frustration that have become the norm in Canadian urban and rural settings? Community organization is offered here as a practical approach to this chronic phenomenon.

Above we looked at information and social marketing campaigns as two public education mechanisms to effect both wide-scale and more segmented social change. The thinking of campaign practitioners is that social change will occur if values and behaviours are encouraged to shift and this will lead to behaviours, policies, and structures conducive to justice and democracy. The authors and practitioners of community organization are no doubt also of this mind but they also advocate public education as a means to rectify unjust situations and achieve other tangible and immediate social change goals.

Traditionally there have been three ways of conceptualizing the manner in which community work is undertaken: "Locality Development", "Social Action", and "Social Planning" (Rothman, 1970). Each orientation engenders its own set of political assumptions about how social change takes place. According to Lee (1991), " 'Locality Development' emphasizes broadly based participation, co-operation, voluntarism, education and community initiative to achieve community determined goals." Self-help groups would be a good example of this type of community organization. A 'Social Action' approach on the other hand, is focused more on attaining power in that it "organize[s] disadvantaged populations to make demands for increased resources or

treatment more in accordance with social justice" (p. 21). In the 'Social Action' approach conflict is often used as leverage for change. The 'Social Planning' approach focuses on professional expertise and technical know-how that operate out of a centralized planning context to overcome designated social problems and guide complex change processes" (ibid.). In a book entitled Analysing Community Work, Keith Popple (1995), further typifies community practice into one of eight forms: community care, community organization, community development, social/community planning, community education, community action, Feminist community work, and Black and anti-racist community work. Education strategies for change are either the focus or an important element of all of these models. Before examining theories of community organizing more closely however, it is important to briefly examine the motivational assumptions upon which they are built.

Social Learning theorist Albert Bandura (1978) opines that three factors motivate human attitudes and behaviours: a person's self-perception, their actions or ability to act, and the environment. These three elements influence each other and interact as points on a triangle. If we see ourselves as informed, competent, and having power (positive self-image) then we are more likely to act in a way to control our environment. Likewise if we find ourselves in an environment that is supportive and can be influenced by our actions, we are more likely to act in ways to influence it. This in turn makes us feel more positive about our self-image. However, we are surrounded by a consumer culture that constantly berates our self-worth, that constantly doubts our ability to act by reminding us we need to place our trust in the hands of professionals and authority, and that constantly effaces us or brings us into line any time we dare to control our environment. Therefore, it is not surprising that apathy, fear and frustration underlay many of our motivations.

So what does this mean for educators and community workers alike? Assuming that these three elements influence the degree to which we think or act in a certain fashion, it provides us with three angles from which to design our messages, methods and initiatives. To begin, we can design messages and strategies that focus on building positive self-image and overcoming internalized oppression in a target population or community. To be successful it is often required that the initial part of a movement's education

strategy involve countering the effects of internalized oppression. Martin Luther King Jr. once said that "the Black man is his own worst enemy" and proposed first and foremost the emancipation of the Black man inside his own head. One of the early contributions of the women's movement involved assertiveness training to rebuild the confidence of women conditioned to seeing themselves and therefore behaving as second class citizens. This is still the focus of many contemporary programs aimed at adolescent girls.

Modifying the perceived environment can also be another focus for educational efforts. When people feel a chronic loss of control of their ability to influence their environment, they don't take risks and they retreat into an all too familiar world. By demystifying systems and the socio-political world around us, educators can help make their environment more predictable and manageable to citizens. Similarly, through involving people in collective efforts, a sense of support and shared power can make the process of acting toward social change less threatening. In the case of community organizing and movement mobilization, victories give participants and the public alike the sense that they can have control over their world making them more inclined to act in the future. Finally, if agents of change are able to demonstrate through their message that many other people are thinking or behaving in the way the campaign proposes, social learning theory predicts that people are more likely to feel comfortable about thinking or behaving in this fashion. When this is the case people perceive that they are not alone and that the environment is conducive to this social change. This also taps into Maslow's theory of social acceptance as a human need as previously discussed.

i) Organizing, Mobilizing and Social Action (Alinsky; Lamoureux, Mayer, and Panet-Raymond; Lee)

Several well known authors and activists propose an approach to community organizing that combines elements of 'locality development' and 'social action' as a mechanism to induce social change (Lee, 1992; Lamoureux et al., 1989). Fisher and Shragge (2000) concur that "organizing is about both building community and engaging in a wider struggle for social and economic justice" (p. 6). "As lone individuals we cannot hope to influence the powerful systems that exist all around us" (Lee, 1992, p. 31). Numbers are often the only power resource that the disadvantaged have (Alinsky, 1971; Booth, 1974). But numbers can only impact if they are organized and their efforts focused strategically. Community organizing can only be carried out by bringing together people who have direct or indirect common interests (Lamoureux et al., 1989). When neighbours sharing a common injustice join forces and take matters into their own hands, power can be unleashed,

> To feel powerful we must also experience some connection to others. The rediscovery and re-establishment of a sense of community—our common experience, common dreams—can reduce the sense of powerlessness and is a necessary component in any struggle to achieve social change (Lee, 1997, p. 31).

Lee (1997) defines community organization as,

> a social intervention which seeks to maximize the ability of disadvantaged people to influence their environment by developing the power to acquire resources and change inadequate institutions and laws or build new ones that will be more responsive to their needs and those of all human beings. (p. 37)

Community organizing is a form of political organizing, one that provides for the "involvement of communities in a democratic process that will enable them to exercise real power over their social environment" (Lamoureux et al., 1989, p. 2). Lamoureux et al.

further define community organization as also being "...an educational process that validates people's existing knowledge and skills and enables them to acquire new ones" (p. 7). It is a process through which people act collectively "based on the belief that problems in communities have solutions in communities, and that people should participate in the matters that affect them at the community level" (Checkoway, 1995, p. 1).

The social action or 'advocacy' approach to community organization was pioneered in North America by Saul Alinsky (1945, 1971) and in Europe by the Italian social theorist Antonio Gramsci (1971). According to Popple's (1995) interpretation of Gramsci, revolution as proposed by Marxist theory is not the only conduit for radical change to occur, it can also result from struggle within civil society. When civil society organizations challenge the ideology of the hegemonic class, 'consent' of the people is lost for their political, moral, and intellectual leadership. For this reason, Gramsci argued for the importance of the battle of ideas and the importance of education in the movement (cited in Mayo, 1997). When consent is lost, the ruling class must either concede to the demands of the people or rely on their second hegemonic weapon, that of punishment and force. In its practice, the approach seeks to overcome inequities by enlisting "professional" staff such as community organizers, planners and lawyers to help underrepresented interest groups articulate their values and their proposals and advocate on their behalf. Instead of a central planning or government agency formulating and assessing alternative plans and policies, interest groups prepare their own and then forcefully promote them.

In his book Pragmatics of Community Organization (1997), Lee structures community organizing into seven inter-joining phases: 1) Pre-entry involving contracting with the sponsoring body, 2) Contact/Entry which involves learning about the community, 3) Community Analysis and identification of action issues, 4) Organization development to build healthy process and structures, 5) Popular action—implementation of strategies for change, 6) Evaluation and next steps, and 7) Termination. Throughout this process energy for change must come from the disadvantaged communities as they use their

awareness of themselves and their situation and the power of their numbers to provoke change (Friere, 1970; Lee, 1997; Piven and Cloward, 1977).

Given that "the process of community organization is carried on in a social/political world, where the coin of exchange is power" (Alinsky, 1971), the societal goal is to change the power relationships within society so that those with less power acquire more of it, and those with plenty learn to share it. Lamoureux, Mayer, and Panet-Raymond (1989) claim its primary goal is "to ensure an equitable distribution of knowledge, wealth, and power, and since our social structure is the cause of many injustices, to change that system..." (p. 1). Paulo Friere refers to it as the process of "assisting people who have been objects of history and culture to become its subjects" (p.38). Similarly, McNight (1995) believes strongly that service professionals ironically serve to remove power from local communities. He claims that human service professionals and their systems tend to co-opt community efforts by,

> commodifying the care of citizens into services to be consumed by clients. Through the propagation of belief in authoritative expertise, professionals cut through the social fabric of community and sow clienthood where citizenship once grew. "You will be better because I know better" is almost always their message (p. 10).

Professional service managers then "convert communality into hierarchy, replacing consent with control" and distance the community from the decisions that affect them (p. 12).

Community organizing also has a strong personal dimension. Saul Alinsky in his book Rules for Radicals (1971) states "There is no darker or more devastating tragedy than the death of man's faith in himself and in his power to direct his future" (p. xxvi). Lee (1997) also feels empowerment is an important and profoundly personal goal of community organization work. He defines this as "the sense in people that they have the ability and right to influence their environment" (p. 29),. Lamoureux et al. concur in that

the services and educational activities provided by individuals joining together are designed "to make them better able to take responsibility for themselves" (p. 2).

Toward these two overarching goals, community work addresses five specific objectives at the community level as outlined by Lee (1992): 1) evoking citizen involvement, 2) developing a sense of community, 3) facilitating organization development, 4) attaining concrete benefits or resources, and 5) fostering social learning. Although there are educational links across all of these objectives, it is primarily the first, second and fifth objective where these links can be most clearly identified. Let's first examine the element of social learning.

Social learning can be divided into three distinct facets: the building of 'social capital', skill development and socio-political analysis. By participating in group processes, citizens develop interpersonal skills, trust, tolerance, and reciprocity and thereby build community social capital and cohesion as argued by Putnam (2000) and Ostien (2001). Skill development such as learning to chair a meeting, writing a news release, wading through corporate secrets or influencing city hall, focuses more on action whereas analysis is more reflective in nature. It is through socio-political analysis that 'conscientization' occurs (Friere, 1970) whereby a critical understanding of the social, political, and economic context in which inequalities are situated is developed by the community worker/educator in collaboration with the citizens. Gaining new insights into ourselves, our communities, the larger society, and the problems we face provides us with an understanding of the factors that shape the conditions of our lives. This can "help to free us from self-blame and debilitating guilt over our inability to be as successful as we would wish" (Lee, 1992, p. 33).

The educational impact of community organizing goes far beyond the group of citizens involved in organizing. The process of education also evokes citizen involvement, and develops a sense of community. Citizens at large become aware of the injustice in question as the group's actions spill out into the neighbourhood in the form of such educational strategies as door-knocking campaigns, petition drives, boycotts,

demonstrations or sit-ins. The goal of such actions is not only to help educate the public with regard to the issue of concern, it is also to garner a high degree of local support and involvement. Without being able to demonstrate a high level of support it is unlikely that those with decision-making power will concede to the group's demands. Additionally, the educational process helps a public develop a sense of community—that they belong to a phenomenon that goes beyond the four walls of their home.

Community organizing differs from 'locality development' or 'community development' as defined by some in that community organizing or community organization has a social action component aiming "to bring about change, to reduce or eliminate exploitation, oppression, and alienation. Many of these organizations are involved in issues of "collective consumption" to secure more or better resources or services including housing, health, and social security (Dunleavy, cited in Popple, 1995, p. 48) or against planned development or pollution in their locality. Because it is necessarily about shifting power relations, many of the activities related to organizing involve conflict (Lee, 1992). The goal of locality development on the other hand is the equal sharing of community resources among its own membership. Locality development emphasizing co-operation (not conflict), volunteerism, education and community initiative to achieve community-defined goals is often the favoured approach of governments wishing to transfer State responsibilities to communities who are asked to fill the gaps in services left by the withdrawal of the State (Lamoureux et al, 1989). A neighbourhood clean up would not necessarily be considered "organizing" unless there was a social action component demanding that public garbage cans be installed and collected at street corners for example. It may however serve to develop a stronger sense of community that may serve to help mobilize people around a future collective social action. Lee (1992) leads us to believe that community development divorced from social action will not lead to sustainable social change. Lee proposes a "generic" community organizing approach that combines aspects of both of these approaches given that they can each serve to compliment the other.

The mid-sixties and the seventies saw the birth of hundreds of community organizing initiatives in Quebec. Lamoureux et al. (1989) illustrate the form community organizations can take and their links to education when they describe this period:

> ACEFs [neighbourhood associations] became more and more numerous, dozens of consumer associations sprang up, food coops expanded, ADDS [welfare rights] groups mushroomed and organized significant battles, and the popular education movement experienced spectacular growth. New groups emerged: community day-care centres, worker co-operatives, and community media. Political theatre groups and progressive filmmakers, writers and musicians appeared on the cultural front. Associations were formed to defend the rights of retired people, the handicapped, and injured workers. The high level of illiteracy prompted the organizations of literacy campaigns by grassroots groups (p. 12-13).

At first the government was receptive to the desire for increased participation and provided some funding for research and "social animation" to encourage this trend (Lamoureax et al. 1989). But this began to change in Quebec in the mid-1980s.

Like many community-based groups founded throughout Quebec during that period, organizations such as the Projet d'organisation populaire, d'information, et de regroupement (POPIR) in St. Henri, an impoverished neighbourhood of Montreal, and Project Genesis, working for the rights of disenfranchized citizens in multi-cultural Cote-des-neige, have two components to their mandates, education and social action. In fact, the name of many regional and provincial regroupements recognizes this fact such as the Associations féminines d'éducation et d'action social (AFEAS) that has over 600 member organizations (Lamoureux et al., 1989). Education in these organizations spans the continuum from literacy, to information dissemination (e.g. housing rights or demystification of systems), to popular education initiatives that help citizens or victims better understand the causes and context of their situations, and their strengths and best strategies for resolution. All of these forms of education efforts not only serve to provide people with tools to use in their social action endeavours but also provide a badly needed boost to people's self-esteem which is critical in getting people to act on their beliefs as

was previously argued. Some authors however, maintain that the social action mandate of community organizations in Canada and the United States has been co-opted by government and private foundation funding that encourages them to focus mainly on service provision (Murphy, 1999; Fisher and Shragge, 2000). They believe that many of these organizations over the years have moved away from having a critical analysis of the world in which they carry out their work resulting in "practices that blend with and succumb to the wider neo-liberal context" (Fisher and Shragge, 2000, p. 2).

In order to speak with a collective voice and increase their strength through numbers in the eyes of the government, many of these organizations later chose to form or join Coalitions and "regroupments". It is these umbrella groups that usually provide the link between community organizations and various movements.

ii) Non-Locality Based Community Organizations

Most often, when we think of communities we tend to envision interactions between people within geographic neighbourhoods. However there are other, forms of community that fill the landscape. When a community relies on a shared past to establish an identity, such as the Native, the Black, or the French Quebec community, Josiah Royce (1971), an early American philosopher of community, suggests that we can refer to it as a "community of memory" where past events, serve to cement the social ties of its members. When a community or network develops around a common belief or vision of the future, such as the community that arises from the Peace movement, we can speak of it as a community of expectation or a "community of hope" (ibid.). Communities also form as a result of shared experience, characteristics, or activity, such as those that include "squeegee kids", the deaf, or members of a community garden. Most communities, however, are a mixture of these characteristics. It is also customary to view a community as being held together by a sense of social cohesion or personal intimacy (Checkoway, 1995). The Jewish communities in Montreal provide an excellent example of all of these elements, which might help explain their strength.

Education plays a strong role in the awareness of members of various minority communities of culture, historical events, the dynamic of power and oppression, and the resilience, heroism, creativity and talent that it has generated in its wake. Such was the case of the myriad kitchen table consciousness-raising efforts of the women's community in the 70s and 80s that encouraged "the reflection and action necessary for personal change and possible political transformation" (Popple, 1995, p. 38). With tolerance or acceptance in mind, education is also critical to help non-members of this community, often the general public, become more aware of both commonalities shared and differences between this community and their own. Black History Month is a highly successful example of this type of educational strategy.

Royce claims that communities form to accomplish certain things through the deeds of their members. The acts must be co-operative requiring interaction and interdependence and members must be fully aware of the meaning of their co-operative acts otherwise the acts remain mechanical. And although it can be argued otherwise, Royce claims that in order to belong to a community a person needs to interpret his or her actions as part of the co-operative deeds of a community. In this way, educating members (or potential members) of a community as to who is doing what and why within a community is critical to both trigger involvement and maintain identity or a sense of community. The Centre des femmes in combination with The Regroupement des centres des femmes in Montreal serve this role.

Beside helping to affirm a sense of belonging, education can also help a community envision a desired future state. The work of The Barclay, Goyer, Bedford (BGB) Neighbourhood Association, an non-profit community organization situated in a poor, multicultural district of Montreal is a case in point. By way of door to door contact, community events, and high media visibility, the BGB has significantly raised the awareness of residents to the deteriorating state of their neighbourhood and has helped residents imagine and act toward a new vision for their community.

Not all organizations however restrict themselves to a geographic neighbourhood and therefore do not represent a clearly defined constituency. The work of these groups is targeted at the public at large or a sector of the public. New Social Movement (NSM) organizations like those dealing with AIDS, the environment, drunk driving, street youth, and anti-globalization count among them. Apart from any service provision work that these groups might do, the social change element of their work might be better described as "Organizing" or "Social Action" rather than "Community Organizing" in that their mandates often span community and provincial borders. For NSM organizations, an adapted version of Lee's Phases of Community Organizing might be more useful. For example, social marketing research methods might be more appropriate than conducting a "community analysis" and given that the issues these groups tackle may take a lifetime or more to achieve, a project "termination" phase may not be appropriate.

Many contemporary non-profit NSM organizations, both local and national, understand the importance of public education through the dissemination of information and the development of critical thinking skills. The Social Justice Committee of Montreal and Inter Pares, the former a local organization and the later international, are examples of organizations working on under-development and poverty issues in the Third World that release monthly news bulletins in an attempt to offer critical analysis on injustice and creative alternatives to the present situation. A third group, Alternatives, also working on environmental and Third World issues, regularly purchases one or two pages of space in both the French and English alternative weekly newspapers to educate the public. Équiterre, a Montreal-based non-profit that promotes social and ecological choices, distributed a brochure educating consumers of the social and environmental benefits in purchasing fair-trade coffee to thousands of residents in a white-collar district in Montreal. The Quebec Public Interest Research Groups have conducted various forms of creative educational strategies including Supermarket Tours to help shoppers link buying practices with the politics of food and regular radio programming on environmental and feminist issues. Public conferences and teach-ins like the one against globalization organized by SalAMI in Montreal are other education strategies that are used by organizations. Maude Barlow and Tony Clarke of The Council of Canadians, undertook a cross-country tour to

launch their book "Global Showdown". The tour generated national media coverage critiquing the Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA) hemispheric trade agreement that was being negotiated at the Summit of the Americas meeting in Quebec City in April 2001 and simultaneously generated enthusiasm within each province to attend the protest. The protest was in itself, of course, a strategy "extraordinaire" to encourage international reflection on the social, environmental, political, and economic implications of international free trade agreements. NSM organizations are also discussed in further detail under 'Social Movements' below.

iii) Popular Education (Paulo Friere)

One of the most influential twentieth century thinkers of adult education is the late Paulo Friere. Friere believed that education could be used by oppressed people as a social and political tool to develop strategies for local development and transformative change. Popular education aims to create change through the process of 'conscientisation', the raising of critical consciousness of common concerns and the "process by which human beings participate critically in a transforming act" (Friere,1985, p.106). Popular education is a form of 'praxis', an ongoing process of theory and action in which people reflect critically on their interpretation of reality and act on that reflection to "transform the world." It assumes that people often acquiesce to their own oppression not because they are unable to participate, but because they may lack the consciousness, competence, or confidence to act otherwise.

Popular education can take the form of small-group consciousness-raising. Freire (1970) taught entire populations to read and write in the squatters settlements of Brazil in the 60s. He brought together small groups of people using the process of 'conscientization'—a "critical consciousness" pedagogy—where the aim is to alter consciousness from conforming with society to one of transforming society in order "to take collective action for liberating forms of change" (Mayo, 1997, p. 3). Like most social scientists and community workers, Friere believes it is necessary to start from a person's own understanding—'where they are at'. In this 'problem-posing' approach participants

describe the themes that dominate their daily lives, convey these as problems to be examined by the group, select several problems for dialogue, reflect on their root causes, examine structural constraints, and formulate plans to address the problems. Friere elaborates,

> Whereas banking education anaesthetizes and inhibits creative power, problem-posing education involves a constant unveiling of reality. The former attempts to maintain the submersion of consciousness, the latter strives for the emergence of consciousness and critical intervention in reality....In problem-posing education, people develop their power to perceive critically the way they exist in the world with which and in which they find themselves; they come to see the world not as a static reality, but as a reality in process, in transformation (Freire, 1970, pp. 62-64).

Marjorie Mayo (1997) supports the position of Friere, Dewey, and Murphy that an informed and critical citizenry is an essential condition to trigger and sustain social transformation. Like Gramsci, the Italian intellectual and revolutionary, Mayo feels that although people's views and actions are influenced by a given set of uncontested ideas, everyone can develop the critical awareness to contest these dominant ideas and to envisage alternatives. Mayo explains that according to Gramsci this was key "because without the capacity to envisage (socialist) alternatives, the movement would be limited to demanding only partial reforms within the status quo, without the capacity to work towards more fundamental transformation" (p. 23). Checkoway (1995) in quoting Myles Horton, co-author with Friere of the book, You Make the Road by Walking (1990) states, "the basic philosophy is that people know the solutions to their own problems and that the 'teacher's job is to get them talking about those problems, to raise and sharpen questions' and to trust people to come up with the answers. The idea is that the answers lie in the experience and imagination of people as communities rather than as individuals" (p. 1).

Similar to Alinsky's community organizing strategies, popular education helps citizens analyze the political aspects of strategies for change looking at such questions as: Who are the key local figures and organizations and what are the bases of their power? Creative techniques are used to surface responses to these questions such as human sculpturing, drawing, sociodrama, role-playing, and song writing. Unlike the other models

of community organizing above, the popular education approach gives equal importance to education of the root causes of power inequities and structural constraints, as it does exploring and implementing opportunities for social action.

Popular education can take on many forms such as community education campaigns where in Nicaragua, villagers were involved in sociodramas on preventive measures against alcohol abuse and land exploitation by rich landholders. In one instance, farm-workers mobilized against the land system, and started a co-operative corn bank to improve community health (Checkoway, 1995). Popular education can also take the form of participatory research by the people. Gaventa (cited in Checkoway, 1995) describes a case in which community groups living in the Appalachians formed a task force and conducted research on land ownership:

> They designed the research, collected the data and concluded that land ownership was highly concentrated among absentee owners and outside corporations. They made media presentations on the research results and exposed the power structure affecting the community, and formulated alternative strategies for action (p. 12).

Friere's approach has influenced literacy and popular education efforts on five continents, including countries like Nicaragua, Brazil, India, Tanzania, and Cuba. After Somozoa's dictatorship was defeated in Nicaragua in 1979, the Sandinistas launched a five-month National Literacy Campaign that drew upon Freire's theory to build alternative approaches to development to improve production and well-being. Over 60,000 high school and university students travelled to remote areas in helping reduce the illiteracy rate from 50% to 12%. Learning was based on a process of reflection and action. Lessons had direct and immediate applications to the reality of the participants. Health promotion and the importance of latrines, nutrition, a clean water supply, and vaccinations provided the material for learning the written word. These were used to stimulate critical discussion and follow-up action (Mayo, 1997). Similar mass-mobilization literacy efforts also took place in India. In reference to the 1985 Kerala experience in India that produced the highest literacy rates in the country, Sen (cited in Mayo, 1997, p. 62) stated, "Kerala's

success, therefore, was the outcome of protracted historical processes in which large sections of its population came to participate both in the definition of social needs, and in assuming accountability for meeting those needs".

Friere's influence can also be felt in popular education efforts based in Quebec. The group 'Organisation pour les droits sociaux- Mercier' has been organizing cultural circles since 1979. The facilitators of the groups have adapted Friere's literacy method for use in their conscientization sessions. The aim of these groups (made up of about twenty-four Welfare recipients) is,

> to help the members break down prejudices, become aware of their rights, and build solidarity.... Their experience confirms that, in a class society, the oppressed class develops individual and collective mechanisms of self-deprecation, feelings of helplessness, incompetence, and inferiority, as a result of social and economic exploitation. These feelings discourage them from fighting for their rights. Given this situation, Friere's approach is necessary and useful (Lamoureux et al., 1989, p. 80).

iv) Community Education Institutions (Marjorie Mayo)

Universities, through their continuing education programming, community colleges, and folk schools have also played an extremely important role in the delivery of educational programming for social change. Due to the fact that for the most part the current efforts of these institutions provide training to people already involved in social change circles and not the "unconverted" public that is the focus of this paper, they are not considered in any in-depth way here. However, due to the magnitude of their public education efforts in the past, they are worth mentioning briefly.

Institutional 'Community Education' has been described as "a significant attempt to redirect educational policy and practice in ways that bring education and community into a closer and more equal relationship" (Allen, Bastiani, Martin and Richards, cited in

Popple, 1995, pp. 62-63). Popple (1995) describes three forms of community education programs based on the ideology at their foundation: consensus, pluralism, and conflict. Compensatory education for selected disadvantaged inner-city areas and working-class adult education programs fall under the first two categories. Of interest to this study are examples of conflict or radical models that have been influenced by Frierean principles and focus on social rather than personal development.

Marjorie Mayo in her book Imagining Tomorrow: Adult Education for Transformation (1997) documents several international examples of significant community education endeavours that follow more or less this model. The Antagonish Movement at Saint Francis Xavier University in Nova Scotia founded in 1928 and the Highlander School in Tennessee, beginning in 1932 are two such North American examples. The Antigonish Movement was created in response to the strain on the fishing, mining and agricultural livelihoods of residents in a depressed region. By 1939, "nearly 20,000 people were enrolled in reflective study clubs and over 300 [co-operatives and] credit unions had been established" (Mayo, 1995, p. 49). The impetus for the formation of the Highland School was a strike by non-unionized miners, leading to an appeal of community support for the miners. Highlander students and teachers became radicalized by the strike and formed a permanent program geared toward social change issues. In the 1950's, the school became involved in the Civil Rights Movement and provided literacy skills to over 100,000 Blacks wishing to pass the then-required voter registration test (Mayo, 1995). A large component of the present work of these two institutions involves community development and social action training, providing skills and occasions to network to individuals who reproduce these skills back in their own communities, movements, and work environments. Such is also the case for more recent initiatives such as the Centre in Management and Community Development at Concordia University in Montreal and the Catalyst Centre, a national popular education organization in Toronto.

C) Public Participation in Social Planning and Policy Analysis (Blanco)

Social planning is a process used by local, regional, and national governments to prepare for social policy activities. Traditional social planning processes usually involve institutionalized groups of professionals with academic backgrounds and high level bureaucrats working from government-approved directives. These initiatives usually focus on social needs, standards of living, technology, and future developments with emphasis on economic costs, human values, and societal effects (Kubin, 1996). Whether as part of the design or as a result of lobby efforts, public consultation is often incorporated into the research phase of such processes.

Hilda Blanco, in How to Think About Social Problems: American Pragmatism and the Idea of Planning (1994) argues that the problem with a traditional planning approach to social change is that planners "respond to the concept of technical reason, where efficiency is the prime criterion, and where planners are in the service of the state" (p.137). Planning in its traditional form, "does not address the recalcitrant social problems that we face. The implication being that planners should accept a role where only changes at the margins, through small incremental steps, can help inform, educate, and organize communities" (p. 139).

Unlike the special interests guiding traditional, utilitarian approaches to social planning, Blanco favours a divergent communitarian and pragmatic approach as proposed by John Dewey. This approach advocates for the incorporation of inquiry as a public practice to guide social change where action is always guided by values. Pragmatism provides a theory in which meaning, thinking, and reason emerge out of human interaction and participation in social groups.

Blanco outlines how Dewey made a distinction between "planned" and "planning" societies. Planned societies, with which most of us are familiar, are societies where technicians working for powerful elite decide outcomes and plan policy with the supposed

goal of economic security in mind—whose economic security remains highly suspect in a planned society. In a planning society on the other hand, people are no longer pawns but active citizens formulating both how and what will be decided. This is a kind of planning where the economy would be seen as a constitutive part of the way of life of a community and not as an independent force in life. The temptation is the power to plan for others; the virtue, according to Dewey, is to empower others to plan for themselves.

Blanco argues that recalcitrant social problems like poverty, pollution, population growth, and military build-up cannot be resolved by new paradigms or social revolutions:

> New conceptualizations of problems, if left in the hands of professional expertise, will become tools for social manipulation. Social revolutions, if they ignore the requirements of inquiry and democratic process, will see their efforts turn into fascist nightmares. The lasting and meaningful changes needed to address the major problems we face in the world today call for the cultivation of a culture of democratic planning that values inclusive communities, social and environmental justice, and public, practical knowledge. This is precisely the heritage of pragmatic philosophy (Blanco, preface).

She later elaborates, "The problems of modern society require fundamental institutional change, and not just incremental ways in which individuals or Third Sector organizations can eventually make a difference under the existing system" (p. 143).

Blanco claims that radical planners in the 1970s were far more radical than those of present day: "Our [present-day planning] radicals tell us that change is either impossible or far off in the distance" (p. 143). On the contrary, Blanco boldly states that deep recalcitrant issues like poverty, population increase, pollution, and crime can be resolved by creating a culture of planning that incorporates strong democracy, inclusive communities, social and environmental justice, and public, practical knowledge. Utopian thought, and not social theory, she claims, constitutes the best theoretical perspective from which to operate in public policy and planning. According to Blanco, utopian schemes

recognize that social problems cannot be separated from the entire socio-political-economic system in which they are nested and require comprehensive reconstructive ways of living. Utopian thought, she feels, despite the critique it receives from both Marxist and Conservative ideology, "remains an inexpensive, noncoercive, mostly bloodless, and relatively effective way to motivate change in society" (p. 163).

Blanco feels that strong communities are our only hope to transforming society. As she states, "if community is lacking, there is little hope that appeals to justice will stir us to action" (p. 201). She feels that strong participatory planning processes offer the best means to forge consensus and build communities in heterogeneous societies.

So what might such a planning process look like? Blanco maintains that public planning and policy originated from the epistemology of empiricism that approached social problems by implementing a prescribed solution to any given problem. This is the approach that is still most widely practised even though it does not take into consideration the uniqueness and context of each situation. Instead Blanco claims that any given deep-seeded social problem must be viewed as a whole system or 'gestalt', approached from a pragmatic philosophical perspective. This would necessarily involve a community-wide reinterpretation of the issue using a pragmatic reasoning process to search for alternative, stable, systemic solutions as opposed to narrow solutions that treat the symptoms of recalcitrant problems. A pragmatic approach can "establish a public language by integrating and bringing to bear knowledge from the different disciplines into a shared, practical, understandable context, and by imbuing vague or abstract public purposes with concrete strategies for their achievement" (p. 165). Blanco also sees this form of planning as a process of solidarity that turns a complex situation into an understandable, achievable endeavour, and one that provides the reasoning and the basis for mobilizing resources and co-ordinating efforts.

In contrast to a technical rationality approach, whereby meaning is prescribed by unfailing, constant truths fixed by religion, science or nature, the pragmatic approach holds that knowledge and meaning are socially constructed. They are part of an ongoing

process of interpretation and involve societal choices that are "best made on the basis of the conceivable practical consequences of alternative interpretations" (Blanco, p. 164). In this way, the formulation of a plan ends up being more like hypothesis hunting rather than hypothesis testing.

Using her own terminology, 'abductive' rather than 'deductive' reasoning would be advocated in this approach to social change. Blanco sees deductive inference as being appropriate when the source of the problem is easily identified. Take the example of a street corner where there are a significantly high number of accidents. The prescribed solution is simple, install a stop sign or traffic light. However, most social problems are much more complex or "wicked". Wicked problems have "no definitive formulation, no stopping rule, no ultimate test, . . . can be construed as a symptom of a higher level problem, [and have] a plurality of . . . determinants underlying the problem" (p. 164). Wicked problems such as poverty and pollution are often the 'raison d'être' of the community sector and require more abductive reasoning which does not rule out different kinds of conclusions and helps provide plausible reasons for holding one conclusion over another.

For this to occur, Blanco, consistent with Dewey, argues that two fundamental institutional changes need to occur, a new public knowledge project needs to be implemented and homes for local democracy need to be created. The knowledge project would provide an understanding of the interdependence of systems and institutions in modern life and encourage its accessibility. Public planners alone cannot develop an educated public necessary to solve reticent social problems. Besides the educational work of community organizations and government, Blanco feels the collaboration of the schools and the mass media are required to enable people to understand complexity. Apart from knowledge and critical skills, Blanco feels that a comprehensive network of neighbourhood assemblies directly linked to local government is also necessary. Without these conditions society cannot be transformed.

Reacting to the social turbulence of the 1960s, a group of policy analysts and planners envisioned a more active, learning society that advocated an evolutionary and adaptive planning process as the means for constructive social change (Etzioni, 1968; Michael, 1973; Schön, 1971; and Friedman,1973). Like Dewey, they stressed that social intelligence through education was key to an active citizenry and that the planning process was to provide the collective guidance needed for society to prosper under turbulent times. Building the capacity for the citizenry to take part in planning processes was the focus. The major strategies proposed to build a more active society were to involve large segments, or all, of the public in task-oriented small teams and to turn planners into change agents.

Blanco cites one such social learning theorist, John Friedmann, who in Planning in the Public Domain (1987) rejects Alinsky's conflictual advocacy approach to social change. He feels advocacy theory does not engender self-reliant communities but merely equips disadvantaged communities to wage a pluralist struggle for public resources. Friedmann advocates for a counter-culture of planning in the form of direct public participation that he refers to as "social mobilization" as the core to transforming society that includes utopian, social anarchist, Marxist, and new social movement thought. He claims the state, capitalist or otherwise, and the planners working for the state, have never pursued the ultimate goal of human liberation (entailing self-government) and can no longer cope given the rapid pace of change and assaults on the theory of knowledge they rely upon and the magnitude of the problems they encounter.

He concludes that the best role for planners is to turn away from the state and serve oppositional movements. He envisions planning in the form of small action groups enabling groups to become self-reliant communities linked to each other through informal networks and coalitions. Friedman and other progressive planning theorists (John Forester, cited in Blanco, 1994) feel that planners as educators can work to cultivate community networks of liaisons and contacts; supply technical and political information to citizens; educate citizens and community organizations about planning processes; and help reflect back to groups the concerns, interests and ideas of participants.

An example of planning re-appropriated by the people of King's Cross in London is cited by Mayo (1997). A local action group formed in the face of the proposed development of a 40-hectare site that didn't address social needs of the community. After locating funding, the group brought together professionals, activists, and residents in a 5-day planning retreat and an alternative development plan was drafted. Although Mayo does not speak of the plan's impact she does underline the educational, training and empowerment value of this form of participatory action research.

If strong participation is to be the means to transforming society, reliance on existing organizational structures and processes is not enough. Blanco believes participatory social planning structures, along with homes for local democracy and strong links to local government decision-making need to be forged and nurtured by civil society organizations.

D) Movements

Many believe that it takes a social movement to make major change (Popple, 1995; Korten, 1990; Lakey et al. 1995). In his landmark book, Getting to the 21st Century: Voluntary Action and the Global Agenda, David Korten (1990) argues that "the hope for dealing with the global development crisis rests not with the development industry, but with the great social movements of contemporary society including the peace, environment, women's and human rights movements" (p. ix). Lakey et al. (1995), state that:

> Social agencies, expert commissions, courts, and professional advocates can sometimes achieve smaller changes or open the crack to let some individuals get new opportunities. When advocates intervene without a movement, however, they usually just succeed in shifting some cost of oppression from one group to another" (p. 14).

Transformative changes such as independence from a colonial power, women's right to vote, the eight-hour day, the abolition of slavery, and anti-discrimination rights for lesbians and gays are all examples of how movements can result in a lasting change in social values and policy. Likewise, it could also be said that the "movement" led by corporations has been hugely successful at instilling a lasting consumer culture in North American society.

Social movement organizations are often the protagonists behind widespread social change. They are social in nature in that their issues transcend locality, their focus concerns social justice and challenging hegemonic values, and their struggles are focused on society not individuals. NSM organizations garnering support from various sectors and groups of the population have led the fight in North America for civil rights, women's rights, and more recently environmental and Native issues. Popple (1995) underscores how in doing this work NSMs differ from party politics:

> [I]t is possible to detect a strong concern among their members to avoid being subsumed by political ideologies, and to define their own goals, limits and forms of action. Of prime importance appears to be a desire to organize around the mobilization of people within society, rather than the seizure of power (p. 51).

Two growing movements in Quebec include the women's movement exemplified by the World March of Women organized in October 2000 by the Fédération des femmes de Québec, and a naissant movement against globalization and neo-liberal policy spearheaded by SalAMI. Both of these organizations are excellent examples of movements that ground all of their work at home within the global context. Not only does this create a sense of solidarity—a critical ingredient to all sustained social transformation efforts—but it also helps people "think globally, and act locally". Education efforts that encourage an understanding of how the local issue has both national and international connections helps people to see the root causes of a social problem. Eduard Lindeman (cited in Darkenwald and Merriam, 1982) underlines the importance of education to a movement in maintaining democratic process:

> If [movements] learn how to educate the adherents of their movement, they can continue to utilize the compelling power of a group and still remain within the scope of democratic behavior. When [movements] substitute something other than intelligence and reason, socialization emanates as sheer power and soon degenerates into habits which tend toward an anti-democratic direction (p. 52).

Social movements are indispensable mechanisms for gaining lasting, social consensus in North America by helping to shift public attitudes through education. This is important to note because "social change cannot be sustained without consensus" (Blanco, 1994, p.196). In the absence of consensus, solutions

> often generate a backlash. Such reactions were evident in the attack against affirmative action programs in the U.S. in the 1990s. This wasn't the case however for the clean air movement where social consensus was reached around smoking in public spaces (Welton, 1993, p. 156).

It is widespread, social consensus that creates the environment and space necessary for relearning and redesign to occur within institutions such as governments, legal associations, universities, public schools and community centres and within local organizations as well.

Social consensus leading to change can only be reached when what is being proposed is in keeping with the social mores or what is presently valued in society. Social movements have historically proven effective at encouraging attitude and value shifts by daring to challenge deeply entrenched ideologies and educating the public around alternative ways of seeing the world. In this way, the appropriate climate is created regarding the need to change inappropriate systems or the way we act and interact.

Education campaigns of social movements are also effective at helping people to understand how they can act on their beliefs. Within the last decade social movements have managed to mobilize large numbers of citizens through coalition building to engage

in civil disobedience actions. Time after time these actions have successfully upstaged or paralyzed neo-liberal corporate and government summits such as the 1998 OPEC summit in Vancouver and the "Battle in Seattle" at the World Trade Organization Summit in December 1999 where 50,000 farmers, migrant workers, environmentalist and youth captured the lion's share of media attention challenging the WTO's real agenda and their legitimacy. As Lori Wallach of the US group Public Citizen put it "The supposedly unstoppable force of economic globalization met the truly unstoppable force of democracy. The world will never be the same again" (cited in The Council of Canadians, 2000, p. 4). If this happens often enough, everyday people can't help but question status quo. To counter the growing influence of movements, corporate deals tend to go underground, governments feign to consult with the public and step up the oppressive tactics of the country's military.

Typically social movements require large bodies of disenfranchized populations and strong networks, which may in part explain why grassroots movements have been so effective in the United States. It may be possible that conditions are becoming ripe for successful social movements in Canada (Welton, 1993). The case of The Council of Canadians, founded in 1985, offer support to this claim. Offering a clear voice against the increasing power of corporations in our society, the Council led a national campaign against the Multilateral Agreement on Investment and more recently the FTAA in Quebec City. Tapping into ever-increasing national concern over issues such as genetically modified foods and private take-overs of public health care and water, in just 15 years the Council is becoming a national people's movement having established 72 local chapters and a national paid membership of over 100,000 citizens.

i) Movement Action Planning (Bill Moyer)

The lifecycle of movements and its educational implications has been eloquently articulated by long-time organizer Bill Moyer who worked with Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. on the staff of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and who was a major strategist for the anti-nuclear movement. Moyer (1986) has created a Movement Action Plan (MAP) model that describes how successful movements achieve their goals in a series of eight developmental stages. Education and influencing public opinion are at the heart of the MAP model.

In Stage One, the "Business as Usual" phase, a relatively small number of people formed into a few groups do their best to spread the word through small action projects. Basically speaking, very few people are listening at this stage because the public is under the mistaken belief that established structures are taking care of the problem: "Surely the government would never permit the spraying of a substance that poses a threat to human health?!"

In Stage Two, the small groups challenge the established channels by conducting research, encouraging victims to file formal complaints, or use any appeal process that exists in the regulations. Stage Two, is essential for change, even if the activists often lose because large-scale participation will not occur unless the myth of established channels looking out for our welfare is held up for public scrutiny. At this point, Moyer claims that approximately 15% of the public is leaning toward change.

The pace picks up in Stage Three as many people who were not listening become interested. In Lakey et al.'s (1995) description of Moyer's model they state,

> The movement creates many groups who work on this issue, largely through education. The groups send speakers to religious groups and union halls; they do marches through their communities; they hold house meetings and news conferences. Much of the content of what they say is refuting powerholders'

> claims that "Radiation is not all that bad for you" [and] "Plenty is already being done about AIDS". (p. 19)

As was true for social marketing, educational efforts of movements need to be sure to frame issues in values that are commonly shared, "Part of winning the public [using the MAP Model] is connected to the demands of the movement with widely held values like freedom, fairness, or democracy" (Lakey et al., 1995, p. 20). This third stage can take a very long or a very short time but constant outreach, through education and forming new groups is essential for the movement to take off. The importance of capitalizing on existing formal and informal networks such as prayer groups, school committees, sports teams, and social circles to name a few, is critical to a successful process of education and mobilization (McCarthy, 1996).

Stage Four is most often triggered by some sort of spontaneous dramatic happening or a planned event that focuses the media spotlight and public concern on the problem. In 1989, the massacre of 12 young women at the Polytechnique in Montreal sparked nation outrage toward violence against women and firearm control. Similarly, in 1991 a sea canoe full of Cree and Inuit paddled from Quebec to New York City making a very strong public statement against the American purchase of electricity that would justify the construction of a second hydroelectric project on their Native territory. But these would not have been "trigger" events had the movements not already laid the groundwork for public concern in Stage 3. Often one or more coalitions form at this time and celebrities join the cause. The polls show approximately 50% of the public oppose the injustice or current policy. Powerholders shocked by the publicity will attempt to discredit the movement in this stage.

Stage Five is typified by a perception of failure. Believing that success is at hand as a result of the momentum and excitement of the previous stage, activists despair when faced with the reality that change has yet to occur in the months or years that follow. Numbers are down at demonstrations and the media become less interested or focus on splits in the movement. The powerholders may try to crush the movement through

repression such as the massive barricade that was erected around the site of the Free Trade Agreement of the Americas Summit in Quebec City in April 2001 and the new law in the months preceding it that made it illegal to either hand out pamphlets to the public or to wear scarves to protect one's face from pepper spray. When the powers-that-be feel the need to overlook civil liberties in this fashion, this can be seen as a sign of achievement and can sometimes be used to refuel the cause leading to the transformation of the movement in Stage 6 where the goal is to win majority opinion:

> Many new groups which include people who previously were not active, are formed. The new groups do grassroots education and action. The issue shows up in electoral campaigns, and some candidates get elected on this platform. Broader coalitions become possible, and mainstream institutions expand their own programs to include the issue (Lakey et al. 1995, p. 22).

The powerholders sometimes create crisis events to scare the public. An example of this occurred in the war in Iraq where a mock mass baby killing in a Kawaiti hospital was manufactured by a public relations firm engaged by the US to justify the continued bombing.

Stage 7 is part of a long process where the struggle shifts from opposing present policy to proposing a new framework or paradigm such as the value shift from conformity to diversity that came out of the Black Civil Rights Movement. Creating a dialogue around various alternatives is an educational process in itself where different parties will attempt to educate decision-makers to adopt their alternative strategy. Stalwarts will make last minute attempts to block change by proposing new studies or cashing in on procedural loopholes but they begrudgingly end up changing their policies or lose office. It is not unusual for another trigger event to occur such as the school shootings in the US and Canada in 1999 and 2000 which preceded new Canadian gun control laws that were implemented in January 2001 and championed by Heidi Rathjen, survivor of the initial Montreal massacre trigger event, 12 years earlier.

Subsequent to celebrating and consolidating the gains that were made in the previous stage, the movement must assure institutional follow-through in Stage Eight. A ripple effect of their efforts can also be noticed in the creation of similar movements in other municipalities or countries or the birth of new related movements such the New Left movements that were spawned out of the Student and Anti-Vietnam movements. One example is the Feminist or Women's Movement that since the beginning of the Eighties in Quebec,

> has undergone a spectacular expansion, making it one of the most dynamic in the world....initiating important struggles on many fronts—job equity, pornography, sexism, health care that respects women, free and accessible abortion services, recognition of the economic value of housework, and the struggle against rape and violence against women. (Lamoureux et al., 1989, p. 14)

In the mid-1980s, the Quebec Women's Movement, consisted of 15 federations that represented a total of nearly 1,500 groups (Lamoureux et al., 1989). Their strength and experience led to them being the driving force behind the October 2000, World March of Women that included 5200 organizations from 161 countries and territories (World March of Women, 2001).

ii) Agenda Hierarchy Theory (Cobb, Ross, and Ross)

The evolution of movements, as proposed by Moyer above, implicitly supports the agenda hierarchy theory as proposed by Cobb, Ross, and Ross (1976), whereby public and media agendas serve to influence the more formal electoral and government agendas. McCarthy, Smith, and Zald (1996) also agree with Moyer that movements' ultimate targets are usually policymakers. Given their lack of political and material resources, they must mobilize "third parties", people and resources within the wider society, in order to influence the policy process. In this way, the general public, the mass media, and opposition parties can all place pressure on the authoritative elite and legislative officials

of the government arena. Third parties are not only target audiences at which education initiatives, lobby efforts, and other tactics must be directed but they also become tools that are used to influence ultimate policymakers. Indeed, as Murphy earlier contended, Moyer (1990) points out that we rarely try to directly change a powerful adversary. It is the wider public that we must "convince" that will in turn force the adversary to alter its behaviour.

Each of these four arenas has an agenda that "operates under its own unique logic and processes, and those attempting to shape the agendas must customize their strategies appropriately" (McCarthy et al., 1996, p. 292). McCarthy et al. preceed this by stating "An essential task in these struggles is to frame social problems and injustices in a way that [uniquely] convinces [these four diverse arenas] of the necessity for and utility of collective attempts to redress them" (p. 291). Fortunate for public educators, the public agenda is the arena that is the most decentralized and therefore the most accessible of the four. Unlike the media, educators can have access to blocs of people through civil society organizations such as churches, schools, and community organizations. And access to low cost technology and other communication methods means that even cash-strapped non-profits can widely and efficiently disseminate their messages.

Altering public opinion doesn't necessarily lead however to an altered government agenda. The government agenda when viewed over the long term can be viewed as quite stable (Baumgartner and Jones, cited in McCarthy et al. 1996)—it is altered on occasion by major shifts in issue attention, but incrementalism is the rule. Legalizing the use of marijuana in Canada or scientific experimentation using animals may be cases in point. McCarthy et al. point out that the linkages between agendas are not as strong as commonly believed, but still maintain that one agenda does affect the other.

iii) The Media Agenda

In North America, the mass media are the primary conduits of information and images. Although people may experience injustices or inequities first hand, the general public learn of them through the media. Studies have demonstrated that awareness of an issue and its perceived importance can be determined by the degree to which media attention is focused upon it (McCombs and Shaw, 1972; Page and Shapiro, 1989). This also holds true for community leaders and political and reference elite. Although top ranking bureaucrats and politicians may directly witness local conditions, how they interpret them and their sense of public concern is shaped by how the media portray them. Well known social movement theorist Sydney Tarrow (1994) claims that "the media do as much or more to control the construction of meaning than states or social actors" (p. 119). For these reason, many organizations and movements consider the mass media when devising educational strategies.

Getting your issue on the media agenda "may be a common if not essential stepping stone to those more specifically policy-oriented agendas" (McCarthy et al., 1996, p. 296). GreenPeace, founded in Vancouver in 1971 by media-savvy journalism students became known for its ingenious three-prong strategy of direct-action spectacles, mass media campaigning, and diplomatic lobbying. One of its founders, Paul Watson, claims,

> The reason why GreenPeace rose from a grassroots organization to one of the largest environmental groups in the world is simple: it was the first organization to understand the nature of the media. It took a Marshall McLuhanesque approach to environmental campaigns. Very few organizations, even now, have learned to do that" (cited in Dale, 1996, pp.113-114).

Media acrobatics aside, the buying of access can also prove to be a reliable method of securing media access. Alternatives, an environmental and international development non-profit based in Montreal, regularly purchases a page in popular alternative weeklies to

assure their information gets into the hands of hundreds of thousands of primarily young adult readers.

In a book entitled Movements and Messages describing media and radical politics in Quebec, Marc Raboy (1984) also supports the idea that the media can be a useful vehicle in shaping public attitude:

> Social communication is in fact an ideological activity, relying on a system of ideas and values in which, at a given historical moment, a certain number of people recognize themselves and their aspirations. As ideology, communication serves to motivate political and social action, in this manner it can act as a moving force or catalyst (p. 120).

However, he goes on to remind us that,

> An important part of the social role of the media is to keep afloat the myth of its own neutrality....[M]ost of the major communication enterprises are owned by large corporations...By propagating, protecting and reproducing a ruling-class view of the world, mainstream media do their part in suppressing or marginalizing protest movements (ibid.).

Research by Page and Shapiro (1989) demonstrates that media coverage is biased, reinforcing the legitimacy of the status quo and nationalistic, ethnocentric, and procapitalist values.

Kingdon (1984) feels that the common use of dramatic events by activists may influence the media's agenda and may focus intense short-term attention to certain issues but does not in itself carry an issue to the governmental policy agenda, they merely "accompany" it. Similarly other authors are not quick to fall into media determinism in which this single agenda defines all others,

> While the mass media are an important influence on the public agenda, they are not the only one, and thus the two must be viewed as distinct.... [U]nderlying issues that affect large numbers of people, like inflation and unemployment, but are not so easy to dramatize, display the highest peak public concerns but show the weakest correlations between media coverage and concern. (McCarthy et al., 1996, pp. 295-96)

Furthermore, given that many factors including news routines, news worthiness, media issue attention cycles and corporate hegemony commonly distort messages that make it through the very restricted media news hole, grassroot organizations must include strategies other than media coverage for shaping public opinion and behaviours in their public education repetoire (Gitlin, 1981; Ryan, 1991). Due to this highly selective and biased process within the media Darkenwald and Merriam (1982) concur: "Unfortunately, the educative potential of the media appears to be inversely related to the difficulty of the problem at hand" (p. 244).

Another mechanism linked to media that is showing increasing promise in North America yet that will not be explored in detail here is the use of the arts and the entertainment media to tell stories of injustice and/or empower viewers. Video, community radio, community theatre, and plays that tour nationally such as The Vagina Monologues challenging sexual taboos and stereotypes, are fairly inexpensive, creative mechanisms to educate. More costly and complex processes such as the creation of musical groups or films like Manufacturing Consent, based on the book by Herman and Chomsky (1988) exposing the media's role in the dissemination of ideology, or TV shows and documentaries, like David Suzuki's The Nature of Things, are more costly ways of employing the arts and media to help educate and catalyze change efforts.

E) Trade Unions and Religious Institutions

Although space does not permit a detailed account of their contributions to non-formal public education and a thinking citizenry, the labour movement and religious institutions cannot be overlooked for their contributions to social change. Historically

trade unions have been behind most massive public education efforts from the Congress of South African Trade Unions that organized critical discussion within its membership on how a post-Apartheid economy could "be restructured to address the yawning inequalities" of race class and gender (Mayo, 1997, p. 81), to the efforts of the Confédération des syndicats nationaux (CSN) against repressive Quebec welfare reforms in the late 1980s (Lamoureux et al., 1989). Lately however, public education efforts of unions has waned as bemoaned by Lamoureux et al. (1989), "The union movement should be considered a group's best ally in community action, even though—particularly since the beginning of the Eighties [in Quebec]—large segments of it have lapsed into corporatism, looking out only for their own interests" (pp. 40-41). As an encouraging sign however, labour did make up a sizeable proportion of the protestors at the Quebec City anti-globalization rally in April, 2001.

Unlike unions, it is somewhat more difficult to speak in general terms about the role of religious institutions in educating and creating a critical citizenry. The church often comes under fire by many critical change agents due to its focus on faith and charity and certain historically horrific incidents. Having said this, the Catholic Church gave birth to many of the more critical anti-poverty organizations in Quebec and still funds the work of large organizations like Centre St-Pierre, an organization that among other things supports and organizes large public fora on various injustices to educate and mobilize the public. Similarly, the Unitarian Church, the Metropolitain Community Church, and the Quakers, among others have historically been on the front lines fighting for the rights of refugees and gays, and against corporate globalization.

Lamoureux et al., 1989, reinforce the importance for all serious large-scale public education strategies to examine the role that unions and religious communities can play in their efforts: "With the widespread erosion of job security and social rights, the stakes are too high for progressive elements not to make the effort to identify their common interests and build on them to create solidarity" (p. 42).

F) Other Mechanisms

There are many other mechanisms that are used by governments, corporations, individuals and civil society agencies to affect social change that may be effective but do not necessarily hold a central role for public education or the promotion of critical thinking skills. These sorts of mechanisms attempt more to influence media practice, electoral platforms, and government policy. For example, party politics is one way of ensuring that a platform for a group's issues is created to influence the public, media and/or electoral agendas. Election of minority candidates such as an openly gay mayor in both Winnipeg and Paris in 1998 and 2000 respectively, and the recent passage of Bill 32 aimed at same sex social benefits that was led by an openly gay member of Parliament can influence public attitudes and government policy. Even when a candidate is unlikely to win, their mere candidacy can raise issues for public debate such as the increased profile given to the legalization of marijuana by candidates of the Bloc Pot in Federal elections across the country. The creation of new parties is another way some believe change can occur. On an international level, the existence of the Green Party in Europe, and more recently here in Canada and the U.S., helps support a shift in value that was originally triggered by civil society organizations such as GreenPeace.

Just as education efforts can help shift social attitudes, so too can changes to social policy and legislation. Lobbying to enact changes to laws or policy requires that interest groups position themselves to represent their issues to their elected representatives or the governing party. In the last 20 years we have witnessed a remarkable increase in the growth of the corporate lobby industry attempting to convert politicians and senior civil servants to act in the best interest of the lobbying agency. This throws into question the mandate to represent the public interest that is entrusted to them by the electorate. For example, in 1998, the US automobile industry invested 80 million to successfully lobby in favour for less strict emission standards on all the small trucks they produce (Briarpatch, 2001). Although the civil sector may never have 80 million to invest, it has always been a good lobbyist, and like the business sector, is well aware of its importance. Think tanks like the Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives support such lobbying initiatives to

influence social policy by conducting research to document their positions. Public education campaigns are often used as a first level strategy in lobby campaigns in order to document public support and create connections with various groups and individuals of influence.

Other mechanisms to promote change—not necessarily social change as defined in this study—include the use of fines, litigation, technology, private enterprise, schooling, and revolution and armed struggle among others but these will not be elaborated upon here.

Chapter 3- Implications for Educators

After examining various authors' visions of a future possible world in Chapter 1 and the social change theories explored in Chapter 2, we are now in a better position to make explicit the salient roles that education can play in the social change process (Objective 2 of this study). Attempts will be made here to integrate the many elements mentioned in both chapters that were deemed important to the design and implementation of successful education messages, programs, and campaigns.

Additionally, the limitations and challenges of educational efforts, the ethical considerations, the opportunities facing contemporary educators, and the questions arising from this work will also be explored. Throughout, attempts will be made to emphasize the implications of this work for educators in civil society agencies.

A) The Roles Education Can Play in the Social Change Process

Education is critical to trigger and sustain change (Dewey, 1916; Friere, 1970; Mayo, 1997; Murphy, 1999). It is not the only strategy however. Most authors of adult education, popular education, information campaigns and social change agree, public education is one of many factors that work in combination to cause social and structural transformation (Andreasen, 1995; Duke, 1988; Miles, 1990; Friere, 1970; Gramsci, 1971; Mayo, 1995). To borrow from Bill Lee (1992) in his reference to community organizing, non-formal public education is a "part of the patchwork quilt of action and reflection that can gradually change society" (p. 35). Public education efforts are "mounted to achieve specified [and diverse] goals: to build public knowledge, to modify behaviours, to elect a candidate, to prevent disease, to improve agricultural practices, or to create a social climate supportive of desired values" (Chaffee, Roser and Flora, 1989, pp. 285-86). Many of the roles that public education can play are listed below. Eleven have been identified. It should be kept in mind that although they appear here as distinct entities, they are in fact highly interconnected.

1. Information Dissemination

Public education plays an integral role in helping to render important information accessible to the public including current affairs and community news, basic health or legal information, resources, our history, injustices, and our successes. Research reports, newpaper articles, surveys, and polls can also help inform us of trends and statistics to better understand our reality such as corporate downsizing, youth culture, or the spread of disease. Access to information can help demystify the world around us (e.g. globalization) and can help us to adapt to changing situations (neighbourhood re-zoning or new practices in health care). Information gained in a social planning approach can help provide citizens with technical knowledge and shed light on complex processes regarding for example the workings of City Hall. A more equitable distribution of knowledge "help[s] citizens acquire the information and understanding they need to make informed judgements" (Darkenwald and Merriam, 1982, p. 244) hence the maxim "information is power".

In his discussion of society-wide change, Thomas (cited in Ravensbergen, 1993) examines the role of learning beyond formal education institutions. As explained by Ravensbergen (1993), Thomas identifies the "lack of sufficient information as preventing people from becoming motivated to work on society-wide change" (p. 26). He also expresses that many campaigns for change fail because the design did not focus enough importance on information transfer as a strategy for accomplishing desired goals. Vehicles for getting information into the hands of a public are as diverse as we are: fundraising events, direct mail campaigns, door-to-door campaigns, leafleting, guerrilla theatre, The Raging Grannies, spoken word, photography, and good old graffiti.

2. Critical Thinking Skills and Analysis

Access to information is not sufficient in itself to assure that people are able to understand the information and its consequences. For Dewey's 'democratization of knowledge' to occur ordinary citizens also require the skills to analyze the meaning and implications of information in order to have the competence to govern modern democratic

societies. Critical thinking skills (or in Dewey's words 'scientific inquiry') and an understanding of the political, social, economic, and technological world are essential skills to see to the socialization of knowledge. In fact, in the interpretation of Eamonn Callan's work, Reidy (2001) states, "If autonomy [and the skill of critical thinking] is not developed to some minimally adequate level it will prove impossible to secure both the common good of a liberal democratic public political culture within which liberal democratic virtues are realised and the right of each individual to live a life that is at least in some basic sense her own life" (p. 433). Loosely put, the realization of a humanist future will not be possible without a citizenry that practices the habits of deliberation.

People's views and actions are usually influenced by a given set of uncontested ideas. In North America we are not encouraged to formulate personal opinions based on a composite of viewpoints. Rather we are taught two things. One, complex issues are beyond the grasp of the average person so all thought formation must be left to the official experts in ivory towers, corporate boardrooms, and institutional bureaucracies. And two, to complacently accept as truth that which is spoon-fed to us by the mainstream mass media which is more often than not a regurgitation of the official expert perspective (Blanco, 1994). But ordinary people are capable of developing the critical awareness to contest these dominant ideas and to envisage alternatives (Dewey, 1984; Mayo, 1997). In fact, research by Page and Shapiro (1989) supports this: "far from being influenced by information supplied by elite, many of the changes in public opinion are better understood as responses to historical economic and social trends, such as rising levels of income and education" (p. 294-95).

Dewey recognized the difficulty in attempting to shape social institutions and policy using inquiry and therefore stressed the importance of education not on facts but rather on learning how to think. Murphy (1999) concurs: "the process of education is infinitely more important than the specific content" (p. 85). What is important in the efforts of civil society's educators is not to insist on the learning of a specific set of "enlightened" facts for this would be repeating the indoctrination practices of those who currently manufacture knowledge. Rather, the legitimacy of current ideology and

leadership will be undermined as people are encouraged to make up their own mind through a Frierean problem posing approach.

Friere's approach rejects traditional educators' views of their students as passive recipients of the received wisdom, empty vessels to be filled with knowledge by experts, even if it is 'politically correct' knowledge (Mayo, 1997). Alternately, the approach requires that the methods and messages we choose to employ juxtaposition a given injustice with questions that encourage people to hone in on the root causes of the problem in question and encourage them to imagine alternative possibilities. Below is an example of this type of problem-posing approach encouraging critical thinking skill development as illustrated by David Werner (cited in Checkoway, 1995) that describes the causes of illness in a conversation between a health worker and a group of villagers in the western mountains of Mexico:

"The child has a septic foot."
"But why?"
"Because she was barefoot,"
"But why?"
"Because she was not wearing shoes."
"But why not?
"Because they broke and her father was too poor to buy new ones."
"But why is her father so poor?"
"Because her father is a farmworker."
"But why does that make him poor?"
"Because he is paid very little as a farmworker and must give half his harvest to the landowner."
"But why?" etc.

The degree to which this type of questioning is possible or encouraged is, in part, inherent in the social change mechanism of choice. For example, this type of questioning is harder to achieve on a single placard or a 15 second news report than in a three hour workshop or teach-in but people can always be encouraged to practice critical thinking skills in varying

degrees. It could also be argued that mechanisms like social marketing and influencing the mainstream media agenda do not prioritize enlightened analysis and reflection, but opt more for the path of least resistence. Regardless, in the design of educational strategies conscientious educators need to ask themselves how their messages and programs promote habits of deliberation.

3. Creation of Transformative Knowledge

An important assumption of social change agents is that knowledge is socially constructed. In reference to current thinking as we enter into the Information Age or 'Third Wave' Toffler and Toffler (1995) state: 'Not all this new knowledge is "correct," factual, or explicit. Much knowledge... is unspoken consisting of assumptions piled atop assumptions of fragmentary models, of unnoticed analogies' (p. 36). The irony is that faced with the overwhelming complexity of information and a lack of understanding of political, economic and social systems, the public sits back and lulls itself into a false sense of security that those they have entrusted with political power know what they are doing. Or that the free market, technology, and globalization are inevitable and therefore not worth doing anything about (Saul, 1995).

Transformative knowledge is one that bears witness to the madness and the (often false) assumptions above and explores the ramifications of undemocratic decisions made at both international levels and local levels on our day to day lives, thereby linking the political to the personal. A transformative knowledge helps us understand not only our own collective experience but also the context in which our struggles occur. It is one that critiques all policies and institutions, dispels myths and stereotypes, surfaces root causes, and explores power dynamics. Transformative knowledge is also knowledge that explores our interconnection with the natural world and with each other. Mayo (1997) explains to us why this sort of critical analysis is particularly relevant in a globalized political economy,

> Analyzing these questions has been essential, as the prerequisite for building realistic and effective strategies for change, identifying the real nature and extent

of the powerful interests which have to be challenged, and unravelling the sources of conflict and competition within communities" (p. 9).

Transformative knowledge creates collective vision allowing people to dream from a Utopian perspective. Using all of the human elements of deliberation not just reason, it employs ideas generated by those involved in the process to explore alternate interpretations of current phenomena and alternate feasibilities as opposed to those prescribed to us by technocrats and board room executives. This is in keeping with the spirit of Schumacher's comment that "the guidance we need . . . can still be found in the traditional wisdom" (cited in McNight, 1995, p. 13). Finally, transformative knowledge is about the development of new collective visions and structures, policies, and strategies that are in keeping with the true needs of citizens and driven by social change values such as those espoused by the authors in Chapter 1.

When this information has been integrated into the personal experience of the participant it has been learned and then is considered transformative knowledge—transformative not only for the individual but also potentially transformative as the individual(s) and their altered paradigm act on the surrounding world. Friere referred to this process as 'conscientization' and it was this to which Dewey was referring when he spoke of an 'informed public'.

Apart from Friere's problem-posing approach described above, several other methods have been used to examine the present and historical context of social, political, environmental and economic injustices including Community Analysis (Lee, 1992), Community Economic Profiling (Mayo, 1997), and Conjunctural Analysis (Arnold and Burke, no date; Arnold, Burke, James, Martin and Thomas, 1991; Barndt and Friere, 1989; GATT-Fly, 1983) the later of which involves the use of creative, fun techniques including mural work, song, human sculpturing, role playing, and popular theatre. As can be recalled from andragogical theory, incorporating fun is important to the learning process.

Conducting social analysis is an excellent way to uncover enlightening interpretations of the world. It also helps educators and participants identify the true source of a problem and frame their strategies and educational messages accordingly. A classic example is the no-good, lazy welfare "bum". Neo-liberal government and corporate interests have masterminded a social conspiracy against social welfare recipients and attributed them with draining the public coffers root and causing other social problems. This way of seeing the world has been swallowed hook, line and sinker by the general public. Even the discourse of those on welfare is riddled with blame for those who cheat while illicit practices of big business in addition to massive layoffs despite record profits all go unquestioned. Collective analysis of social problems enables change agents and the participants alike to identify similar myths and helps to assure the creation of a collective transformative knowledge. By developing more holistic approaches of analysis we begin to see the relationships between mental health and unemployment, and poor health and poor housing, for example and begin to piece together the portrait of our realities that are often compartmentalized by social researcher, policy makers and social service providers (Mayo, 1997).

Quantitative and qualitative research can also help better analyze the roots of a problem and identify the problem and the target audience appropriately. For example, The National Centre on Addiction and Substance Abuse (Califano and Booth, 1998) in New York found a correlation between substance abuse in young girls and negigent or "bad" dads. The study did not appear to show a significant difference between good and bad moms, nor between single and two-parent families with respect to female youth substance abuse. Looking for the roots of a problem like this could possibly mean the difference between designing an education campaign aimed exclusively at youth dealing with substance use and its dangers versus one that is aimed at fathers and their relationships with their children.

The extent to which an educational message, methodology, or strategy encourages these elements is the measure by which it can be said to generate critical thinking skills and truly transformative public knowledge.

4. Develops a Thirst for Knowledge and Instils a Sense of Empowerment

"The greatest threat to democracy, [is] an uninformed and apathetic citizenry unable or unwilling to exercise wisely and fully its civic responsibility" (Darkenwald and Merriam, 1982, p. 243). This sentiment was echoed by all humanist authors. The phenomenon of apathy appears to be the most critical barrier to the procurement of freedom as a people. Earlier Saul pronounced that "criticism will remain an impossible ideal unless we are able to consciously identify how far we have slipped—as citizens—into verbal conformism" that is, unless our society develops a thirst for public knowledge (p.173). But why is it that we "choose" to remain ignorant?

Murphy (1999) claims that our ignorance stems from our worldviews. A worldview is a perception of the relationship between the self and the world, how things are, and how things could and should be. It is no surprise that we gravitate toward worldviews composed of certainties offered by ideology, religion and social norms given that in our very fragmented lives, we face a confusion of daily choices. Confusion along with the 'psychology of inertia' caused by dominant structures and discourse that promotes obedience often leads us to espouse the values of competition, meritocracy, and consumption and abide by a dominant ideological path that is clear and free from interpretation and doubt.

Acquiescing to pre-determined assumptions and constructs or as Eric Fromm (1965) called it 'Escaping from freedom', can be very seductive. If you buy a fancy car you will be praised and admired. If you decide for health and environmental reasons to not own a car and ride a bike to work, people may question your judgement. Murphy explains the psychological response:

> [I]mbued in all of us is a socialized self-censorship facility which prevents us from exercising our capacity to see what could be, but is not yet, and prevents us from articulating, and often even from acknowledging, our depression and rage in the face of societal irrationality (Murphy, 1999, p. 20).

Fromm (1965) suggests that humans demonstrate a "tendency to submit to totalitarian structures rather than to exercise the responsibility of choice and the practice of freedom in the face of awesome dilemmas" (cited in Murphy, 1999, p. 28). We fear being seen as abnormal for "[b]ehaviour that goes against societal irrationality is labelled 'anti-social', . . . 'radical', . . . 'unbalanced', [or] indeed 'insane'" (Murphy, 1999, p. 20).

An authentic person who asserts a vision that counters social norms most often ends up shut out from the support of the group, which in itself may be a more painful option. Anyone who finds himself or herself uncomfortable listening to denigrating, racist jokes understands this dilemma. Do you intervene and inform the joke teller, often in front of others, that you find the joke offensive and which risks insulting the jokester, or do you just pretend to laugh? Choosing freedom is filled with ambiguity. "The free person must learn to accept and deal with this ambiguity" (Murphy, 1999, p. 25).

The primary drive of the human being is not to preserve the physical self necessarily but rather preserve the personal self as reflected in the self-concept and worldview. The primary human drive is to live one's own vision. If the vision is threatened the self-concept is threatened (Murphy, 1999). Therefore having your world view transgressed or questioned can be a threatening concept and this must be kept in mind by educators.

Even if we accept Saul's contentious inference that the desire for cure-all ideologies may be a "congenital weakness" (p. 31), human beings have learned to modify other human conditions (e.g. sexual desire) in constructive ways. What would prevent us from learning a whole new set of skills and way of seeing the world? Similarly, Murphy assures us that a worldview is cumulative and ever-developing. An individual's worldview and self-concept originates from consciousness, experience, perception, and knowledge and from these come motivation and the movement to action. Given, as we have seen, that public education efforts can impact on all four of these elements, education can and does play a role in developing desire for knowledge and instilling a sense of empowerment. They are considered together here because they are so inextricable linked.

Educators need to think about empowerment and creating a zeal for knowledge in the design of messages and methods. Pulling from the previous chapters, strategies need to not only validate people's experience, but also provide them with new ones that inform and enable, that is, experiences that give people the sense of their right to influence their environment as Bandura Social Learning Theory explains. Education strategies need to help build positive self-image, dispel internalized oppression. Education strategies need necessarily render the process interesting and/or fun. Care must be taken to educate and to direct people's action without reverting to tactics that do not empower like guilt and fear mongering.

6. Self-Realization

Closely linked to the desire to know and personal empowerment is the process of self-realization, the development of individual consciousness and human capacities. Maslow contended that a person is unable to focus on their need for self-realization until their other basic human needs such as food and love are satiated. Education can act as a catalyst to encourage those who are able to begin focusing on their full development as human beings. Dewey informs us that self-realization, not only benefits the self but also permits society to benefit from the full potential and assets of the person. It is often the process of self-realization that leads to a person feeling empowered to affect change.

7. Skill development

Skill development is often a part of self-realization. We saw that in the case of critical thinking skills above. There are other skills that non-formal public education efforts can develop apart from critical thinking. Besides being able to understand the world around us, Dewey's "democratization of knowledge" also required access to the

skills to understand the language of communication and its terminology—people need to know how to read and write and extract meaning. From community organizing efforts people can learn concrete skills like how to use a computer, run a meeting, or plan an action. Apart from citizenship skills, participation in educational programming can also build interpersonal skills and social capital described earlier.

7. Influences Beliefs & Values and Motivates Behavioural Change

Education efforts need necessarily start from where the audience "is at". This involves not only understanding a public's world view, but also the reality in which they live, their values, their beliefs, and their needs and desires. The behaviour theory we explored demonstrated how behaviour stems from beliefs about the positive and negative effects of a behaviour (both personal and social), beliefs about what others expect, and about the individual's and society's ability to carry out the action. All of these beliefs are tied very closely to an individual's deeper needs and wants and these in turn are tied to even deeper values. Other motivations for behaviour were shown to be habits, and structural and social barriers. It was argued that information and conscious thought could generate new knowledge that either supports or throws into question all of these sources of motivation. In this way public education efforts can play a strong role in influencing attitudes and behaviours provided public educators research their targeted public and design educational efforts accordingly. Similarly, educators should always assure that their design mirrors the social change values that have been established by their group.

The education work of civil society organizations may or may not lead to concrete behavioural change but what they can do is shift in attitudes making the environment more conducive to the desired change. As Saul and Murphy maintained, the strategy of the citizenry should be to change not the policies in place but the dynamics or the mentality that serves to maintain them. In the 1960s, the term "wife abuse" was not part of public discourse. Daring to speak in the public arena, victims encouraged others to speak about their experience opening the flood gate to social reforms that eventually led to the

criminality of domestic violence. Forty years later, children's rights are also being examined with the same lense throwing into question a parent's "right" to punish a child through the use of corporal punishment.

8. Increases Civic Involvement

Saul defended the argument that in a corporate society democracy is formally discouraged in that citizen participation in public affairs (apart from voting) has been eliminated. In this way, the legitimacy of the individual has been replaced by the legitimacy of the interest group. Reidy (2001) paraphrasing Eamonn Callan regarding civic education states "justice cannot be fully secured and maintained in a liberal democracy without a shared, robust public political culture and a citizenry that exemplifies liberal democratic virtues" (p. 431). Education and communication however, can "serve to motivate political and social action... [and] it can act as a moving force or catalyst" (Raboy, 1984, p. 120). In a social action approach, education is also used to create "buy in" and help prepare people to use confrontation as leverage for change.

Mobilizing around a cause not only increases the profile of the issue in the public and media arenas, but it also empowers participants and impacts on the way the problem is seen in the eyes of policy makers. The challenge for educators is creating strategies that encourage people to move toward the "acceptance of personal responsibility for solving the community's [or social] problems" (Lamoureux et al. 1989, p.9).

9. Builds a Sense of Community

Besides educating and encouraging civic involvement, the educational impact of community organizing efforts can help break down social isolation, build links and networks, and build a sense of community. Educating members (or potential members) of a community as to who is doing what and why within a community is critical to helping people recognize themselves, their aspirations, and their collective identity. It is this sense

of community that can lead to the cohesion, solidarity, and collective responsibility of people within a community whether the community be geographic or issue based. When people see how the effects of injustice transgress their own values and eventual security, a sense of community can transcend whatever serves to separate individuals. This was strongly manifest across an entire nation after the terrorist acts of September 11, 2001 in New York City.

A sense of community can also influence individual behaviour in that "social and cultural influences are crucial factors in learning and adopting behaviour patterns and importantly, that these influences are experienced by individuals through social aggregates and networks that make up communities" (Finnegan, Bracht and Viswanath, 1989, p. 54). The implication for educators is that strategies should consider attempts to develop a sense of collective identity and responsibility. One way to do so is by capitalizing on existing formal and informal networks.

10. Influences the Media, Electoral, and Government Agendas

We learned from the Agenda Hierarchy Theory of Cobb, Ross, and Ross (1976) that an altered public agenda can serve to influence the media, electoral, and government agendas (and vice versa). Given their lack of resources, civil society agencies must attempt to mobilize people and resources in the other arenas in order to bring favourable pressure to bear on the policy process. Indeed, as most authors here agree, social change agents rarely try to directly change a powerful adversary. It is the wider public that we must "convince". They in turn will force the adversary to alter its behaviour.

To gain the attention of media, educators may choose to become media savvy, for example, learning what days and time are best to hold news conferences, creating their own visual media "zingers", etc. It is important for educators to note that due to the subjective selection of news stories, media gatekeepers often keep a tight reign on what becomes news and how it is framed. With this in mind it is also important not to put all your eggs into the media basket.

11. Maintains the Change

Not only is an informed and critical citizenry essential to trigger social change, but it is also critical to sustain it. As Blanco (1994) stated earlier, "social change cannot be sustained without consensus" (p. 196). The educational role that organizations play in informing citizens and involving them within their actions helps assure that once a social or political shift has occurred, it remain in place. The recent attempts to undermine universal health care in Canada may serve to illustrate this point. Citizens, unaware of what health care was like prior to its implementation in the 1960s, have accepted the way the corporate and government lobby have framed the problem—they often contend that quality public health care is a pipedream. As a result of the lack of education around this issue, what is being overlooked is that prior to the onslaught of deep funding cuts in the mid-1980s, Canada's health care system was often looked up to as a model for other countries.

B) Limits and Challenges to Change through Education

Despite the array of roles that education can play in the social change process, it would be negligent to assume that it is a panacea for all that ails society. If this were the case, why are there still heinous acts being committed on women and people of colour after over a century of struggle and educational efforts? Williams (cited in Popple, 1995) explains that the educational strategies of civil society rely on the assumptions of idealism to motivate its work. Idealism he claims is derived from the Fabian socialist tradition which "believes that it is possible to achieve change through rational discourse, the fostering of collective values and moral persuasion... [The fault with this theory is that it] fails to recognize the bearing that society itself has on the creation and sustenance of ideas" (p. 41).

Most contemporary educational theorists, however, acknowledge the limitations between consciousness on the one hand and structural factors and material constraints on the other. Friere (1970) underlines how education alone is not sufficient for social change: "the concrete situation which begets oppression must [also] be transformed" (p. 32) When referring to the national transformational projects in places like Nicaragua and Tanzania, Mayo (1997) writes,

> Each example [of transformation through education]... illustrates the key importance of wider structural constraints and the scale of the inherent difficulties when it comes to challenging powerful vested interests... in terms of global market forces and in terms of pressures from international agencies... [and countries]" (p. 72).

Mayo affirms that Gramsci also clearly understood the inter-connection between ideas and the material world, "He was absolutely not suggesting that societies can be transformed just by changing people's ideas, without also addressing the economic, social and political dimensions of transformation" (Mayo, 1997, p. 24). From a social marketing perspective, Andreasen (1995) too recognizes the importance of an social environment and structures

that support change to educational efforts: "Critical supporting agencies must help out if the behaviour change program is to be successful" (p. 5).

In the short term we can help treat the symptoms of recalcitrant problems like alcoholism, social isolation, smog, and the practice of discrimination. But the root causes of these enduring problems will never be resolved without challenging the dominant paradigm: "Regulatory and legislative structures and sanctions will be transformed only when the consciousness which spawns and authorizes them is transformed" (Murphy, 1999, p. 20). And this is where education can play a critical role.

So if education plays a limited (albeit critical) role in social change, what are some of the other significant elements of a larger social change strategy? According to Fisher and Shragge (2000), "Redistribution [of wealth] as a legitimate demand... has to be put back at the top of the community sector agenda" (p. 13) for the fulfilment of basic needs is a precursor to an informed, critical, and involved citizenry. Attempts by community social service organizations to repair the "collateral damage" of the corporate paradigm must also be fortified with an extremely healthy injection of social action grounded in social justice movements: 'Nothing short of large international alliances can stop the corporate march to the "end of history".' (Fisher and Shragge, 2000, p. 14)

In their efforts to achieve such change, civil society agencies will always be able to count on one thing: resistance from those threatened by a change to the corporatist paradigm will always be a formidable challenge. "Contemporary activists face a set of more difficult conditions [than in the past]. A hegemonic devotion to the credo of unbridled capitalism reigns the world, spilling over into all facets of life including community organizing" (Fisher and Shragge, 2000, p. 12). This devotion is bolstered by many elements including the privatization of resources and systems, concentration of media in the hands of few, the lack of monies for public research, laws that restrict dissent, and an education system driven by private interests among many others. For example, in the spring of 1987, it was discovered that the Canadian Security Intelligence Service (CSIS), under the governance of Brian Mulruney, had been tapping the headquarters of

THIS, a popular national "left-wing" magazine, and in-so-by doing infringing on the rights of a free press (THIS, 2001). Fear is also used in various forms as a tool by hegemonic powers to prevent the creation of a critical citizenry. In January 2002, Southam News chain which owns a majority of Canadian daily newspapers, issued a gag order that threatened all of its writers with the loss of their jobs if they continued to speak out publicly against a policy that demanded its subsidiaries to run editorials written by its Winnipeg headquarters thereby limiting local control of content (CBC-Radio 1, 2002).

But fear can also be taken to extremes. For example, it became clear by 1962 that Cuba was drawing upon Marxist analysis to build a socialist agenda. Castro commented that "the most important education is the political education of the people...revolution and education are the same thing" (Mayo, 1999, p. 66). One hundred thousand high school and university students and approximately another 170,000 adult volunteers took part in teaching literacy to over one million Cubans. The illiteracy rate dropped from 25% to 5%. Freedom from illiteracy was seen as freedom from imperialist control not only by Castro but also in the eyes of the CIA-supported gunmen who murdered several young teachers to induce widespread fear from participating in the campaign (ibid). This clearly demonstrates how the established elite is very aware of the link between education and social change.

It could be debated that there is little stopping a similar event from happening in Canada if a paradigm shift actually became within grasp. But often, appeals to patriotism, in combination with misinformation, is the weaponry of choice for social control. This became particularly event in a post-September 11, 2001 universe. To counter the worldwide opposition to corporate globalization that had been mounting prior to the terrorist attacks, neo-liberal business and political leaders made the claim that 'the terrorists were in effect targeting capitalism as an economic system, and hence were attacking "democracy", "freedom", and "globalization"' (Finn, 2002). This led to the charge that anyone disagreeing with corporate globalization was in fact siding with the terrorists resulting in an unsympathetic public sentiment to pro-democracy protesters in

both the US and Canada, in addition to a new series of laws such as Bill C-36 in Canada, that will inevitably be used to quash public protest.

C) The Ethics of Persuasion

Answering the question, "How can we promote change through education?", also leads critical practitioners to ask the question "What ethical questions does this work raise?".

According to Kelman and Warwick (1978) there are four aspects of all social interventions that can raise ethical considerations: 1) the goals to which the change effort is directed, 2) the target audience of the change effort, 3) the means used to implement the intervention, and 4) the assessment of consequences of the intervention.

By granting "problem status" to one social condition over another, a group is making a value-laden decision. Selecting certain goals over others are also decisions based on the values that drive an organization's educational work. Given the different, and often competing values held by ethnic, religious, class, and professional groups (Kelman and Warwick, 1978) the problem of "whose values" is always an issue in social interventions. For example, a pro-choice message often runs counter to the values of many religious observers. Similarly, one can ask the question, "Whose goals are served by the implementation of an education campaign to stop intravenous drug users from sharing needles: the addicts, the city officials, or the pharmaceutical companies who stand to profit from the distribution of free needles?" Paulo Friere (1970, 1985) has always reminded us that education is never neutral—it either maintains or reinforces the status quo or it challenges it.

Besides "whose values", "what public" is a question that can also raise other ethical dilemmas. For example, an education campaign to reduce teenage pregnancy could target young girls, the boys who make them pregnant, or their parents. Who is ultimately responsible for the phenomenon? Who should be the target audience of strategies to

reduce the amount of garbage heading to landfills? Tenants? Landlords? Companies that produce excess packaging? Using the same example, the means used to implement the intervention can raise ethical questions. Shall we issue a levy to residents who produce more than one bag of garbage per week? Or should we give prizes to the street that recycles the most? Or shall we invoke tax incentives for companies who use light weigh, recyclable containers?

Finally, conflicting values enter into the assessment of both intentional and unintentional consequence of education campaigns. For example, who benefits and who suffers from this intervention? Does it set one group up against another? Do education campaigns to empower women also ridicule and disempower men? (Nathanson and Young, 2001) In reference to Paulo Friere's work, Kelman and Warwick (1978) also argue that education strategies may create false expectations if there exists a significant disparity between individual aspirations and the real opportunity for achieving them:

> [A] change in critical consciousness and political aspirations without a corresponding modification of the social environment may also be a source of profound frustration. Where collective action to change the system is impossible, either because of strong political repression or other barriers to organization, the net effect may be short-term enthusiasm followed by long-term depression. (p. 27)

Is it morally justifiable in this case, to raise aspirations when realizing them may not be possible?

The most difficult ethical decisions in planned social change interventions usually concern the selection of means (Kelman and Warwick, 1978). For example, should we, as educators, water down our values and frame issues to appeal to a wider audience? Given the limited attention spans and the instant gratification demanded by a consumer world, do we package our educational messages to sell the change in a 15 second sound bite from a "What's In It For Me" perspective? Or similarly, should a campaign make full use of fear,

guilt or group pressures to help encourage behavioural shifts? In short, do the means justify the ends?

Kelman and Warwick (1978) explicate the four major categories of means used for social change interventions namely: power, persuasion, normative-reducation, and facilitation. At one end of this continuum is power or coercion in which a change agency imposes change on some group by legal mandate, control of financial resources, or threat to life, livelihood, or well-being. Persuasion is a less-overtly repressive intervention that attempts to manipulate the choice option without the knowledge of the individuals involved. This type of intervention is typified by the bias in the way information is structured and delivered as in the case of propaganda or commercial advertizing. The use of guilt, fear, and group pressure or the provision of partial or exaggerate truths would fall into this category.

The normative-reeducative intervention involves the presentation of relatively unbiased information to provide a rational justification for action. This strategy operates under the questionable assumption that information can be unbiased. An information campaign encouraging people to sign their driver's licence to donate their organs might epitomize this category. The fourth major category, facilitation, describes an intervention whereby an organization makes resources available to an audience interested in change but which lacks the resources to permit its occurrence. This would typify many community organizing efforts described earlier, in addition to subsidized international development and organizational development efforts.

From an ethical perspective, the primary consideration is the extent to which the means used encourages freedom of choice. According to Warwick (cited in Kelman and Warwick, 1978) individuals are free when:

1) The structure of the environment provides them with options for choice.

2) They are not coerced by others or forced by circumstances to select only certain possibilities among those of which they are aware.

3) They are knowledgeable about the characteristics and consequences of each option in order to permit rational deliberation.

4) They are psychologically able to weigh the alternatives.

5) Having weighed the relative merits of the alternatives, they can choose among them.

6) They are able to act on their option of choice e.g. no barriers due to self-esteem or external constraints.

The extent to which social change efforts nurture freedom of choice, is the extent to which it promotes the creation of an active, informed and thinking citizenry.

In keeping with the above, there exist three basic rationalizations for justifying social intervention efforts using education as opposed to other change strategies. These include the freedom-enhancing qualities of education, the informative nature of the content, and the promotion of the public interest/good vs. private interest (Salmon, 1989). Although it is true that education strategies represent a lesser threat to freedom of choice than power strategies, this rationalization understates "the extent to which certain mechanisms of social control, social norms or opinion climates, restrict individual choice and action" (p. 33). Education strategies must not only educate but must also attempt to change the social norms and institutional practices that inhibit free thought and action.

The informative, rather than persuasive, nature of education campaigns is also questionable. Atkin (cited in Salmon, 1989) argues that the former benefit the individual or society whereas the later benefits the sponsoring agency. Although a given agency of civil society may believe they are only promoting a certain set of straight facts, "whose set of straight facts" and the mere identification of the problem as mentioned earlier, surface many ethical questions. It is important to recognize that all education efforts are political and that all social interventions are driven by values and therefore never neutral: "The questions about who shapes meanings, and how identities and cultures are defined, are, of course, ultimately political questions" (Mayo, 1997 p. 162). And since "there is no single

conceptual or operational definition of the concept "public interest" and even less consensus regarding how to achieve it" (ibid., p. 37) public educators should resist the temptation of retreating to higher moral ground in using these arguments. Rather educators must accept and embrace the idea that our educational efforts are never neutral by "lay[ing] out the content of the values that, according to their view, must be promoted and protected in a particular intervention effort" (Kelman and Warwick, 1978, p. 6) explaining whenever possible how these values were derived and why a particular set of goals was adopted. Once again the importance of vision and value development to all social interventions becomes evident.

In their work on the manipulation of public opinion, Page and Shapiro (1989) provide us with another ethical barometer, apart from the use of transparency and freedom of choice. They claim that efforts are needed to assure that strategies actually do educate. They argue that information can be said to truly educate the public to the extent that the public "receives correct and helpful information—information that helps it arrive at the policy choices it would make when fully informed... [that are] well adapted to achieve people's basic values and goals" (p. 307).

On the contrary, education work of civil society agencies can be considered manipulative—and by extension unethical—if it is consciously "false, incorrect, biased, or selective" (ibid., p. 308). Pollay (1989) adds, "Planners of information campaigns have the obvious responsibilities to sell worthy ideas ...and to do so with honesty" (p. 195). And we must fight the temptation to use manipulative techniques such as fear mongering and peer pressure in that they run counter to the promotion of critical thinking. We must also refrain from advocating only one way of interpreting the world and proscribing in self-righteous fashion only one sanctioned way the public should behave. Educators need to be conscious of the ethics in "trashing" people's world paradigm. As Friere (1970) points out, "One cannot expect positive results from an education or political action program which fails to respect the particular view of the world held by the people. Such a program constitutes cultural invasion, good intentions notwithstanding". (p. 84) Educators need to show respect by bringing into question people's assumptions without destroying them as

human beings. Educators, whether they are creating a poster, writing an article or facilitating a community forum need to "trust people to come up with their own answers" (Horton, cited in Checkoway, 1985, p. 1).

It is by examining education strategies against the barometers of transparency, freedom of choice, and the degree to which they educate that social change interventions can be judged. It is here that the subversive and coercive change efforts of fundamentalist religion-based organizations and race-based advocacy groups such as White supremacists lose their legitimacy as educators.

At the same time as we consider ethics in our practice, we also have an ethical responsibility to resist compromising our vision of a socially tranformed world. Ellen Willis (cited in Checkoway, 1995) argues that social change activists "are successful when they refuse to think in terms of compromise with majority sentiments and stake out radical alternatives that generate their own support by creating social movements in their wake" (p. 18). Willis says the key question is not "how can we win? " but "what do we believe?" (ibid.). Indeed, "No mass left-wing movement has ever been built on a majoritarian strategy. On the contrary, every such movement—socialism, populism, labour, civil rights, feminism, gay rights, ecology—has begun with a visionary minority whose ideas were at first decried as impractical, ridiculous, crazy, dangerous and/or immoral."(p. 19)

D) Opportunities

In a corporatist society information is not only a commodity, it is also power:

> From world financial markets to the world-wide, twenty-four-hour-a-day distribution of news via CNN to the breakthroughs of the biological revolution and their impact on health and agricultural production-on virtually every front we see the information revolution changing the fabric, pace and substance of our lives" (Gingrich, cited in Toffler and Toffler, 1995, p.14).

Corporate and government elite understand the power of information and often hide behind the assumption that the public is ill-equipped to cope with the complexity of the information in their charge yet it is always in their immediate interest that this information remains inaccessible. Furthermore, the public is systematically manipulated or mislead through the agencies of socialization such as market forces, corporations, and government, who possess authority, legitimacy, resources and influence over academia and the media (Page and Shapiro, 1989). Without question, the power to define an issue resides disproportionately with them (Salmon, 1989).

But it is not only those in power who have the ability to create knowledge and control its dissemination. In this study, we have seen the role that civil society agencies can play in social change and have witnessed concrete examples that document the power that education can have to confront the dominant paradigm. Furthermore, people are beginning to mistrust party politics, institutions, and the social elite who run them and are showing a great deal of apprehension toward party politics as a mechanism for change. Simultaneously, people of all political stripes are looking to civil society organizations to help them understand their world (Barlow and Clarke, 2001 ; Nevitte, 1996). Saul (1995) concurs, "What is coming, bit by bit, is an intuitive reaction from the public who, although they have been allowed to understand little of what is going on, nevertheless sense that we are slipping down a dangerous delusionary road" (p. 190). This trend has been influenced by many social shifts. For example, Page and Shapiro (1989) explain that,

> Public opinion concerning various social issues seems to have been strongly influenced by rising levels of formal education. Education exposes people to diversity, to information about many kinds of people and ideas and lifestyles, and to norms of tolerance and rational discourse. (p. 297)

But this growing concern is no doubt also the result of the expansive efforts of civil society agencies to challenge the myths of corporatism in the public arena with their own statistics, reports, testimonials and alternatives.

Indeed, organizations and movements are well situated to play a pivotal role as incubators of public knowledge in the creation of a more sustainable, humanist world. Falling outside of the para-governmental umbrella and receiving diminishing revenues from government coffers does have certain advantages. Non-profits are accountable primarily to their members and can design and implement nonstandardized curricula or campaigns without having to pass through an infinitely slow bureaucratic process as is presently the case for provincial education ministries: "The flexibility and diversity of non-formal education has already placed it on the leading edge of innovations in education and sustainability" (O'Brien, 1997, p. 12). As Murphy previously observed, we cannot look to the government or para-governmental institutions, like schools to lead this change. Schooling impedes or follows social trends and does not precede them. Besides, since the 1980's we have seen the quality of education undermined by cutbacks and the appropriation of the curriculum at all levels of schooling by the corporate sector in order to align it with the needs of the job market.

It would also be an error to look to government to lead such a change. As part of a worldwide neo-liberal phenomenon, Canadians have witnessed a radical restructuring of the welfare state since the mid-1980s. Slicing the Federal contribution to provincial health care from 50% in 1994, to 14% in 2002 is but one example (CBC Radio, 2002). The non-profit sector has naturally picked up the slack. Now, the community sector does even more with fewer resources. This arrangement serves the Canadian government well. It can claim that service provision is being taken care of by the grassroots: "Governments did not just cut back but found ways to reorganize social provision by using the community initiatives as flexible and lower cost alternatives to state programs" (Fisher and Shragge, 2000, p. 7). Ironically, this arrangement also keeps the sector so fragmented and distracted that it is prevented from being a critical thorn in the side of a government—a government that has reneged on its social responsibility to its citizenry. There should be no illusions. Civil society organizations should never, nor can they ever, replace the role of the state to provide the pillars of a strong social safety net. The advantage however is that this trend has resulted in a "widespread consensus" of the "enhanced importance of the voluntary

sector, non-governmental agencies, and community-based organizations" (Mayo, 1997, p. 8).

This growing consensus of the importance of the sector is also due its tenacity. Groups like Amnesty International have, in the space of the last two decades, increased their influence at the international level by conducting excellent research that can't be ignored and forced their way into the international decision-making arena. These examples have "facilitated and directed people's participation which has gathered momentum as a potent force in national and international arenas" (Perinbam, cited in Swift, 1999, p. 9). Noting a growing social and political role of the sector in the United States, Alvin an Heidi Toffler also speak of " . . . the growing transfer of political power away from our formal political structures . . . to electronically-linked grassroots groups and to the media" (1995, p.8).

What is clear is that there is a "power shift" occurring manifest in "the rise of global civil society" and the decline in the power of the state (Swift, 1999). The rise of civil society agencies is not an accident. In the words of Hulme and Edwards this trend is part of a policy agenda "driven by beliefs organized around the twin poles of neo-liberal economics and liberal democratic policies" (cited in Swift, 1999, p. 19). Although a weaker state is nothing to be championed, the free space that is created in its retreat provides opportunity for greater involvement by agencies of civil society. The Earth Summit of 1992 provides us with a clear example of non-profit organizations like GreenPeace, CARE, and the tiny South Asian irrigation co-operatives "moving out of the hallways" and "penetrating deeply into official decision-making" (p.18) with "greater diversity, credibility, and creativity" (Clarke, cited in Mayo, 1997, p. 102).

Non-profit organizations are also well placed to conduct a culture of deliberation in that they have greater legitimacy than government due to their closeness to the people, their efficiency, and their ability to respond quickly to expressed needs. Additionally, the number of educational strategies that are available to groups in civil society is arguably greater than the corporate or government sectors even though their access to mass media is

more limited. Dewey also noted that civil society organizations also have greater access to face-to-face contact with citizens, which he felt was key to "socializing knowledge" and promoting the "science of inquiry".

Without the media on side, the expansion of the Internet has been the badly needed boost civil society has required to facilitate the exchange of information and the creation of knowledge at a relatively affordable cost. The Internet is proving instrumental in helping to globalize progressive ideas, provide instantaneous communication, and promote international solidarity. International solidarity may prove to be the only approach that holds any hope to challenge corporate-sponsored globalization (Fisher and Shragge, 2000). Websites like "www.globalizaction.org", a site that brings together information from around the world on pro-democracy issues and events or the daily listserve "act.mtl" co-ordinated through the efforts of QPIRG at the University of Concordia informing thousands of people of various reflective articles and events are two of the myriad examples of the potential of this medium. The medium does have its limitations and not all educators, activists, and theorists are prepared to jump onto the Information and Technology (IT) bandwagon as a panacea for democracy (Sunstein, 2001).

Another encouraging sign is the continued growth of non-profit organizations in Canada (Statistics Canada, 1998). Although the total number of people formally volunteering is decreasing (Canadian Centre for Philanthropy, 2000), the demographic of those who volunteer either with formally established non-profits or informally within their families and communities, has changed to include a growing youth population and ethnocultural minorities (ibid.). But the increase in civil society organizations in itself may only result in a proliferation of the status quo without a complementary widespread infusion of critical thinking skills, public education, and democratic planning practices. According to John Ralston Saul (1995), "doubt is central to a citizen-based society; that is, to democracy" (p. 43). If non-profits are interested in promoting democracy they need to be disseminating knowledge that fosters doubt encouraging people to question the rhetoric and myths that are spread by the current ideological messengers. Concepts like the inevitability of unrestricted free trade, the trickle-down-economics utopia that awaits us,

the necessity of zero deficit, and the helplessness of government need to be challenged. These new civil society players need to steer away from the present trend of strict provision of service and understand the role they can play in the creation of an informed, active and critical citizenry. Otherwise they risk merely perpetuating the dominant corporate paradigm by sweeping up ad infinitum the mess it creates without ever confronting the source of injustice. In the words of Alexis de Tocqueville (cited in Swift, 1999, p. 8). "The health of a democratic society may be measured by the quality of the functions performed by its private citizens" not just by their involvement (ibid.).

> But some fear this will never be possible:
> Adult education for social action continues to be unorganized and sporadic, developing in one place or another in response to an immediate need or threat and then disappearing without a trace. Perhaps education for social change, because it is inescapably political and a threat to established interests, will never gain any measure of institutional stability (Darkenwald and Merriam, 1982, p. 244).

The lack of formal learning centres for nonformal public education strategies is not necessarily critical however. Although institutions where these techniques could be promoted would help increase the profile of public education, they are not essential to its promotion. What is essential is an expansion in the understanding of its power and it is in the praxis of public education that one learns of its power. Additionally, to move toward humanist goals, public education can't be restricted to civil society agencies. To become a viable force all social institutions must undergo radical change including "the family unit, schooling, vocational 'training', adult education, communication, and cultural media, politics, art, labour, management, the workplace, the marketplace, and community" (Murphy, 1999, p. 125).

Admittedly, the barriers to the democratization of knowledge and social change are enormous. But claims can be made, as authors have here, that over the long term, public education along with the other elements of a wider social change strategy could arguably serve to overcome the most significant barrier to the realization of a radical humanist

society as depicted by Saul, Murphy, Dewey, namely our addiction to ideology (in this case capitalism) and the ignorance and inertia that it engenders.

Whether we are or are not successful in our immediate attempts to impact on social change is not important. In fact, Murphy insists that the outcome of action is irrelevant. People must be encouraged to act regardless of the probability of grand effects. Murphy maintains that it is each individual's selfish interest or 'health' to do so—"I will act because it is sane and healthy to do so. I will *act*, I will *be*. I will" (p.114). Similarly, Dewey believes that reason, action, and the world interact whereby action regardless of effect can (eventually) shape outcome. What we do now changes the knowledge of the future it just doesn't perpetuate it. "If we form general ideas and if we put them in action, consequences are produced which could not be produced otherwise. Under these conditions the world will be different from what it would have been if thought had not intervened. This consideration confirms the human and moral importance of thought and of its reflective operation in experience" (Dewey, cited in Blanco, 1994, p. 58).

It is also important for educators to keep in mind that it does not require a large group of people to trigger change through education and social action:

> It's not necessary... to round up popular support before anything can be done; on the contrary, the actions of a relatively few troublemakers can lead to popular support. The history of movements is crowded with acts of defiance by individuals and small groups-from the 1937 sit-in of workers in a Flint, Michigan, auto plant to Rosa Parks' refusal to get up to radical feminists' disrupting an "expert hearing" on abortion reform—that inspired a wave of similar actions and a broader revolt. When militant minorities also have radical ideas, they capture people's imaginations by presenting another possible world that appeals to the secret hopes of even the resigned and cynical. They mobilize people by providing the context in which winning small changes is worth the time and effort because it is part of a larger project. They attract publicity and make it difficult for the authorities to keep on telling the lies whose credibility depends on uncontradicted repetition.

> The people in power know all this and are quite wary of the potential threat posed by an organized minority (Willis, cited in Checkoway, 1995, p. 19).

It is however a slow process where progress is often measured in generations not years. And even when these structural systems are prepared to face this challenge, educators and other agents of change may not see the fruit of their labour within their lifetimes. Lee (1992) reminds us: "Those of us who involve ourselves in community work with the assumption that we will be involved in immediate fundamental change are sure to be disillusioned and will burn out very quickly" (p. 36).

E) Questions and Recommendations Arising from this Study

There are two basic series of questions stemming from the present research. For one, what is the role of government and the private sector in the actions of civil society agencies? If their role involves in part financing their efforts, why would these other sectors be interested at all, if shifting the paradigm involves giving up significant power and/or profit? Can denouncing the impact of corporatism on the world be done in a way that does not pit corporations and governments against civil society agencies? Should it? Secondly, what kind of innovative mechanisms and structures can be created to help create the space to involve everyday people in the creation of a truly public knowledge given the many constraints on their lives particularly in an urban setting? Research into these questions would help operationalize the humanist paradigm.

Furthermore, given the fact that the field of public education crosses many disciplines, there is a dearth of literature in public education as a distinct field. It is proposed that social change agents would benefit greatly from research proposing models that could be used by educators to design and implement successful education campaigns grounded in the philosophical foundations and social change mechanisms provided for in this study.

Conclusion

Attempts have been made in this study to examine the fields of philosophy, educational theory, psychology, sociology, social work, social planning, communications, and marketing in order to answer the principle research question, "How are the public education efforts of civil society organizations linked to social change?" The existing interface between nonformal public education and eventual social change goals was made explicit in two ways, by exploring the work of radical humanist authors in Chapter 1 and through an analysis, in Chapter 2, of various social change mechanisms.

John Ralston Saul, Brian K. Murphy, and John Dewey agreed that from many perspectives, our society and natural environment are in crisis. The three authors attribute this to our addiction to corporate ideology. They make the claim that our society denies the legitimacy of the individual as citizen leading to a disengaged, acquiescent citizenry to the peril of the public good. The authors believe that "human beings are creative agents capable of forming our own future and destiny. We can choose to change and act on this choice to create the world we want" (Murphy, 1999, p. 7). They call for a values-based paradigm shift where the conformity, competition, and greed of corporate interest groups could be replaced by a participatory democracy that both educates and empowers the public. This transformed society is created and guided by a radical humanist approach that confronts the injustice and irrationality of the current social order and explores alternative, more human structures and policies.

According to the authors, the self-actualization of individuals is prioritized and the habits of deliberation are promoted in a transformed society. Similarly, every person has a moral obligation to think critically with disinterest in the best interest of each and all. Additionally, the forces of decision-making are socialized and active citizens belonging to energized and healthy communities create a shared vision and determine policies through open public dialogue, using all human modes of deliberation including common sense, creativity, ethics, instinct, memory, and reason. Through this process, an informed public creates a democratized knowledge. Decisions struck would be informed by harmony, love, joy, freedom, growth and health for <u>all</u> and not just <u>some</u> as is true in the present

paradigm. This would lead to greater equality, and a fairer distribution of wealth and power. Responsibility for action is also shared by all. To encourage this, citizen participation would be formally structured into economic, social, and political systems.

All authors concede that the present corporate society cannot be overthrown. They do believe however, that a shift in the mentality that supports it can be induced through the use of education. It is proposed that nonformal public education be employed to recreate the legitimacy of the individual. Through education, the development of an informed, thinking citizenry within civil society would lead to restored life within local associations that would serve to channel action. This in turn would create the environmental conditions that promote self-actualization and that would eventually lead to control of the resources necessary to meet the needs of all.

Similarly, all social change theories explored in Chapter 2 emphasized the importance of education to social change. Although not essential for change to occur in the strict sense of the term, as for example in the use of force, education is critical to bring on meaningful, lasting social change. It was seen that some mechanisms are intended for the general public, such as the educational work of New Social Movement organizations, whereas others, like community organizing, have a more restricted audience and a different focus. In all, education was seen to have 11 identifiable roles. It can be used to disseminate information; to develop critical thinking; create tranformative, public knowledge and offer us new ways of seeing the world. Education can promote skill development, self-actualization and help empower citizens. Education efforts can influence beliefs and values and move people to change their behaviours or encourage them to become more civicly involved. Finally, education by civil society agencies serves not only to influence the public agenda but it also influences the media, electoral, and government agendas and maintains change by creating an environment conducive to its existence.

Regardless of the role it plays or the mechanism used, all education strategies need to be grounded in the values of the society that is envisioned. To be credible and effective,

methodology, andragogical practices, and messages need necessarily be designed to encourage analysis of the root causes of a problem and "help the people with whom we work to reflect on how their particular struggle connects with the larger issues of the day" (Moyer, 1990, p. 13). Public education efforts must not only critique current practice but must also help audiences imagine alternative feasabilities. Messages that transform also need to be grounded in motivational theory in order to overcome the psychology of inertia and give us the desire to reappropriate our lives by embracing rather than escaping freedom. It was seen that some of the forces motivating attitudes and behaviours include: existing values and beliefs, information, habits, enjoyment, needs and desires, the environment, the ability to act, and conscious thought.

It was recognized that public education although critical to lasting social change, does have its limits. It is one of many strategies that needs to be called on to change wider structural constraints held in place by the corporate paradigm. Social action, litigation, the formation of alliances, and lobbying are other social change strategies that, when used in tandem, can transform society—but not without significant resistance from those who benefit from the present injustices.

Educators were also reminded of the ethical implications of their social change efforts. Educators, as agents of change, have a responsibility to be transparent regarding the values that drive their work. They also have a responsibility to design non-coercive messages and methodologies that truly educate and encourage freedom of choice in thought.

It was argued that we find ourselves at a very interesting socio-political conjuncture. Although corporate forces have never been stronger, we are beginning to witness a growing international counter-culture of resistance as a result of the trail of injustice left in its wake (Mayo, 1995). This combined with the growing recognition of the importance of civil society agencies lends credibility and strength to our voices as social change educators. The importance of civil society and its agencies should not be underestimated in the struggle toward a more just and healthy existence. Public education is proposed here as an approach that shows promise to move us in this direction.

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