

**The Politics of Social Movement Education:
The Educational Practice of the Anti-Globalization Movement**

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ABSTRACT

This thesis introduces the idea that social movements such as the contemporary ‘anti-globalization’ movement can be understood as educational practice. It argues that social movements function to create new knowledge and meaning in society by engaging in extensive and diverse forms of social movement education. This educational practice is, however, always haunted by an irresolvable dilemma between freedom and control in that it both strives to extend liberatory social relations while also serving to reinforce power inequalities. The thesis therefore explores the pedagogical possibilities for addressing such dilemmas through a pilot study of the educational activities of four Canadian anti-globalization activists. As a result of this study, the thesis claims that the most interesting aspect of social movements such as the anti-globalization movement is that they provide social movement actors with an opportunity to actively learn how to produce meaningful change and create alternate collective futures. Thus the thesis attempts to add a political and educational angle to sociological accounts of social movements that focus solely on the creation of collective identity.

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Introduction

I make the argument in this thesis that social movements can be understood in terms of educational practice. I approach social movements as processes which question the socially given and actively and reflectively construct the knowledge and understandings needed to bring into being alternative collective futures. I argue that these processes are always haunted by an irresolvable and ubiquitous dilemma between control and freedom in that they function simultaneously as liberatory practice and as social control. I explore the dilemmas of engaging in educational activism and providing social movement education through a study of the pedagogical practice of four Canadian anti-globalization activists. My discussions with these four activists lead me to suggest that the most interesting aspect of social movements is that they provide an opportunity to participate in the struggle to create alternative ways of living together and to actively learn how to produce meaningful change.

I open the thesis with a discussion of the nature of social movements. I begin by acknowledging that any definitional work is weighed heavy with epistemological and ontological assumptions and that there are a multitude of valid possible interpretations of any one phenomenon. I focus on Alberto Melucci's interpretation of social movements, and I then move on to outline my educational approach to social movements. I view this approach as an alternative to conceptions of social movements found in the sociological literature that rely solely on the study of collective identity. I argue that the identity paradigm in social movement literature is premised on a theory of knowledge. Thus,

while an analysis of collective identity should form an important part of any consideration of social movements, an analysis of social movements is not complete without an examination of how social movements function as a new form of politics that is critically concerned with the creative production of new meaning and new knowledge in society.

In chapter two I set out to illustrate my argument about the nature of social movements by considering the contemporary anti-globalization movement.¹ This is one of the most prominent contemporary examples of a social movement.² However, its status as a social movement is contested in the academic and popular literature on the subject. I argue that, contrary to these accounts, the anti-globalization movement can be understood as a social movement in several important senses. It can also be understood to contain elements of a fluid and shifting collective identity. However an investigation of such identity alone cannot account for the anti-globalization movement's emphasis on knowledge creation. I attempt to show that educational activity is a crucial aspect of the movement and that this educational activity amounts to an on-going process of creating new meanings in society. I provide a preliminary mapping of eight sites of anti-globalization pedagogical practice. Ultimately I argue that the existence of such extensive educational activity is evidence that the anti-globalization movement can

¹ Many activists reject the label 'anti-globalization' and prefer instead and variously to be referred to as participating in the 'anti-corporate movement', the 'global justice movement' or the 'anti-capitalism movement'. However, at this time, there is no widespread and common agreement even amongst such activists as to the preferred term. Indeed the movement continues to be named in popular and media discourse as the anti-globalization movement. While it is important to acknowledge that the term 'anti-globalization movement' is in many ways both problematic and inadequate, I too continue to use this term to stand in for alternative characterizations for the purposes of both clarity and brevity and because there exists no commonly agreed upon alternative at this time.

² For readers who are unfamiliar with the anti-globalization movement, I provide an introduction to the movement and an overview of the activities in which it is involved in chapter two.

indeed be considered to be a social movement if a social movement is understood as a form of educational practice.

In chapter three I study theoretically the dilemmas that arise when (educational) social movements endeavour to use organized education as a tool of political change. Such political education within the context of struggles to create change has been appropriately characterized as a “practice of freedom” by theorists such as Paulo Freire.³ Thus, this education is a liberatory practice that aims to create the conditions of possibility in which radical change can occur. These conditions of possibility include a higher level of consciousness, the creation of new ways of thinking about the world, a change in behaviour and a fundamental transformation of existing social relations. However, the same educational practice, while it is inspired by and strives towards freedom, is always haunted by a tendency toward social control and by the possibility that it will replicate existing power inequalities. I explore the work of Gramsci, Freire and Foucault in order to begin to explain this irresolvable paradox and the ubiquitous dilemmas and tensions that arise from it. I claim that when education comes to be used in social movements as a political tool of transformation, teachers and learners need to be extremely vigilant about how these complex relations of control and freedom play out in their practice. I review and synthesise the insights of a number of theorists of critical pedagogy in order to provide ten suggestions that may help in the negotiation of these tensions and that can provide a guide to an empirical study of social movement pedagogy.

³ The term Practice of Freedom was first coined by Paulo Freire in his seminal work Pedagogy of the Oppressed. Paulo Freire, Pedagogy of the Oppressed (New York: Continuum, 1970).

In chapter four I embark on a pilot study of the pedagogical practice of the anti-globalization movement. I talk to four anti-globalization activists from British Columbia, Canada and ask them to reflect upon their own practice of educational activism. I argue that the words of these activists show that they are involved in a process of knowledge construction and the collective making of meaning. These activists recognise their educational activity as both a practice of freedom and a form of control, and they display a high level of awareness about the dilemma this involves. Importantly they stress their inability to separate their activism from their educational practice and they call for an ongoing reflective and reflexive critique of their practice. I suggest that if these activists recognise social movement education as being at one and the same time a practice of freedom and a form of social control then, following Foucault, this implies that they recognise power as being ever-present, operated by everyone and both beneficial and detrimental. This in turn implies that the goal of organized pedagogical practice and social movement activity is not to resolve this dilemma, not to simplify social relations and abolish or transcend the existence of power but to utilize certain techniques that can function as resources to equalize and understand these power relations. Another goal of social movement pedagogical practice is to foster a high awareness of the complex nature of power relations both within the movement and outside of it and to embark on a process of active and continual learning. Thus social movement activity as educational practice is not a bounded, unified object that has an independent existence in time/space but an ongoing complex everyday and changing process.

The questions motivating my research arise from two concerns: one is with the nature and importance of social movements and the other with the practices of popular

education. Whilst reflecting on the contemporary anti-globalization movement I have come to the conclusion that these two concerns are not necessarily distinct and separate. Indeed, I have increasingly come to realise that they are inevitably and inextricably bound to one another. The contemporary anti-globalization movement, in many ways, *is* its reflective and educational practice of meaning-making. A crucial aspect of the social movement is the process of creating change through knowledge construction. This commitment to the educational process of creating change is the starting point for all of the activists I spoke to. Importantly it is also the starting point for my own investigation. Thus the impetus for my inquiry and the implicit third concern of this thesis is the question of how we can best create change. Indeed, my belief in the need for widespread social, economic and political change is why I have chosen to study social movements. Social movement activity appears to be the most prominent and promising contemporary vehicle for progressive projects that challenge the status quo. I view this thesis, then, very much as research and study in the service of social change.⁴

It is my hope, then, that this thesis will draw attention to the important work of these four educational activists of anti-globalization and their colleagues around the world and thus advance the literature on the anti-globalization movement. It is my aim to highlight the neglected issue of political education in the anti-globalization movement and the issue of social movement education in general. Through attention to the educational practice of social movements I hope to contribute a political and educational angle to the largely sociological debate about how the social movement should be understood. In the course of this pursuit I attempt to bring the usually separate

⁴ John Lofland, Social Movement Organisations: A Guide to Research on Insurgent Realities (New York: Aldine de Gruyter, 1996).

disciplines of Political Science, Sociology and Education into dialogue with one another. This commitment to an analysis born of interdisciplinarity amounts to an underlying assertion of the need to overcome rigid and often dichotomous academic categories of thought. The rejection of dichotomous either/or thinking is perhaps the most fundamental epistemological, ontological and methodological assumption of my project. My overall purpose in this thesis, then, is to illustrate how anti-globalization activism is both social movement activity and educational practice, both a liberatory pursuit and a form of social control, both a theory and a practice. I begin in the first chapter by introducing the idea that the social movement can be understood as educational practice.

Chapter 1

Social Movements as Educational Practice

It may be that there are certain characteristics common to all ‘social movements’ regardless of their historical context. However there is also much disagreement among scholars and, ultimately, no generally agreed definition of a social movement. Historically, social movements have been variously referred to as forms of ‘collective action’, ‘collective struggle’, ‘protest’, ‘dissent’ and ‘deviance’, among others. Common to these descriptions seems to be the existence of some kind of *collectivity* acting (or moving or mobilizing) in relation to some kind of *social ‘order’*. According to this description, then, social movements are intimately related to the ancient political problem of how we maintain order and unity in society in the face of diversity and dissent.

It is not surprising that there is widespread debate about the exact nature of social movements given the politically contested character of their activity. Some analysts regard social movements as a threat to liberal democracy. Others look to social movements as a source of positive social change: perhaps even revolutionary transformation. People look behind the immediate facts to find ‘the irrationality of crowds’ or ‘mass man’ on the one hand or ‘the revolutionary subject’ or ‘new social identities’ on the other. These ideological moves worry analysts who would like to examine social movements more objectively. However, the search for objective definitions founders on the problem that what is worth counting as a social movement depends on judgements about its political significance.

William Carroll invokes what is now the standard distinction between two approaches to the study of social movements:

Resource Mobilization Theory (RMT) – the predominantly American approach – focuses primarily upon *how* movements form and engage in collective actions; the more European New Social Movement Theory (NSM) formulations focus primarily on *why* specific forms of collective identity and action have appeared in late twentieth century Euro-North American societies. By implication, RMT analyses tend to be sensitized to the specific situational context that facilitates or hinders a process of movement mobilization, while NSM formulations are typically more sensitized to the broad macrosociological transformations of the late twentieth century.¹

The first approach is conducive to empiricist research that focuses on the nuts and bolts of social movement organization, while putting larger questions of meaning and significance to one side. The advantage of RMT is that it encompasses concerns of structure, strategy and organisation in its definition of social movements. For instance, Charles Tilly argues that “collective action results from changing combinations of interests, organisation, mobilization and opportunity.”² This suggests that many sorts of social movements can arise. However, the RMT approach begs important questions of identity that cannot easily be answered by empiricist research methods. NSM on the other hand deals more effectively with these issues of collective identity while perhaps neglecting the realm of material interests and interest group competition. The attempt to define social movements in NSM is also hindered by a consistent attempt to differentiate sharply between ‘old social movements’ (for example, the 1920s and 1930s labour movements) which are usually thought to be concerned with issues of economic re-distribution of wealth and the ‘new social movements of the post 60s, which are usually

¹ William K. Carroll, Organizing Dissent: Contemporary Social Movements in Theory and Practice. Studies in the Politics of Counter-Hegemony (Toronto: Garamount Press, 1997), 8.

² Charles Tilly, From Mobilization to Revolution (Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1978), 7.

thought to be concerned with recognition or identity claims.³ There are, then, differing approaches to social movements and, not surprisingly, these approaches represent differing perceptions of the nature of social movements.

It is possible to argue that the quest for an authoritative definition of social movements serves only to 'fix' the meaning of the phenomenon in question, artificially reifying it and constraining its range of possible meanings. Scholars have been quick to point out that this quest can also serve to negate and erase the important effects of historical context and the particular forms of organisation contingent upon this context. Some scholars have gone as far as to suggest the concept of a 'social movement' can only be interpreted in relation to specific material historically-situated movements or case studies and that anything other than this amounts to meaningless abstraction at best. At worst, they argue, it can lead to negating the unique experiences of individual actors and movements under the umbrella of a universalized 'norm' of what a social movement is and should be. There is a tendency in the literature to dichotomize social movements (old and new, progressive and reactionary, revolutionary and reformist) and also to dichotomize approaches to their study (RMT versus NSM). These dichotomies are often misleading: can one study the nuts and bolts of social movement activity apart from its meaning, or vice versa? Is what was "new" in the 60s and 70s "new" now? In any case, the study of actual social movements can be inhibited by the ideal types that we invoke before we begin our analysis.

The act of definition assumes, perhaps problematically, that there is only one underlying truth about the 'nature' of reality that can be uncovered by empirical

³ Nancy Fraser provides a discussion of the dichotomous debate on the role of re-distribution and recognition in contemporary politics. Nancy Fraser, Justice Interrupts: Critical Reflections on the 'Postsocialist' Condition (Routledge, 1997).

observation and objective rational consideration. This act, therefore, serves to erase epistemological and ontological uncertainty and angst and to ignore multiple perspectives. Meaning is constructed through discourse, through culture, society and language. Social movements do not just 'exist' to be explained, but instead, are created, constrained and enabled by and through the discursive practice of social actors. By defining social movements in particular ways, scholars play a part in the construction of those movements. They do not stand outside those movements as independent observers. As movements and circumstances change, so do scholarly descriptions. The effort to fix the definition of a social movement, to develop a general theory of social movements, or to specify the one approach needed to reveal the character of social movements is thus futile. Instead of looking for general theories, it is important to ask what are the accepted and conventional discourses about what a social movement is, what is the importance of these discourses and in what ways can they be questioned? How can we build useful alternatives? There are several alternative analytical frameworks that could be developed to understand social movements and it is only through triangulation of methods and frameworks that we can understand social movements in all of their multiple meanings. The purpose of this chapter is to adopt and interrogate one such alternative analytical framework, a framework that highlights the educational dimension of social movement activity. In this, I draw from the work of Alberto Melucci, but attempt to go beyond the analysis he offers.

Melucci's Theory of Social Movements

Theorists such as Alberto Melucci recognise the dichotomous 'ensnarements' that many theorists of social movements have fallen into, ensnarements that result in the

analytical neglect of important aspects of movement life and activity. Attempts to produce unified and universal truths about the nature of such movements have not led to the understanding sought. Melucci thus calls for the abandonment of approaches which view social movements “as if they are living subjects who act as homogenous entities” in favour of an analysis of how “when actors produce their collective action... they define both themselves and their environment.”⁴

The title of Melucci’s 1989 book, Nomads of the Present, sums up his view of social movements. He claims that

conflicts are now played out in the present and as their critics have pointed out, have no program and no future. This is true but not in the sense intended by their critics. Unlike their predecessors, contemporary actors are not guided by a universal plan of history; rather they resemble nomads who dwell within the present.⁵

Thus he links new social movements with the decline of the metanarrative, a decline which theorists such as Lyotard argue is characteristic of the post-modern epoch.⁶ This would seem to be in accord with the claim that there is no universal truth about the nature of social movements. Instead Melucci agrees that the definition of any social movement is embedded in the moment of the present, and like a nomad, is transient and changing. For Melucci, the nature of a social movement is submerged in the everyday contemporaneity of many diverse actors and actions. As he says, a “social movement is not a unified subject, but always a composite action system, in which widely differing means, ends and forms of solidarity and organization converge in a more or less stable manner.” He goes on to argue that “the conventional term social movement seems

⁴ Melucci, 24-25.

⁵ Melucci, 55.

⁶ Jean Francois Lyotard, The Postmodern Condition (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984).

unable to grasp this complexity.”⁷ For Melucci, then, a social movement is more a process or a network than a ‘thing’ and the term social movement is a painfully inadequate description of the phenomenon to which it refers.

However, Melucci continues to assert “the need to define more precisely a social movement.”⁸ While he recognises that social “movements are themselves conceptually hard to define,”⁹ he goes on offer an arguably fixed, unyielding, and general definition. He claims that the concept of a ‘social movement’

designates a specific class of collective phenomena which contains three dimensions. First, a social movement is a form of collective action which involves *solidarity*, that is actors’ mutual recognition that they are part of a single social unit. A second characteristic of a social movement is its engagement in *conflict*, and thus in opposition to an adversary who lays claim to the same goods or values.... Third, a social movement *breaks the limits of compatibility of a system*. Its actions violate the boundaries or tolerance limits of a system, thereby pushing the system beyond the range of variations that it can tolerate without altering its structure.¹⁰

Thus, while he is wary of characterizing collective action as a reified and unified entity, he does find in social movements some degree of unity and solidarity. It could be argued, then, that he is still attempting a general theory of collective action. His analysis appears to point simultaneously backwards and forwards. Its most radical potential and unconventional theorizing on the nature of social movements is undercut by his attempts to frame the issue elsewhere. Furthermore, some scholars may question his definition of social movements solely in terms of conflict against the system. Arguably this replicates the dichotomous thinking of more conventional social movement scholars and his

⁷ Melucci, 278.

⁸ Melucci, 29.

⁹ Melucci, 23.

¹⁰ Melucci, 29.

analysis at times degenerates into the realm of a narrow consideration of oppositional politics.

Melucci does, however, point strongly to a crucial subject of consideration in any contemplation of social movements. Central to Melucci's definition is his assertion that the formation of collective identity is fundamental in mobilizing actors in contemporary political conflict. He defines collective identity as "an interactive and shared definition produced by several interacting individuals who are concerned with the orientations of their action as well as the field of opportunities and constraints in which their action takes place."¹¹ According to Melucci, collective identity involves three underlying dimensions that are closely interwoven. The first of these involves social movement actors formulating cognitive frameworks concerning the goals and means of action. The second involves these actors creating relationships with one another and the third involves social movement actors making emotional connections that enable them to recognize themselves in each other.¹² Melucci's collective identity approach is vitally important in illustrating that social movement actors will always construct a "we" in response to a perceived wrong. As Melucci says, social movement scholars have consistently "failed to clarify the processes by which the collective actor is constructed through interactions and negotiations and in a relationship with the environment."¹³ It is through his collective identity approach to social movements that Melucci undertakes the important task of rectifying such failings in the work of other theorists.

¹¹ Melucci, 34.

¹² Alberto Melucci, Challenging Codes: Collective Action in the Informational Age (Cambridge University Press, 1996).

¹³ Melucci, Challenging Codes, 67.

Melucci, then, teaches us that collective identity is an enormously important aspect of social movements. However, while this is an important insight, the explanation of how and why a collective identity gets formed by social movement actors arguably tells us little about *what* it is that social movements do as they work collectively to create change. Indeed, an analysis of the collective identity of social movement actors is only one aspect of what may potentially be interesting about social movements. Perhaps Melucci's collective identity approach needs to be supplemented with an analysis that can encompass and move beyond a narrow consideration of the creation of a collective 'we'. This is an important issue and one to which we will return. However, in the mean time, it is important to note that regardless of his various strengths and weakness, the subject of which could fill up a thesis of its own, Melucci has very important things to say about the nature of social movements. These include the assertion that the social movement is not always a unified and fixed phenomenon but may be regarded as a process or network. Indeed the definition of any social movement is embedded in the present moment and bound up in the everyday actions of those involved in that movement. Finally, and importantly for the purposes of this thesis, there is his insightful distinction between those who use the term 'social movement' in a purely descriptive way and those who use it in an analytical fashion. Thus, he asserts that "the term social movement continues to be used by many researchers in a naively descriptive manner to refer to a supposedly unified subject." However, "one conclusion seems inescapable: the present day study of social movements necessitates a shift from naïve empirical generalizations to analytical concepts."¹⁴ It is to an account of one potentially useful analytical concept that I now turn.

¹⁴ Melucci, Nomads of the Present, 29.

The Social Movement as a New Form of Politics

As a result of the work of New Social Movement scholars and others it has become fashionable in recent years to define the social movement as ‘a new form of politics’. Thus Melucci himself claims that

the emerging forms of collective action differ from the conventional models of political organisation and operate increasingly outside the established parameters of political systems. In complex societies collective action creates new spaces which function as a genuine sub-system. These social spaces are the products of different forms of behaviour which the system is unable to integrate.¹⁵

Social movements thus represent a different way of ‘doing’ politics. The rallying cry of this type of analysis is that social movements engage in a form of non-institutional politics, which takes place outside the institutional boundaries of the state. Thus Claus Offe agrees with Melucci when he says that social movements

claim a type of issue that is neither private (in the sense of being of no legitimate concern to others) nor public (in the sense of being recognised as the legitimate object of official political institutions and actors)... The new movements’ space of action is *non-institutional politics*, which is not provided for in liberal democracy and the welfare state.¹⁶

Undeniably, a major advantage of this approach lies in its implicit recognition that ‘social’ movements are in fact inherently *political* in nature. Political, that is, in the broadest sense of the word. Thus an exploration of what a social movement is ultimately leads to a consideration and possible revolution of how the political is and can be conceived. This has resulted in a renewed and deserved interest in social movements, traditionally the concern mainly of sociologists, on the part of progressively minded

¹⁵ Melucci, 56.

¹⁶ Claus Offe, “Challenging the boundaries of Institutional Politics: Social Movements since the 1960s,” in Changing Boundaries of the Political: Essays on the Evolving Balance Between the State and Society, Public and Private in Europe, ed. Charles Maier (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 69.

political scientists. As David Slater puts it, the “role of social movements has been to reveal the concealed meanings of the political encased in the social.”¹⁷ Politics, in a new enlarged form, takes centre stage, then, in this analysis.

Arguably, this new form of non-institutional politics represents a resistant style of politics that avoids dualistically defining itself solely in relation to forms of power such as the state. Useful in this respect is the analysis of Steve Pile. He tells us that “the sense that resistance might happen under authority’s nose or outside tightly controlled places implies that resistance may have its own distinct spatialities.”¹⁸ Importantly it also implies that “resistance is uncoupled from domination” and this “forces reconsideration of the presumption that domination and resistance are locked in some perpetual death dance of control.”¹⁹ Thought of in this way, then, social movements avoid directing all their energy against some force considerably more powerful than themselves and avoid being ruled by the system that governs political conduct within the institutions of the state. As Pile suggests, when social movements avoid engaging in oppositional politics and “turn their face away from power” and from the state, they create new political space. This space allows for the fluidity, movement and complexity of everyday life to be realised. Movement actors do not have to reduce their highly complex individuality to ‘fit’ into the narrow pre-given and permanent categories of citizenship; they do not have to articulate traditional ‘interests’, demonstrate traditional ‘political power’ or speak a conventional ‘political’ language of persuasion. Instead they can be more creative and innovative in their strategies and tactics and therefore allow for the transformation of

¹⁷ David Slater, “Spatial Politics/Social Movements: Questions of (b)orders and resistance in global times” in *Geographies of Resistance*, eds. Steve Pile and Michael Keith (London: Routledge, 1997), 263.

¹⁸ Steve Pile, “Opposition, Political Identities and Spaces of Resistance,” in Pile and Keith, 2.

¹⁹ Pile, 2.

both their own identities and of the political process. Looking at social movements in this way reminds us that the social movement is always political, yet cannot be defined solely in relation to the state. The social movement then inherently forms its own 'spatialities' while it simultaneously expands our conception of the political.

The Social Movement as an Educational Process of Making New Meaning

We have seen that the act of definition is inherently problematic. The social movement can, however, be conceived as a form of collectivity moving in relation to the social order and trying to change that social order. Melucci has taught us that this 'collectivity' does not need to be viewed as a unified or bounded totality. Instead the term social movement, in effect, can be understood not as a description or a noun but as a verb - as an active process taking place in the present and involving a network of actors. I have begun to sketch a framework that sees the social movement as a political and often unique process which involves non-institutional forms of action. However, it remains for us to establish what this 'new form of politics' looks like. One answer to this question, which both encompasses Melucci's emphasis on collective identity and moves beyond, is to view the social movement as a format for questioning the socially given. A social movement, in this analysis, is a group of people who are not only engaged in a struggle over 'meaning' in society, but are also engaged in a struggle to define the reality of that society. Implicit in this analysis is an endorsement of Radhika Desai's claim that "politics is essentially a struggle for hegemony."²⁰ Thus, again the 'social' movement is *political* and can be implicated in expanding the accepted conceptions of the political. However, one of the central components of this expanded conception of the political

²⁰ Radhika Desai, *Intellectuals and Socialism: Social Democrats and the British Labour Party* (Lawrence & Wishart, 1994), 13.

concerns the important role of discourse and of hegemonic ideas in the maintenance of the status quo. As David Slater suggests, “a critical feature of the political [now] relates to the questioning of the socially given, of what appears to be socially natural and uncontested.”²¹ Social movements, in this approach, as they strive to alter the way we live together and attempt to engage in a new form of politics, are inevitably involved in questioning the dominant societal frameworks in which citizens are expected to exist.

One of the most important things about social movements under this approach, then, is that, in a Gramscian sense, they provide a format to question the socially given and to make power visible. They unmask common sense assumptions behind hegemonic discourse and in doing so they provide a space for the creation of new meaning in the world and the creation of new knowledge. The analysis of social movement scholars Ron Eyerman and Andrew Jamison is useful in this regard. These authors view

social movements as processes in formation.... All social life can be seen as a combination of action and construction, forms of practical activity that are informed by some underlying project.... Social movements are thus best conceived of as temporary public spaces, as moments of collective creation that provide societies with ideas, identities and even ideals.²²

This active construction and reflection on an underlying project, which they argue is vital to any understanding of social movements, Eyerman and Jamison term ‘cognitive praxis’. Through their cognitive praxis, social movement actors create moments of ‘collective creation’ and thus construct new ideas and new knowledges. Social movements under this educational approach are sites where alternative possibilities and visions for organizing society get imagined and where the understanding needed to activate such

²¹ Slater in Pile and Keith, 262.

²² Ron Eyerman and Andrew Jamison, Social Movements: A Cognitive Approach (Pennsylvania University Press, 1991), 2-4.

visions gets produced and shared through a process of collective learning. The knowledge needed to change the world, under this approach, does not just 'exist' out there to be discovered in an external 'reality' but instead must be actively created through and by social movement actors. In a case study of learning in a Canadian Social Justice Network influenced by Eyerman and Jamison's approach, Janet Conway reminds us that the learning that takes place and the knowledge that gets created in social movements needs to be recognised as activist-led and as more than simply rational cognition. She says that the space created by social movements both requires and allows for "a political praxis grounded in and giving rise to new theories and practices of knowledge" and that these new theories of knowledge provide many possibilities for future study.²³ The new theories of knowledge produced by social movements may teach us to recognise and validate differing forms of knowledge such as, for example, emotional literacy or the ability to listen. These ways of knowing do not seem to be based on the reasoning ability of the mind alone and cannot be reduced to a solely rational function.

If we are to make use of Eyerman and Jamison's analysis, then, it is important to note that the cognitive space they point to should not be understood as existing outside of the individual and the action of the individual and nor should it be understood as a purely idealistic terrain. In contrast, the idea of social movements as cognitive praxis, if used carefully, allows a materially grounded analysis that avoids the abstraction of overarching theories that can negate the multiple meanings encased in the everyday life of social and political actors. Melucci suggests, "if the basis of contemporary conflicts has shifted towards the production of meaning, then they seemingly have little to do with politics.

²³ Janet Conway, "Knowledge and the Impasse in Left Politics: Potentials and Problems in Social Movement Practice," *Studies in Political Economy* 62 (2000): 65.

Instead collective action concerns everyday life, personal relationships, and new conceptions of space and time.”²⁴ While it is essential to quarrel with Melucci’s narrow conception of the political, his insights into the new concerns of collective action remain cogent. If social movements are formats for questioning the socially given and creating new knowledge, then this activity must inevitably saturate every-day life in order to be successful. It must address the (possibly temporary and socially constructed but nonetheless dominant and constraining) structures of power. It is inherently bound up with how people perceive of the world in their lived experience, in their cultural activities, in their personal relationships, through the language they use to communicate with one another and, as we have seen, as a part of their identity. Thus this understanding of the politics of social movements allows for the complexity of the individual to be realized. That is, the unit of analysis is not a pre-defined and fixed eternal subject (such as the male self-interested individual of Enlightenment thought) but instead is the messy ambiguity of our collective and individual lived and embodied experiences.

The construction of meaning and knowledge in the face of hegemonically controlled ideas of social order and the construction of identity that is part and parcel of this process amounts to the construction of possibilities for future living. This ultimately amounts to a process by which ideas get created, legitimated and expressed through language. Ideas, that is, get put into practice; theory becomes practice. This again suggests an overcoming of the opposing notions which are central to modern and patriarchal thought. As international relations theorist, Jim George, tells us “At the centre of ... inadequate understandings of global political life is a dichotomized ontological logic that assumes into ritualized reality a distinction between a realm of empirical ‘fact’

²⁴ Melucci, Nomads of the Present, 71.

and a realm of ‘theorized’ knowledge.”²⁵ This fact/theory dichotomy depends on accepting the notion that one single reality exists to be discovered and is based on Enlightenment narratives. It is thus related to a series of other dichotomies such as rational/irrational, culture/nature, male/female, science/art, public/private, same/different, self/other, mind/body, object/subject, active/passive and an implicit devaluing of one side of these oppositions. However an analysis of how hegemonic discourses are at once both theory and practice allows a questioning of all of the dualistic categories of such thought. The social movement, if understood as steeped in a discursive struggle over meaning, is explicitly implicated in such transcendence.

The main advantage of an educational approach to understanding social movements is that it transcends dualistic thinking and brings together analysis based on questions of identity and materialism, everyday life and culture, language and communication and theory and practice. It combines the advantages of a number of other theoretical frameworks. It allows an exploration of the collective identity that Melucci and other NSM theorists have taught us is so important. Thus, identity building can be understood as a process through which actors construct meaning and as an integral part of the functioning of social movements and their attempt to question the socially given. However, the educational approach moves beyond the identity paradigm, while allowing for an important analysis of the collective ‘we’. Before I conclude, I want to talk at a little more length about how this is so in order to illustrate more robustly why it is important, both theoretically and practically to understand social movements as a process of making meaning.

²⁵ Jim George, “Understanding International Relations after the Cold War: Probing Beyond the Realist Legacy,” in *Challenging Boundaries: Global Flows, Territorial Identities*, eds. Michael J. Shapiro and Hayward R. Alker (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996), 40.

Melucci himself tells us that his idea of “collective identity presupposed a self-reflective ability of social actors.”²⁶ Arguably, educational practice or the process of making meaning through questioning the socially given and elaborating alternative knowledges amounts to creating, maintaining and utilizing a “self-reflective ability” which is, as Melucci suggests, prior to the formation of identity. Melucci goes on to tell us that “the process by which a collective identity is constructed, maintained, and adapted always has two sides to it: on the one hand, the inner complexity of an actor, its plurality of orientations; on the other, the actor’s relationship with the environment.”²⁷ While it is difficult to quarrel with Melucci’s overall claim here, it is not immediately apparent that this process can be understood solely as one of constructing collective identity. Indeed, the “inner complexity” of an actor arguably amounts to much more than just their identity; the inner complexity of an individual consists of all of their knowledge (of which their identity is only a part). Thus an educational approach to social movements considers the formation of collective identity an important part of a broader analysis of the creation of knowledge.

This interpretation of the social movement thus allows for an analysis that moves beyond other common approaches to social movements. Indeed, early on in this chapter, I introduced the two dominant contemporary approaches to social movements, Resource Mobilization Theory (RMT) and New Social Movement Theory (NSM). We saw that RMT, simplistically, is concerned with *how* social movements mobilize while NSM is more concerned with *why* social movements mobilize. I argue that the educational approach to social movements can speak to these two questions of how and why but

²⁶ Melucci, Challenging Codes, 73.

²⁷ Melucci, Challenging Codes, 67.

importantly it also can tell us a great deal about *what* social movements do once they are mobilized (they engage in an educational process of creating change through the creation and elaboration of new meanings in society). Indeed, when Melucci refers to RMT he says

concepts like “discretionary resources” or “opportunity structure” do not relate to objective ‘entities’ but, rather, imply the ability of actors to perceive, evaluate and decide on the possibilities and limits offered by the environment. They are premised on a theory of identity...²⁸

Thus Melucci justifiably claims that RMT is premised on the theory of identity that NSM has put forward. It is, as we have seen, my argument that it is not a theory of identity that these approaches to social movements are premised on but a theory of knowledge (of which identity is only one (important) part). This theory of knowledge can be understood through an educational approach to social movements whereby social movements are understood to be involved in the collective creation of meaning in society. Thus the educational approach represents a slightly different focus to these two dominant approaches to social movements; it amounts to asking a different question about social movements and finding a different answer interesting. As Melucci suggests,

ultimately, identity becomes a matter of the question that is asked and of the position taken by the observer. If one is interested in defining who the actor is at a given moment, identity provides a useful concept. Should one, however, be more interested in the constructive process behind its formation, then probably other concepts should be created.²⁹

I have attempted to elaborate one other ‘concept’ or framework for interpreting social movements. However, as Melucci suggests, it is important to remember that we cannot afford to rely on any one analytical framework if we are to understand all the multiple and alternative meanings of the term social movement.

²⁸ Melucci, *Challenging Codes*, 65.

²⁹ Melucci, *Challenging Codes*, 86.

What is a Social Movement?

One thing, then, seems clear: it is important to be aware of the dangers of analysing social movements solely under any one guise. A social movement is no one thing. There are many different approaches to understanding social movements, each supported by the work of some scholars and disputed in the work of others. This chapter offers one such approach, yet there are many others that could be (and have been) explored and reflected upon in further work. I have argued that some approaches to social movements problematically assume that a social movement can be analysed as a unified empirical object. They also reproduce dualistic thinking by continuously reducing social movements to two dichotomized categories. Melucci's work provides a more in-depth analysis that recognises the transience of definitions. It provides a point of entry for a consideration of how, if it is agreed that meaning does not inherently and independently exist in the world, we need to analyse social phenomena in terms of competing (yet in some ways complementing, and certainly interrelated) frameworks which seek to show how the meaning of a such phenomena is socially constructed. One such framework for understanding social movements is to view them as a new form of politics. This new form of politics amounts to questioning the socially given and the active construction of meaning and knowledge in the world through educational practice. The major advantage of this approach is that it transcends boundaries and leads to a view of the social movement as both engaged with power and simultaneously separate from that power. In this it reflects the ambiguity, complexity and double meanings to be found in people's every-day lives as they relate to the world around them. However, this framework cannot capture the totality of the meaning of social movement politics.

Indeed, it is only by viewing the social movements as at the same time both conforming to and exceeding various frameworks of understanding that we can grant ourselves the theoretical freedom to multiply the possible meanings of any given social movement (and of social movements in general). By multiplying potential meanings, we simultaneously enlarge the possibilities of creating alternative ways of thinking about the world. In this way we come to enable ourselves as social movement theorists and as social movement actors, to think beyond rigid categories that may potentially consign us to impotency.

Chapter 2

The Anti-Globalization Movement as Educational Practice

In this chapter I illustrate my argument about the nature of social movements by studying one of the most prominent examples of contemporary protest, the anti-globalization movement. An important way to understand the anti-globalization movement is to see it as an educational (and political) practice of knowledge construction and the making of meaning. In order to make this argument I first introduce the ‘anti-globalization movement’ and suggest, contrary to much academic and popular literature on the subject, that it can be viewed as a social movement in several senses of the term. I argue that while it is possible to illustrate the existence of a collective identity amongst anti-globalization actors, this identity is constantly in flux and inherently problematic. What it is possible to show concretely, however, is that the anti-globalization movement engages in extensive educational practice and that this educational practice appears to be a crucial aspect of the movement. Thus, I provide a tentative mapping of the forms of ‘social movement education’ that the anti-globalization movement is involved in. The purpose of this chapter is to illustrate that the anti-globalization movement can be understood as a social movement because it is engaged in a new form of politics which questions the socially given, and aims to construct new knowledge and make new meaning in the world.

Is the ‘Anti-Globalization Movement’ a Social Movement?

In the last chapter I attempted to supply an analysis that reveals how the definition of a social movement is transient, embedded in the present moment and interpretable through a number of frameworks simultaneously. Despite this ‘fluid’ approach to defining the social movement, some readers may continue to believe that we cannot sensibly apply the term to the ‘anti-globalization movement’. Some may reasonably argue that this ‘movement’ is actually a loose coalition of many different non-governmental actors with diverse interests and political agendas. Indeed, this could potentially be a damaging objection to the overall aim of this study (which is to explore the dilemmas that arise in social movement education through an empirical study of the pedagogical practice of the anti-globalization movement) and thus needs to be addressed before we move on.

The term “anti-globalization movement” has come to represent thousands (perhaps millions) of diverse activists from around the world who criticize emerging corporate and governmental policies relating to globalization and international trade. The term ‘anti-globalization movement’ first burst into popular consciousness at the time of the 1999 Seattle protests against the World Trade Organization (WTO). However, many activists and scholars see the roots of the movement in earlier protests against free trade agreements such as the North American Free Trade Agreement.¹ The 1997 protest against an APEC (Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation) meeting in Vancouver where protestors were pepper-sprayed by police can be viewed as an important founding moment of the Canadian anti-globalization

¹See, for example, Jeffrey M. Ayres, “Political Process and Popular Protest: The Mobilization Against Free Trade in Canada,” *The American Journal of Economics and Sociology* 55, no. 4 (1996).

movement, for example. In recent years the most visible manifestation of the anti-globalization movement has been large-scale protests at meetings of world leaders and prominent globalization organizations such as the WTO and the World Bank. Termed by some as ‘summit-hopping’, such major protests have taken place in many cities around the world. Indeed, an important aspect of the ‘anti-globalization movement’ is that it is international in scope. Thus accounts can be found of anti-globalization protest in both Southern and Northern countries including India, Thailand, Japan, Qatar, Brazil, Mexico, Argentina, Ecuador, Chile, South Africa, Zimbabwe, Italy, Spain, Greece, France, Switzerland, Sweden, Denmark, Australia, Canada, the UK and the US.² Below can be found a table detailing some of the main large-scale events connected with the anti-globalization movement between June 1999 and June 2002.³

1999		
June 18 th 1999 (J18)	J18 London, England. Carnival against Capitalism	Organized to coincide with the G7 Economic Summit in Cologne, Germany. A march of 2000 people (according to police estimates) degenerates into a riot in which 42 people are injured and damage is estimated at one million pounds.
29 November - 3 December, 1999	‘Seattle’ Seattle World Trade Organization (WTO) Ministerial Conference	
November 29th		2,000 people march through downtown Seattle.

² See, for example, Peter Alexander, “Globalization and Discontent: Project and Discourse.” *African Sociological Review* 5, no. 1 (2001) or Shoba S. Rajgopal, “Reclaiming Democracy? The Anti-Globalization Movement in South Asia,” *Feminist Review* 70 (2002): 134-137.

³ This information is taken from web-based sources such as *NWO Event Timeline* <<http://www.humanunderground.com/nwo-2001.html>> (1 March 2003) and *Actions Against Globalization*, <<http://www.nadir.org/nadir/initiativ/agp/free/actions.htm>> (1 March 2003)

November 30 th (N30)	20,000 people participate in a labour-organized march and thousands more mass in the streets. Small affinity groups of activists engage in autonomous direct action all over the city and blockade streets surrounding the conference centre. The Mayor of Seattle declares a state of emergency and WTO talks are postponed.
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2000		
January 2000:	World Economic Forum, Davos, CH	
February 2000	10 th UN Conference on Trade and Development, Bangkok, Thailand	100 NGOs and movements signed the 'Call of Bangkok', which denounces 'global governability'.
April 16 th 2000 (A16)	Washington A16 World Bank-IMF Meeting	10,000 – 30,000 protestors, 1,300 arrests. Meetings not affected.
June 2000	Millau, France	30,000 people march in support of French farmers.
21 st – 23 rd July	G7 Presidents meet in Okinawa, Japan	Demonstrations take place.
11-13 th September 2000	Melbourne, Australia. Asia Pacific Economic Summit meeting of the World Economic Forum (WEF)	8,000 protestors, 12 arrested. Protesters succeed in disrupting discussion of Asian economic recovery at the Summit.
26 th September 2000 (S26)	Prague World Bank-IMF Meeting	12,000- 15,000 protestors, 900 arrested. The IMF meetings adjourn early.
29 November 2000	One year anniversary of Seattle protest	At least 2,000 people join anniversary demonstrations in Seattle. Peaceful protest gives way to a tense evening. Seattle police fire pepper spray and pellets at crowds of demonstrators and arrest 140.
5 th – 6 th December 2000	EU Summit, Nice	Demonstrations

2001		
January 2001	DAVOS World Economic Forum. Meeting of world leaders.	1,000 protestors, 121 arrested. Swiss police blockade forces protestors to march in Zurich and Geneva
January 2001	First World Social Forum. Porto Alegre, Brazil	A gathering of social movements, NGOs and other civil society organizations designed to run concurrently with the world economic forum in Davos and to propose alternatives to neo-liberalism
March 18-19 2001	Santiago, Chile	Protests against the Inter-American Bank for Development.
March 27-28 2001	Thailand	Chiang Mai Anti-WTO Protest
5 –7 April 2001.	Buenos Aires	Trade ministers meet to talk about the FTAA. 10,000 protestors
20 th April 2001	Third Summit of the Americas. Quebec City.	34 leaders from North and South America discuss Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA) agreement. 30,000-50,000 protestors, 400 arrested. Police fire tear gas and rubber bullets at protestors to keep people away from a four-kilometre fence encircling the Summit conference. The talks of the FTAA go on unimpeded.
June 2001:	Visit to Gothenburg, Sweden by US President George W. Bush	100,000 protestors. Three protestors are shot and wounded by police.
20 – 22nd July 2001	G8 meeting in Genoa, Italy.	150 000 protestors. 200 arrested. The worst violence in the history of the anti-globalization movement occurs, culminating in a policeman shooting and killing 23-year-old protester Carlo Giuliani.
11 th September 2001	911	
9 th November 2001	WTO 4 th Ministerial. Doha, Qatar.	Decentralised demonstrations organized in at least 20 countries.
17 th November 2001	Meeting of the IMF, World Bank and G20 finance ministers in Ottawa	Meeting goes ahead, drawing a small number of protestors.

2002		
January 31 st – February 3 rd 2002	World Economic Forum meeting, New York.	Police make 201 arrests over the 5 days but there is no significant violence
February 2002	World Social Forum II. Porto Alegre, Brazil	12, 274 delegates meet from 123 countries as a counterpoint to World Economic Forum
March 17th 2002	Barcelona EU Summit	According to press reports, more than a quarter-million people took to the streets; clashes with police resulted in nearly 100 arrests and nine people hospitalized. Dozens of busses carrying protestors are turned away at the French border.
June 26-27 2002	Kananaskis, Alberta, G8 summit.	Largely peaceful protests held in Calgary and Ottawa

These tables provide a brief overview of many important anti-globalization events and give a good idea of the scope and extent of anti-globalization activity. However, there has also been widespread, localized and small-scale protest related to globalization issues such as, for example, the closing of factories that are being relocated to developing countries. These small scale protests often go unrecorded and are thus much harder to document accurately but form an important part of the culture of anti-globalization. Given the extent of the anti-globalization movement and the resulting difficulty in gaining a comprehensive overview of its parameters, it becomes important to ask what other commentators are saying about the movement.

There is a small yet rapidly expanding literature on the anti-globalization movement which attributes it to a global “public distrust of the corporate free-trade agenda.”⁴ Indeed it is common to hear the assertion that what anti-globalization

⁴ Kevin Danaher and Roger Burbach, Globalize This! The Battle Against the World Trade Organization and Corporate Rule (Common Courage Press, 2000), 7.

actors “have in common is the goal of expanding the practice of democracy to include the economic realm” and that protestors have an excellent critique of neo-liberalism.⁵ However, it is also extremely common to encounter critiques of the movement claiming it has no coherent ideology or identity and provides no alternative to neo-liberalism. Thus, one observer describes anti-globalization demands as “the *Communist Manifesto* rewritten by Christopher Robin” and suggests that there is no substantial and commonly agreed upon agenda for anti-globalization protests.⁶ Indeed there are a wide range of ideological perspectives and a ‘diversity of tactics’ present at any anti-globalization protest. There are numerous accounts, therefore, of the diversity of people at Seattle and other demonstrations and of the extent of unity among them.⁷ Writers, depending on their ideological world-view, variously claim that the best thing about the movement is its international, cross-class and cross-interest solidarity⁸ or its radically decentred diversity.⁹ There is, then, intense debate in the literature about the extent and role of unity and diversity in the movement, as well as about the organization or format of the movement, the media role in portraying the movement, the extent to which the ‘movement’ has a coherent ideology and the problem of naming the ‘movement’. All of these issues are related to whether the movement can be understood as a social movement and illustrate that this is a contentious issue. It is beyond the scope of this chapter to do anything more than hint at the rich and extensive character of the debate on this issue. It is possible

⁵ Danaher and Burbach, 10.

⁶ Andrew Marr, “Friend or foe?” The Observer, December 5 1999.

⁷ See, for example, Danaher and Burbach or Ellen Gould, “Siren Call from Seattle,” Studies in Political Economy 62 (2000): 35-42.

⁸ See for example Gould or Cecilia Lynch, “The Promise and Problems of Internationalism,” Global Governance 5 (1999): 83-101.

⁹ Michael Hardt, “Today’s Bandung?” New Left Review 14 (2002): 112-118

to claim, however, that it is difficult to talk about this subject without using the term 'movement' and in part this difficulty points to the fact that all of the writers are referring to a certain phenomenon that they are attempting to understand. Indeed the existence of this body of literature suggests that there is 'something' which is of interest in contemporary protest. The debate revolves around the nature of this 'something' and what we choose to call it.

The existence of such diverse protests and organizations and the widespread debate amongst commentators about the nature of the 'movement', as we have seen, makes it pertinent to ask whether it makes any sense at all to characterize this phenomenon as a 'social movement'. The answer to this question quite reasonably depends on one's definition of a social movement. In the last chapter I listed some common literal (yet both incomplete and simplistic) characterizations of social movements. I argued that what these characterizations had in common was the idea of some kind of collectivity acting (or moving or mobilizing) in relation to some sort of 'social order' (or stability or status quo). Beyond this, however, and more importantly, I argued that strict definitions artificially erase ontological and epistemological uncertainty, depend on dualistic thinking and the questionable belief that universal truths can be uncovered in a 'reality', which is external to language/discourse. Therefore, I argued, social movements can best be understood through a series of differing but often complementary frameworks. The aspect of social movements that academic analysis most consistently neglects, however, is the important point that social movements need to be understood as a form of knowledge production or educational practice. When addressing the question of whether the

‘anti-globalization movement’ is a social movement, it follows, then, that we need to ascertain whether this analytical framework can be reasonably applied to the movement. Before I get to that, however, I want to point to some potential problems, issues and challenges that I may encounter in my attempt to offer any answer at all to this question.

Primarily, I want to stress that I am not attempting to uncover the essential and definitive nature of the anti-globalization movement. My aim here is solely to make some suggestions for possible ways in which the anti-globalization can be understood at the present moment. To this end, then, we need to ask (while continuing to be suspicious of rigid categories) what would be a sensible measure of whether, at the present time, this phenomenon can be interpreted as a ‘social movement.’ Arguably, there are three sets of people with stakes in the movement and who have important and potentially informative viewpoints to consider in this respect. Thus, we need to look at the way the movement is understood by those involved in it, the way it is understood by the media and the way that is understood by scholarly commentators. Finally we need to look at the ways in which it can be understood (that is, the ways in which it is possible to make a coherent argument that a certain reading is so). The first two lines of questioning are necessarily empirical, then, while the latter two are theoretical and conceptual. None, however, is without potential methodological pitfalls. One such pitfall is that in asking ourselves how the movement is understood as a social movement both by those within the movement itself and by those outside of it, we are already putting to work certain assumptions about who is in the movement, how it is made up and who is qualified to comment

upon it. We need to be aware of the consequences for our work stemming from our choices about whom we ask and what we look at when we consider the 'anti-globalization movement'. In this chapter I use some widely available books and articles that are self-identified as commentary on the anti-globalization movement written by activists.¹⁰ It is difficult to tell how representative these works may be.

A second potential methodological problem in trying to understand the anti-globalization movement concerns the applicability of the work of other scholars. This problem concerns the extent to which, at this stage, the literature on the subject of anti-globalization is undeveloped. However, we can take the work of existing scholars on social movements in general and assess whether they can be applied to the anti-globalization movement. Much of our arguments about how the anti-globalization movement can be understood as a social movement may, then, consist of the making of inferences and the naming of implications of movement, media and scholarly discourse on the subject. This is especially true because no widespread empirical study has been undertaken on the subject and because the anti-globalization movement is a relatively young and still active movement. The attempt to characterize the anti-globalization movement must necessarily be tentative at this stage.

What follows, then, is a brief presentation of activist, media and scholarly discourse on the nature of the anti-globalization movement. A preliminary consideration of such discourse suggests that it is possible to make a coherent and convincing argument that the anti-globalization movement can, at the present

¹⁰ These include; Kevin Danaher and Roger Burbach, Globalize This! The Battle Against the World Trade Organization and Corporate Rule (Common Courage Press, 2000) and Neva Welton and Linda Wolf, Global Uprising: Confronting the Tyrannies of the 21st Century (New Society Publishers, 2001).

moment, be understood as a social movement if the term is used broadly and carefully. Importantly, however, it can also be understood as a social movement in a wider sense of the word – as a new form of politics that provides a format to question the socially given and to create new knowledge and new meaning in the world.

Conventional Definitions

Our first line of questioning must address whether we can apply the term ‘social movement’, in its most literal interpretation, to the ‘anti-globalization movement’. Neither of the two words ‘anti-globalization’ and ‘movement’ self-evidently applies to the phenomenon they supposedly label. Thus, it is not entirely clear that the phenomenon in question is related to globalization, let alone whether it is a ‘movement’. It is clear, however, that the media defines it as both. That is, they always define the movement in relation to the forces of globalization and in conflict with institutions of the emerging ‘social order’ of contemporary society such as the WTO and IMF.¹¹ Indeed many movement actors also define themselves as part of “a single rising movement”¹² (although, importantly, many may disagree with the label ‘anti-globalization’, preferring instead to be called the ‘anti-corporate movement’, the ‘global justice movement’ or the ‘anti-capitalism movement’). However, as we have seen, the fact remains that there are many diverse and different actors that take part in this movement. In a quick survey of anti-globalization activists, one may encounter Black Bloc protestors, organized labour, student sweatshop activists, conservative

¹¹ For example, during *Globe & Mail* coverage of the G8 Summit held in Kananaskis in June 2002, activists were consistently characterized as “protestors against globalization” (Lilly Nguyen, “Naked Lunch Hour Rally Enlivens Calgary Core,” *Globe & Mail*, 26/06/02) and “anti-G8 demonstrators,” (Dawn Walton, “Soft Approach seems to Work,” *Globe & Mail*, 28/06/02) and in a column by Rex Murphy protestors were characterized as “anti’s upping the ante” (Rex Murphy, “Cancel G8 Fundraisers,” *Globe & Mail*, 29/06/02)

¹² Danaher and Burbach, 69.

environmental activists and non-governmental organizations from the northern and the southern hemisphere, to name but a few. Arguably, these activists differ in ideological orientation and interest, draw from a variety of discontents and propose widely varying solutions to these discontents.

Perhaps our greatest problem, then, lies in an accurate portrayal of the extent of unity in the movement. Does the characterization 'social movement' imply some degree of unity and, if so, does the anti-globalization movement display such unity? We have seen that while Melucci is wary of characterizing collective action as a reified and unified entity, he does find in social movements some degree of unison and solidarity and a collective identity.¹³ However many theorists of the anti-globalization movement find that the

movement is autonomous, decentralised, non-hierarchical and uses networking as its primary structural tool – this happens “organically” with the minimum of organization. There are a vast number of distinct campaigns ... with their own distinct identity/ethos and specific goals.... Simultaneously identities are also fluid and shifting. Thus an Earth First!er becomes an anti-GM activist, a roads protestor, an airport protestor or arms sales protestor simply through their presence on each particular campaign. Activists do more than affiliate with different campaigns; they *become* those campaigns. People move around a lot, physically and conceptually, and many consciously avoid labels.¹⁴

According to such theorists, then, there is a collective identity in the anti-globalization movement but it is a shifting, fluid identity. It can be argued that anti-globalization actors (according to the media, according to some prominent activist rhetoric and in line with prominent social movement theorists) can be characterized as

¹³ Melucci, Nomads of the Present, 29.

¹⁴ Alexandra Jane Plows, “Collective Identity through collective action: The Environmental Direct Action Movement in Britain,” Paper for the Political Studies Association UK 50th Annual Conference, April 2000, <<http://www.psa.ac.uk/cps/2000/Plows%20Alexandra.pdf>>, (10 June 2003): 3.

somewhat united in their involvement in protest and dissent against globalization processes. However such an argument is also open to question due to the diverse nature of anti-globalization activists and concerns. Conventional theories of social movements and those that focus on an analysis of collective identity have only a limited explanatory power when applied to the anti-globalization movement.

The Anti-Globalization Movement as a New Form of Politics

An alternative to theories that rely on conventional views about the literal definition of social movements is to focus instead on questions more related to the meaning of social movements and their role in contemporary society. Thus our broader framework comes into play. Under this approach, the anti-globalization movement can be understood as a social movement in part because it represents a new form of politics. Thus it makes sense to ask whether those acting in the anti-globalization movement view themselves as acting in a political way. We need to look at whether the media promotes these views and at whether social movement research can support them. Additionally we need to assess whether it is possible to make a coherent argument that anti-globalization activists are involved in politics. This involves, as we saw in chapter one, a consideration of what it means to act in a political way and more particularly what it means to be active in a 'new' form of politics. Theorists such as Claus Offe stress that the new paradigm of which social movements are representative is a non-institutional one.¹⁵ That is, this is a form of politics that takes place outside of the conventional state-centric political system.

¹⁵ Claus Offe, "Challenging the boundaries of Institutional Politics: Social Movements since the 1960s," in Changing Boundaries of the Political: Essays on the Evolving Balance Between the State and Society, Public and Private in Europe, ed. Charles Maier (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987),

One problem with this approach is that it defines social movements in relation to what they are not, in relation to absence. It does not offer, then, very much in the way of substance. This becomes clearer when the approach is applied to a practical and empirical situation. It is easy to see empirically and conceptually that the anti-globalization movement operates outside of the institutional political system (it is not a conventional political party, government is not its primary site of appeal, it makes use of tactics such as street theatre which are not usually considered to be ‘political’, and so on). Yet it is more difficult to claim that they are nonetheless acting in a political way. We need to know what an expanded (‘new’) ontology of the political may reasonably entail before we can make this argument and this is a discussion that could take up years of scholarly endeavour. However, one answer is that being political entails desiring some kind of change in the way that we live our lives or in the way society is organized: it involves arguing for different priorities and different relations between individual and collective needs and desires.

A rallying cry of the anti-globalization movement, according to the media, activist rhetoric and initial studies by scholars, seems to be the call to instate and act upon different priorities amongst corporations, governments, and global society as a whole, priorities based less on greed and money and more on mutual care, respect and interdependency. Thus, activists Dunaher and Burbach tell us that the movement is “drawing up plans for how we could run the global economy in a life-centred way rather than a money-centred way” and “seeks to replace the money values of the current system with the life values of a truly democratic system.”¹⁶ Social movement scholar, Barbara Epstein, tells us that for many “the anti-globalization movement

¹⁶ Danaher and Burbach, 9.

means ... decision-making by consensus, opposition to all hierarchies, suspicion of authority, especially that of the state, and a commitment to living according to one's values.... It is a politics decidedly in the moment."¹⁷ Both of these quotations indicate that the anti-globalization movement is centrally concerned with both political values and priorities and the extension of democratic processes. This, again, seems to be an issue which could be further addressed as the movement develops (or possibly stagnates) in the future. As we have seen, however, primary signs seem to indicate that the anti-globalization movement can indeed be understood as involved in a new form of 'social movement' politics.

This is not to suggest, however, that the anti-globalization movement represents a completely unique and unprecedented form of politics. Theorist Goran Therborn argues that "conventional political discussion has failed, being either conservative – maintaining the old routines – or fashionable: seeing only the new."¹⁸ In our attempts to characterize the movement we need to try to avoid both of these extremes. Indeed, this is related to an on-going and somewhat stale debate in social movement theory about the relation between the Old and the New Left. It is a fundamental premise of this thesis that it is important to reject overly dualistic thinking in the hope that this rejection can lead to a more open and inclusive theoretical analysis. Thus, while it is important to be aware of the differences between social movement politics and more conventional forms of politics, we need to make sure our analysis does not become paralysed by an over-emphasis on these

¹⁷ Barbara Epstein, "Anarchism and the Anti-Globalization Movement," Monthly Review 53, no. 4 (2001).

¹⁸ Goran Therborn, "Into the 21st Century: The New Parameters of Global Politics," in New Left Review 10 (2001): 99.

differences. In other words, this is just one facet of the way in which the anti-globalization movement can be understood and it is itself, as we will see, a facet open to differing interpretations.

The Anti-Globalization Movement as Knowledge Construction

One such interpretation is that the anti-globalization movement can be understood as a social movement to the extent that it represents an attempt to create some shift of basic consciousness among movement actors and among the general public. Thus the anti-globalization movement can be seen as a group of people who are engaged in a struggle over meaning in society, in a struggle to define the reality and the priorities of that society and to create new knowledge. Anti-globalization actors, we saw, are constantly arguing that we must not, and cannot, unquestioningly accept globalization and its effects as a socially given. This framework, then, recognises the anti-globalization movement as a new form of politics in the sense that it utilizes innovative tactics and attempts to enter into dialogues that question how society is organized both conceptually and materially. It also allows recognition of the importance of the various educational practices that the anti-globalization movement is involved in. My goal now is to provide a tentative mapping of these educational practices of the movement in order to show that the anti-globalization movement is deeply implicated in political education and the making of meaning as a form of social movement activity.

Political education as social movement activity, then, is a place where knowledge and meaning gets produced, shared and questioned. Such social movement education is often explicitly political education that is directive and

transformative in the sense that it aims to create change. This change or transformation may take place in the consciousness of participants (perhaps leading to a change in the way that they behave in the world). Social movement education may also aim to share skills so that participants can go on to make a change in their own communities or in society more generally. Thus, social movement education may concentrate on the skills needed to be successful as an activist (such as what to do in the event you find yourself being arrested or how to attract the media to your protest) or it may focus on broader social justice issues (for example, the use of sweatshops by multinational corporations or the rise of global militarism). Furthermore and importantly it may be that the social movement is itself inherently educative. Day to day participation in social movement activities and organization may intrinsically lead to the acquisition of a host of particular skills and may raise consciousness about social justice issues. An emphasis on education as a political activity has its roots in the labour education of the 1930s and 40s and can be traced through the educational practices of the civil rights movement, feminist consciousness raising in the 60s and the practice of popular radical education in Latin America. The prominent position of political education in contemporary protest is, in part, a legacy of these earlier struggles.

Anti-Globalization Education in Context

The anti-globalization movement, then, is a movement that places considerable emphasis on political social movement education as an essential tool in the struggle against the forces of globalization. One of the few academic articles to

make any mention of this important feature of the anti-globalization movement states in passing that

one of the things that connects all of the groups lumped under the banner of the “anti-globalization” movement ... is their opposition to the official pedagogy of globalization circulated through press releases and the culture industry, and their efforts to construct new modes and sites of learning.¹⁹

This brief quotation suggests that educational ‘sites of learning’ are central to any coherence that the anti-globalization movement may possess and that such sites of learning are broad and wide-ranging. Indeed, a quick Internet search for “anti-globalization workshops” on a popular search engine came up with over 3000 results. It is possible to divide the educational activities of the anti-globalization movement into 8 main categories:

EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITY	BRIEF DESCRIPTION	EXAMPLE(S)
Training Organizations	There are several organizations set up across North America with the express purpose of teaching activists about the skills of non-violent direct action and about broader social justice issues.	The Ruckus Society, The Social Action and Leadership School for Activists (SALSA), Training for Change, Co-Motion Canada
Alternative Summits	When world leaders meet to discuss global policies, activists often organize concurrent forums in which to discuss and learn about alternatives to these policies.	The World Social Forums
Activist Conferences or ‘teach-ins’	These are usually one or two day events which are organized locally and which bring together activists to learn about a certain ‘anti-globalization issue’	Conference on Anti-Globalization held in October of 2001 in Chicago, conference on Resisting Global Militarism held in September of 2001 in Victoria, BC
Educational Campaigns by NGOs	There is a vast number of NGO non-profit organizations that are part of or have links with the anti-globalization movement. Many of these NGOs run educational campaigns around	Oxfam’s fair trade campaign, which involves organized workshops being held periodically throughout North America to raise awareness about fair trade.

¹⁹ Imre Szeman, “Introduction: Learning to Learn from Seattle,” *Review of Education, Pedagogy and Cultural Studies* 24 (2000), 4.

	certain social justice issues.	
Individual Speakers	When a group of people organizes for a speaker to give an educational talk on an anti-globalization issue.	Talks by Naomi Klein around the country
Educational workshops at protest Sites	Workshops run by experienced activists near the site of major anti-globalization protests in order to teach, for example, how to counter the effects of tear gas.	These workshops could be found at all the major anti-globalization protests listed in the tables above. E.g. Seattle, Quebec City, Genoa...
Local small-scale and individual workshops	These are workshops on either direct action skills or social justice issues that may be organized locally by individual activists.	One website reads, "From late September to early December, 2002 Briana Herman-Brand and Jeremy Louzao, two young activists from Bellingham, Washington, will be driving across the United States and part of Canada, hoping to talk with folks about the struggle for total social transformation". These two activists provide a diary of their travels, the discussions they had and the workshops they offered around North America. ²⁰
Social Movements and Direct Action as Everyday Learning	This is the inherent learning that social movement actors experience in their day-to-day involvement with a social movement and participation in direct action.	This varies from individual to individual and is hard to measure. However, one example may be learning how to manage the effects of tear gas from necessity after being tear gassed during a protest.

The extent of anti-globalization education is vast, then, and ranges from small-scale spontaneous or localized education to organized large-scale education. Indeed, it arguably seems to permeate every aspect of movement culture. In the following chapter I talk to four activists who, collectively, have been involved in facilitating or attending activist conferences, educational campaigns by NGOs, individual speakers, educational workshops at protest sites, local small-scale workshops and direct action as everyday learning. However, the other two categories of social movement education, the training organization and the alternative summit, also deserve further

²⁰ [From Resistance to Revolution: A Touring Discussion of Holistic Politics and Organizing](http://www.revolutionz.org/resistance), <www.revolutionz.org/resistance> (10 June 2003).

attention because of their prominent role in both popular and academic commentaries about the movement.

Training Organizations: The Ruckus Society

The Ruckus Society is the most famous proponent of political education in the anti globalization movement. Their website states

The Ruckus Society sees itself as a toolbox of experience, training, and skills. We provide instruction on the application of tactical and strategic tools to a growing number of organizations and individuals from around the world.... Ruckus has trained and assisted hundreds of activists in the use of non-violent direct action. We either bring activists to us or we go to them. Our showcase venue is Action Camp. Through these trainings, we help people learn the skills they need to practice direct action safely and effectively. These trainings contain cerebral elements as well as physical, classroom-style instruction for action planning, communicating with the media, and non-violent philosophy and practice.²¹

The Ruckus Society, then, aims to teach the skills needed to be an activist and to educate anti-globalization actors about the wider issues behind a commitment to non-violent direct action. It was founded in 1995 and according to a 2000 newspaper article, “has evolved into a counterculture phenomenon, training activists from all walks of life in the colourful but serious business of non-violent resistance.”²² The idea for the Ruckus society was developed when in the mid-nineties Greenpeace cut the proportion of their funding going to training and so left a vacuum in environmental political education. Ruckus thus has always had an emphasis on environmental education but has evolved over the years to encompass a variety of concerns. In particular it is concerned to highlight how education and educational organizations like Ruckus can be used as a ‘toolbox’ for the creation of social change.

²¹ The Ruckus Society, <www.ruckus.org> (10 June 2003).

²² Nicholas Riccardi, “Boot Camp for Raving Protestors,” L.A. Times, 28/7/00.

This assertion by an organization with a status as a 'counter-cultural phenomenon' is evidence that a widespread emphasis on the value of political education as a way to create change is present in the anti-globalization movement. However, there are many other sites of educational practice to be found in prominent anti-globalization activism.

Alternative Summits: The World Social Forums

An important and very visible opportunity for international anti-globalization political education is the alternative summits held at every major meeting of world leaders. Most famously, there have been to date three World Social Forums (WSF) held in Porto Alegre, Brazil, and organized to run concurrently with the World Economic Forums meetings of political and business leaders. A prominent website reads,

The World Social Forum (WSF) is a global gathering of social movements, NGOs and other civil society organizations who oppose an international neo-liberal economic regime characterized by corporate-led globalization and economic imperialism, and who come together to propose ideas, deliberate democratically, formulate alternatives, and share their experiences.

Every year, for the past twenty years, self-selected representatives of the world's corporate and economic elites have met in an exclusive gathering known as the World Economic Forum (WEF), held (until last year) in Davos, Switzerland. Sponsored by a thousand of the world's most powerful corporations, the WEF has played a key role in the formulation of global economic policy.

The first World Social Forum was planned to coincide with Davos 2001. Attendance was projected at 800; in fact, 10,000 people, from over 100 countries, showed up for the inaugural event.

Since the first world encounter in 2001, the WSF has evolved into an ongoing international movement that challenges the world wide domination of neo-liberalism and explores alternative ways to support a globalization process that acknowledges our interdependence and safeguards our natural environment. One that respects the rights and dignity of all people and is grounded in

national and international democratic systems and institutions that are predicated on principles of justice, equality and solidarity.

Throughout the day, the WSF offers workshops related to 'Thematic Areas'. These are sponsored and offered by the participating organizations (those who have agreed to abide by the WSF Charter of Principles). There, Forum participants discuss proposals, share experiences and information and build and strengthen the links between them in their common struggle. The Forum presupposes an overall balance of South-North representation.

The Forum also offers panel discussions, roundtables, and testimonies, press conferences and cultural activities. The Secretariat' assumes responsibility for ensuring that this broad range of activities happens. There is also a Youth Camp.²³

I have chosen to include a lengthy quotation in order to give the reader a good idea of what goes on at these alternative summits. Although the World Social Forum is the most evident example of this phenomenon, these forums have also happened to a lesser degree, world wide, however. For instance the Asian Social Forum in Hyderabad, India in January of 2003 was “an open forum, structured into eight major conferences and smaller seminars and workshops and discussions, in which some 10,000 delegates from more than 300 organizations representing social movements, trade unions, youth groups and activists participated.”²⁴ The most prominent feature of the anti-globalization movement has been large-scale protests at summits of world leaders. Now we also see that these protests have been accompanied by the organization of large-scale educational forums. These forums and the extensive educational workshops and conferences that are provided at them for large numbers of delegates are evidence that the construction of new priorities, new knowledge and new ways of living together is a priority for the anti-globalization movement.

²³ Basic Information on the World Social Forum,

<<http://www.kairoscanada.org/english/programme/WSF/basics.htm>> (10 June 2003).

²⁴ Ranjit Devraj, Another Asia is Possible, December 2002,

<<http://www.indiatogether.org/stories/2002/asf1202.htm>> (10 June 2003).

The Anti-Globalization Movement as Educational Social Movement Practice

My goal in this chapter has been to make the simple point that, despite the diversity of the anti-globalization movement, it is possible to paint a tentative picture of this phenomenon as a social movement. This emerging picture of the anti-globalization movement sees it as a somewhat united alliance of diverse actors, engaging in a 'new' form of politics, utilizing innovative tactics and ultimately attempting to alter received notions of how society should be organized, how 'reality' gets to be defined, who defines it, and what this means. It is a group of people attempting to engage in a dialogue both with other members of the 'movement' and with the wider society. Thus the anti-globalization movement is, in part, a struggle over meaning, values and ideology along with an awareness that meaning, values and ideology have very real and concrete effects in the material world. It is a movement which engages in a substantial and extensive educational practice that, in many ways, seems to permeate every aspect of movement. An emphasis on political education is widespread within movement culture and therefore the activists whom we will meet later and who offer political education locally are working within a wider educational framework. Finally, I have attempted to provide a tentative mapping of the anti-globalization educational practice in order to establish more understanding of the global context of contemporary educational activism.

Chapter 3

The Dilemmas of Using Education as a Tool for Political Change

We have established that the anti-globalization movement can be understood as a social movement in the widest sense of that word. We may now move on to the task of undertaking an empirical study of the practice of the anti-globalization movement in order to get some insight into the dilemmas that arise when social movements use education as a tool to create political change. However, before we proceed with this, it is necessary to sketch out a theoretical framework to inform that study.

The purpose of this chapter is to set out a framework through which it is possible to view the intersection between social movements, political activism and non-formal adult education and thus through which it is possible to view examples of social movement pedagogical practice. In this chapter I argue that people who organise and facilitate social movement education are faced with a central dilemma. Their pedagogical action in some ways controls and even manipulates their students while at the same time attempting to create the space for these students to enable themselves to break free of societal restraints and to create social change. Thus social movement education is at one and the same time a form of social control and a liberatory practice. I pose this problem by presenting the work of a number of theorists who can help us to understand the existence of this dilemma and, to some extent, its history. I then combine the insights of a number of scholars in an attempt to glean from existing theoretical literature what the pedagogical possibilities are for creating a socially responsible social movement education in the face of this ubiquitous dilemma between control and freedom.

Why Study Education in Social Movements?

The choice to study education in social movements represents a judgement about what is important in social movements and therefore follows from a particular view of the nature of social movements. If social movements are thought of as creating new knowledge through their cognitive praxis, then education becomes an important aspect of social movements. The educational practices of social movements provide a unique space for the creation and sharing of new ways of understanding the world, new ways of defining reality and alternative ways of ‘doing’ politics. Indeed, if one is to understand social movement activity as an educational practice, organized social movement education becomes an important site for the political struggles of social movements. This important and privileged place of political education makes it worthy of further study. In summary, an interest in the political education and learning of social movements logically follows from an approach to social movements which emphasizes the way that they provide a format to question the socially given. Before we move on to what it might mean to be interested in political education in social movements, I want to look at some of the literature on social movement education.

The Literature on Social Movement Education

As we saw in the last chapter, the contemporary ‘anti-globalization’ movement utilizes political education to a greater degree than many social movements we have hitherto seen. ‘Activist schools’ such as the Ruckus Society, Training for Change, Co-Motion Canada and SALSA have proliferated and flourished in the years since the 1999 Seattle anti-globalization protest. Additionally political workshops and conferences can

be found happening locally in many cities across North America and Europe. Despite this large-scale existence of organized political education in social movements the phenomenon, surprisingly, is relatively unstudied. While there is a substantial literature on transformative education in general (mostly from within a critical/radical paradigm), there are only a small number of theorists who are studying the political and transformational education that occurs within social movements. The most extensive consideration of social movement education to date is a debate that took place between 1989 and 1995 in *Adult Education Quarterly* involving Matthias Finger, Bruce Spencer and John Holford. Matthias Finger has claimed that both old (1930s labour movements) and new (1960s and 70s movements based more around identity than class) social movements “have a pedagogical conception of ‘learning our way out’” of the trouble we are in.¹ Thus he situates education and learning as an important aspect of all social movement activity. He goes on to attempt to delineate the difference in education in old and new social movements, arguing that the former was usually more organized education that promoted the same concept of education as the institutional system and focused on the education of groups. The new social movements, Finger argues, are ‘not political’ and thus their education is more aimed at individual transformation and is less formal.² Bruce Spencer takes issue with Finger’s excessively dichotomous view of the differences in old and new social movement education. He points out that education in all social movements can involve both informal and non-formal learning. Non-formal education is education that does not carry ‘credentials’ but is provided in an organized manner. Informal education is incidental learning that arises from the everyday activities

¹ Matthias Finger, “New Social Movements and their Implications for Adult Education,” *Adult Education Quarterly* 40, no. 1 (1989): 20.

² Finger, 18.

of social movements.³ John Holford is at pains to point out that social movement education in both old and new movements is the partial creator of these movements.⁴ Drawing on Eyerman and Jamison's work, he claims that it is through the articulation and formulation of new knowledge that a social movement defines itself in society.⁵ The work of Holford and the other theorists, then, provides more justification of *why* it may be important to study social movement education but says little about *what* specifically may be interesting about social movement education.

There are many interesting aspects of political education in social movements and there are many issues that get brought up when social movements use education as a tool to create social change. An interesting study could be done on the varying content of such education for example. In this chapter, however, I am focusing on the social relations that exist within political education. This is because it is my contention that at the heart of political education (and therefore of both social movement knowledge production and of social movements themselves) is a ubiquitous paradox – the dilemma of control and freedom. I have come across two competing accounts of political education in my research. One views education (or some types of education) as a form of social control or indoctrination, as an activity that directs people and substantially influences their action. The other sees education as, as bell hooks says, 'a practice of freedom', as a tool that enables and inspires people to take action and to create transformation.⁶ Potentially both of these views of education may have some value.

³ Bruce Spencer, "Old and New Social Movements as Learning Sites: Greening Labour Unions and Unionizing the Greens," *Adult Education Quarterly* 46, no. 1 (1995): 31-42.

⁴ John Holford, "Why Social Movements Matter: Adult Education Theory, Cognitive Praxis and the Creation of Knowledge," *Adult Education Quarterly* 45, no. 2 (1995): 99.

⁵ Holford, 101.

⁶ bell hooks, *Teaching to Transgress: Education as the Practice of Freedom* (New York, Routledge, 1994).

However in many ways they are in tension with each other. My aim is to explain how this dilemma has come to exist, what it is, what it may mean to find a paradox at the heart of knowledge production and therefore by extension at the heart of the social movement itself and how we can build a politically responsible pedagogy in response to this paradox. Thus my aim is to build a theoretical framework that can guide (and can be improved by) further empirical investigation into the practice of social movement education.

The Dilemma of Control and Freedom in Social Movement Education

It is my argument, then, that social movement education is at one and the same time a form of control and a practice of freedom. Thus, education is always a struggle over power relations and is never neutral. This power always needs negotiation. Political education is particularly haunted by this tension between control and freedom, as it is directive education that moves towards a political goal and serves an explicit political purpose or agenda. Political education particularly, then, is always involved in a dilemma and a conundrum between control and freedom, between authority, discipline and leadership on the one hand and liberty, autonomy and democracy on the other. In part because of its relation to power, such education always has inherent political implications and guiding common sense assumptions that need to be uncovered and interrogated. Additionally, this ubiquitous tension necessitates “a growing recognition of the continually contested, complex, ambiguous and contradictory nature” of social movement practice.⁷ The complex nature of this practice makes it worthy of further study. It becomes necessary to ask how we can practice liberatory education given that

⁷ Griff Foley, “Radical Adult Education and Learning,” *International Journal of Lifelong Learning* 20, no. 1/2 (2001): 77.

political education is always haunted by the spectre of control. Before I consider what a number of critical theorists have suggested for the practical pedagogical methods or possibilities for dealing with these tensions, I want to expand on how it can be that education is at one and the same time a form of control and a practice of freedom.

In any attempt to understand the dilemmas between control and freedom in social movements, it is important to appreciate that existing discourses about a phenomenon always affect our understanding of that phenomenon. As feminist theorist Jill Blackmoore suggests, “Educational stories both shape and are shaped by particular cultural and historical discourses about education, leadership and irregularity ... experience is constantly redefined by pre-existing discourses.”⁸ I will therefore begin by summarizing two important theorists whose approaches to education are particularly helpful in explaining the existence of this paradox between control and freedom. As I have said, in both my account of these two approaches and in this chapter in general, I will be focusing on social relations in political education. More particularly, I will be focusing on the teacher-student relation. This basic relation structures many forms of education. It is central to the conundrum of control and freedom that is the basic subject of this chapter and it therefore can mirror relations of social control or oppression related to the dominant capitalist system of production. However, it is also a relation between two or more active human agents which may potentially have the power to transform the relations of oppression that it mirrors.

⁸ Jill Blackmoore, Troubling Women: Feminism, Leadership and Educational Change (Open University Press, 1999), 66.

Antonio Gramsci: Hegemony, Counter-hegemony and the Organic Intellectual

The first theorist whom I will consider, Antonio Gramsci, is deeply concerned with the question of social relations and social control in society. Gramsci is particularly useful in theorizing how education is implicated in social control. For Gramsci, “the supremacy of a dominant group manifests itself in two ways, as “domination” and as “intellectual and moral leadership.”⁹ ‘Domination’ can be understood as traditional duress or coercion: as a system of punishments that operates through the police, armed forces and legislative and judicial system. ‘Intellectual and moral leadership’, in contrast, gets reproduced through the institutions of civil society such as the church and, importantly, the educational system. This form of supremacy consists of the creation of a hegemonic discourse or worldview that is widely shared among members of society. Hegemonic assumptions become so ingrained in our consciousness that they appear as aspects of common sense and of human nature. Thus they function to mask the actual relations of production and the extent of social control in society by creating internalized self-regulation. The function of education for Gramsci, then, is to create, promote and naturalize hegemonic discourse. Indeed, this discourse only becomes ingrained in our consciousness through a process of learning and socialization. As Peter Mayo puts it, “For Gramsci, every relationship of hegemony is essentially an educational relationship.”¹⁰ Gramsci sees this educative hegemonic relation of social control as permeating every aspect of day-to-day life and as functioning to support and perpetuate the capitalist world order.

⁹ Antonio Gramsci, Selections from the Prison Notebooks, trans. Quintin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell Smith. (New York: International Publishers, 1971), 57.

¹⁰ Peter Mayo, Gramsci, Freire and Adult Education: Possibilities for Transformative Action (Zed books, 1999), 36.

The work of Gramsci also reminds us, however, that despite the structural and conceptual links between education and capitalism, education may still speak to the possibility of human agents producing transformation. A rich and broad concept of the individual, an awareness of the potential of human agency and an analysis of the collective aspects of education can all help us to move beyond conceiving of and practising education as solely a part of the ideological state apparatus¹¹ and the hegemonic system. As Griff Foley suggests, “if domination is universal, it is also continually contested.”¹² Thus Gramsci argues for the subaltern dominated group to participate in a ‘war of position’ whereby, through sustained political struggle, the prevailing hegemonic discourse is questioned and a new counter-hegemonic set of common sense assumptions is produced and disseminated. To this end, Gramsci explicates his theory of the organic intellectual. This intellectual, intimately connected to and arising organically from the subaltern group, is central to the perpetuation of counter-hegemonic politics. The organic intellectual is seen as the means by which to unmask the hegemonic assumptions of the dominant society, create counter-hegemonic ideology with which to oppose the dominant assumptions, and educate the subaltern group to share those counter-hegemonic assumptions. Gramsci asserts that the function of the organic intellectual is “directive and organisational, i.e. educative, i.e. intellectual.”¹³ This intellectual is thus a counter-hegemonic leader who through educational ‘philosophy of praxis’ strives to create the conditions in which leaders are no longer necessary. A fundamental aspect of hegemonic or counter-hegemonic leadership is the action of

¹¹ Althusser, Louis, “Ideology and Ideological state Apparatuses (Notes Towards an Investigation),” in Essays on Ideology (London: Verso, 1984).

¹² Griff Foley, Learning in Social Action (Leicester, England: NIACE, 1999), 48.

¹³ Gramsci, 16.

teaching. This action, to a point, produces new organic intellectuals and then, beyond that point, creates the conditions in which they are no longer necessary. Indeed, Gramsci suggests that “school is the instrument through which intellectuals of various levels are elaborated.”¹⁴ Thus, for Gramsci, education and intellectual leadership are fundamentally connected and both are vitally important to the success of counter-hegemonic movements.

Gramsci is helpful, then, in theorizing both how education can be a form of social control and domination and how, through counter-hegemonic politics, it can also be a tool in the struggle to free the oppressed from social control and create social change. Importantly, however, Gramsci also emphasises that within counter-hegemonic movements there may also be relations of social control that need to be studied and interrogated. He states that

The first element is that there really do exist rulers and ruled, leaders and led. The entire science and art of politics are based on this primordial, and (given certain conditions) irreducible fact.... It must be clearly understood that the division between rulers and ruled - though in the last analysis it has its origin in a division between social groups - is in fact, things being as they are, also to be found within the group itself.¹⁵

Within subaltern groups, then, for Gramsci, there continues to be a hierarchical division between rulers and ruled. The ‘ruled’ or the ‘led’ are either explicitly or implicitly controlled by the ‘rulers’ or ‘leaders’. Gramsci goes on to say,

In the formation of leaders, one premise is fundamental: is the intention that there should always be rulers and ruled, or is the objective to create the conditions in which this division is no longer necessary? In other words, is the initial premise the perpetual division of the human race, or the belief that this division is only a historical fact, corresponding to certain circumstances?¹⁶

¹⁴ Gramsci, 10.

¹⁵ Gramsci, 144.

¹⁶ Gramsci, 144.

Gramsci suggests that the fundamental purpose of the existence of leaders and led might not be to constantly reproduce this division but instead, given the correct conditions, to transcend it. Gramsci's emphasis on the importance of being aware of relations of control and freedom in both hegemonic and counter-hegemonic politics leads Peter Mayo to claim that "one of the major contributions of Gramsci's hegemony theory is that it places emphasis on the way power is ubiquitous and manifests itself even in the most intimate social relations."¹⁷ Thus Gramsci's work is a helpful guide when attempting to reveal the way that a study of social movement education can make power and power relations (both within and outside of the movement) visible.

Gramsci's work deals specifically with the way that formal institutionalized education is related to capitalist social control and the way that the education of the working class may potentially lead to the creation of a socialist state. However, his insights into the different roles education can play in politics remain cogent to other progressive projects. As we have said, his work uncovers theoretically the way that education can be implicated in both maintaining relations of social control and in transcending them. I believe that these insights apply to all forms of education including adult non-formal education and the education that occurs in social movements. Indeed, as we have seen, existing discourses about education always inform the way that we understand educational practice. Gramsci's ideas are vital in illustrating the way that, as Griff Foley says, "learning and education are contradictory in that they both reproduce 'attitudes, activities, and artefacts which support ... the social order' and also 'produce recognitions, reactions and responses which provide for the development of a challenging

¹⁷ Mayo, 102.

and critical stance towards that order.”¹⁸ Thus, his work reveals much about social relations and relations of power that may exist (particularly between teacher and student) in social movement education.

Paulo Freire: The Banking Concept of Education and the Pedagogy of the Oppressed

Paulo Freire, another Marxist theorist, is particularly helpful in studying the teacher/student relation and its relation to oppression. In his seminal 1970 book, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, he adds another dimension to the argument about how education can be related to capitalist social control with his characterization of the ‘banking concept of education.’¹⁹ In this concept of education, he argues, the student is seen as a depository or as a receptacle to be filled by the teacher. He argues that this ‘filling’ action by the teacher can be a form of formulaic prescription. “One of the basic elements of the relationship between oppressor and oppressed”, he argues, “is prescription. Every prescription represents the imposition of one man’s (sic) choice upon another, transforming the consciousness of the man prescribed to into one that conforms to the prescriber’s consciousness.”²⁰ Thus he relates traditional teaching methods to oppression and argues that traditional education is a reflection of capitalist practice. The students’ prescribed education equips them with the knowledge ‘capital’ in order to enter the market place and contribute to the healthy economy and by extension the healthy society. Both education and the knowledge it produces are seen as commodities which will advance the interests of the individual and thus of capitalist society. This individual

¹⁸ Foley, *Learning in Social Action*: 49.

¹⁹ Paulo Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (New York: Continuum), 1970.

²⁰ Freire, 23.

is narrowly conceived as an empty vessel with no valuable experience or knowledge. When given the correct tools, however, this individual will ‘naturally’ advance their own autonomy and interest by rationally competing in the market-place and engaging in hegemonic behaviour. These assumptions that Freire uncovers in traditional education function to constrain the actions of both teachers and students and produce limited and exclusive hegemonic beliefs about what counts as useful and valuable behaviour and knowledge and thus, in turn, which individuals count as useful and valuable.

Paulo Freire’s *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* is also, however, the obvious starting point for any analysis of how education can function as liberatory practice and is a work of central importance in the history of critical pedagogy. Freire explains the purpose of his book by saying,

The object in presenting these considerations is to defend the eminently pedagogical nature of the revolution. The revolutionary leaders of every epoch who have affirmed that the oppressed must accept the struggle for their liberation – an obvious point – have also thereby implicitly recognised the pedagogical aspect of this struggle. Many of these leaders, however (perhaps due to natural and understandable biases against pedagogy), have ended up using the ‘educational’ methods employed by the oppressor.²¹

Thus Freire agrees with Gramsci that education forms a central component of any struggle to create progressive social change and overcome the bonds of oppression. Freire goes on to explain the differences between the aforementioned ‘banking’ concept of education and education as a ‘practice of freedom’ or ‘problem-posing education’. The purpose of libertarian education, he says, lies in its drive towards reconciliation, towards the transformation of the structure of oppression. Vital in this process of transformation is the breakdown of the strict division and contradiction between teacher

²¹ Freire, 43.

and student.²² Thus Freire says, “Liberation is thus a childbirth, and a painful one. The man (sic) who emerges is a new man, viable only as the oppressor-oppressed contradiction is superseded by the humanization of all men.”²³ This ‘humanized’ man (sic) is also an active learner with a sense of agency who replaces the fictional passive depository of the banking concept of education. As Freire states, this “activity consists of action and reflection: it is praxis, it is transformation of the world.”²⁴ As we have already seen, Freire links the oppressor-oppressed relationship with the teacher/pupil relationship. We see in Freire’s assertion of the need to supersede the oppressor/oppressed contradiction the echoes of Gramsci’s claim that the purpose of politics may be to abolish the need for leader and led or ruler and ruled (or teacher and pupil).

Freire’s analysis, then, complements Gramsci’s work. A recent text by Peter Mayo is particularly helpful in delineating the ways in which Gramsci and Freire’s work both differ and coincide. Mayo suggests, for example, that Freire’s use of the term ‘oppressed’ is not group specific and that therefore, in contrast to Gramsci, Freire recognises more voices. Gramsci refers specifically to the proletariat while Freire provides a more elastic concept in which the actors of social movements can more easily be incorporated. However, Mayo does remind us that the work of neither theorist can simply be transplanted from the politics of class to apply to any social group. Any approach which makes use of the work of these theorists requires sensitivity towards the issues of oppression that emerge from the socio-cultural context in question.²⁵

²² This breakdown of the teacher/pupil contradiction does not necessitate a complete denial of the intellectual authority of the teacher which comes from experience and competency but it is a claim that this authority must not degenerate into authoritarianism and that the experiences of others must also be recognised as authoritative. See, for example, Mayo, 74 for more on this important distinction.

²³ Freire, 25.

²⁴ Freire, 119.

²⁵ Mayo, 97.

Importantly this reminds us that both theorists are concerned with social relations in society. As Mayo states, “Gramsci’s more extensive analysis, in terms of power relations in the wider society and in terms of cultural analysis in its broader context, complements Freire’s remarkable insights into the power dynamics that lie at the heart of pedagogical encounters.”²⁶ Thus both theorists are fundamentally concerned with the problem of power in politics and, by extension, in political education. Political education is an important site where social movements make power visible – both the power of hegemonic discourse and the power relations operating between leaders and led and amongst participants. Indeed, like Gramsci, “Freire also sees action within the complex of civil society as serving either to consolidate existing power relations or to transform them.”²⁷

Responses to the Dilemma

The analysis of both Gramsci and Freire, taken simplistically, seems to suggest that when we talk about education as a ‘practice of freedom’ and education as ‘social control’ we are talking about two *different* kinds of education. This, I think does a disservice to both the phenomenon in question and the work of these theorists. It is more the case to say that education simultaneously has aspects of social control or manipulation *and* of freedom. The work of Gramsci and Freire could usefully be supplemented with a consideration of Foucault in this respect. As education theorist Stephen Brookfield suggests, “A critique of this bipolar approach to understanding power lies at the heart of Foucault’s work. In his view power rarely is unitary and often is contradictory. The same practices that are experienced as repressive by some are viewed

²⁶ Mayo, 126.

²⁷ Mayo, 84.

as libratory by others.”²⁸ Thus, Brookfield asks us to rethink power following Foucault. We need to recognise power as always present and exercised (though not necessarily equally) by everybody. As Brookfield says, “Foucault maintains that in modern society, sovereign power (exercised from above by a clearly discernible authority) has been replaced by disciplinary power (exercised by people on themselves and others in their lives).”²⁹ In texts such as *Discipline and Punish*, Foucault sets out his theory of power, stating that:

We must cease once and for all to describe the effects of power in solely negative terms: it ‘excludes’, it ‘represses’, it ‘abstracts’, it ‘masks’, it ‘conceals’. In fact, power produces, it produces reality; it produces domains of objects and rituals of truth. The individual and the knowledge that may be gained of him belong to this production.³⁰

Thus, according to Foucault, it is only through mechanisms of power that a social movement can produce new realities and new knowledge. Disciplinary power is both repressive and productive, both concealing and revealing, both beneficial and detrimental. The quotation also alerts us to the fact that, for Foucault, power is always linked to knowledge. He states that “it is not possible for power to be exercised without knowledge, it is impossible for knowledge not to engender power” and goes on to say that the effects of power linked to knowledge are “diffused, entrenched and dangerous, they operate in other places than in the person of the old professor.”³¹ Social movement education’s attempt to create new knowledge, then, inevitably involves the negotiation of the contradictory, diffuse and entrenched workings of power. If we accept that power is

²⁸ Stephen Brookfield, “Unmasking Power: Foucault and Adult Learning,” *Canadian Journal for the Study of Adult Education* 15, no. 1 (2001): 2.

²⁹ Brookfield, 1.

³⁰ Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (New York: Vintage, 1977), 194.

³¹ Michel Foucault, *Power/knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings 1972-1977* (New York: Pantheon, 1980), 52.

always present, and is not just operated by the teacher, it means that instead of seeing education as either liberatory or controlling we see it as both liberatory and controlling.

This insight into the devices of power in education changes our response to the dilemma of control and freedom. We no longer try to reconcile two separate kinds of education and 'resolve' the dilemma of control and freedom. The process of reconciliation is arguably a theoretical moment of capture and of simplification that erases the complexity of the phenomenon in question. In any empirical study of social movement education, it is important to express complexity and try to understand what this complexity might mean and what it may result in. Therefore, in order to build a robust analysis of social movement education that can acknowledge complexity, we need to utilize both/and thinking that recognises that political education will always be implemented in an irresolvable paradox of control and freedom. As communication scholar, Ronald F. Wendt claims, "there is some kind of emancipatory insight gained when confronted with unsolvable, ubiquitous dilemmas."³² We gain insight from expressing the complexity of the paradox of political education. One way to express this complexity is to listen to the people involved in negotiating this ubiquitous paradox in their every-day lives and political practice. Indeed such an empirical study is perhaps the only way to understand the meaning of this paradox at the heart of political education. However, it is possible, if we recognise and acknowledge the complexity of the issue, to put together from the work of other theorists, a framework of principles which social movement education could usefully address.

³² Ronald F. Wendt, The Paradox of Empowerment: Suspended Power and the Possibility of Resistance (Praeger, 2001), 25.

There are many theorists of critical pedagogy who analyse how transformative education can be put into practice. These theorists include Andre Grace,³³ Virginia Griffin,³⁴ Jane Thompson,³⁵ Megan Boler³⁶ and Barry Kanpol.³⁷ From a review of these theorists, it is possible to compile ten insights that, in theory, may be helpful for providing a social movement education that can adequately cope with the tension caused by being simultaneously a form of control and a practise of freedom. The following ten suggestions, then, arise from the critical pedagogy literature and might be expected to be operative among anti-globalization activists involved in social movement education.

1. Focus on knowledge production rather than knowledge consumption

Education theorist, Andre Grace argues that transformative education focuses on the collective and creative production of knowledge rather than on knowledge consumption.³⁸ This is in part because such education views learning as a collaborative process and understands the student as an *active* participant and not, in the words of Freire, a passive depository. Learning thus becomes a life-long and constant activity of construction rather than a simple transferral of commodified information.

2. Focus on how we are all implicated in relations of power.

If the student is understood as an active co-creator of knowledge then they are also involved in the wielding of power. This entails ‘teachers’ and ‘learners’ being self-reflexive about their roles and about how they are implicated in the construction and

³³ Andre Grace, “Parameters, Pedagogy and Possibilities in Changing Times,” in *Learning for Life*, eds. Sue Scott, Bruce Spencer and Alan Thomas (Thompson Educational Publishing, 1998), 114-124.

³⁴ Virginia Griffin, *The Craft of Teaching Adults* (Culture Concepts, Inc., 2001).

³⁵ Jane Thompson, *Words in Edgeways: Radical Learning for Social Change* (NIACE, 1997).

³⁶ Megan Boler, *Feeling Power: Emotions and Education* (New York: Routledge, 1999).

³⁷ Barry Kanpol, *Issues and Trends in Critical Pedagogy* (Hampton Press, 1997).

³⁸ Grace, 119.

maintenance of hierarchies of power.³⁹ Transformative therefore accepts that education and teaching always involve the wielding of authority and of power. When this is accepted as a starting point, rather than denied, both teacher and student can be more sensitive about the effects of this power and authority.

3. Aim to abolish the distinction between teacher and pupil.

As Freire explains, “the *raison d’être* of libertarian education lies in its drive toward reconciliation. Education must begin with the solution of the teacher-student contradiction.”⁴⁰ Freire argues that we must all become teacher-students and student-teachers and acknowledge that students come to education with a wealth of knowledge that they can share if education is viewed as a two-way and collaborative endeavour. When viewed in this way education becomes an essentially democratic attempt to overcome the need for hierarchy and the authoritarianism this can invoke.

4. Question common sense assumptions

The notion that ‘teacher’ and ‘learner’ play distinct, particular and separate roles in education is a common sense assumption for many people. When social movement education questions this distinction it is problematising commonly accepted dominant beliefs. Indeed, many theorists suggest that students and teachers must question common sense and hegemonic assumptions as a central part to any practice of transformative education. Thus, Barry Kanpol argues that inroads must be made to challenge the overt and hidden assumptions that frame education.⁴¹ This means that, as Andre Grace

³⁹ This theme appears in much of the critical education literature. See for example, Grace, Boler, Griffen,

⁴⁰ Freire, 62.

⁴¹ Kanpol, 4-5.

suggests, transformative education should always begin by questioning yet accept that there are no ready-made answers to these questions.⁴²

5. Be based on dialogue and debate and be viewed as a collective and interactive process.

It is through dialogue that common sense assumptions are questioned and Freire's student-teacher contradiction is resolved. The notion of dialogical education is therefore central to education as a practice of freedom. Dialogical education requires that education foster open communication, that safe and supportive space is provided for debate and dialogue, that broad participation is encouraged and that space is made for both listening and speaking and for both silence and noise. As Andre Grace suggests, transformative education fosters new relationships and views knowledge-building as a collective and dynamic interactive political process.⁴³ Ultimately this means that such education must be based on trust between teacher and learner and between learner and learner and must emphasise the community rather than the individual.

6. Take on the issue of language and of absence and presence in discourse

Transformative education is self-reflexive about its own discourses as well as about the hegemonic discourse of the dominant society. It calls for a constant awareness of the effects of implicit and explicit exclusion based on race, ethnicity, sexuality, gender, sex, disability or any other factor. Importantly here, education which aims to transform society in some way also needs to be particularly aware of how its discourse excludes or includes people based on their ideological beliefs or politics.

⁴² Grace, 124.

⁴³ Grace, 119.

7. *Take a holistic approach that makes room for emotion*

This awareness of inclusion and exclusion extends to an analysis of how education can function to regulate which parts of ourselves we value. Thus, Virginia Griffin agrees that we must recognise that both positive and negative emotions play a crucial role in enabling learning.⁴⁴ Boler argues that we need to practice a ‘pedagogy of discomfort’, which invites emotions as part of critical and ethical inquiry.⁴⁵ Both theorists suggest that, in order to achieve holistic learning, we need to take into account emotions as well as rationality, we need to take into account the whole body of both teachers and students.

8. *Bring different kinds of education into a learning intersection*

When we respect holistic and non-rational ways of knowing we inevitably engage in different forms of learning. Andre Grace tells us that transformative education needs to bring different forms of education into a learning intersection where they can inform one another.⁴⁶ This intersection also needs to extend to people with different experiences, politics, and of differing race, ethnicities, abilities, sexualities and gender so that they can engage in open dialogue where both differences and similarities are respected.

9. *Be subject to a robust and on-going critique*

This emphasis on openness and awareness of differing ways of learning, knowing and being amounts to a call for transformative education to be subject to a robust and on-going critique. These theorists suggest, then, that social movement education needs to be

⁴⁴ Griffin, 107.

⁴⁵ Boler, 175.

⁴⁶ Grace, 123.

self-reflexive and self-reflective and constantly questioned and interrogated in order to create critical perspectives.

10. Consider how theory and practice inform one another.

A reflective practice of transformative education is always an attempt to transform theory into practice and as such it must be grounded in the serious material realities, and experiences of every day life. Indeed, social movement education is always related to the issue of praxis. Whether it be Eyerman and Jamison's 'cognitive praxis', Gramsci's 'philosophy of praxis' or Freire's transformative praxis, it seems that all of the theorists are concerned with how social movements and education represent the dialectical unity of theory and practice. However, Barry Kanpol argues that theorists of transformative education have, in many ways, "become stymied by an intolerance of praxis. Thus their transformational argument is 'rarely accessible to educational practitioners.'"⁴⁷ Despite the validity of their critique, many theorists of education do not provide any substantial methods for negotiating the tension caused by the dilemmas of control and freedom in social movement education. Thus even the ten points made here, while important, may not translate very well into the concrete. They may leave practitioners wondering exactly how and by what practical methods they can implement these essentially theoretical ideas.

Conclusion

This chapter has attempted to introduce the idea that social movement education is always implicated in a conundrum between control and freedom and between leadership and liberty. The work of Gramsci, Freire and Foucault has been explored in

⁴⁷ Kanpol, ix-xvii.

order to begin to explain this irresolvable paradox and the ubiquitous dilemmas and tensions that arise from it. When education comes to be used in social movements as a political tool of transformation, teachers and learners need to be extremely vigilant about how these complex relations of control and freedom play out in their practice. The insights of a number of theorists of critical pedagogy have been reviewed and synthesised in order to provide ten suggestions that may help in the negotiation of these tensions and which can provide a ten-point guide to an empirical study of social movement pedagogy. While the theorists I have reviewed raise some important questions and provide some preliminary practical methods for negotiating the conundrum of leadership and authority in the social movement classroom, more work is needed to make sure that we do not rest at paying theoretical 'lip-service' to the necessity of re-thinking and re-forming the political dimensions of education. Indeed, because of the manifold and unpredictable dilemmas and difficulties of social movement education, this theoretical account could be advanced by a study of how those who practice transformative social movement education deal with the relation between control and freedom in their everyday lives. It is to that empirical account that I will now turn.

Chapter 4

The Pedagogical Practice of the Anti-Globalization Movement

This purpose of this chapter is to study the pedagogical practice of the anti-globalization movement in greater detail. In order to understand these educational activities I talked to four anti-globalization activists from British Columbia, Canada over the first half of 2003. I start by detailing my methodological approach to the project and introducing the activists I have spoken to and I move on to present the results of our discussions. In presenting these discussions I have tried to follow closely the overall structure and approach of the thesis.

Methodological Approach

The methodological design of the interview process was primarily influenced by the demands of working within a feminist research paradigm. A central concern of this thesis is to provide an analysis that does not depend on simplistic dualistic thinking. Feminist methodology and feminist research have traditionally endeavoured to problematise established notions of the research subject by encouraging reciprocity and self reflective research and attempting to produce a collaborative theory generated together by both researcher and researched. Thus Deborah Slicer writes, “reflexivity requires the knower to put herself on the same plane as her subject matter in examining her social location as a knower and to do so at all stages of her investigation.”¹ Theorists such as Slicer suggest then that we must rethink the relation and division between an

¹ Deborah Slicer, “Toward an Ecofeminist Standpoint Theory: Bodies as Grounds,” in Ecofeminist Literary Criticism: Theory, Interpretation, Pedagogy, eds. G. Gard and P. D. Murphy (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1998), 52.

objective ‘knower’ (or researcher) and a subjective ‘known’ (or participant). Indeed, Jill Blackmoore tells us that self-consciously creating a feminist scaffolding for our research means rejecting the desirability and possibility of value-free research.² In this spirit of reflexivity, then, and in an attempt to make myself as the researcher visible, I offer some information about myself and my own relation to the people I am studying.

I am a female British Political Science Masters student studying in British Columbia, Canada. I sympathise with the concerns of the anti-globalization movement and thus with many of the viewpoints of the people I have interviewed. I am not neutral. Indeed, I have been involved in the fringes of the anti-globalization movement for a number of years. This involvement has included attendance at numerous demonstrations in both England and Canada, an active following of events relating to anti-globalization as they have unfolded around the world and regular contact with friends and family who are more heavily involved. My relation to the anti-globalization movement does not stretch to being involved in any organizing capacity. I do not therefore view myself as any sort of ‘expert’ on the anti-globalization movement and its political education. Indeed, I find that Griff Foleys’ question, “who am I to write about those countless adult educators – most of whom I can never know – who have struggled against exploitation and oppression?” resonates with my own position.³ However, despite not being actively involved in the anti-globalization movement to any great extent, I am not impartial and I do view this thesis as research and study in the service of social change. That is, I start from the question of how to create change in the world. My interest in political education

² Jill Blackmoore, Troubling Women: Feminism, Leadership and Educational Change (Open University Press, 1999).

³ Griff Foley, “Radical Adult Education and Learning.” International Journal of Lifelong Learning 20.1/2 (2001): 71.

in the anti-globalization movement stems from a respect for the people who devote their passions, energy and time to the attempt to make progressive change and from a desire to learn more about that attempt.

This respect for the participant is another tenet of the feminist research paradigm and inevitably means utilizing certain interview techniques. For this project then, I initiated open unstructured discussions with a number of people related to the anti-globalization movement. By using an inductive and qualitative method, I hoped to gather participants' perspectives on their own practice of social movement education in order to value their subjective and personal knowledge about such practice. My aim was to treat the participants as active 'experts' in their own field and to allow the agenda of our discussion to be driven by them. It is only through exploring the dilemmas that arise in the provision of social movement education from the specific perspectives of those involved in such education that a grounded and active 'micro' theory can be generated. This 'micro' theory should provide insights into the possible mechanisms of power within social movement education while at the same time respecting the variety of experiences that people confront in their every-day practice of such education. Indeed as Stephen Brookfield suggests, "From a Foucaultian perspective adult educators learn far more about power by studying the micro-dynamics of particular learning groups in particular classrooms" than by attempting to produce general 'macro' theories about the nature of adult (political) education.⁴

⁴ Stephen Brookfield, "Unmasking Power: Foucault and Adult Learning," Canadian Journal for the Study of Adult Education 15, no. 1 (2001): 4.

Introduction to the Activists

What follows, then, is the result of a number of exploratory conversations I had with four anti-globalization activists over the first half of 2003. These people were selected because of their involvement with organizing or facilitating political education (i.e. political conferences, teach-ins or workshops) on either how to be an activist or on the wider issues behind anti-globalization activism. Participants were recruited by contacting anti-globalization organizations, experts and activists in British Columbia and asking for suggestions for people who would have specific knowledge of the issues involved in the provision of political education. Some readers may note that all of the activists are relatively young, are active in a strictly local capacity and can not in any way be regarded as 'leaders' of the global anti-globalization movement (if indeed such leaders exist). From one perspective it may seem that none of the participants have a high 'status' in the movement and that they therefore may not be able to speak with legitimate authority on the concerns of the movement. Following from this, it may be unwise to draw general conclusions on the basis of what these young local activists have to say. However, I believe that this would be an error in judgement stemming from a misreading of the movement in question, of what constitutes legitimate authority, and finally, a misreading of my own intentions. The anti-globalization movement, as we saw in chapter two, claims to have a decentralised, non-hierarchical structure. It may be that this is a false claim and there do seem to be several organizations that possibly play important roles in the movement. However, talking to members of these organizations (who already have ample voice in the movement) may well serve to exclude the opinions of a multitude of individuals who are just as important. I prefer instead for the present

purposes to take this claim of the anti-globalization movement to a non-hierarchical structure at face value and to assert that it is not age or status which makes a participant's experience interesting and valuable. There are other factors which give a person legitimate authority to speak on a subject or on a set of activities. Indeed this authority arises by virtue of their involvement in these activities alone. Having said this, I also acknowledge that talking to any one person about their educational practice serves to exclude the experience of a huge number of others. For this reason and for many others, I want to make it clear that it is not my intention to produce any one overarching truth about the nature of the anti-globalization movement and the pedagogical practice of those involved in it. While I do not think that the experiences of the activists I have talked to constitutes in any way a radical departure from the experience of their colleagues around the world, I do not want to make unqualified generalizations about the nature of the anti-globalization movement and social movements in general from an analysis of their practice. Instead I hope to use these interviews as an exploratory tool in order to point to some potentially common issues in the anti-globalization movement and to identify one way (of many) that the movement can presently be understood. It is my hope that these interviews and this thesis as a whole will serve as a means to invite further reflection on the notion of social movements as educational practice.

To this end, then, I want to introduce four activists, Ushma, Dean, Kathryn and Lucy, who collectively have participated in a large range of the educational activities mapped out in the last chapter.⁵ I have provided the chart below in order to familiarize the reader with these activists and to detail the exact activities of each of them (upon which they are reflecting) in a simple and effective manner.

⁵ The names of the activists have been changed in order to protect their anonymity.

ACTIVIST	ACTIVITIES	MORE DETAILS
Ushma	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Organized activist conferences such as The Resisting Global Militarism Conference showcased in the next column. • Facilitated panels and discussions at activist conferences • Attended activist conferences • Works for Vancouver Island Public Research Group (VIPIRG) • A History Major and Women's Study Minor in her fourth year of study • Has been involved in anti-globalization politics since September of 1999 when she was 18 and in the first year of university. Ushma was "radicalized by the Kosovo war" and she says that it was then that she 'began thinking seriously about politics." 	<p>Ushma has been working for VIPIRG for two years. "The Vancouver Island Public Interest Research Group is a non-profit organization dedicated to research, education, advocacy, and action in the public interest. VIPIRG is currently active in issues such as global militarism, global economics and trade, local poverty issues, organic food and GMOs, and developing the research and organizing skills to be effective activists. They organize conferences, do research, lobby all levels of government, as well as write and produce publications."⁶</p> <p>In 2001 Ushma organized a conference on Resisting Global Militarism, the details of which can be found below.</p> <p>Resisting Global Militarism. A Conference at the University of Victoria, Victoria, BC, CANADA Sept. 27 -29 2001</p> <p>Opening Keynote Speech. Thursday Sept. 27 at 7:30 pm THE MORAL ECONOMY AND THE GLOBAL COMMONS by Rt. Rev. Friday Sept. 28 at 7:30 pm. A panel on the Ballistic Missile Defense plans of USA military with: Sven Robinson, MP; David Morgan, Veterans Against Nuclear Arms, and Paris Ann of Bombs Away. Saturday Sept. 29 Panels with John Price, Canada Asia-Pacific Res. Network; Sharmeen Khan, UVIC Women's Centre; Terry Wolfwood, VIPIRG and Barnard-Boecker Centre Fdtn; Cecilia Diocson, Philippine Women's Centre, Vancouver; Steve Staples, Council of Canadians and Inter. Network on Disarmament and Globalization and Jaggi Singh, La CLAC and anti-APEC activist.</p> <p>There will also be workshops on NATO, BMD, Nanoose Bay and nuclear ships, Iraq, Latin America and other topics, discussion groups, art and entertainment.</p> <p>Organized by VIPIRG (Vanc. Island Public Interest Research Group), Barnard-Boecker Centre Foundation, Victoria Inter Devpt. Education Assoc (VIDEA). And Canada-Asia Pacific Res. Network and sponsored by many other community groups.</p>
Dean	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Facilitated Free Trade workshops for a prominent anti- 	<p>Dean says "A lot of my experience has been with workshops presented by NGOs. The NGO I worked with on UBC campus has been central in the anti-</p>

⁶ About VIPIRG, <<http://www.vipirg.ca/>> (June 21 2003)

	<p>globalization NGO</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Attended activist conferences and workshops • Attended important anti-globalization protests in Vancouver, Seattle and Quebec City and observed educational practices there • Graduate student and Member of a Graduate Student Society Board of Directors. • Dean first got involved in politics at the 1997 protest against APEC in Vancouver although he had a growing interest in politics throughout high school. 	<p>globalization movement and the anti-war movement. They've been key to setting up networks surrounding free trade. When they do education they make it look really nice. Working with them is very little work."</p> <p>He claims that although he has attended many activist conferences and workshops, "Seattle and Quebec City are the most useful educational experiences I've had because it was such an organic experience." Dean also recently attended the Academic Freedom conference organized (in part) by another of our four activists, Kathryn (see below)</p>
<p>Kathryn</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Organized activist conferences • Facilitated panels and discussions at activist conferences • Attended activist conferences • Delivered workshops on direct action • Student studying a double major in Biology and Political Science with an extended minor in sociology. She's somewhere in between her 3rd and 4th year of study • Has just finished a term as a member of a Student Society Board of Directors and as Campaigns Co-ordinator at the Canadian Federation of Students. She describes herself as "recovering from my life in student politics." • When asked about herself says "I guess, 	<p>Kathryn has been involved in anti-war education since before October 2002 and is an active participant in Vancouver Students Against the War in Iraq which is part of a city-wide anti-war coalition. This student group she is involved with focuses on out-reach to connect with other students and groups and help them to form coalitions. They also coordinate regular actions and present workshops on coalition building and on direct action techniques. She says "we don't tell them how or what to do, we just present them with information and help them with finding educational materials."</p> <p>Kathryn was recently involved in organizing a teach-in around the war in Iraq which consisted of a day of workshops and panels of speakers. The panels were on topics such as the history of the Middle East, Iraqi culture and Canada's involvement in the war.</p> <p>Another workshop Kathryn was involved in organizing and facilitating was a coalition building workshop that toured various Canadian campuses. This was designed to "give people tools on how to build a campus coalition" and included information on volunteer management and the phases of coalitions. It also dealt with communication styles, creating effective task lists, and how to distribute power amongst groups so that it is not always centralized.</p> <p>Kathryn was also involved in organizing an educational conference on academic freedom. "My kind of swan song in student politics was the recent conference on academic freedom."</p>

	I'm just an activist most of the time."	
Lucy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Organized and planned workshops and educational conferences on anti-globalization issues Attended events with 'anti-globalization' speakers such as Naomi Klein Works for Victoria International Development Educational Association (VIDEA) although wants to emphasise that she speaks from her own perspective and that the opinions she expresses are her own and not those of VIDEA Graduated 2 years ago with a Social Work Degree 	<p>VIDEA is the oldest global education centre in Canada. The "broader mission of VIDEA is to inspire thought, action, and discussion on different global issues." VIDEA is a non-profit organization with charitable status which means that they are not involved in political lobbying.</p> <p>VIDEA are involved in several projects including producing a series of facilitator guides for teachers for workshops on global issues. In March of this year VIDEA put on the "First Annual Celebration for Global Understanding." This was a "multicultural variety show and a fundraiser and was put on in partnership with the Esperante Association." VIDEA also brings in speakers. For example in 2001, in partnership with VIPIRG, they bought Naomi Klein to speak.</p> <p>Lucy's role in VIDEA is to co-ordinate the YouthSpeaks Project and this role has provided much of her "experience of educational outreach." The YouthSpeaks project is a youth to youth educational project that aims to take youth at risk and provide them with meaningful involvement in the community. "It's community-involvement based and youth driven and provides an opportunity to creatively think of ways to reach out to the community." Lucy was involved in the third project which started in July 2002 and ran until February 2003 for which they received funding to put on 40 workshops, 3 events, a youth conference and a documentary. Both the topics of the workshops and the events were determined by team of eight youth.</p> <p>This team of youth developed a series of 7 workshops which included workshops on free trade/fair trade, global citizenship, international aid and community development, environmental sustainability, racism, youth leadership and, finally, the media</p>

Social Movements, Activism and Education

Given that the opening chapter of this thesis explores questions about the definition of social movements, it makes sense to begin my account of these conversations with this issue. In this respect the first point that emerged strongly from all four discussions was that most of the activists were not overly concerned with academic questions about the nature of social movements. Kathryn, for example, felt that the

debate about whether the anti-globalization movement was a movement and what it should be called represented 'activist navel gazing'

Anti-capitalism is better but generally I try not to put a label on it because that suggests that there are all sorts of things you have to believe before you can act and before you can fit in. In general I think we spend too much time on what to call ourselves and not enough time on strategies for change. Philosophical questions are important but change is most important (Kathryn).

There are two related points to be made here. The first is that while all the activists felt some connection with what the media calls the 'anti-globalization movement', none of them were overly concerned with the exact nature of that connection. Thus, as Kathryn suggests, they believe the movement should be open and inclusive and have flexible boundaries. People should not have to believe certain things in order to "act" in the movement. None of the four activists, for example, thought that the anti-war movement (against the 2003 war in Iraq) represented a fundamentally different 'movement' than the anti-globalization movement (although they did see some differences in emphasis). Indeed the priority for these activists is not defining social movements but creating change. This change may be sought on the issue of war in Iraq, in the policies of the WTO, on the issue of fair trade and free trade or on environmental degradation. Thus Ushma echoes Kathryn's rejection of labels and emphasis on social change when she refers to the anti-globalization/anti-war movement with the catch-all phrase "the movement" and claims that "there is domination and oppression in the world and the movement will continue until that domination and oppression stops". What these activists seem to suggest then is that if we want to understand social movements, what we are really trying to do is to understand a *process of social change* that resists reification and that is characterized by reflexivity and openness.

Social Movement Education and Activism as Knowledge Creation

This process of creating social change, for these activists, involves their participation in a large range of pedagogical activities. In Chapter one I argued that this educational activism could be understood as a process of the creative making of meaning and construction of knowledge in the world. This process of knowledge creation or the making of meaning involves:

1. Sharing ideas and raising consciousness and awareness through an active process of learning;
2. Questioning received wisdom (asking questions like, Does this relate to my own experience?) and presenting alternative possibilities;
3. Establishing common meaning through the creative, imaginative and communal interpretation of metaphor and language and thus constructing a space for shared dialogue

To begin to illustrate that the activists I spoke to view themselves as participating in the collective making of meaning, let me present in bullet format some of their relevant assertions.

Kathryn	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Education involves “a knowledge about how people can effect change and our ability to do things ourselves. It’s a challenge to the system of experts and it’s about utilizing self-knowledge.” • Education “produces a common base of understanding.”
Ushma	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “The movement is creating its own discourse, a completely legitimate discourse.” • Activist education is a method to “share ideas for solutions to common problems.” • In any activist education “there’s a lot of knowledge in the room.”
Dean	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “It’s about actively creating that consciousness through the process of interaction. And that entails experimentation and engaging in activities that are educational in a different way.”

Thus when reflecting on their activities, the activists repeatedly use words such as 'knowledge', 'consciousness', 'understanding' and 'sharing ideas.' On a surface level, then, it seems reasonable to assert that these activists are involved in a process of knowledge creation and that this involves sharing ideas and raising consciousness and awareness through an active process of learning (as in point one above).

It is possible to expand on this point, however, on the basis of a more detailed look at some of the practices the activists describe. In order to illustrate that these practices involve questioning common sense assumptions and the creative imaginative and collective interpretation of metaphor and language, I want to present at length Lucy's account of two workshops she was involved in organizing for the YouthSpeaks project.

Those were some of the most creative workshops I've ever seen. The freetrade/fairtrade workshop was called 'Overruled!' The youth researched the issues and looked into NAFTA and the idea that corporation can sue governments. They decided to re-enact a mock NAFTA court trial so they did a little skit where there was a judge and two lawyers. One lawyer represented a corporation suing the government of Canada for banning a product due to health concerns and one lawyer represented the government of Canada. The participants were expected to be the jury. So the judge would come in and say all rise and they'd all have to stand and then at the end ballots were handed out and the participants were asked to mark down a verdict to see which way it goes. It was not impartial of course but it presented both sides of the issue and because it was based on a real court trial they were able to go back at the end and say what was the actual outcome. The interesting thing was that it went both ways, sometimes the 'jury' would decide one way and sometimes another, but either way it was a good way to present some of the reality of NAFTA and afterwards there was discussion in small groups. I think it can be a really dry issue but the way they presented it made it interesting

Another workshop was the international development and food aid workshop. For this one the team of youth created a life-sized board game and split the participants into five teams. One person from each team would stand on a series of squares arranged in a circle around the space. The team would roll the dice and then move the number of squares where they'd get to turn over the square and there would be messages like 'flood, you lose all your crops, lose 10 points'. The team played

characters in the centre of the circle and would intervene in the game. So one was a representative from a foreign aid organization, one was a master of ceremonies, one was a government leader from a non-industrialised country. Each team started with a different number of points (representing money) and gradually as the game goes on they realise not only is the game unfair, that no one can win. The only way they can win is if they work together and co-operate. They're all standing up and moving around and everybody loves that. It definitely provoked some thought. The only problem with the game is that it can take some time for people finally to realise 'hey this isn't fair.' (Lucy)

These two “creative” workshops feature a prominent role for the imagination of participants. In the first the participants are asked to imagine themselves to be the jury of a court case. In the second, the participants are encouraged to view the game as a metaphor for international aid. Thus, workshops such as these YouthSpeaks workshops centrally make use of what education theorists Don Shakotko and Keith Walker term “imaginative vehicles such as narrative and metaphor.”⁷ These workshops imply an active role for the ‘audience’. More than just participating by “standing up and moving around”, they experience “a poietic process whereby the audience ‘recreates’ the work from their own unique experience.”⁸ Thus the NAFTA court trial is recreated and re-interpreted through imagination and this results in a number of different outcomes depending on the particular group that is participating in the workshop. The process of the making of meaning inevitably implies a large role for the imagination. As Shakotko and Walker tell us, “the imagination plays a crucial role in the enactment of this poietic (creative) process; and hence engagement of the imagination is an integral aspect” of knowledge creation in the social movement.⁹ Thus it can be argued that through the use of creative workshops which make use of metaphor and imagination, the anti-

⁷ Don Shakoto and Keith Walker, “Poietic Leadership,” *The Values of Educational Administration*, eds. Paul Begley and Leonard, Pauline (London: Falmer Press, 1999), 202.

⁸ Shakoto and Walker, 204.

⁹ Shakoto and Walker, 204.

globalization movement engages in a process of the collective making of meaning. To echo Freire, knowledge is not consumed and banked by the student as empty receptacle but instead is actively constructed together by both participant and facilitator. Through dynamic interaction, participant and facilitator collectively create common meanings. As Freire also recommends this form of political education problematises the rigid distinction between teacher and pupil.

It is interesting to note, then, that the use of metaphor as a tool for the making of meaning in anti-globalization workshops implies a fluid relationship towards usually rigid categories such as teacher and pupil. As Shakoto and Walker suggest,

the meaning of metaphor can only be comprehended if the imagination is employed to simultaneously hold the two perspectives presented by the metaphor in mental view. From a broader reasoning perspective, this same breadth of vision is absolutely essential in understanding the significance of a moral situation. The modern world is characterized by false dichotomies which force us to think in either-or dualities. Renihan (1985) argued for a more open view of reality called ‘disciplined naiveté’ which allows one to explore the middle ground between extremes and find truth in that ambiguous in-between zone.¹⁰

As this quotation suggests the use of metaphor is one resource with which to both illustrate and transcend dichotomous thinking. A metaphor suggests that a phenomenon can be understood as two things simultaneously. Thus it encourages both/and thinking instead of either/or thinking or to put it in the language of Renihan (as quoted above in Shakoto & Walker) the use of metaphor fosters a ‘disciplined naiveté’. Thus, when participants engage collectively in the interpretation of metaphor and the making of meaning they engage in knowledge production as both teachers and pupils. They recognise that power and knowledge are wielded not only by the facilitator but also by the participant. Thus they recognise the complexities of what Foucault calls ‘disciplinary

¹⁰ Shakoto and Walker, 206.

power' which is both repressive and productive, both concealing and revealing, both beneficiary and detrimental. Importantly this means, as we saw in the last chapter, that they accept that power is always present, and is not just operated by the teacher. This opens the way for seeing political education not as *either* liberatory *or* controlling, but as *both* liberatory *and* controlling.

Educational Knowledge Creation as a Practice of Freedom

Aside from claiming that the educational practises of the anti-globalization movement represent a form of knowledge production, one of the overall purposes of this thesis is to establish that this educational knowledge production is always haunted by an irresolvable dilemma between control and freedom. It is indeed possible to claim that the anti-globalization activists I spoke to see their activity both as a practice of freedom and as a form of social control. In this section I attempt to establish that while the activists I talked to are aware that their practice could never be understood as neutral, they continue to try to understand and to practice a liberatory educational knowledge production.

All of the activists that I talked to agreed that the education they were involved in was clearly not neutral. They used phrases such as “always subjective” (Dean) and “not neutral obviously” (Kathryn). However they also recognized education as a practise of freedom.

Ushma	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “You get the freedom not to play to the status quo.”
Lucy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “The potential for change is very limited if you don’t know about the possibilities for change... and I think there’s a whole range of really valid educational techniques you can use for that.” • “I definitely see education as a tool for social change. I don’t really see social change happening without a certain level of awareness. This awareness can come from within, from lived experience or it can come from education. So I support education as a practice of

	freedom. I think there's a shift that's happening right now especially in the university people are starting to recognise those aspects of education."
Kathryn	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Education has "invigorated my hope." • "I've been being a bit negative but ultimately that's why I keep doing what I'm doing. If we're not able to do that then we're not free. Education is about the exchange of ideas and knowledge and I think there is just something very free about it." • "The practice of education as an action of freedom is a large part of what motivates me to do what I do."

As can be seen from the table above, when asked how they felt about the term a "practice of freedom", these three activists spoke of a definite link between freedom and education. Lucy emphasised the connections between education, change and freedom and Kathryn related education as a practice of freedom to hope and motivation. Kathryn's claim that there is "just something very free" about political education is particularly interesting. It implies that education has a spirit of freedom but one that is perhaps inherently difficult to pin down and to describe. This brings to mind the activists' similar assertions about the fluid, inclusive, open and active nature of social movements. Just as the activists agree that there is a connection between themselves and the anti-globalization movement, activists seem to agree that there is a connection between education and freedom. Explicit and detailed reflection on the exact nature of either connection, however, does not seem to be as important as the process of creating change for these activists.

The activists did assert that a necessary part of this process of creating change (and of extending freedom) was engaging in liberatory education and that the need for such activist education was pressing. Kathryn felt so strongly about this that she had refused to participate in actions with people who she felt were not adequately educated to perform those actions safely. Thus she told of how she recently participated in an action

that aimed to disrupt a local Board of Commerce meeting. She says “There was a lot of very new green activists who had never been activists before. It was very noisy but it didn’t work out quite as it was supposed to. And I actually decided that I won’t participate in an action with them again.” Kathryn felt that actions need a “common base of understanding and that you get that by participating in education.... Before you participate in an action you need to know what your legal rights are, how to minimize arrest risk and make it a safe environment for everyone. You need to feel confident that you know what to expect”. Education is “fundamentally critical” to this. “You need to know how to take anger and passion and rage and turn it into something coherent, cohesive and make a message get out there. You need to know how to make an action useful and effective.” (Kathryn) Dean similarly emphasises that “there are things which it is just really good to know - like how to make an antidote to tear gas and the way the media is going to slant the things you say... Education is very useful even in the form of a high-school type lecture. Its important to know how to get arrested in a way that’s not going to get your arm broken.” (Dean). There are, then, according to these activists, certain features then that a ‘good’ activist education should cover and certain facts and techniques that an activist needs to know. A good or liberatory activist education is a necessary part of any effort to change the world.

Educational Knowledge Creation as a Form of Social Control

While these activists conceive of their practice as one of freedom, they also seem to be constantly aware of the parallel and more controlling aspects of that practice. I have chosen two quite lengthy excerpts from the interviews to illustrate this point.

We try to control how people think all the time and it's hard when you become conscious of it. It's hard to carry on as an activist when you have moments of consciousness. I'll be in the middle of a meeting listening to someone talk or listening to myself talk and I'll think 'Oh my god, just shut up, why are you speaking so confidently? How can you speak with such certainty? Why aren't you at least open to the possibility that you might be wrong?'... I just think that us employing the tools of that which we oppose is not going to win the day. If you accept the argument that 'it doesn't matter about that right now' then you are mirroring what we oppose. It is no different in effect and it doesn't change the essence of the problem... So, I think activists have to be as careful as mainstream educationalists not to predetermine outcomes... So much of our education is commodified and offered in sound bites, it's a really critical question of how to create alternatives to that. (Kathryn)

Here Kathryn emphasises the pain she feels when she has moments of consciousness about the controlling aspects of her and her fellow educational activists' activities. Dean fleshes this out further when he says

I think education as a practice of freedom is starting with people's direct lived experience and working from there. It's a tricky path to take though because you can never entirely start from the subjects lived experience. There's always an element that you (as the educator) bring to it... To a certain extent education is always a form of advertising. It's always got to be to a certain extent a practice of social control. There's just an element of control in education, there's always a degree of separation in it and an attempt to abstract. You start with people's everyday life and move to pull out the broader conditions of life and that abstraction is always there... The education that I was providing was quite structured and together it was like an advert (for the non-profit organization). It was all put together prior to the workshop. It didn't start from lived experience. It was a standard lecture. Although there were real attempts to break it down and make it participatory, in my experience there wasn't much energy to move it to that level of flexibility (either from the participants or from the facilitators)... Similarly, when I'm taking a workshop I always take it with a grain of salt. It really stabilizes a particular form of behaviour and that could potentially suck the life out of the mass demonstration... If it's talking down, like a talking head approach, it's going to stabilize a particular way of talking about things and doing things and I think it should be more of an experiment than that.... (Dean)

The words of Kathryn and Dean in many ways speak for themselves. They list several ways in which social movement education can be controlling. It can, they argue, stabilize

discourses, predetermine outcomes, abstract from everyday life, be a form of advertising and problematically function solely to mirror that which it opposes.

Activist Responses

The activists I spoke to seem to recognise that their educational practice of freedom also has elements of control to it. They disagreed about to what extent that was a problem. Kathryn found it “hard to carry on as an activist” as a result of the dilemma, while Ushma said that when organizing the ‘Global Militarism’ conference, “we had no qualms about the ideology we were presenting.” The bias of the conference, she felt, could only be understood in the wider context of the political and cultural mood of the time. “The reason why activists put on their own conferences is to get away from the indoctrination of the mainstream media.” The ‘Resisting Global Militarism’ conference took place only weeks after the 9/11 terrorist attacks. “How could we not have a biased approach when the media was portraying all Arabs as terrorists?” “We are pushing a certain view but we feel that this view is justified because the other view gets more air time.” When asked about whether there was a tension between social control and freedom in her work, she said, “there is a tension there and a danger of indoctrination but how much of a danger is it when we have to push so hard to have our view heard?” “We don’t benefit from it, it’s exhausting, it’s a lot of work.” On the other hand, “the media do benefit” from presenting a biased view. (Ushma). Ushma, thus, recognises that there are controlling elements of what she feels like is important liberatory work but feels that not only are these elements unavailable, they are also justified in the wider context of societal injustice.

What is critical here is that neither Ushma nor any of the other activists are suggesting that the dilemma between freedom and control can be resolved. The existence of this dilemma is either justified or criticized but it is never denied or made simple. Thus Dean says, “The last thing I want to emphasise is that there is no linear way of doing it, there’s no linear project to be pursued. There are always contradictions and I don’t know what to do with them.” (Dean). This recognition of their own inability to solve the dilemma between control and freedom is very interesting. The activists believe that this is not a problem that can be simply resolved. Instead, as we will see, the activists respond openly to the dilemma of control and freedom and the contradictory nature of power with a call for constant critique and reflection. They also utilize a host of pedagogical techniques with which they hope to minimize the negative effects of this ever-present and irresolvable dilemma.

Pedagogical Techniques and the Features of Good Activist Education

It perhaps makes sense here to re-present the ten suggestions made at the end of the last chapter in order to see if the activists can give us any further insight into them. From a review of critical pedagogical literature it is possible to suggest that ‘good’ political education (that is, education that can minimize the negative effects of being simultaneously a form of control and a practice of freedom) should:

1. Focus on knowledge production rather than knowledge consumption
2. Focus on how we are all implicated in relations of power.
3. Aim to abolish the distinction between teacher and pupil.
4. Question common sense assumptions
5. Be based on dialogue and debate and be viewed as a collective and interactive process.

6. Take on the issue of language and of absence and presence in discourse
7. Take a holistic approach which makes room for emotion
8. Bring different kinds of education into a learning intersection
9. Be subject to a robust and on-going critique
10. Consider how theory and practice inform one another.

In the opening sections of this chapter I claimed in accordance with point one above that the pedagogical practice of these activists could be understood as a form of knowledge production. In the following section I take the remaining points in turn.

Focusing on how we are all implicated in relations of power

One of the common themes that was emphasised by all four activists is that the key to a successful conference or workshop often lies with good facilitation. Good facilitation involves a high level of awareness of the dilemmas and power dynamics that face the facilitator in their practice. Thus Kathryn claims

You need a facilitator who is not so overbearing that you get a sense that they control the room. The facilitator shouldn't feel a need to speak but to help other people speak... That might mean facilitating smaller group sessions and pulling it all back together somehow at the end... Some people just keep talking and keep talking and the facilitator needs to have a way to manage that. A lot of people also need a lot of time to get comfortable. I think sometimes we focus too much on how to get people to talk and we ignore the listening aspect which is just as important.

There are two related emphases here. One is the claim that the facilitator should not 'control' the room. The second is that the facilitator should have a way to manage people who try to dominate the discussion. Both of these points are intimately related to the question of power in social movement education and in the facilitation of 'good' activist education. Indeed, Ushma draws this out further when she says that

[successful facilitation involves] understanding power dynamics. That means stopping domineering people and speakers and being attentive to

the mood of the room. People will say things that will hang in the air and people might not agree yet not know how to respond. You need to be attentive to that and make sure it gets brought out. You need to bring out people who are shy and who aren't speaking.... [It is important to conduct the conference in a] democratic fashion and be aware of who speaks, and for how long and who isn't speaking. The facilitator does have a lot of power and it is important to be aware of the power you have.

It is interesting to note Ushma's insistence that if power dynamics are to be understood it has to be recognised that power can be used both negatively (and that the facilitator must be 'attentive to that') and positively to ensure that the conference occurs in a 'democratic fashion.' This amounts to a sophisticated analysis of the way that power can be both beneficial and detrimental and how we are all implicated in relations of power.

Abolishing the distinction between teacher and pupil

We saw earlier that when participant and facilitator engage in a communal and creative interpretation of metaphor this inherently collapses the distinction between teacher and pupil. When social movement education is viewed as the collective production of knowledge then everyone involved in such education is a co-creator of meaning. Power and knowledge are wielded by everyone. The activists also, however, as the quotations in the chart below imply, suggested that even when 'good' political education does not make use of metaphor it continues to question the distinction between teacher and pupil.

Lucy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The youth on the YouthSpeaks team, some of whom had never finished high school "got to go and be teachers" when they provided workshops on anti-globalization issues.
Ushma	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> As a facilitator you need to "introduce yourself and tell people who you are so you're not a mysterious person with a mysterious power. I think that eases tensions – you are a peer and you should make yourself seem that way"
Kathryn	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> A good activist education should "try not to reinforce the myth of the expert that we all to a certain extent buy into" so should always try to focus on the "self education aspect"

All three of these activists suggest that an activist education which is aware of complex power dynamics functions to question the category of teacher and pupil or facilitator and participant. Kathryn for example utilizes both/and thinking when she implies that in self-education the individual is both teacher and pupil. Perhaps Ushma expresses this both/and thinking which problematises the relation between teacher and pupil most memorably when she says “there are no experts. We are all experts” (Ushma).

Questioning common sense assumptions

In the last section we saw that these activists see their practice as inherently questioning the distinction between teacher and pupil. Arguably it is a socially accepted common sense assumption that a teacher is different to a pupil. Through constant interaction and dialogue between ‘participant’ and ‘facilitator’, however, it is revealed that this common sense assumption is questionable. Indeed many anti-globalization educational practices are organized precisely in order to question the commonly accepted emerging order of neo-liberalism. Thus Dean facilitated workshops which questioned the justice of free trade and promoted fair trade. The participants in the YouthSpeaks workshops were asked to examine the ‘common sense’ belief that it is fair and just for certain countries to be richer than others. Finally, Ushma organized an activist conference to take a closer look at the often unquestioned role of the military and militarism in contemporary society.

Collective dialogue and debate

Importantly the activists also emphasised that this questioning of the socially given (which is a form of knowledge production) always involves a process of participatory

interaction and dialogue. This emphasis on interaction and participation can be seen in some of the phrases that the activists used below.

Dean	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Education involves “creating different relationships.” • Educational practise is “about actively creating that consciousness through the process of interaction.” • “Make it participatory.”
Kathryn	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Involves “really <i>talking</i> to people.” • “Means creating an atmosphere that’s open and that can encourage participation.”
Lucy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “There was always an emphasis on participatory learning.”

This collective dialogue allows activists to make connections and often gets people involved in social movements. The connections that people make as a result of participating in anti-globalization education can be both with other people and between related (though usually accepted unquestioningly as distinct) issues. Activists both meet fellow activists and uncover how, for example, governmental aid is related to corporate activity. As Lucy says “I build on the idea of global citizenship and looking at how I’m linked with people all over the world by the clothes I wear or the flowers I buy.” Thus when activists make connections they are utilizing both/and thinking in order to question common sense distinctions and boundaries. Dean says of this, “there’s a promise in trying to stretch those boundaries. There’s a promise in collectively transforming the meanings of the words you are using and transforming people’s lived experience through that process” (Dean). Again this amounts to a collective making of meaning through the communal and dialogical transformation of socially given and accepted knowledge.

Taking on the issue of language and of presence and absence in discourse

When we question common sense assumptions as I have tried to show that these activists are doing, this often involves asking ourselves, ‘Does this relate to my own lived

experience?’ Thus a ‘good’ activist education involves “starting with people’s lived experiences” so that ideas that do not relate to that experience can be identified and alternatives can be formulated. If education starts from the diverse lived experience of participants it inevitably has to “understand diversity” (Ushma). Thus, Kathryn, for example, claims that “it’s really important to have a multi-ethnic speakers list.” Indeed being “aware of who speaks, and for how long and who isn’t speaking” entails being attentive to presence and absence in discourse and the accompanying power relations.

Taking a holistic approach which makes room for emotion

As we have seen, the activists repeatedly claim that education as a practice of freedom starts from the everyday lived experience of participants. This inevitably means that this education must respect the whole body of the participant in a “holistic” (Dean) way. Indeed, Kathryn also implies that education should be holistic when she asserts that “I think sometimes we focus too much on how people get to talk and we ignore the listening part which is just as important.”

Bringing different kinds of education into a learning intersection

This open participatory approach to activist education encourages the facilitator to respect different ways of learning and to engage in what Dean calls “experimentation” (Dean). This nature of this experimentation “depends on the purpose of the workshop.” All of the activists suggest that there are different forms of education that are useful for different purposes. They talk, for example, of combining education which takes a “talking heads” approach with more participatory education. Ushma develops this point when she says “there is a duality to workshops... There’s the practical side of how to be

an activists and then there's why you're an activist. The two go hand in hand." Thus the activists suggest that there are several different ways of learning and that a 'good' activist education should be flexible and open enough to bring these different kinds of education into a learning intersection where they can complement one another.

It is perhaps interesting to note here that beyond the occasional (unprompted) mention of the importance of issues relating to inclusive, holistic and varied pedagogical techniques, the activists had little to say. This suggests that all of the activists were aware of the points under these sub-headings but were not concerned to separate out the different aspects of their practice and reflect on them each individually and in detail. It could be argued that a general awareness of the importance of inclusive, holistic and varied learning was taken as given for these activists.

The need for critique

One sign of this level of general awareness is all of the activists' constant call for a robust critique of the practice of activist educational knowledge creation. In the words of Ushma, Lucy and Kathryn

Ushma	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • "The most important thing is not to replicate oppressive frameworks that exist in society and that just means being super-attentive."
Lucy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • "I think people are becoming aware, we're in the first stages of promoting critical thinking, self-reflection, reflecting on our own experience in all forms of education."
Kathryn	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • "We need to be super-conscious and critical of ourselves."

Perhaps Dean puts it most strongly though when he says,

I don't think education as we currently understand it is enough because it presumes a stabilized way of doing and acting with other individuals. Like sociology isn't enough. In terms of praxis, jumping off from Marx, its like Marx doesn't do political economy, he does a critique of political economy. Marx doesn't do sociology, he does a critique of it. It's the same thing with education. Education isn't enough. We need to try and

pursue a critique of education that would exceed the discourse of education itself and that would be experimental. (Dean)

The assertion of the need of a pursuit of an ‘experimental’ critique which ‘exceeds the discourse’ of education again suggests that this is an open, flexible and active process for which there are no hard and fast rules. This means that the parameters of what constitutes ‘good’ activist education are hard to define. As Kathryn says, “I think sometimes it’s hard to talk about this because the measure of good education and good facilitation is not a concrete thing – it’s about how people communicate.” (Kathryn). Thus while the activists, as we have seen, indicated that it is possible to claim that there are certain characteristics that a good activist education should entail, they did not attempt to make concrete rules. We engaged in exploratory discussions which gave the activists a chance to reflect on the issues, and to think through their practice. It is not possible to come up with any hard and fast answers or any definitive account of their educational activity. However, I do want to highlight that there is a high level of consciousness among activists that I spoke to and that this reflection constitutes a form of active learning. Indeed, it is the process of exploration, critique and reflection on dilemmas that constitutes the active learning that is arguably the very purpose of activist education. Just as the dilemma between control and freedom can never be resolved and power can never disappear, the activists claim that the need for reflection is on-going. This again is evidence that according to these activists an important aspect of social movement activism is precisely this active process of reflection. This reflective process of social movement activity is, as Kathryn says, hard to measure and cannot be understood in a purely descriptive way or as a bounded unified datum. The activists seem, then, to confirm Melucci’s assertions (detailed in chapter one) about the transient

nature of social movements. They also suggest that the social movement can be understood as a process of creating change through active reflection.

Theory and practice

The active and on-going nature of this reflection and this learning is, I believe, one of the reasons why placing this categorical structure (gained from the insights of critical theorists) over the words of the activists can be problematical. As we have seen, it is difficult to separate their activities and analyse them under separate and distinct headings. Educational activism is a form of praxis that is always in process and the complexity of which a theoretical model can never fully capture. Indeed this emphasis on active praxis can also be found in the words of the activists. Thus, Dean says,

I think a good educational workshop functions by doing something rather than just talking about it. Instead of having a meeting where you plan and talk over things, you get together and organize the materials needed to help people who've been tear gassed or you develop a strategy for dealing with the police. I think you really do learn by doing. I forget things if I'm not using them (Dean).

Education is not useful for Dean, then, unless it is part of a process of being active and thus attempting to create change. All the interviewees stressed that social movement education was an "active" process and also talked of activism as educational. Dean says "education even in the classical sense doesn't stop when you move into mass demonstrations" but also emphasised that "direct action is itself a form of education." He went on to say

the interesting thing in mass demonstrations if there's a good vibe to them, you see people on streets who haven't met each other who are talking to each other on the street and who are teaching each other things. They're organizing an educational network as they speak. That's when education becomes not a glossy package or a product that I give to you but a chance meeting or a dialogue (Dean).

Thus it seems that for these activists, it is not a case of talking about education on the one hand and social movement activism on the other hand. Education and social movement activity are not separate things: they are different ways of describing the same thing. Thus social movement education is a form of praxis that can only be studied in process. Indeed, Lucy could only answer the question of what makes a good workshop by describing examples of good workshops. Thus, in some senses social movement education does not have a separate and individual explanatory power that exists beyond the experience of those activists involved in it. Instead social movement education can only be understood as always in process, as never ending.

As we have seen, for these activists, political education cannot be separated from activism. Indeed, Kathryn tells us that

activism is a work in progress in many ways because its active (versus academic and reflective) it's actively working out things in process so it involves a lot of fumbling, lots of mistakes. That's something which not many people will admit to and that's something I've been thinking about a lot in the past few months (Kathryn).

Kathryn here is making a distinction here between the academic production of theory and "actively working things out in practice" and arguing that though it may be difficult and prone to error, the latter should be the priority. Arguably, this process of "actively working things out in practice" amounts to the generation of an activist theory and a contribution to knowledge. Indeed what Kathryn is saying seems to support Noel Sturgeon's assertion that social movements are involved in the making of 'Direct Theory'. As Sturgeon says "I learned to read the movement's practices and structures as a form of theorizing through practice, a praxis I call 'direct theory', a lived analysis of

contemporary domination and resistance.”¹¹ Kathryn’s claim that she has been thinking about the difficulties of “actively working things out in practice” or, to use Sturgeon’s language, of generating ‘direct theory’, is evidence that she is implementing the last of the ten points that suggests that the practitioners of social movement education could usefully consider how theory and practice inform one another. Thus these activists seem to imply that political education can be understood as a form of direct theory that cannot be disassociated from activism and from the process of creating change and that should therefore be seen as an important aspect of social movement activity.

Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter has been to make five general points. Primarily, I claim that the local activists I spoke to are involved in a process of collectively creating knowledge and meaning. This process involves sharing ideas and raising consciousness and awareness through active learning, questioning received wisdom and presenting alternative possibilities. It also involves establishing common meaning through the creative, imaginative and communal interpretation of metaphor and language and thus constructing a space for shared dialogue. Secondly the activists are aware that this process of collectively creating knowledge and meaning is always implicated in a ubiquitous and irresolvable dilemma between control and freedom. My third point is that the activists respond to this dilemma in part by reflecting upon each of the ten insights gained from a review of critical pedagogy theorists and provided at the end of the last chapter. These ten suggestions cannot, however, suffice to capture the rich nature of the educational practice in question. Nevertheless, the activists do display a high level of

¹¹ Noel Sturgeon, Ecofeminist Natures: Race, Gender, Feminist Theory and Political Action (New York: Routledge, 1997), 36.

awareness about the importance of managing the negative effects of the control/freedom dilemma and of confronting how they are caught up in the complex and contradictory workings of power. My fourth point is that this call for reflection and self-reflexive critique constitutes precisely the active learning that is arguably the purpose of activist education. Finally it is my argument that the words of these activists suggest that reflection, learning and the process of creating new knowledge and meaning through educational action cannot be separated from social movement activity and the attempt to produce meaningful change in the world.

Conclusions

My intention has been to show that social movement activity can be understood as a form of political educational practice. Social movement education is characterized by a collective effort to make meaning and construct knowledge in the world. This educational knowledge construction cannot be separated from activism. Social movement activity is active educational practice just as much as it is the creation of collective identity. I have attempted to show that this educational practice is always haunted by a ubiquitous and irresolvable tension between control and freedom. I have made this argument by undertaking an empirical study of the pedagogical practice of the anti-globalization movement.

In chapter one I argue that the quest for authoritative definition can serve to ‘fix’ the meaning of phenomena, artificially reifying them and constraining their range of possible meanings. Indeed, conventional attempts to define the social movement appear to create rigid categories and utilize simplistic dualistic thinking. Theorists such as Alberto Melucci are, however, helpful in uncovering how definitions of social movements are transient and social movements are not unified phenomenon. Melucci’s analysis points to the argument that the term social movement should be used in an analytical and not in a descriptive way and is also useful in illustrating the important role that collective identity plays in comprehending social movements. However, his analysis of collective identity cannot account for social movements in their entirety (although it continues to be vital to achieving a good understanding of those social movements). I

therefore offer an alternative framework for understanding social movements that moves beyond approaches which rely exclusively on studies of collective identity. The purpose of chapter one, then, is to outline one important way of looking at social movements which has been neglected in the sociological literature on the subject and which is particularly enlightening in terms of studying the anti-globalization movement. This framework starts from the notion that the social movement is engaged in a new form of politics. It asserts that this 'new kind of politics' amounts to the active construction of meaning and knowledge in the world. I argue that if social movements are approached as active educational practice then simplistic dichotomous thinking is overcome. Instead of focusing our analysis solely on identity we focus on the process of creating change and the process of coming to believe that change is required. Thus a social movement does not necessarily and inevitably have to congeal around a common goal or a collective identity in order to be cohesive. It can also gain coherence from its educational practice and this educational practice amounts to an active and reflective process of learning.

In chapter two, in order to illustrate my argument about the nature of social movements, I study arguably one of the most prominent examples of contemporary protest, the anti-globalization movement. I claim that the anti-globalization movement engages in extensive social movement education. Indeed, an important way to understand the anti-globalization movement is to see it as an educational (and political) practice of knowledge construction and the making of meaning. In order to make this argument I first introduce the 'anti-globalization movement' and then, from a brief review of literature on the movement, I establish that it is a matter of contention whether the movement is a social movement. In contrast to this line of reasoning, however, I

suggestions from a review of critical pedagogy literature which can help to manage the tensions arising from this dilemma and which can guide an empirical study.

In chapter four I undertake a pilot study of the pedagogical practice of the anti-globalization movement. In order to further explore the dilemmas set out in chapter three, I talk to four anti-globalization activists in British Columbia, Canada who have provided and facilitated political education. My approach to the interview process comes from a feminist perspective that highlights how researcher and interviewee engage in the co-production of knowledge. I claim that the pedagogical practice of the activists I speak to can also be understood as a form of knowledge construction and meaning making through its collective interpretation of metaphor and questioning of the socially given. The activists clearly understand their educational activity as both a form of control and a practice of freedom. They appear in their practice to enact the suggestions made in chapter three from a review of critical pedagogical literature. However, these suggestions do not and cannot capture the richness and dynamism of the practice itself. However, the activists do show a high level of awareness and self-reflexivity about the way they are implicated, both positively and negatively in a variety of power relations. Thus, the activists thus respond openly to the dilemma of control and freedom and the ubiquitous presence of power with a call for critique and reflection. Just as this dilemma can never be resolved and power can never disappear, they claim that the need for reflection is constant and on-going. A centrally important aspect of social movements is, then, precisely this active process of reflection, which amounts to an increase of knowledge and reflexivity. The activists I talked to emphasised that education could not be separated from activism and from the attempt to produce change. This reflective process

of social movement activity cannot be captured in neat theoretical categories and thus cannot be understood in a purely descriptive way or as a bounded unified object. It thus conforms to Melucci's assertions about the transient nature of social movements while it simultaneously illustrates that it is not enough to rely solely on sociological analyses of collective identity when considering the social movement.

This thesis, in many ways, then, has been an attempt to bring the disciplines of Political Science, Sociology and Education into an intersection where they can inform one another. I have done this first by utilizing a critical theoretical lens substantially influenced by the work of Gramsci and other critical theorists from all three disciplines. Secondly, I have created this intersection by studying empirically the words of particular social movement actors as they reflect on their every-day life. This attention to everyday life enables me to transcend rigid academic categories that cannot capture the way activity is experienced by those practicing an activity. I have attempted then, to produce a grounded and active analysis that can highlight the way that a movement can be both theory and practice at one and the same time. A rejection of either/or dichotomous thinking and an embrace of Foucaultian both/and thinking are the most fundamental and guiding epistemological and methodological assumptions of this thesis. My purpose has been to show that anti-globalization activism is both social movement activity and educational practice, both a liberatory pursuit and a form of social control, both a theory and a practice. I have attempted to show that power can be both beneficial and detrimental and that the facilitator of political education can be both teacher and pupil. Ultimately it is my belief that there is emancipatory promise in the transcendence of dichotomous thinking and disciplinary divides. The openness, flexibility and reflexivity

that such a pursuit requires is perhaps fundamental to the process of producing meaningful social and political change. The educational practice and process of knowledge construction which is the anti-globalization movement may yet prove crucial to creating an understanding of how to make that meaningful change happen.

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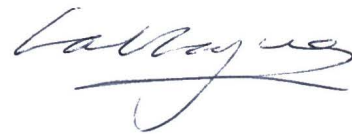
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