Globalization and Corporatization—The Evolving Nature of Education

By

WARREN RODRICKS

B.A., The University of Calgary, 1995
B.Ed., The University of Calgary, 1997

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Department of Educational Studies

The University of British Columbia
Vancouver, Canada

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Abstract

The purpose of this paper is to explore the relationship between globalization, corporations, and education. Using the combined methods of Critical Autoethnography and Critical Discourse Analysis, this paper attempts to offer hope and alternatives to the current corporate-global order we find ourselves in. Five key areas are explored through the course of this paper. First, this paper studies the phenomenon known as globalization. Second, this paper studies the history of corporate interest in education. The need to situate such interests in the past is necessary in developing the pattern of domination that corporations have implicated themselves in regarding the educational community. Third, this paper explores the roots of globalization, that is, colonization. The colonization of earlier years is examined in comparison with the globalization of today. Essential to such a study is the impact upon North American indigenous populations as one of the original groups to experience colonization and now globalization. Of great significance is the alternative that First Nations educational beliefs offer to education. Fourth, this paper, as a case study, examines a more contemporary issue, and that is the contract that the University of British Columbia, The Alma Mater Society of The University of British Columbia, and Coca-Cola Bottling Ltd. signed in 1995. Exploration of the contract and its implications provides an opportunity to explore the dangers between corporate and educational partnerships. Finally, this paper focuses in on activities of dissent towards the current corporate-global order and how these signs of dissent equate into hope for a different tomorrow.
Table of Contents

Abstract ii

Table of Contents iii

CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION 1
  1.1 Methodology 1
  1.2 Outline of Thesis 4

CHAPTER 2 THE GLOBAL PHENOMENON 13
  2.1 Defining Globalization 13
  2.2 Early Globalization 19
  2.3 Globalization Today 20

CHAPTER 3 A HISTORY OF CORPORATE INTEREST IN EDUCATION 24
  3.1 Defining Corporations and the Business Interest 25
  3.1 Roots of Corporatism – The Industrial Revolution 27
  3.2 1840-1950 – Education and the early creation of workers 30
  3.3 1950-1990 – Preaching into Practice 37
  3.4 1990 – Today 41

CHAPTER 4 COLONIZATION TO GLOBALIZATION – THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE IMPORTANCE OF FIRST NATIONS’ EDUCATION 48
  4.1 Establishing the Link Between Globalization and Colonization 48
  4.2 The Ease of Colonization 50
  4.3 The Need to Locate New Markets 51
  4.4 The Need for a Sizable Military 52
  4.5 The Religious Imperative 53
  4.6 The Ability to Create New Jobs 54
  4.7 The Ability to Become More Competitive in World Markets 54
  4.8 Slavery – Then and Now 55
  4.9 Assimilation – Then and Now 56
  4.10 The Use of Indigenous Populations to Further Goals 59
  4.11 The New Forms of Globalization 60
  4.12 The Need for Self-Determination 61
  4.13 Self-Determination in Education 64
  4.14 First Nations’ Educational Beliefs 66
  4.15 A Sense of Community 69
4.16 The Development of an Oral Tradition 71
4.17 The Belief in the Interdependence of Society 73
4.18 The Construction of Knowledge 75
4.19 The Development of Identity 79

CHAPTER 5 COCA-COLA CAMPUS 83

5.1 Initial Reactions to the Agreement 84
5.2 The Contract between UBC, AMS and CCB 87
5.3 The Need for Confidentiality 87
5.4 The Exclusion of Student Voices 89
5.5 The Branding of UBC with Coca-Cola Logos and Values 90
5.6 The University’s Best Interests 93
5.7 The Nature of Coca-Cola’s Interests 94
5.8 Integrity at Stake 98
5.9 The Aftermath 99

CHAPTER 6 SIGNS OF HOPE: DISSENT, EXPOSURE AND LIBERATION 103

6.1 Even the Smallest 104
6.2 Many Voices – Many Ways 105
6.3 A Final Warning 111

References 119
CHAPTER 1 - INTRODUCTION

Business and education do not share identical concerns or see the same world, speak the same language, and even more importantly, share similar values (Bierlein, 1993, p. 13).

Globalization and corporatization. Today the partnership may seem inevitably bound together, processes intertwined and directing the course of economic, political and social systems across our planet. Proponents of the two are striving to reconstruct the face of our planet, including education. Education has traditionally been open to the interests of the powerful and has been used as a basis of exclusion and inclusion with regards to power and privilege within society. Global and corporate forces hold out the same hope for education. Corporations and proponents of globalization hope that they may use education to create an atmosphere conducive to global economics, culture and politics, and they hold out hope that education will aid in the creation of the active consumer. Together they hope that education can become a key tool in the continuing transformation of the world. The purpose of this thesis, then, is to explore this partnership and its impact upon education.

Methodology

What follows is, in part, a result of my experiences, of my involvement with select groups over the course of my life time. What follows, in part, is based upon my own critical Autoethnography. Jim Thomas (1993) states that critical ethnography is “the reflective process of choosing between conceptual alternatives and making value-laden judgments of meaning and method to challenge research, policy, and other forms of human activity” (p. 4). He continues by suggesting that critical ethnographers “accept an
added research task of raising their voice to speak to an audience on behalf of their subject's as a means of empowering them by giving more authority to the subjects voice” (p. 4). The critical ethnographer observes the conditions of the study subjects and expresses their work in hopes of emancipating those subjects from the “repressive influences that lead to unnecessary social domination of all groups” (Thomas, 1993, p. 4).

It is with these hopes that I begin the journey of critically assessing the educational environment I find myself in. Thus it is an Autoethnography because I am part of the group that I am studying and trying to liberate. Burdell and Blue Swadener (1999) emphasize the work of Reed-Danahay when they define Autoethnography as “a form of ethnography that places the self within a social context” (p. 22). Through this work I hope to address issues of power and injustice found in my own surroundings. This Autoethnographic lens is most apparent in the final chapter of this thesis which focuses on the dissention and alternatives to the prevailing corporate order. My own attempt at dissention and individualistic resistance is this thesis. It is my attempt to liberate and expose. However my story is not confined to dissention, my story influences every chapter I write. I am part of the group that has experienced corporate interest in school. I have roots that take me back to early colonialism, and I am a part of the University of British Columbia student population. The story I find myself in is invariably my own. However, it is not exclusively my own.

That the following is not exclusively my story brings me to the other part of the lens I am looking through. This part is tinted by Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). Fairclough (2001) states that the term critical is special in that it is “aiming to show up connections which may be hidden from people – such as the connections between
language, power, and ideology...” (p. 4). Teun A. van Dijk (1996) states that “one of the crucial tasks of Critical Discourse Analysis is to account for the relationships between discourse and social power” (p. 84). van Dijk continues by suggesting that CDA “should describe and explain how power abuse is enacted, reproduced or legitimized by the text and talk of dominant groups or institutions” (p.84). Theo van Leeuwen (1996) furthers this discussion by suggesting that “with the increasing use of visual representation in a wide range of contexts, it becomes more and more pressing to be able to ask the same critical questions with regard to both verbal and visual representations...” (p.34). With specific regards to education, Kress (1996) notes how the curriculum is text and talk, visual and verbal, and in need of further critical analysis as it “puts forward knowledge, skills, meanings, values in the present which will be telling in the lives of those who experience the curriculum, ten or twenty years later” (p.16).

Allan Luke (1997) supports Kress in his work by stating that:

in its applications to the study of the classroom interaction, textbook content, evaluation instruments and policy documents, critical discourse analysis provides a means for documenting and criticizing the contending and contradictory texts of educational practice (p. 343).

There is a history to domination and oppression that can be discovered by immersing oneself in the literature available. The analysis of such literature allows for these patterns to be exposed and examined for what they are. They are not accidental. They are a part of an attempt to exploit education and those who work within the educational system for reasons advantageous to a powerful elite. This thesis will explore existing literature in hopes of revealing a pattern of inequality and repression through educational texts and talk, through the very educational settings that students find themselves in. This repression has its roots well planted in the past.
Globalization and corporate interest in education should not be considered uniquely new phenomena. Rather they are a part of an evolutionary process that began during colonial times. They have turned and twisted through the history of humankind to the current forms they are today, but the reality is that they are not new processes.

Outline of Thesis

There are five chapters that follow this introduction. The chapters are based on my story in that they are inspired by the events in my life as a member of a particular group. This is the Autoethnographic part of my work. This influence has brought me to the point of this thesis, however, in finding patterns that relate to greater society my story is not sufficient. This is where the critical discourse analysis aspect of my writing is emphasized. The two are not weighted equally in that throughout the chapters it is CDA that takes on a more prominent role when exploring the topics I have included for discussion. However it is only through critical autoethnography that I have decided on such topics. The two do work in unison to provide the framework for this thesis. Both are intended as methods of liberation and exposure, and ultimately that is what I hope to achieve through this thesis. I seek liberation for me, and for those that share common experiences. I seek to expose those who would oppress and dominate others to achieve goals of their own.

The second chapter in this thesis explores the concept of globalization. What brought me here are my experiences of teaching abroad. Several years ago I found myself working abroad, for the first time in my life. The culture I found myself in Thailand proved a shock to the system at times. I taught at a British curriculum, international
school. The majority of students were either from the United Kingdom or from Thailand, but in my class I had students from across the globe. I had taught children from Canada, the United States, Australia, Malaysia, China, and Sweden, amongst other nationalities. The school itself had no fewer than fifty different nations represented in its student population. I can remember leaving for the last time, the glare off a gold sign at the entrance temporarily blinded me as I turned to look back one last time at my school. As I left for the last time, the glare off a gold sign at the entrance temporarily blinded me as I turned to look back one last time at my school.

The sign I read: Santa Fe Shipping. Official Sponsor of Bangkok Patana School. Regrettably after three years of indescribable experiences and learning I left with an ominous cloud on the horizon.

Within Bangkok there were hundreds of foreign companies firmly established and thriving in Thailand. They bring in and send out people to work at their discretion. The expatriate community was in a constant state of flux. Cultures mixed both upon arrival and departure. I saw globalization first hand, both culturally and economically. The life I led in Bangkok was only made possible through the globalization of the economy. Without markets expanding and the desire to seek out larger markets, Bangkok would not have had a large expatriate business community and I would not have had a job teaching their children. Culturally, globalization allowed me to work with a host of nationalities and to experience the hospitalities of the local culture. Culture did not flow one way though. I did not merely receive Thai culture, rather I gave back part of me.

After arriving back in Canada to undertake a new phase of my life I was able to finally reflect upon my time away. The World, and not just my world, was getting smaller. I am not talking about physical size. Rather I speak of the distance between people in terms of communication, travel, and relations. Upon moving back to Canada I
realized just how small it was getting. My wife, a United Kingdom citizen spoke weekly to her parents in England. She had a recent conversation with one of her best friends in Germany and another in Australia in the same day. I emailed friends in Bangkok and in Oman to hear about the latest turns in their lives.

However my story, as I have said is not exclusive as there are many that have encountered globalization. The communications systems that have evolved enable us to bring even the most remote corners of the globe into contact with each other. Telephone, television and the Internet have all contributed towards the changing relations of our world. But they are not the end. Travel, tourism, trade pacts and military alliances, amongst other factors have also contributed to the changing face of our planet. The word that so many use for these changes is globalization. There are common themes found in numerous texts that enable a definition of globalization to emerge. However it should be stated that globalization is not an easily defined process. Globalization’s forms and its origins are not necessarily agreed upon. Different groups view globalization in different ways. This chapter focuses on the complexity of globalization and of the ramifications that globalization has for society. Of key importance is who stands to benefit from a global society and why globalization is promoted by certain groups. Corporations are one group that actively promotes globalization.

Key authors in this section include Carlos Alberto Torres (2000) who discusses the economic aspects of globalization. Nelly P. Stromquist and Karen Monkman (2000) further support this economic version of globalization in their work especially at an international level. Bob Lingard (2000) adds to the discussion by addressing the changing nature of the nation-state and the impact that these changes have for society. Such
authors, amongst others, will explore the various notions of globalization, including the political, cultural and economic dimensions of the global phenomenon.

The third chapter builds on globalization through a detailed study of corporatization and education. As with globalization, the history of corporate interests in schools is a long history and this length is important in recognizing the patterns of control exerted by business upon education. My story is one, which upon reflection, is rich with corporate interest. Growing up in Calgary I have fond memories created through the enjoyment of an after school Coke, purchased from a vending machine on school premises. My elementary days were devoid of such pleasure, so the excitement of a Coke machine giving out sheer bubbly pleasure was novel. Continuing onto high school brought the same vending machines, but the choices had increased. Added to the bubbly goodness were fantastic snacks. Chips, chocolate bars, and jujubes! All along I consumed. I ate, I enjoyed, and I replicated my choices outside of school. That today I am a Coca-Cola fanatic is in large part due to the little enjoyment it gave me in the otherwise dreary setting of junior high. The major corporations that provided such enjoyment had accomplished their goal. I would forever link enjoyment of school with their products. It is not until much later that I would recognize the affects of consumerism and corporations on my educational history. As I look back I realize the prominent role corporations began to play in my education as a child. They were not the only interests found within my schooling, but they have developed to become a very important part of educational influences today.

Though certainly not the only group applying pressure to education, corporations are becoming one of the most powerful lobby groups today. It is useful then to explore
the history of businesses as they strive to influence texts and curriculum across the world. Chapter three will pay specific attention to the corporate-school dynamic as played throughout the histories of England, Canada, and the United States. Scholars such as Donald H. Parkerson and Jo Ann Parkerson (2001) discuss how texts were used in the mid 1800s and early 1900s to convey a business ethos to the students who consumed them. Michael Apple (1990) explores the early bias established in curriculum development and how these biases became engrained to support an elite. Jean Barman (1995) adds to the discussion through her work on the Powell River Company established in British Columbia during the 1920s. She notes how the Powell River Company took control of education in a rural setting to serve their business interests. Overall, this chapter will explore how business influences in education had their start as early as the industrial revolution, and how through time the business/corporate lobby would develop and the type of influences that this growing lobby would have.

The fourth chapter addresses the historical roots of globalization. Colonialism and its impact upon indigenous populations is one of the foundations of globalization. My story leads me here because of my father. I can still remember the stories my dad used to tell me of his growing up. The tales he told were significantly different from the adventures I undertook as a child. I grew up in Calgary, during the 1980s, but my dad was from India, growing up in the late 1930s-early 1940s. At night after dinner he would tell of the dances and of the movies, and most importantly of all of the sports that he used to play. His tales, as I would later realize were filled with English references. From the books he read, to the movies he saw, India was heavily influenced by the English. Though unaware of what it all meant at the time he told me the stories, I started to
become more aware as I grew up, until I finally realized why my dad made so many references regarding the English. As a part of the British colonial empire, the English were naturally a part of my dad’s growing up. This colonial influence would trickle down its affects to me in my support of the Arsenal Football Club, and my enjoyment of a pint in a pub. I certainly have an affinity towards England and this affinity began for no other reason than my dad was so positively influenced by his encounters with the English in India. Colonization has had far more significant impacts on the world than football and beer though. In India it consisted of the brutal treatment of Indian culture, lifestyles and people. Colonization has fundamentally shaped the world as it is today and the mentality behind it continues to be present today. The original groups of people who were most affected by the first colonizers were indigenous to the land, and their experiences are critical in understanding where we came from and where we are heading.

In Chapter four, globalization will be rooted in colonization, and will be shown to be the latest form of colonization, not a new process at all. The importance of indigenous populations will be explored in this chapter as it is these populations, specifically for this thesis, North American indigenous populations, which were the first populations to encounter the colonial mentality abroad and the implications that this mentality would have for future generations. The struggles that indigenous populations had at the beginning of the colonization of North America can be seen through the various struggles indigenous populations have today under globalization. The need to link the present with the past is necessary to understand how modes and methods of domination and oppression began and developed across the globe. There is perhaps no better group to examine than these original inhabitants of a land as yet confronted with global forces.
Their experiences can be used as a guide to understanding the forces of globalization today. Furthermore, this chapter will explore the concept of self-determination, especially in education and the impacts such a policy would have on indigenous populations and for the corporate world order.

A comparison of colonization and globalization, in terms of motivation and experiences will be aided by the work of Ramon Capella (2000) who explores how globalization entails assimilation of a different kind. Wright and Fowler (1968) are key contributors to establishing a link between colonization and globalization with their inclusion of Richard Hakluyt’s motivations for colonization. Also crucial to this chapter is the work done by indigenous Scholars such as Marie Battiste and, James (Sa’ke’j) Henderson Youngblood (2000) who make a distinction between Eurocentric approaches and First Nations belief system. Menno Boldt (1993) who establishes the vitality of oral traditions for indigenous populations, and Oscar Kawagley and Ray Barnhardt (1999) who point out the dangers of Western scientific traditions to indigenous belief systems. The chapter will weave tales of colonization and tales of self-determination with the corporate mind-set that has been established through colonization and now globalization.

The fifth chapter in this thesis moves back to the current day and finds colonization occurring on a university campus, more specifically my university campus. My story leads me to the campus of the University of British Columbia because this is where my studies led me. Upon leaving Bangkok this is where I ended up. Thus, there is no better place than here, where I study to evaluate the effects of globalization and corporatization on education. As I write this thesis, I am living under the conditions that I am exploring. The exploration of Coca-Cola’s contract with the University of British
Columbia (UBC) allows for the examination of how corporations are colonizing the world in new ways. Though still interested in seeking out indigenous populations to conquer and exploit, corporations are also concerned with maintaining their dominance in countries and areas previously conquered. An in-depth look at the contract that UBC signed with Coca-Cola in 1997 will shed light on the ways the colonization continues today as well as highlighting the differences between academic and corporate mindsets. The specific contract that UBC signed with Coca-Cola will be the focal point of the chapter, however the work of Naomi Klein (2000) and her exploration of Mike Cameron and his experiences in Georgia adds to the discussion. John Calvert and Larry Kuehn (1993) discuss the corporate branding of educational material. Equally important to this chapter is the information taken from university papers and across Canada and the United States.

The sixth and final chapter of this thesis includes examples of dissent and hope. I am led here because, as I have said before, this thesis is my attempt at dissent and my attempt at expressing hope for an alternative. I am led here because I want to reveal the current system as a system based upon oppression and domination and to reveal corporate interest in education to a greater degree. By accumulating the information I have and expressing it in this thesis, I hope that I will be able to expose corporatization and globalization in schools as oppressive forces, concerned primarily with an elite and not with the masses of students they encounter. The corporate/global movement should not be considered all encompassing as there are examples of resistance and dissention from large groups to single individuals. Hope for a different outcome, for different influences, and for different interests will be explored in this chapter as a reminder that globalization
and corporatization are not inevitable and that there are ways to resist the corporatization of education. Notable authors include, Cyril I. Obi (2000) and his study on the power that Shell had in Nigeria and the destruction that the corporate-government partnership brought forth on the Ogoni people. Farida Akhter (2001) explores how the Feminist International Network of Resistance to Reproductive and Genetic Engineering (FINRRAGE) dissented and rebelled against reproductive control.

The culmination of the above is designed to provide a critical awareness of the powers of domination and oppression found within the educational community due to corporate and global interests. Through the control of curriculum, specifically texts and the talk found within educational communities, corporations have become able to promote their interests within the educational sphere. I am not suggesting that corporate interests reign supreme in the educational realm without opposition. There are competing interests and some of these interests can exert as much influence as corporations do. However, corporations do have a long and complex history with education and this history is in need of greater exposition and exploration. This paper is an attempt to bring to light some of the corners that are shadowed by corporate power and privilege.

My overt story has been expressed here, in this introduction. This is the beginnings of my critical Autoethnography, this Autoethnography has led me to undertake the research I have done, it has led me to a critical discourse analysis of existing research. The two are combined in an effort to give voice to the groups of people I find myself within, but also to draw together themes and links towards creating a picture of domination that is not normally spoken of.
CHAPTER 2 - THE GLOBAL PHENOMENON

What is globalization? When did it begin? To answer the second question first, globalization is not necessarily new. Feffer (2002) notes that ten thousand years before capitalism, The Silk Road which brought goods from the East to the West could be argued as a "proto-Internet" (p. 2). Feffer further points to the work of Immanuel Wallerstein who argues that globalization has its roots in the creation of the global capitalist market which evolved more than five hundred years ago. In Canada and the United States, aboriginal populations were affected enormously by early European settlers. The experiences of indigenous groups today in South America, Africa and Southeast Asia would seem to have much in common with aboriginal groups during colonialism. Thus it would appear that globalization is not new, however its form and rate have changed. Andy Green (1997) refers to the work of Robert Reich who states that "with the advance of modern technologies, the transportation of materials and goods has become quicker and cheaper, and the transfer of information instantaneous" (p. 152). Today's globalization is thus differentiated by yesterday's due to the change in technology, the way and the rate that information can be disseminated, and by the new organizations formed to take advantage of the changing landscapes (Hopkins, 2002).

Defining Globalization

But what is globalization? It has come to mean a lot of different things to a lot of different people. Why is this so? People define it differently to suit their interests. There are those that will define globalization as a sharing of cultures, as an opportunity to
enrich the lives of all encountering the new global reality. Then there are those that define globalization as a potential economic-driven disaster, in that through the pursuit of economic markets and wealth, people from all across our planet will suffer, in some form or another. Economics versus culture. Construction versus destruction. Positive versus negative. A group such as the Organization for Economic Co-Operation and Development (OECD) looks at globalization as “a confluence of forces – particularly the transition to the knowledge society, the emergence of a global economy, and the pursuit of environmental stability” (OECD, 1999, p. 3). The OECD is a pro-globalization organization as evidenced in its definition. When the definition is closely scrutinized, it would appear as if globalization was an opportunity for the entire world to benefit, especially from a “transition to the knowledge society”, and “the pursuit of environmental stability.” Economic benefit is only a part of this definition. The OECD is clear to point out that globalization is not solely about economics, in fact education, as suggested through the concept of knowledge, is the first factor mentioned. For groups like the OECD, their definitions never solely starts or ends with economics.

William Carroll, Radhika Desai, and Warren Magnusson (1996) define globalization in a different manner. “Globalization refers to the acceleration, since the 1980s, of a range of economic trends which have been binding the economic fate of every country into an integrated global economic system more tightly than ever before” (p. 22). Nelly P. Stromquist and Karen Monkman (2000) concur with this definition when they state globalization is:

a set of processes by which the world is rapidly being integrated into one economic sphere via increased international trade, the internationalization of production and financial markets, the internationalization of a commodity culture promoted by an increasingly networked global telecommunications system. (p. 4)
From these perspectives, globalization is strictly an economic process that links countries with one another. Two of the primary motives of economics are profit and production, which can then be seen, by this definition, as two of the primary motives of globalization. Economics is of primary importance in this definition.

In their work, Morrow and Torres (2000) define globalization as “the intensification of worldwide social relations that link distinct localities in such a way that the local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa” (p. 28). In the same article, David Held is quoted as saying:

- globalization is the product of the emergence of a global economy,
- expansion of transnational linkages between economic units creating new forms of collective decision-making, development of intergovernmental and quasi-supranational institutions, intensification of transnational communications, and the creation of new regional and military orders. (p. 29)

Another set of definitions focuses on the changing role of the nation-state, and the opening of borders that this change entails. Bamyeh (2000) points to how political governance across the globe transforms to adapt to new transnational infringements and encroachments. Carroll, Desai, and Magnusson (1996) further this notion by stating that the largest corporations have outgrown national boundaries. Finally, Lingard (2000) notes how the nation-state has lost some of its autonomy and how these nation-states are ever more dependent upon outside forces to determine policy and practice. The politics of a global community are changing along side the economics of globalization.

Yet another set of definitions focus on the social and cultural side of globalization. John Rennie Short (2002) states that “the globalization of culture proceeds through the continuous flow of ideas, information, commitment, values, and taste across
the world, mediated through mobile individuals, signs, symbols, and electronic
simulations” (p. 9-10). Kinnvall (2002) adds depth to the issue of social and cultural
globalization by suggesting that through “migration, refugee flows and the so called
‘brain drain’ from the developing world” (p. 3) combined with the spread of Western
culture through music, fashion, television and film, that cultural globalization brings
together cultures in both the West, and the East. Finally, Stromquist (2002) draws on the
work done by Kachur who argues that “under the current globalization trend, there is a
new form of cultural regulation brought about by the revolution in new communication
technologies and the application of the science of consumer management” (p. 65).

Cultures are increasingly coming into greater contact with each other, Tourism,
travel, business, increased technological capability and technology usage have brought
people from around the globe into greater contact with each other. Music, dance, food
and art have all been spread throughout our planet in a two-way flow. The West does not
simply transfer its culture to the East; rather it is a dual exchange of West and East, North
and South flowing into each other though there are some limitations to this. In my time in
Bangkok I experienced numerous elements of Western culture flowing into Thailand.
Carlsberg and Heineken, both export beers, were among the most popular beers in stores
and bars. Major foreign films played at the theaters and major US television shows
played on both satellite cable and local Thai stations. To date, I have not seen the same
kind of affect in the West by the East. Culture being shared from the East, but in my
experiences not at the same rate or at the same level as that of West to East.

What should be noted is that there are different types of globalization that have
different affects on various structures across the globe. While economic globalization is
taking place, so too is political globalization and social globalization. To discuss one is to implicate the others in the conversation. As noted above political globalization focuses on the way that world governance is becoming a larger part of the global experience. Organizations such as the United Nations (UN) and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) are becoming more involved in individual state's domestic affairs. Combined with the United States’ desire to have a greater say in similar domestic events a pattern of world governance is being established. This political globalization works in conjunction with economic globalization through organizations such as the World Trade Organization (WTO), the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank. Economically these types of organization replicate the type of control found in political spheres as they try to dictate local state economic policies so that they are in accordance with a global economic system. Socially, the above two types of globalization affect how culture is viewed and spread. Technologies used in political and economic governance invariably make their way to social sectors where individuals use such technologies in diverse ways. Equally, economic trends find their way into consumer products and the social fabric of society. Thus when speaking about one type of globalization there needs to be the recognition that it has consequences for the other types of globalization.

However at this time it should also be noted that globalization is complex and I do not wish to suggest that it is all encompassing or total in its effects. Though the above three types of globalization are present and intertwined it is not to suggest they are not met with resistance. Chapter Six of this thesis will explore such resistance in greater depth. What is of importance here is the acknowledgement that globalization is a complex set of processes.
Returning to the economic side of globalization, two main types of global definitions become clear. One definition suggests that it is a positive, building, and human embracing process. The other suggests it is motivated not by humanitarianism, but rather by profit. Organizations such as the WTO and IMF seem to find their way to the positive definition, suggesting that globalization brings opportunity. The Canadian Center for Policy Alternatives and leftist academics seem to make their way to the definition that sees globalization as economically motivated. Based on the above, and upon my experiences, I define globalization as a primarily economic force, which in its economic pursuits entails a greater level of interdependence amongst countries than ever previously reached. Though there are cultural and political aspects to globalization that are very important in the form and influence of globalization, globalization, at its core is an economic process. It is based in markets and the spread of trade and wealth. It is essential that when globalization is discussed, that these economic pursuits are not pushed to the side in favor of definitions which include the expansion of knowledge, and the expression of local communities in a global setting.

It is also essential when globalization is discussed to acknowledge the economic system that it is based within. That economic system is capitalism. Capitalism is an economic system that calls for little regulation of markets, the law of supply and demand, and the accumulation of wealth. These three principles are keys in capitalist economies. Capitalism was the system of economics in place during colonization, and it is the system of economics in place during globalization. The link between colonization and globalization will be come clearer in subsequent chapters. Daniel P. Liston (1988) quotes from Adam Smith when he discusses the inequality found within capitalist societies.
Smith states that “wherever there is a great wealth there is great inequality” (p. 2). Thus globalization can be viewed as a system of inequality, for within globalization there is a great wealth. During early stages of globalization this wealth may have been individual businesspeople or small companies, but this great wealth would grow to become corporations, which will be discussed in greater detail in the following chapter.

In his work Robert Reich (1997) discusses how competition and the opening of markets has caused the disparity between the rich and the poor to grow. With the ability of corporations to move from one place to another in search of the lowest production costs and labour costs, the rich, who are corporate owners and stockholders, are able to increase their wealth. At the same time, the poor, who are the labour, see their wages pushed down by the rapid availability of cheap labour worldwide. Thus when we speak of globalization it must be with the knowledge that such a trend is based in capitalism which is based in inequality.

Early Globalization

Globalization is a process that has its roots far back in the history of humankind. This history is one heavily influenced by economics. A.G. Hopkins (2002) refers to the work of C.A. Bayly who suggests that kings and warriors created global networks in their search for wealth and distinction well before the modern era. This Archaic Globalization, Hopkins continues, was built upon cities, the specialization of labour, and was sea-borne as well as land-borne. He continues by suggesting that the period from 1600-1800 be considered a “proto-globalization” (p. 5) stage. Within this time period commercial expansion, imperial acquisition, and knowledge expansion (through the use of maps)
become significant and served to broaden the horizons of human contact. Finally Hopkins points to the work of Richard Drayton who explores how the expansive trade of "sugar, tobacco, tea, coffee, and opium" (p. 5) created larger, multilateral trade markets. The Roman Empire and the British Empire serve as excellent examples of globalization at an earlier time. The change brought about by conquest and crusade must have certainly seemed as fast and large for those of the time as they do for us now. The quest for riches, for profit was a definite underlying force for globalization.

**Globalization Today**

If globalization is primarily an economic force, then who stands to benefit the most and who are its greatest proponents? When one considers the opening of markets that globalization entails it becomes clear that corporations are ideally suited to reap the benefits of an expanding world. As of 1990 each of one hundred and thirty-five transnational corporations had sales in excess of $10 billion, and of the one hundred largest economies in the world today, fifty-one are corporations (Stromquist, 2002). Like no time in the past, corporations have options available to them. Cheap labour, endless new markets, highly educated populus, and a communications revolution that has altered the way businesses operate, all lead to possibilities for corporate gain possibly never dreamed of before. Thus we must focus our attention on these corporations.

In 1998 K-Mart U.S sales, alone were equal to that of the entire spending of the Russian military (Kingwell, 2000). The idea that K-Mart, not something like Coca-Cola, McDonald's or Nike, brings in as much money as the Russian military spends is staggering. Furthermore, in the year 2001 Americans, alone, spent more than $110 billion
on fast food (Schlosser, 2002, p. 3). Fast food is dominated by major corporations such as McDonald's, Kentucky Fried Chicken, Burger King, and Pizza Hut. Any business that can count on profits of such magnitude must be considered vital in the new world economy. Finally consider two astounding expenditures. First, in 1998 global advertising spending was predicted at $435 billion, and second, in 1999, general corporate sponsorship reached $19.2 billion (Klein, 2000). In a global community where money talks, it is the corporations who have the most time at the microphone and it is their approval that so many governments clamor for.

A crucial aspect of corporate power is how multinational companies can operate anywhere and can move anywhere. This gives them the ability to dictate policy in any number of countries whilst threatening to uproot and create high levels of unemployment and shattering local economies if their demands are not met. Prior to the global revolution it was the state and the church who dictated the rules and regulations governing a people. Today, however, to become involved in emerging markets and to qualify for financial aid, a nation may have to give up some of its previous autonomy to global forces. As the system becomes more integrated, degrees of state sovereignty are lost in a trade-off for economic advantage. The extent of lost sovereignty and the extent of economic advantage vary from country to country, but with billions of dollars at stake, it is safe to assume most countries are affected. Corporations now hold economic power over even the strongest of nations, and the amount of power they hold over weaker states is escalating at an alarming rate.

A final aspect to power players resides in international organizations like the World Bank, the WTO, and the IMF. Petras and Veltmeyer (2001) discuss the IMF, the
a system of differentiation where middle-class citizens would occupy positions of greater achievement and greater reward. This goal of education was designed to ensure that the middle-class would maintain its economic dominance. Equally crucial was the need of the middle-class to maintain its social dominance. Apple asserts that through education, curriculum developers “attempted to diminish the immigrant’s supposed threat to American society by instilling them with middle class attitudes, beliefs and standards of behaviour” (p. 77). Curriculum founders were from the middle-class and this allowed for curriculum to protect and spread middle-class values across society (Apple, 1990).

Randall Collins (2001) adds to this argument by discussing the original founders of schools. He discusses how schools in the United States were founded under the guidance of WASP elites “with the purpose of teaching respect for Protestant middle-class standards of cultural and religious propriety” (p. 49-50). Complementing these ideas is the work of Henry Giroux and Stanley Aronowitz (1990) who suggest that a hidden curriculum in education has been well established and that this curriculum prepares students to take their “place in the corporate order as disciplined, subordinate workers”. (p. 59).

From the earliest times, then, education can be seen to convey the interests of some. History shows that this influence resides with the powerful, and today one of the most powerful are major corporations. Further, these corporations want to be heard in the educational realm. It is this educational realm that we now focus our attention. As we do so, it will become clear that a corporate/business interest has been present in our schools for a very long time.
CHAPTER 3 - A HISTORY OF CORPORATE INTEREST IN EDUCATION

Before entering into the history of corporate interest in education, two qualifications must be made. First, corporate interest in education is not the only interest to be found within education both in the past and in the present. Education is a contested domain that has been influenced by numerous forces. Petrina (2000) notes the work of Dubois whose work was published in 1932, and how industrial education for African Americans was based on an anti-capitalist sentiment. Pulliam and Van Patten (1999) describe the impact of religion and religious groups upon education. They note how religion and religious groups shaped education in the eighteenth century, as bible readings and prayers were part of the school day. Similarly, Parkerson and Parkerson (2001) note how the McGuffey readers, popular in the middle 1800s to the early 1900s in the United States made reference to God or the bible one in four lessons. The point is that there are numerous interests competing for a say in educational matters. Corporations do not have a monopoly on the desire to influence education. However, corporations do have a multitude of resources at their disposal that allow them, especially now, to have a great impact upon education.

Second, the history that follows is only a partial history of corporate influence and should not be considered the total history of corporate interest within education. Such a history is not possible within the parameters of this paper, but it is necessary to
acknowledge that there are various forms of corporate interests in education that have not been included in this section.

The purpose of this following section, then, is to begin to uncover the way corporations have sought out education as a means to further their ends. By examining some of the ways corporations have influenced education in the past, it is hoped that a pattern of involvement can be established. This pattern is relevant because it continues to be present in education today. In studying the present it becomes vital to understand the past. Corporations, as they are today, have taken time to develop, but the thinking that lies at their root can be found in the past, and it is these roots that need exploration.

**Defining Corporations and the Business Interest**

These roots start with defining what corporations are. Olins (1978) discusses early commercial houses as pre-industrial trading companies. However, he believes that it is not until the time of the industrial revolution that a quantifiable business interest emerges. At this time, the size of business grows and due to this growth and the increase of complexity in these organizations the modern day corporation begins to take shape. Early businesses from this time until the 1980s are mainly occupied with the production and sales of a tangible product or service (Olins, 2000). The major concern for businesses at this time is profit through the making of some thing. The modern day notion of corporations begins with a shift in this production mentality. Klein (2000) discusses that during the mid-1980s corporations began to shift their focus from producing to branding. Companies were no longer primarily interested in producing their own goods, rather their primary concern became image creation. Additionally, Olins (1978) states that
corporations are "complicated organizations bringing together people with different
social backgrounds in frameworks that demanded the use of related skills" (p. 19). Today,
transnational corporations (TNC) play a pivotal role in the world economy. Such
corporations can be defined as "an enterprise which owns or controls value-adding
activities in two or more countries" (Dunning, 1989, p. 1) Hough and Neuland (2000)
contend that global business involves "all those commercial activities between two or
more countries" (p. 5). Finally Ryman and McIlveen contend that megafirms can be
deefined as large multinational enterprises "engaged in a mature, resource-based business"
(p. 2). They further note that these modern-day megafirms control distribution as well as
production. The link of these modern day business and corporation with companies and
businesses in the past is the focus on profit. This focus has not waned through the years
but remains a central point of the business interests found within education.

From small business to bigger businesses to small corporations to large
corporations, there has been an evolution of who the business interests within education
serve. They are complex, as stated above, and they are private. Though their areas of
expertise have been shifting away from production to image creation, they are still
primarily concerned with profit. The corporations that we see today, such as Coca-Cola,
McDonald's and Nike did not always exist as they now do. Schlosser (2002) notes the
change in a small company named McDonald's in 1948 when two brothers began the first
McDonald's in southern California. This small business would eventually develop into a
major multinational corporation with restaurants across the globe. From this small
business to the giant corporation, McDonald's has remained dedicated to increasing
profits. This is not a characteristic unique to McDonald's rather it is a characteristic that
unites private corporations from around the world. Key to the defining ‘business interests’ and corporations, in this study, is their pursuit of profit. As mentioned above, corporations are profit-seeking organizations who see education as a means of increasing this profit. Equally important is their complexity. Numerous activities take place within corporation’s walls. Production, distribution and image creation (Klein, 2000) are all apart of the modern day corporation. Decision-making is spread throughout the organization and such organizations have numerous departments that intertwine responsibility. Finally, the global positioning of today’s corporations is also of significance. Corporations can be placed around the world in terms of actual physical structures, but as important is that they can connect to points all across the world. The limitations of the past are being eroded as corporations can and do find more ways to integrate themselves, their products and their images into the societies of the world.

What follows is a time line of corporate/business interests in education. The early years are devoid of today’s corporations but the desire behind small organizations and individuals remain the same. They seek out personal and private benefit. They are organizations and individuals based in the need to increase profit, and they see the potential of education to deliver greater profits.

Roots of Corporatism – The Industrial Revolution

Corporations did not first arise during the Industrial Revolution, but it is here where the ideologies of corporatism first gain prominence. Prior to this time people relied upon skilled artisans, and engaged in a sustenance economy. The accumulation of wealth, capital wealth that is, was not a priority. Day to day living was hard, and people relied
upon distinct craftspeople to provide for their needs. During this time a person's trade was largely inherited from their family. However as society began to industrialize, living and thinking was drastically altered. The traditional structure and form of work would disappear, as the craftsperson would give way to the factory worker. Specialization would give way to the division of labour.

Two complementary notions that arose from the Industrial Revolution need explanation. Capitalism and laissez-faire economics would become the necessary precursors to corporatism. Capitalism introduced the notion of acquiring wealth, particularly material wealth, and specifically monetary wealth. Wealth could and should be accumulated in a capitalist-oriented system. The change in work and the change in thinking resulted in the growing disparity between the poor and the rich. It is this accumulation of wealth, and this change in work that would eventually allow for corporations to form. The factory provided a centralized workplace for a new workforce working under a new type of philosophy. Work was now specialized and workers dependent upon each other. Given evolutionary and revolutionary periods from then to the present, these original factories became the basis for corporations. A further matter of importance became the competition for profits. Businesses would soon become embattled with each other in efforts to maximize their profits. Competition would play a key role in the development, not only in the form of corporations, but also the form and values of education. As competition increased, new machines were created, and with these new machines came a need to learn new skills (Wolf, 1982, p. 274).

Also central to the capitalist ethic would be the form of the factory. Within one large building, numerous activities could be coordinated. Each part of the factory floor
became a specialized entity. This organizational structure would have a profound influence on the organization of schools, which shall be discussed later.

The second aspect of the Industrial Revolution to play a significant role in the development of corporations and education is the idea of a laissez-faire system of government. The laissez-faire system restricted the government from becoming involved with the free market and allowed for a system of supply and demand to emerge. The restriction of government is crucial in the development of early education. Without government restricting education, other groups were given the ability to influence the educational system. One such influence would be business. The laissez-faire system allowed for the entry of the first business influences into the school setting.

With these complementary notions taking root at this time, the actual instances of business/industrial interest in education could begin to form. In France, during the 1820s, it was private interests that first demanded training and the establishment of business-type schools. In 1820, capitalists such as Jacques Laffitte and Casmir Perier established the Ecole Superieure de Commerce de Paris. Similarly, the Ecole Centrale des Arts et Manufactures was established in 1829 by a group of private individuals for the express purpose to train civil engineers for the private sector (Green, 1997, p. 65). Interestingly enough private industry could also be cited as protesting the training of the populace. Due to the notion of competition, competitive entrepreneurs felt that they could not or should not sponsor schools for technical training due to the possibility of losing "trade secrets", and the possibility that other companies would "poach" their employees (Green, 1997, p. 65). In the early stages of industrial interest in education, evidence of support and distrust
of education can be found, as can evidence for the support of training and the desire to create a workforce with specific skills.

1840 – 1950 – Education and the Early Creation of Workers

The period between 1850 and 1950 bore witness to numerous corporate/business incursions into education. It is during this time that curriculum and organization were shaped to pursue the interests of the business classes. It is during this time that business began to educate students on roles and responsibilities in a capitalist system, a system that distinctly benefited the business members of a community.

The use of the schools to educate for business interests has its roots in the curriculum and school development of the early 1900s. Michael Apple (1990) discusses early curriculum development and how it reflected the interests of the white, middle class men. Apple states “the individuals who first called themselves curriculists (men like Franklin Bobbitt and W.W. Charters) were vitally concerned with social control for ideological reasons” (p. 47). These same men were from the middle class and had an interest in seeing their way of life protected. During this early time of curriculum development, there were two significant developments within society. The first involved the large number of immigrants arriving in the United States. The second was the new means of production resulting in the division of labor. Schools were required to socialize students into an ‘American’ way of life, and to make students accept their eventual role in the economic system (Apple, 1990).

The new immigrant population was a threat to American values, and their new customs were seen to be threatening to the traditional way of life. Thus schools were used
in an attempt "to diminish the immigrants' supposed threat to American society by instilling them with middle-class attitudes, beliefs, and standards of behaviour" (Apple, 1990, p. 77). As important though, was the development of the division of labor. This division of labor would eventually lead to differentiation in the school system. As society progressed, the general craftsperson was replaced in favor of the specialist. The specialist focused on one area, and relied upon other specialists to fulfill needs in other areas (Apple, 1990). The result was that some work was seen as more important than other work, and that some education had to be more demanding than other education in order to properly fill the more demanding positions. 'Naturally' the middle and upper classes were more 'able'. The division of labor therefore justified inequality on the basis of merit. This system of merit, in turn, allowed the middle-class to explain their positions of dominance on the basis that it was deserved because of intellectual superiority. The result was a populace that was willing to occupy lower roles in a stratified society because they felt as if they 'deserved' such positions and a middle-class that was able to maintain and build upon its wealth and power.

Barman (1995) notes how the Hudson's Bay Company within Canada expected the same type of divisions to be supported through education during the 1840s. She discusses how the Company's officers and "servants" were educated in order to maintain their current positions within the social order. Poorer children were thus given a 'lesser' education which included a minimal focus on reading skills so that they might accept their low position on the social scale. In comparison, children of high status families were given an extensive education in order to maintain their position of superiority. In both Canada and the United States, then, the stability and consensus achieved through school
allowed for the economy to remain stable and at the advantage of the upper classes, which the rich industrialists were a most definite part of.

The work of Mackie (1991), and Gaskell, McLaren and Novogrodsky, (1989) explore how gender was and is used in a similar way. They point to the under-representation of women in school texts and to the stereotyped roles that women were placed in when they were included in texts. Similarly Meier, Stewart and England (1989) explore how black schools in the United States in 1865 consistently received scarce funding as compared to white schools. Though only briefly discussed here, it should be noted that class, race, and gender are partners in a process of exclusion. The three created a system that benefited white men with business interests. The foundation of educational systems, as discussed by Apple, have their roots in such discriminatory practices that are still apparent in the system today.

Coinciding with the work of Apple is the research of John P.S. McLaren (1995). McLaren’s study focuses on the Doukhobor community in British Columbia in 1912. The Doukhobor community was targeted for cultural learning by the state in hopes of subverting their “beliefs, values and practices” and in hopes of undermining “the respect of young members of the Community for their elders and ultimately to lure them away from their family and village...”(p. 142). As with the early American curriculists, the non-Doukhobor community, and specifically state educators, saw education as a chance to build an Anglo-Canadian identity, strengthen the nation, and to stabilize the economy.

Further support of this attempted ideological control can be found in Canada and the early education of First Nation’s children at residential schools. Alice Littlefield (1993) discusses how indigenous “economies were undermined by measures designed to
transform their land and labor into commodities, through the twin policies of allotment and education” (p. 45). Jean Barman (1986) discusses how Indian students “had always been expected to ‘assist in the domestic arrangements of the house’ and how Indian students were viewed as ‘servants’ who ‘did the work’” (p. 116). Finally, David Wallace Adams (1996) notes how Indian students were enrolled in classes for a half day and then spent the other half of the day working in the local community (p. 158).

The overall effects of these three points can be easily seen. First, Indian populations were trained to accept certain roles in society. The chances for personal improvement and economic betterment were low to non-existent, and students were taught the importance of fitting in with the current economical structure. The Indian students who attended residential schools were only permitted to reach a certain rung on the socioeconomic scale. Barman (1986) notes that curriculum for Indians was “simplified, and the practical instruction given [was] such [that it] may be immediately of use to the pupil when he returns to the reserve after leaving school” (p. 120).

At the beginning of this period (1850-1950) the common school had begun to take form in the United States. The values found in these schools included strict discipline, hard work and punctuality, and as such were supported by entrepreneurs who valued the same qualities in the workers they employed (Parkerson and Parkerson, 2001, p. 11). Though such support was not necessarily definable or observable, one must consider the approval as implicit, due to the governance of local school boards by primarily business interests. These business interests saw the ability of school to create ‘good’ workers, and in doing so, saw such schools as making economical sense. Furthermore, businessmen were increasingly demanding stricter codes of discipline and higher standards in their
factories. The support of schools with the above skills and attitudes seems to be in congruence with business demands at the time.

A good example of the above comes from the work of Jean Barman (1995). In her research she discusses the impact of the Powell River Company in British Columbia during the 1920s. Powell River schools were directly under the control of the parent company. The company saw as its goal the retention of "as many of the second generation of males as possible in the town" (p. 331). The Powell River Company encouraged parents to keep their children in school for as long as possible as this would allow the company to pass on the company's values and required skills. The academic content of the school and extra-curricular activities focused around the company and the company was seen as an integral part of the social life of the school and surrounding community. In what may be one of the first instances of corporate branding, school sports participants received "letters, sweaters and shields from the school board, in effect from the company" (p. 331). The Powell River Company was strategic in their planning, curriculum and rewards in an effort to lead the students of the school into the company once they had finished their education.

One area of education that had a distinct business influence was that of the vocational school. In the 1870s, in England, a few industrialists began to lobby for the creation of vocational educational institutes, or they began to open vocational schools themselves (Lowe, 1990, p. 10). For example, Owens College in Manchester was endowed by a businessman. The Yorkshire College of Science in Leeds as founded by Obadiah Nussey, who manufactured textiles, and James Kitson, who was a locomotive engineer. As well, Firth College in Sheffield was endowed by the steel magnate of the
same name, and "established scientific chairs linking with local industry" (Lowe, 1990, p. 11). Similarly, as early as 1860, pressure was being applied by the business community in the United States for the creation of vocational schools and in support of vocational learning. In 1910, William Head Kirkpatrick developed the "project model" which required students to learn by doing (Parkerson and Parkerson, 2001, p. 110). Due to business pressure the Smith-Hughes bill was passed in the United States in 1918. The Smith-Hughes Act called for federal support for vocational education programs (Bierlein, 1993, p. 7). The vocational schools had the potential to provide direct learning of industry needs. A liberal arts education was undermined as it did not engage students in the type of learning required by the corporate/business world. Lobbying and establishing vocational schools created an alternative for the business community to ensure that students were graduating with the skills desired by business. As important in the case of the Smith-Hughes Act is acknowledging the ability of business to affect policy decisions. The Smith-Hughes Act affected federal policies, but business could be effective at lower levels of governance (state or provincial) as well.

Between 1900 and 1950 in the United States, almost all school board members were "business or professional men" and business management was held up as an example for school management to follow (Jones and Maloy, 1988, p. 78). With school boards actually being occupied mostly by businessmen, it seems obvious that business values and interests would find their ways into schools. That they were men and mostly if not exclusively white continued the pattern of class, gender, and racial inequality established earlier in school development. Management, curriculum, and methodology could all be controlled by the business lobby. With such a heavy concentration of
business interests represented, it would be accurate to suggest that boards worked
towards the best interest of the business community.

Another of the major outcomes of this time period was the initial use of readers to
promote business interests. The McGuffey readers were read by millions of Americans
during the early 1900s. Their pages were filled with ideas that equated success with
honesty and hard work, and that success was “material success” (Callahan, 1962, p. 2).
The McGuffey readers were an attempt to portray ‘business type’ families, with men who
went off to work, and women who stayed in the home, as desirable and their behaviour
as productive and beneficial. Similar to the McGuffey readers was the textbook published
by William C. Bagley, a leader in education at the time. His textbook was filled with
business terminology and was one of the foundations for trying to shape schools after the
corporate model (Callahan, 1962, p. 6). Similarly in Canada, the imperialist motive of
the British was prevalent in textbooks. Stanley (1995) notes how textbooks promoted the
British imperial ethic and how students were encouraged to become a part of the British
‘imperial mission’ (p. 42). Stanley goes on to further describe how the 1893 geography
primer, Round the Empire, was used to instill students with feelings of patriotism and
British imperialist expansion. Stanley discusses how textbooks were used to reveal the
economic motivations of imperialism as ethical and natural. Though not the same as
espousing business ethics, the focus on imperialism can be seen to promote the values of
capitalism, the foundation for business interests.

In 1912 William Wirt, organized a plan for Gary, Indiana. Wirt saw the school as
a plant and more specifically as a plant that was not being maximized in its potential.
Wirt’s plan, known as the Gary Plan, required students to move from room to room
throughout the day. Essentially no room would be unoccupied during the school day. The key to such a plan was the desire to ensure the maximization of the school building. With students moving from class to class, the potential usage of the building was increased, and it was hoped that this would increase the quality of education being provided.

Sutherland (1995) notes how the same type of factory organization of schools had begun to operate in Vancouver by the mid-1920s. He states that in these “departmentalized” schools pupils were required to move from room to room, and how rooms were equipped with specialized resources and the lessons were taught by specialized teachers. The factory with its specialization and efficiency had found its way into the schools, and this model of specialist classrooms and teachers serves as a major influence on educational organization even today.

1950-1990 – Preaching into Practice

If the previous century was about building the ideology and structures to support corporate influence, then the period from 1950-1990 was about enacting the ideology on a smaller scale. Corporations were still relatively small by today’s standards, and as such, their ventures into the educational realm seemed to be limited to single school projects.

The development of business councils was also a new method of promoting business interests into schools. Also the position of authority that business, especially white business men had on educational boards had begun to erode. “Parent and community groups, teacher unions, federal and state officials, and the courts” had come to take a larger role and to rival business interests within education” (Jones and Maloy, 1988, p.
Finally, there was to be another development that had far-reaching and large-scale importance, and that is the development of the textbook publishing industry.

On the small scale, during the 1970s, partnerships with schools in the form of 'Adopt-A-School' programs were of primary importance. Adopt-A-School involved a one-on-one association between a business and a school (Education USA, Special report, 1980, p. 28). Businesses could be counted on to provide tutors, provide staff development or write curriculum. But these were not the only provisions being offered. In 1974, Burger King began its 'Cities in Schools' program and gave a $100,000, one time grant to aid programs battling a high drop-out rate (Gothard, 1988, p. 49). Also in 1974, Hancock Life Insurance in Boston began a small-scale partnership with Boston's English High School. By 1977, Hancock employees were re-writing curriculum for the school, conducting workshops regarding to employment, insurance, and journalism (Jones and Maloy, 1988, p. 79-80).

Honeywell, a technology-oriented, Minneapolis-based company began their foray into the educational realm in 1976 by agreeing to become a part of the Business and Advisory Commission in Brighton Massachusetts. Honeywell would not stop there and by 1985 Honeywell employees had adopted more than 40 schools across America (Kaplan, 1988, p. 18-19). If the 1970s were a warm-up, then the 1980s brought about a raging fire of small-scale ventures. In 1984 Burger King created a 'Corporate Affairs Department', which would become responsible for developing and implementing educational programs (Gothard, 1988, p. 46). Following up the creation of its Corporate Affairs Department, Burger King helped the University of Wisconsin-Stout construct a fast-food restaurant management course in 1984 (p. 49).
This trend was not confined to the United States; small-scale ventures could similarly be found in Canada. In 1988, the ‘Partners In Education’ program was started in Alberta. Syncrude Oil and 140 other corporate members contributed to the creation of local steering committees to determine the employment needs of businesses. They would also prepare a plan of action to “create business-education partnerships” (Bloom, 1994, p. 9). A year later at River Oaks Public School in Oakville Ontario, Apple Canada Incorporated, and Northern Telecom supported the creation of new curriculum for K-8 by offering up 240 Macintosh computers and providing 54 new study units and the necessary accompanying teacher training. The end result? More than 700 students had their programs of study affected. More than 1300 visitors came to the school to view the partnership between business and education (p. 7). Also in 1989, in Regina, the Royal Bank, with four other major Canadian banks, established the Bank Teller Program that focused on Aboriginal students. The banks developed curriculum and offered funds so that aboriginal students could develop “their academic and job specific skills” (p. 13).

A related development was the establishment of committees and business organizations that could use their powerful position in society to affect educational change. In the United States, the Tri-Lateral Council for Quality Education was established in Boston in 1974 and consisted of numerous business groups and the Boston School Department. The main goal of the Council was to get the business community with its expertise to become a part of school communities in an effort to improve education (Education USA, Special report, 1980, p. 29). Similarly, in 1976 The Business Council on National Issues (BCNI) was formed in Canada. The BCNI was composed of Chief Executive Officers (CEOs) of major Canadian corporations. This Council was very
direct about its purpose: to lobby the government for the purpose of advancing business interests (Calvert and Kuehn, 1993, p. 91). The BCNI would eventually announce that there should be the creation of “national educational standards”, that provincial governments should “agree to testing mechanisms to meet the standards”, that there should be a greater emphasis placed on science, math and technology and that universities should be transformed into institutions to promote economic developments (p. 91).

The evolution of the textbook industry is another key development during this time period. Why are textbooks important in the discussion of corporate influence in the classroom? As Michael Apple (2000) states they signify, through their content and form, particular constructions of reality, particular ways of selecting and organizing that vast universe of possible knowledge. They embody what Raymond Williams called the selective tradition: someone’s selection, someone’s vision of legitimate knowledge and culture, one that in the process of enfranchising one group’s cultural capital disenfranchises another’s. (p. 46)

Such a tool would have obvious benefits to those who control it. Corporations worked in partnership with those who wanted ideological control in schools to produce texts that told the ‘truth’ in a certain way, and to produce textbooks that would be consumed by a large number of schools, all of who are looking for a very specific version of the truth. First, consider that in 1988 the United States market for textbooks, alone, exceeded $9 billion (Sewall and Cannon., 1991, p. 63). The competition for such a market began in the 1960s when the independent publishing houses soon saw themselves being bought up by huge conglomerations (p.44). As the small publishers began to be excluded, ‘a’ version of the truth became more standard in textbooks as these new conglomerations sought to maximize their attraction and profits. By trying to maximize their profits, textbook
publishers are forced into a situation where they must respond to their customer's demands. As discussed previously, these demands reflected middle to upper class spheres of influence. Textbooks that offer alternatives to this ideological mind-set are not viewed as profitable and thus are not desirable (Apple, 1986). The result is a publishing industry that creates a specific and limited vision of the past, present and the future.

All of this, then, leads us to the most recent period of corporate influence in education.

1990-Today

The last time period to examine is from 1990 to the present. Many corporations continue to undertake small-scale ventures, however many more corporations are trying to have an impact upon the educational system at a larger level.

Still prevalent during this time period are the relatively small ventures of a business or a group of businesses working with a single school or a single board. The Royal Bank continued their efforts in the educational realm in 1993. The creation of the Royal Bank Employability Skills Profile in Montreal was an employee recruitment program aimed at university students. Through leaflets the Royal Bank flooded university campuses across Canada, informing students what businesses were looking for from potential employees (Bloom, 1994. p. 19). At the other end of the spectrum, The Connaught Street School-Tingley's Save Easy program based in Fredericton, New Brunswick focused on grade one students. Whilst in the program, which was established in 1993, grade one students "develop communication skills by creating store advertisements, greeting customers and completing labels for graphs and charts (p. 14)."
The effects of such programs are various but the breeding of name-brand familiarity in
the production of good consumers, and the ability to shape skills are key reasons why
corporations enter into such programs.

This time period also brings new corporate power and new corporate abilities. Perhaps because of massive funding cuts to education, corporations are finding it easier
to access educational institutions. At the university level, the corporate funding of research and development is common practice, as are the inclusion of disclosure agreements signed by the universities. Through the offer of funds, corporations can determine what topics and questions are studied, and through intricate contracts, these
same corporations can prevent the findings from being published if these findings are unfavorable to the corporation (Balderston, 1990). One such example can be found at the Michigan Institute of Technology (MIT) that had a long-term relationship with DuPont. Due to a long term commitment to each other the university runs the risk of “intrusion and control” (p. 37) by the corporation. Though DuPont provides resources to the University as part of the relationship, they may demand prepublication clearance or the ability to place their own scientists within university labs. Such partnerships may prove financially lucrative, but they come at the potential cost of silencing the truth and directing research towards specific business/industry interests.

Equally new is how corporations are affecting schools at the student-consumer level. In 1997 Twentieth Century-Fox was able to have cafeteria food items named after characters from the movie Anastasia (Klein, 2000, p. 90). Furthermore, Subway, Pizza Hut, and Taco Bell all have their food items available for sale across the cafeterias of America (p. 90). However it is the soda pop companies that seem to be the most fervent
advocates of using the schools as exclusive consumers. Pepsi and Coca-Cola both negotiate exclusivity rights when offering funds. Under such deals, only a certain product may be sold on school premises (Klein, 2000, p.91, and Walsh, 1988). Major athletic corporations are doing the same; Reebok and Nike have also negotiated exclusivity rights at major American universities (Enloe, 2000, p. 239). Under such influence, huge sums of money are available to schools willing to be branded by a corporate logo. Important issues of representation, identity, research and ‘truth’ are raised when schools must sign complex agreements in order to have access to much needed and much desired corporate funds.

Yet another influential tool that is becoming more popular and easy for corporations to engage in, is the actual competition with schools for government funds. Michael Apple (1996) discusses how corporations routinely lobby governments for tax breaks and for special privileges. Due to the creation of multinational corporations that can move freely from country to country, such a lobby carries with it heavy pressure. The denial of tax breaks and privileges could result in a corporation leaving, and taking with it a plethora of jobs. The flip side to this is that by granting tax breaks and special privileges, governments cannot fund programs they once did, and areas such as education invariably suffer, making education even more susceptible to outside corporate influence.

During this time schools’ desire for the newest and latest technology also brings corporations into the school. Coupled with this technology is the desire to make education more trendy, entertaining and exciting. Channel One, a news program for schools in the United States is perhaps a prime example of combining the two. Apple (2000) and Klein (2000) both discuss the impacts and influences of Channel One in the
United States. Channel One was established by Whittle Industries, and is a commercially produced television news program. It is currently being broadcast in over ten thousand American schools with a viewing audience of no less than five million students. The program offers schools new technology, specifically a satellite dish, televisions and VCRs in exchange for the news program being broadcast into the schools. Schools must guarantee Whittle Industries that ninety percent of the students enrolled in the school must watch the news program ninety percent of the time. Contracts run from three to five years with the news being broadcast every day. If the school breaks the contract or cannot live up to the terms specified in the contract, the equipment is taken away.

However it is not just news that is being broadcast into the schools. The ten minutes of news is packaged with two minutes of commercials. As of October 1989, Whittle Industries had sold more than US $149 million worth of commercials. What Channel One does is illustrate two key points. First, it demonstrates how students become commodities to be sold. The students become a captive audience, watching commercials which corporations bid for. Schools sell student viewers of corporate advertisements in exchange for technology for the school. Furthermore, corporate identity creation is sold as news and the attached commercials are consumed as part of the learning process. The second point demonstrates how cutbacks in education open the door for corporations to offer technology and innovation in exchange for the chance to advertise to a captive and emerging market.

When governments cut back on education to try and balance budgets, or when they cut back due to the money spent or lost on corporate incentive programs, schools find themselves unable to provide for their students. This in turn allows corporations to
arrive on the scene as saviours offering technology and funding. This funding, however, is not without strings attached. The technology and the finances come with a proviso. Resources are made available only if the corporation has some say in the direction, policy, or curriculum of the school.

A final element of the new form of corporate interest that relates directly to the above discussion is that of government spending, and the preferential treatment that governments bestow upon corporations. A prime example comes from Alberta during the early 1990s. In her work Alison Taylor (2001) examines the provincial government of Alberta and its stance on corporate investment and involvement in education. Taylor explores how a growing dissatisfaction with education by the corporate sector, as well as their demands for greater allowances to compete in the opening global market, partnered with dissatisfaction with parents to create the impetus for change within Alberta. Business interest within Alberta worked to sway the middle-class to their side of the debate. Though not equating the business class with middle class interests, the business class did stand to uphold many of the privileges that the middle class had come to expect. The Alberta government’s cutbacks on education coincided with numerous concessions to businesses interests within the province. The tax structure in particular was altered to give greater advantage to corporations, including income tax, and, in Alberta, there is no provincial sales tax. Conditions such as these made doing business in Alberta very attractive. However this comes at a price; to pay for such concessions, cutbacks were made and education was a specific target.

In British Columbia much the same has been done, only at a later date. Currently the provincial government has made it a priority to attract new investment to British
Having explored some of the past and current corporate interests and intervention in education we continue with the past of globalization. As with corporate interests, globalization has a long history, though the word used for it has changed.
CHAPTER 4 - COLONIZATION TO GLOBALIZATION – THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE IMPORTANCE OF FIRST NATIONS’ EDUCATION

The previous chapters discussed briefly the origins of globalization and the historical roots of corporate interests in education. Globalization as a phenomenon was discussed as having its history date back to as early as the 1600s, as was the roots of corporate interests in education. However the expansion due to trade, the interchange of cultures and the mixing of peoples was originally done in the ‘Old World’, that is, Europe and Asia. When this globalization began to spread further, to Africa and the Americas it took a new form. Combined with the profit seeking motive found within business interests, and later corporations, that form would become known as colonialism. To discuss globalization and corporatization without discussing colonization creates a story without a proper beginning.

Establishing the link between Globalization and Colonization

When the first European settlers arrived on the shores of present day Canada and the United States they were not the first people to set foot on the ‘New World’. The land was already occupied by indigenous populations who had built communities and structures to ensure their own survival. Thus when the first settlers came they would eventually have to learn how to interact with these indigenous populations. It may not have been an original desire to learn new cultures and customs and it may not have been a desire to interact or eventually exploit these populations for profit. But the settlers did
have a preconceived notion of why they were coming and what they expected to achieve in this new world. Before proceeding onto the links between colonization and globalization it must be stated here that what follows is only a sampling of colonial and global experience. It is not all-inclusive. What also must be stated is that colonization has meant different things to different people and the colonial experience experienced by some is not the same as it was experienced by others. In his work, Warner (2000) discusses how settlement types varied, as did colonial relations with indigenous populations between and within colonies. The point is that there are always exceptions to any rule and that unique lived experiences will always exist. However there are also some strong commonalities that must be brought to light.

As early as 1584 Richard Hakluyt, compiler and editor for *The Principal Navigations of the English Nation* (1589), presented a document to the British crown establishing why colonies were beneficial to the British Empire. He makes 23 points in total as to what could be gained through the establishments of colonies. What follows are some of the more salient points to the discussion linking colonization with globalization:

2. The passage thither and home is neither too long nor too short but easy, and to be made twice in the year.

5. ... And effectually pursuing that course, we should not only find on that tread of land... (to whom warm cloth shall be right welcome), and ample vent, but also shall... find out known and unknown islands and dominions replenished with people that may fully vent the abundance of that our commodity that else will in few years wax of none or off small value by foreign abundance...

7. ... so as this realm shall have by that mean ships of great burden and of great strength for the defence of the realm and for the defence of that new seat, ... and without great increase of perfect seaman.
11. At the first traffic with the people of those parts the subjects of this realm for many years shall change many cheap commodities of these parts for things of high valour [value] there not esteemed...

13. By making ships and by preparing of things for the same... and by thousands of things there to be done, infinite numbers of the English nation may be set on work, to the unburdening of the realm with many that now live chargeable to the state at home.

14. If the sea-coast serve for making of salt, and the inland for wine, oils, oranges, lemons, figs, etc... without sword drawn we shall cut the comb of the French, of the Spanish, of the Portingale, and of enemies and of doubtful friends...

(Wright and Fowler, 1968, p. 23-26).

The Ease of Colonization

When the above points are examined more closely the links to globalization can be seen. Point number two suggests that colonization is beneficial due to the short duration of the actual trips to colonize. It was neither time consuming nor particularly arduous. Today under globalization, time becomes almost irrelevant. Rizvi and Lingard (2000) acknowledge the collapsing of time and space when they state that “the new business enterprises have the technological means and strategies to demolish old limits – of time, space, language, custom, and ideology” (p. 423). Carroll, Desai, and Magnusson (1996) concur suggesting that “technological developments have increased efficiency of the most up-to-date plants and made it possible to locate production facilities almost anywhere” (p. 108). The global reality is that it is now very easy to travel and relocate, so much so that time and distance are even a greater non-issue than in the time of early colonization.
The Need to Locate New Markets

Points Five and Eleven from Hakluyt argue the importance of colonization to locating new markets, new consumers of goods and more resources. Colonization would allow for greater accumulation of wealth due to the increased number of participants, in terms of both countries and consumers, and in the increased number of resources. Crowe (1974) states how important profit was for early traders. Without this profit motivation, it is unlikely that colonies would have spread and further developed, a sentiment shared by both Miller (2000) and Ordahl Kupperman (1992). Miller claims that without the desire for profit and from that desire the want of new resources, there would have been little incentive to continue the colonization of the Americas. Whereas Ordahl Kupperman suggests that the underlying goal, for all settlers, was wealth.

Patrick Fitzsimmons (2000) points to how economic globalization in the present is essentially focused on the creation of new financial markets. McCarthy and Dimitriadis (2000) support this notion by suggesting that globalization today has resulted in unlimited choice for consumers. Jan Art Scholte (2000) describes globalization as a form of internationalization whereby there is a growth in international exchange and interdependence. Petras and Veltmeyer (2001) concur by defining globalization as the liberalizing of national and global markets “in the belief that free flows of trade, capital and information will produce the best outcome for growth and human welfare” (p. 11). Globalization like colonization is an attempt to secure more and larger markets, and to be able to supply these markets with products and to be able to use these markets for their resources.
The Need for a Sizable Military

Point Seven is a justification to increase the British Empire’s military in support of the colonies and in the face of the competition that Britain could expect to encounter from rival countries. This point is reinforced by Mancke (2002). She observes how for over a century the British government emphasized commercial regulation and the growth of their navy to defend shipping. The colonies needed the coercive power that strong navies and militaries could provide. The idea that a significant military would be needed to promote colonial interests can be tied to similar needs in the recent past and in the present.

Consider the United States and their activities in Afghanistan and in Iraq in 2002 and 2003. Similarly, Richard Falk (1999) points to the earlier Gulf-War crisis and George Bush Sr.’s advocacy of a “new world order” (p. 11) as further evidence of military might and ideological colonization. This type of colonization is only possible if there is a military force strong enough to push through ideological domination. Lentner (2000) furthers this point when he suggests that the United States “maintains military hegemony in the sense that its strength ensures that no other state can use political power to restructure the international economy...” (p. 59). The ideological globalization brought through the power of their military bears an eerie similarity to what Hakluyt is suggesting in 1584. The need for a strong military force to ensure compliance and obedience was a vital part of the colonial experience. Wars with rival nations and fighting with the indigenous populations required a strong military presence. The Cold War, with its accompanying arms race, and India and Pakistan’s nuclear capability race seem to mimic
the early colonial weapons race. However it is in the globalization of American ideology that we see the similar need for a military force to impose this ideology. Carroll, Desai, and Magnusson’s (1996) acknowledgement of America as the new regime of power that can dominate the world sounds very familiar to a British colonial power that could brag that the sun never set on its empire.

The Religious Imperative

Related to the military are the activities of missionaries. Missionary groups consisted of religious leaders both ordained and untrained members of a faith that sought to ‘save’ indigenous populations from the hedonism that the settlers believed were the root of problems for indigenous peoples. The two combined to impose an ideological colonization of indigenous populations. What the military could not do by force, religion tried to do by salvation and preaching. Cardinal (1999), Noriega (1992), Devens (1992), and Jordan (1986) all explore how missionaries and religion played a major role in the ideological colonization of early indigenous populations. Missionaries tried to convert the indigenous populations to Christianity and in doing so socialized them into European customs. Indigenous people and their faiths were denigrated and the European faiths exalted.

This type of colonization can be found today in places such as the South Pacific, where von Werlhof (2001) claims there are more missionaries per capita in Melanesia (constituted of Papua New Guinea, the Solomon Islands, and Vanuatu). There are numerous other missionary groups today, including, Action International Ministries (Action International Ministries, n.d.), Missionary Sisters of Our Lady of Africa
Missionary Sisters of our Lady of Africa, n.d.), and CBInternational (CBInternational, n.d.). Missionaries continue to be supported around the world by numerous groups at the same cost of ‘civilizing’ indigenous populations.

The Ability to Create New Jobs

Point thirteen refers to the ability of colonization to create jobs. Through the building of ships to the setting up of colonies overseas, people would be provided work. The larger that the empire grew the more jobs there were. The new ventures could also create new types of work to be filled by the willing and by the wanting. Morrow and Torres (2000) argue that the same can be said about globalization. The changing economies of the world require an increase in service, managerial, professional and technical jobs. The very size and distribution of work promises the creation of work for those previously denied the opportunity. The OECD (1999) points to the importance of knowledge and the expansion of the knowledge industry due to globalization. The new work required and promised sounds very similar in premise, though not form, to the type of job creation promoted by Hakluyt.

The Ability to Become More Competitive in World Markets

Point Fourteen stresses the importance that colonization could play in regional competition. Colonization could provide benefits to the British Empire with out ever having to resort to violence or resource depletion through war. The colonies could provide strategic advantages for the Mother Country which could in turn increase the competitiveness of the Mother Country in international relations. Crowe (1974) suggests
that the competition between companies could be likened to war during colonial times. Reinicke (1998) points to how, in a global setting, a corporation’s “competitive position in one country depends significantly upon its performance in other countries” (p. 12). The shift of manufacturing and production to developing countries is a well known practice of corporations as they seek to compete at a higher level in the global market (Welfens, 2000). Competition for consumers, markets and resources is as important today as it was in early colonial times.

The motivations for colonialism suggested by Hakluyt are not the only manner in which globalization and colonization are linked. The actual treatment of indigenous populations also provides a strong link between colonialism and globalization.

Slavery – Then and Now

Howard Adams (1994) discusses how at the time of conquest Indians were either slaughtered or made into slaves. Crowe (1974) supports this evidence when he states that in the North slavery was common… “and thousands of southern Indians were brought to the St. Lawrence colony as slaves” (p. 67). Jean Barman (1986) discusses the evolution of this initial slavery in the way residential schools created an indigenous population who would accept their position at the bottom of the social order and who would accept low pay for their work. The slavery of the early-Americas found an end, to some degree, but under globalization, it could be argued, that slavery has made a strong comeback.

Klein (2000) points to the work done in sweatshops today across the globe. She points to how a Disney sweatshop in China was paying workers as little as 13.5 cents an hour and how these workers were forced to work overtime. She also points to sweatshops
operated by Tommy Hilfiger, The Gap, and Polo Ralph Lauren. The National Labor Committee, a non-profit organization committed to defending human and worker rights, describes working conditions in Honduras for Wal-Mart. Such conditions include forced overtime, wages of 43 cents an hour, denial of sick days and health care and the use of humiliation to motivate workers (The National Labour Committee, n.d.). In his work Eric Schlosser (2002) explores the slave-like conditions of Mexican workers in the United States. In Greeley, Colorado Monfort slaughterhouse employs recently immigrated and illegal Mexican workers in their plant. The wages they receive are poverty-level and they are subject to extreme danger in the meatpacking industry. Today Schlosser reports, Monfort's staff is made up of about two-thirds of immigrant workers. They live in battered trailer parks, or in shared motel rooms, sleeping on mattresses on the floor. The turnover at the plant is approximately 80 per cent, meaning that few if any promised benefits need to be paid out. The Monfort plant is viewed as a great success in the meatpacking industry. It is true that these workers in Monfort and in sweatshops do receive some form of payment, and it true that there exists the possibility of leaving. However are the conditions faced by sweatshop workers around the world vastly different than the slavery of indigenous people during colonial times? The evidence would suggest that colonization and globalization, as determined by capitalist economies, share the need for cheap labour and the deplorable treatment of the powerless.

Assimilation – Then and Now

Another aspect of colonization that can be found in globalization is the notion of assimilation. This notion needs to qualified in that under colonization there are those who
believe that indigenous populations had a surge of identity expression and development (Plank, 2001; Ringrose, 2001.). Equally there are those who believe the same of globalization (Short, 2002). However it can also be said that globalization does promote a certain degree of assimilation, which will be explored shortly. As for colonization, Gibbins and Ponting (1986) suggest that during early encounters with settlers and through the relationships developed "it was expected that eventually Indians would shed their native languages, customs, and religious beliefs and become self-sufficient members of modern Canadian society..." (p. 26). Miller (2000) argues that to some extent this assimilation was achieved through the trade of goods. Indigenous populations became dependent upon the new goods of the settlers and in doing so lost some of their ability to live as they had before the settlers arrived. Adams (1994) further states that through colonialism, native populations eventually accepted European beliefs at the cost of their own belief systems and values. McDonnell (1991) offers even more evidence of assimilation as she describes how the American federal government moved Native populations from their land in the Eastern United States to the West in hopes that such a move would facilitate easy assimilation of the Native populations. Finally, Jordan (1986) highlights the work of Diane Longboat who suggests that the education of indigenous people has been influenced by assimilatory properties. Longboat states that, "education has worked with the long-term objective of weakening Indian nations through causing children to lose sight of their identities, history and spiritual knowledge" (p. 260).

This assimilation theme is also evident under globalization. Norberg-Hodge (2001) states how "people around the world are being bombarded by media and advertising images that present the modern, western consumer lifestyle as the ideal, while
implicitly denigrating indigenous traditions” (p. 182). In his work, Capella (2000) suggests that under globalization there is the deprivation of “sex, social class, race, community, roots, religion, personal qualities, wealth or poverty” (p. 231-232). Gilbert (1997) concurs with this notion when he suggests that consumption becomes the goal of assimilation. Through their advertising, marketing and production, corporations are promoting the assimilation of people towards a consumer identity. The desire to sell as much as possible to everyone compels corporations to stress the similarities between cultures and individuals. In this they actively promote the assimilation of one group by another. This is not to say that all groups are assimilated by the same corporation or all corporations have the same values, but it is saying that a common set of beliefs and values is promoted by the business community in hopes of acquiring the largest profit they can. Klein (2000) speaks of how a ‘cool’ factor is a goal of advertisers. It is in cool factors that people can be pushed towards the same definitions, expectations, and outcomes in values and beliefs. Finally, Enloe (2000) discusses how Nike uses a global marketing strategy that calls for the homogenization of world markets. The assimilation under globalization has changed form, but the pressures of corporations through advertising and through their products has an assimilatory affect all the same.

Before moving on, it is important to acknowledge that there has been resistance to assimilation under both colonization and globalization. It would be highly inaccurate to suggest that assimilatory practices were not challenged. This challenge under globalization is explored more fully in the final chapter of this thesis. Both Nobler (1997) and Ringrose (2001) discuss how indigenous populations of North America fought assimilation and struggled to express their beliefs, values and customs.
The Use of Indigenous Populations to Further Goals

A final point to compare is how through both colonization and globalization the use of indigenous populations or groups has been used to further the colonizers or globalizers goals. Nobler (1997) suggests that Euro-Americans would have never been able to take control of the Americas if it had not been for Indian help. Indigenous involvement in colonial wars and their help in trade routes were essential to early colonizers. Similarly, Ordahl Kupperman (1992) notes how Jacques Cartier used Indian interpreters to ensure that his excursion into the Americas was met with success. Both Crowe (1974) and Miller (2000) discuss how this Indian help created a class reliant upon European goods and provided the European settlers a group to act on their behalf in trading affairs. The beaver trade essentially created a proletariat Indian class, willing and able to advance the goals of the settles due to the rewards that these Indians could obtain for themselves.

Today under globalization the same type of cooperation is required. von Werlhof (2001) describes how institutions such as the World Bank and the IMF first persuaded local governments with money, then used the same motivation on non-governmental organizations to ensure that policies suggested by the World Bank and the IMF would be accepted. von Werlhof further discusses how the World Bank is actively involved in funding indigenous non-governmental organizations which then become indebted to the World Bank and its causes. Nobler suggests that the same type of favors in varied areas of life provided the same sort of allegiance of Indian populations towards early colonizers.
The New Forms of Globalization

Through the above it should be seen that globalization is not a new process rather it is the continuation of an old and destructive process. There are new aspects to globalization, such as rapid and massive transmission and accumulation of information, huge capital movement, and a change in the international division of labour (Petras and Veltmeyer, 2001). Similarly, Langhorne (2000) argues that technological advances, cross-border transactions and multinational enterprises all are new aspects to globalization. However at their cores, globalization and colonization are more similar than they are different. The reluctance to group the two together is one shared by major corporations, expansionist Western governments, and powerful non-governmental organizations that benefit from a colonial order. Petras and Veltmeyer (2001), Welfens (2000) and Lentner (2000) discuss how organizations such as the WTO, the IMF, and the World Bank work in cooperation with powerful nation-state actors, specifically the United States, and with non-governmental organizations (NGOs) to maintain a world-wide system of beliefs that best suits their interests.

Colonialism has been studied as a destructive force in the past and to associate such a destructive force with the present process of globalization could cause the aforementioned parties considerable problems. In his work, Michael Apple (1993) draws attention to the work of John Fiske. Fiske states that “discursive power involves a struggle both to construct (a sense of) reality and to circulate that reality as widely and smoothly as possible throughout society” (p. 105). Knoblauch and Brannon (1993) support this sentiment when they state that
the corporate, governing, legislative, and judicial institutions of the
country speak in massive accord, through their deployment of wealth,
property, services and opportunities, for the privileging of some groups
over others in the maintenance of a hierarchic scale of socioeconomic
well-being (p. 156).

Finally, Marker (1999) discusses how the marginalization of certain discourses
allows for complete histories of a people to be rendered “invisible and silent” (p. 25).
Thus with the power that these parties have to define, they have tried to separate
globalization from colonization in an attempt to hide the potential destructiveness of
globalization. However, the two cannot be separated for colonization gave birth to what
we now call globalization. The two, as it now stands, are inexorably related.

The Need for Self-Determination

The history of colonization is one of control and domination. Indigenous
populations were told where to live, what to do, and what to believe. In this wake of
oppression there is a strong desire, a strong need for indigenous populations to take
control of their lives once again. The need, as seen by indigenous populations is for self-
determination. This call for self-determination by First Nations is a call that should be
shared by other groups being controlled and dominated by globalization. Self-
determination is seen as a step forward in the maintenance of indigenous beliefs and
values. It should be seen as a step forward for those groups currently oppressed under
globalization. The importance of self determination can be summed up in the words of
Rudolph Ryser (1984) who states that “if you have no government, you have no
people...” (p. 35).

What exactly is meant by self-determination? Sanders (1990) states that “in
international law, the concept of self-determination encompasses the right of peoples
freely to determine, without external interference, their political status and to pursue economic, social and cultural development” (p. 191). The economic, social, and cultural freedom implied in such a definition is what was suppressed under colonization for indigenous populations, and what stands to be suppressed under globalization, as previously discussed. Such a definition is a good start but there needs to be a more ground level contribution to this definition.

Taiaiake Alfred (1999) states the crucial need for individual autonomy under indigenous governance systems. Alfred states the need for governance to be decentralized, and small-scale, “among people who share a culture” (p. 26). He further suggests that there are six principles that indigenous governance is centered upon. First, such governance depends on active participation. Second, it balances layers of equal power. Third, such governance is dispersed. Fourth, governance is situational. Fifth, it is not coercive, and sixth, indigenous governance respects diversity. The points made by Alfred suggest an intimate, community based governance system. It is a personal and direct way of communicating and decision-making. It is fluid, not static and it is considerate.

Alan Cairns (2000) adds to the complexity of self-determination. He outlines its relationship and response to past failed policy and further argues that it is an inherent right. Furthermore, it offers the chance to provide dignity to indigenous populations, however it has limits for non-land-based Aboriginals. Cairns also points out that self-determination can only be partial, and that it requires Euro-Canadian politics to be cooperative, and must involve the ability for individual Aboriginals to leave to the non-Aboriginal community. He states that “self-government will properly remain the most
significant goal for Aboriginal people” (p. 114). Cairns’ points differ from Alfred’s which show that there is not a universal indigenous belief system and that differences amongst nations and individuals must be acknowledged and respected. However, Cairns does share with Alfred the idea of cooperation and fluidity.

Dan Russell (2000) contends that when self-government is discussed, there are three areas of focus for Aboriginal parties. First, Aboriginal parties believe that they cannot receive fair treatment under the current federal system of government. Second, aboriginal parties believe they can manage their own communities better, and third, due to their history with their land, Aboriginal people have a “prior and inextinguishable right to govern...” (p. 40-41).

Mercredi and Turpel (1993) claim that First Nations self-government means “peoples governing ourselves in keeping with our traditions and not being ruled by the Minister of Indian Affairs or the Department of Indian Affairs” (p. 107). They also state that the motivation behind self-government is simple, it is “self-preservation” (p. 108).

The 1995 federal Policy guide on Aboriginal Self-Government states that the Aboriginal population of Canada “have the right to govern themselves in relation to matters that are internal to their communities, integral to their unique cultures, identities, traditions, languages and institutions, and with respect to their special relationship to their land and their resources” (p. 3). Russell (2000) reinforces this federal government stance when he states that the federal government continues to maintain that Section 35 of the Constitution Act (1982) provides the outlines for aboriginal self-government as a legal and inherent right. Once again the idea of community is expressed, and the need to determine policy at a local level.
Menno Boldt (1993) compares the plight of First Nations communities with that of Blacks in South Africa, stating that they share the pursuit of “self-determination for the purpose of liberating themselves from oppression, racism, and injustice” (p. 8). Self-determination could imply a government within a government, a state within a state. However, under globalization, such a sub-state could prove to be virtually ineffective, especially if supra-national organizations dominate at the state level. The state then would be in no position to protect indigenous interests at the sub-state level.

**Self-Determination in Education**

Self-determination may mean many different things to indigenous people, however there is agreement amongst indigenous populations that self-determination must be achieved. There also is evidence to suggest that the varied indigenous populations of North America agree that self-determination in education is essential.

Harold Cardinal (1999) states that “no educational programme can be successful, and it follows, no society can be successful, where the people most directly concerned and affected have no voice whatever in their own education” (p. 43). Hampton and Wolfson (1994) augment this point when they state that “education for self-determination… was what our chiefs and elders had in mind when they negotiated treaties” (p. 92). Ponting (1986) states in his work the importance of education as a focal point of self-government. He points to the results of band-controlled schools with Indian teachers and Indian elders, and how such schools lowered truancy and drop-out rates. Jordan (1986) furthers the argument by adding that “Indigenous peoples’ claims to control education are claims to control the construction of identity” (p. 261).
A key step to self-determination would be the control over curriculum and development of First Nations' schools. Under globalization such control would be undesirable as the system moves towards greater similarity. A First Nation demand to control their schools would require the differentiation of educational policy. This is something that would not be popular under global homogenization. Battiste and Youngblood Henderson (2000) quote Erica-Irene Daes (UN Working Group on Indigenous Populations) as stating “the best practice is to allow Indigenous people to define themselves” (p. 41). A First Nations’ definition of themselves is vital to the educational process, not only within First Nations’ education, but also for non-First Nations’ understanding. To be called the names they have given themselves, instead of the Western constructions, to be able to define what is sacred, what is customary, and what is relevant, is crucial in the development of First Nations’ education. Part of this definition needs to be the inclusion of First Nations’ interests in books, and studies found in both the First Nation community and the outside communities. Jon Reyhner (1988) emphasizes that exclusion from textbooks of First Nation interests is due to the white, middle-class control of textbooks (p. 97). This exclusion subverts attempts at a positive construction of a First Nations’ identity, as the control is not with the people themselves.

The work of Apple (1990), Barman (1986), Chomsky (2000) and Goldthorpe (1997), among others has, claims that education has been used to foster certain beliefs and values at the expense of others. Their work suggests that education has been used to maintain a system of power and privilege for the elite while oppressing the majority. Indigenous populations have been a part of that oppressed majority, and the need to take
control of their own education is vital if indigenous beliefs, values and customs are to survive.

First Nations' Educational Beliefs

Self-determination leads to indigenous educational beliefs. It leads here for two reasons. The first is that if self-government and self-determination are to be achieved, then First Nations beliefs must be fostered and developed in all educational settings. Noriega (1992) states that “the system by which Native Americans are purportedly ‘educated’ by Euroamerica has from the onset been little more than a means by which to supplant indigenous cultures” (p. 373). Bressette (2000) quotes Egerton Ryerson, the Chief Superintendent of Education for Upper Canada in 1847 who stated that “the goal of residential schooling is to be the preparation of the Aboriginal male student to become farmers and farm workers while girls were taught to be house keepers” (p. 15). If this is to stop, if education is to lead to the strengthening of indigenous values, beliefs and system, rather than be used as a tool of negative socialization against indigenous populations, then First Nations populations must have control of education. The second reason that it leads us here is that education should be an expected area of indigenous control. Russell (2000) suggests that education, amongst other current provincial responsibilities should be placed under the authority of First Nations’ control. Essentially many of the services currently provided by the provinces would be handed over to First Nations’ governments.

The values of education that are found within indigenous systems are vital in that they offer an alternative to the dominating corporate-global world view. They are also
vital in that they were specifically targeted under colonization. Under colonization such beliefs were deemed inferior and in need of replacement (Adams, 1994; Cardinal, 1999; Littlefield, 1993). Today, as has been discussed previously, this continuation of colonization is apparent in the promotion of common consumer values and beliefs. In his book, Eric Schlossler (2002) describes the great pride that McDonald’s takes in creating the same tasting French fries across the globe. From Canada to Hong Kong, the fries taste exactly the same. The cause for concern is that corporations would extend this beyond food to include people. Wally Olins (2000) describes how major corporations try to appeal to as many individuals as possible, and how globalization has brought about the increase in major worldwide brands whilst diminishing the total number of brands in worldwide markets. The end result is a greater homogenization of products leading to a greater homogenization of choices leading to a greater homogenization of people. In the face of the bombardment of corporate advertisement, “people seek to establish identities as consumers in the face of the large-scale and anonymous rationalization of modern industry, trade and bureaucracy” (Gilbert, 1997, p. 68). Under such pressure, indigenous desires to remain unique and their desire to express their uniqueness has difficulty surviving.

Gregory A. Smith (1992) discusses the development of an industrial/modern worldview. The elements found within this worldview are closely related to, if not the same as the worldview of globalization. Smith contends there are four points to an industrial/modern worldview. They are:

1) Because the universe is orderly, mechanical, and predictable, the best way to know and understand it is to approach it objectively, utilizing the intellectual tools of rationalism and empiricism. Once we have mastered its mechanical principles, we will become
capable of controlling the natural world in ways that advance our own welfare.

2) Society, like the natural world, functions as a machine in which individuals are the basic unit. Individuals can make the greatest contribution to the well-being of society if they are allowed to develop personal talents free from the restrictions imposed by traditional forms of human association.

3) Society, like the natural world, is subject to human control. This control is most effective when societies are centrally organized.

4) Given our ability to understand and control both the natural world and society, humans can anticipate advancing toward ever increasing levels of material comfort and security. (p.20)

The above values system is the system that has tried to replace First Nations values systems both in the past and today. It is the same system that is trying to replace other indigenous values systems today. The colonial mentality gave rise to the global mentality which in turn promotes many colonial-type beliefs. First Nations education is so important because the lessons we should have learned through their history should be informing our actions today. The points that Smith describes are the current, dominant worldview and they are a part of a system based on injustice and oppression. First Nations’ educational beliefs offer an important alternative to such views. In the promotion and distribution of First Nations’ educational beliefs an alternative to the industrial order is created.

What, then, constitutes First Nations educational beliefs? Before answering the question it must be stated that there is no consensus, no universal First Nations’ belief system (Battitse and Youngblood Henderson, 2000, p. 35). Each Nation is unique in its history and culture, and that to speak of a total First Nations’ educational system would be gravely unjust. However, there are common underlying themes, notions, concepts, and values that can be explored when discussing education. Adams (1994) states that such beliefs are founded in the traditional values of his people. The values are “bravery, honesty, humility, love, respect, truth, and wisdom” (p. 25). Further, The National Indian
Brotherhood (1972) states that educational values include pride, understanding and living in harmony with nature. They continue by saying that desired educational attitudes include self-reliance, respect, generosity, and wisdom. Based on the above sets of values and attitudes I have chosen five areas of concern due to their particular relevance, globalization and corporatization, and the world vision that the global-corporate partnership is moving towards. I have identified five key concepts to First Nations' education and will discuss their significance to education, and how they are affected by globalization. The five concepts are 1) a sense of community, 2) the development of an oral tradition, 3) a belief in the interdependence of society, 4) the construction of knowledge, and 5) the development of identity. These five elements react in various ways to the major concepts of globalization as listed above, and these interactions have a large part in determining the shape of First Nations' education.

A Sense of Community

The first concept crucial to a view of First Nations' education is the notion of community.

Indian cultures are defined primarily in terms of duties and obligations to the collectivity. The collective well-being of the band/tribe was placed above individual self-interest. Individuals had their purpose and interest in the community. Members of the community were expected to subordinate individualism, to respect the customs and traditions of the community. Everyone was expected to work for the welfare of the community. (Boldt, 1993, p. 150)

Similarly, Battiste and Youngblood Henderson (2000) describe that “Mi’kmaw thought values the group over the individual” (p. 55). This belief in the community and its well being, at first, sounds quite compatible with globalization and the idea of one
world community. Globalization, as based on capitalism however, is a system of competition based on individualism. Individuals, not communities, are awarded benefits for achieving success, whether it is in the educational, political or economic realm. Reinicke (1998) suggests that the global community depends on local communities accepting its (the global community's) version of the common good. McCarthy and Dimitriades draw from the work of Jerome Karabel who suggests that today’s globalized world is an “era of unbridled wealth, won in large measure for the elite through in part divide-and-conquer strategies and the triumph of resentment and its ability to dictate public policy” (p. 201). A community, in a global/corporate world order consists of individuals belonging to a ruling elite and the ruled masses. Carroll, Desai and Magnusson (1996) draw attention to these power differences when they explore how corporations use their new found mobility as leverage in securing the best deal for their companies at the expense of other interest groups within a host country. The authors also discuss how international organizations, such as the United Nations, the World Bank, and the International Monetary Fund have helped the United States maintain a position of dominance in the global community.

The concept of community as used by First Nations peoples, suggest a unique and spiritual bond with the immediate community, including the extended family. Marker (1999) quotes Keith Basso who explores how Apache elders use stories to “promote beneficial changes in people’s attitudes toward their responsibilities as members of a moral community” (p. 24). Boldt (1993) states that Indian “societies did not differentiate power into formal specialized institutions” and how the “tribal community performed all of the political, social, spiritual, and economic functions in an undifferentiated fashion”
This localized and non-hierarchical notion of community runs counter to the very essence of the global community, which tries to break ties from the local, and make ties larger, whilst promoting some into authority positions at the expense of others. As taught to First Nations' children, 'community' is not compatible with 'global community', and the challenge will be for students to hold onto the importance of the local community, when they are surrounded by the global. The very idea of community is changing and perhaps even disappearing. The community idea relates strongly to identity, which will be discussed later on. A consumer identity is arising due to the loss of the community within a global society. People must now turn to buying 'things' to feel as if they are part of a collective – a collective based on the acquisition and collection of things (Aldred, 2000, p. 339). It would seem that the sense of community is diminishing, and in a culture consumed with consumerism, those who do promote the community come in direct conflict with corporate aims.

The Development of an Oral Tradition

Related to the notion and significance of community is the development of an oral tradition among First Nation communities. “In a society with an oral tradition, Indian elders played the essential and highly valued function of transmitting the tribal customs and traditions of the younger generations” (Boldt, 1993, p. 19). Marker (2000) continues this line of thought when he states that “the native sense of past and present is founded on a tradition that is oral, not textual” (p. 83). One of the key aspects of an oral tradition is the transmission of culture. Through stories and legends, a culture is passed onto the next generation, grounded in morality and spirituality.
Corporations work in an environment of social programmes, political legitimacy, and institutional and regulatory frameworks (Tussie and Pia Riggirozzi, 2001). Green (1997) cites Robert Reich who discusses how corporations can and do move anywhere in the world, have multiple bases of operation and have international workforces. The type of society that this creates is one which depends upon Western notions of organization and structure. An oral tradition can change and is difficult to pinpoint in origins, accuracy, and analysis (Bowers, Vasquez, and Roaf, 2000, p. 186). The elusiveness of oral traditions proves problematic to a system dependent upon contracts and written proof. In a society consumed with science and exacts, oral tradition is elusive and unfixed, and because of this is a threat to the global ways of producing and retrieving knowledge. “Print posits a reality that is separate from the reader and thus reinforces the form and consciousness associated with the autonomous form of individualism” (Bowers, Vasquez, and Roaf, 2000, p. 186).

An oral tradition is based on the quality of interaction as a story is passed on from one generation to the next. This type of interaction is as important as the story itself. The danger in an oral history is that it is not quantifiable, it is not measurable, something which globalization demands. This is an area of study that will have further exploration when the discussion turns to knowledge. The two types of knowledge become necessarily in conflict because of the elusiveness of the spoken word. As an alternative to the dominant, oral tradition cannot be tolerated.
A Belief in the Interdependence of Society

The third major emphasis found in First Nations’ education is the idea of interconnectedness and interdependence. Related to this notion is the idea of spirituality and respect of the natural world. I will use two questions to illustrate this point. They are ‘what should we do?’, and ‘what can we do?’ The question asked is different in First Nations’ communities, than the question asked within the dominant global community. The question asked is different because of the belief in interdependence and spirituality found in First Nations’ education. In the movie Jurassic Park (Kennedy, Molen, and Spielberg, 1993) the creator of the park is having lunch with the scientists and children he has invited to tour the park before opening it to the public. In the discussion that follows, Dr. Ian Malcolm exposes the difference between the interconnected/spiritual view of First Nations’ people and the unconnected/scientific way of thinking of the global community. He talks about how the scientists who were creating the dinosaurs from DNA fragments only asked ‘if this could be done’. Dr. Malcolm then discusses how the question they should have been asking is ‘if this should be done’.

The question that the two perspectives answer is different because First Nations’ people have “time honored values of respect, reciprocity, and cooperation [which] are conducive to adaptation, survival, and harmony. Native people honor the integrity of the universe as a whole [italics added] living being – an interconnected system” (Kawagley and Barnhardt, 1999, p. 127). The emphasis in First Nations’ education is the harmony and the interdependence of all living things, whether they are human or not. Thus the question they ask is ‘should this be done?’ Whereas the “Eurocentric approach”
undermines this unity and this responsibility (Battiste, and Youngblood Henderson, 2000, p. 40).

Western sciences, and technology have their primary motive in profit, and continually ask the question ‘what can we do next?’ thus neglecting the long-term effects of their actions (Kawagley and Barnhardt, 1999, p. 133). Marker (1999) illustrates this point when discussing Lummi salmon fishing. For the Lummi, their identity is “entwined with an ancient relationship to the salmon” (p. 20). The fish are necessary for economic survival, but as important is the salmon’s contribution to the cultural survival of the Lummi people. Conversely, Marker discusses how the white community speaks of the salmon in strictly economic terms. There is a hierarchy in the mainstream West that justifies the usage of all other life forms, of all resources, as long as they benefit humankind. We can take and take, and then take some more, because we are at the top of the hierarchy, the most intelligent, leaders of the world. The global/corporate perspective is one based on the premise that the world was made for us, us being people (Quinn, 1992, p. 61). Accordingly, global corporations act that way, producing at any cost. The OECD (1999) illustrates this when they suggest that the next level of advancement after the Human Genome Project is “most likely beyond our predictions or imagination” (p. 87). The corporate/global world view holds the next step as sacred and is always trying to push innovation further, sometimes no matter what the costs. Klitgaard’s (2000) work highlights this last point when he discusses how the extinction of plants and animals is due to habitat destruction which is done to allow the further growth, both social and economic, of humankind.
Alternatively, First Nations’ education stresses “that the earth and the universe are built upon the premise of cooperation and interdependence” (Kawagley and Barnhardt, 1999, p. 128). From a First Nations’ perspective, the world is not entirely for us. We, meaning people, live in a community where we are responsible for all the members of the community. There is a reciprocal relationship where we are served and serve the other members of the community.

**The Construction of Knowledge**

The next key educational value to be discussed is the concept of knowledge. It is a wide based area that needs to be included when First Nations’ and global conceptions of education are to be explored. The first such area is how knowledge is actually used within the two cultures. In a global society knowledge is becoming a commodity. Those who have it and can attain it, reap the benefits. “Industries based on increasing returns lend themselves to ‘natural monopolies’ where markets are unstable and perfect price competition does not occur” (Schwartz, Kelly, Boyer, 1999, p. 85). The idea of the ‘natural monopoly’ should be concerning. Knowledge is not shared, nor is it used to necessarily benefit all. It is collected and kept to ensure the advantage of the elite. That information may filter its way down in the form of consumer products, but at the heart, it is meant for the benefit of the few. When one of the supposed positives of a global community is the increased accessibility to knowledge, the lack of sharing seriously undermines the overall affect of the supposed benefit. It is easy to become suspicious of what knowledge is being shared and why. As troublesome, is what knowledge is not
being shared and why. If knowledge is collected in monopoly fashion, then the few benefit at the expense of the many.

This point can be expanded to the competitive nature of acquiring knowledge under globalization. With knowledge becoming a resource, it necessarily takes on a competitive aspect in globalization, which seeks to increase advantage. Reich (1997) discusses the competition between producers in various countries and the general dynamics found in the corporate/global world order. Morrow and Torres (2000) discuss how this competition leads from knowledge and encompasses production, labour, natural resources and political conditions. Corporations are in a constant mode of becoming more competitive and through this competition more profitable. Any corporation in the automobile industry, for example, will be trying to acquire as much knowledge as possible with regards to the multifaceted market. The sooner they have knowledge, the better. The more knowledge they have, as compared to their competitors, the better. Capitalism, which globalization stands upon requires competition and that will certainly find its way to knowledge.

In contrast is the First Nations’ view on the use and nature of knowledge. Arlene Stairs (1995) discusses how Inuit knowledge “is a shared resource acquired cooperatively” (p. 142). Karen Swisher and Donna Deyhle (1992) support Stairs when they use Anthony Brown’s study on the Cherokee. The study found that “Cherokee children [tended] to be more cooperative and less competitive than white children (p. 89). The First Nation use of knowledge requires the sharing of it with the community. Knowledge will be used to benefit everyone. It is not something to be hoarded and used for the few. The concepts of community and interdependence, discussed earlier, are
important factors in how knowledge is used within First Nation’s cultures, and how it is acquired through education. Furthermore, there is a cooperative aspect in gaining knowledge. Knowledge can still be seen as a resource, but it is not used in competition with others, rather it can be used in cooperation to the benefit of a greater number. The specialization of knowledge found in a global system requires knowledge be sought out on an individual basis because this knowledge is a resource which can then be used to benefit the individual. This is not the case under a First Nations’ educational ethos. Knowledge can be acquired through cooperation, and can be used for the benefit of all. Knowledge is not a commodity that can be sold, rather it is an experience that is too be shared.

A second aspect to knowledge is the form it is expressed in and the way it is acquired generally. Knowledge under a global system is abstract and non-related to the student. It is also specialized, compartmentalized, and standardized (Kawagley and Barnhardt, 1999, p. 121). In discussing the forms of knowledge, Battiste and Youngblood Henderson (2000) discuss how the Eurocentric view of knowledge, which is widely found in a global society, stresses “precision and certainty”, continually questing for universal definitions (p. 36-37), and trying to categorize information (p. 35). Kawagley and Barnhardt (1999) add to these points by stating that “Western science and education tend to emphasize compartmentalized knowledge which is often decontextualized and taught in the detached setting of a classroom laboratory” (p. 118). They further state that “in Western terms, competency is based on pre-determined ideas of what a person should know, which is then measured indirectly through various forms of ‘objective’ tests” (p. 118). Knowledge takes on an abstract form that is not related to
the student’s lives. Knowledge is necessarily abstract to prevent the masses from gaining an account of what is happening directly to oneself, in their own environment. Political and environmental issues are shown as ‘over there’ rather than ‘right here’, to the affect that students do not understand how complex events impact upon their lives and how they can impact upon complex events.

In comparison, First Nations’ education stresses the opposite. Marker (2000) quotes from Vine Deloria who suggests that tribal people “require that ethical systems be related directly to the physical world and real human situations, not abstract principles...” (p. 403). For First Nations’ educators, the “process of understanding is more important than the process of classification” (Battiste and Youngblood Henderson, 2000, p. 37). First Nations’ education also stresses the importance of experience of the natural world in learning (Kawagley and Barnhardt, 1999, p. 118). The First Nations’ approach to education recognizes science as limited and not as infallible, something which it is becoming in a global society (Kawagley and Barnhardt, 1999, p. 133). The value placed on experience brings the student in direct contact with the world, and they can see the relevance of the world to them and in turn can see how their actions, beliefs and attitudes affect the world in which they live in.

As stated above, a global society needs to make the world an abstraction to allow for the injustices found within it. Related to this is the specialization found in the global society. Specialization allows for the few to speak on an issue, trying to convince the rest of us that problems or policies are too abstract and too demanding for those who are not a part of the specialized area. Specialization allows for more decisions and more policies to go unquestioned, as the majority of civilization does not have the information or
understanding to take part in the dialogue (Chomsky, 2000). Once again, this is directly opposite to First Nation’s education that is based on the collectivity, and supports collective decision-making (Kawagley and Barnhardt, 1999, p. 121).

The Development of Identity

The final aspect of First Nations educational values and beliefs to be presented here has to deal with identity and the changes found in a modern world. Identity is a complex issue and will only be briefly dealt with here because of that complexity. There are numerous factors to consider when discussing identity, not the least of which is resistance to outside influences. The creation of identity is not simple and I do not wish to portray it as such, nor do I wish to suggest that people are passive vessels waiting to be filled up by corporate and global identity creators. They are not. However, for this discussion it is important to understand that corporations do want to affect identity in some manner.

For the purpose of this study there are two salient points regarding identity. The first is the effect of computers/technology on First Nations’ identity. The second is the affect of a consumer society on identity. With regards to computers, Bowers, Vasquez, and Roaf (2000) discuss how the purchase and use of them contribute to a consumer lifestyle and a technological appreciation of life (p. 191). They also discuss how computers though useful, cannot capture the true essence of identity, such as a Hopi Katsina dance. Chomsky (1999) discusses how technology, especially in the forms of computers and the Internet have been “unleashed” in the current corporate/global world order (p. 65-66). Similarly, the OECD (1999) notes the “tremendous” growth of
Information Technology (IT) and digital networks as does Reinicke (1998) who sees technology as "a rich source of new products and services" (p. 16). The global age represents a challenge to First Nation's identity because the means of expression are changing. This relates to the oral tradition favored by First Nations. Identity cannot be expressed as fully or as richly on a screen as it can in person. The ability to share customs and rituals is an important part of First Nations' identity and a global society that is ever altering the form of such expression could cause severe damage to the expression of First Nation identity.

Related to this point is the commercialism of First Nation identity. Given the current consumer society we are in, it should not be a surprise that First Nations' spirituality and identity have become available in the marketplace. Lisa Aldred (2000) brings light of the travesties that are plaguing First Nation identity in a consumer society. She notes that "mass quantities of products promoted as 'Native American sacred objects' have been successfully sold by white entrepreneurs to a largely non-Indian market (p. 329). She further notes that this consumerism results in "Native Americans' spiritual traditions [becoming] products to be playfully sampled through consumption, ignoring Native Americans themselves as three-dimensional people set within historical, socioeconomic, and political relations of oppression" (p. 339). Both Gilbert (1997) and Gitlin (2002) discuss how consuming becomes a means of identity creation. In his work, Gilbert cites Miller who believes that consumption of corporate products helps to alleviate the alienation faced by people in a modern institutionalized world. First Nation identity is looked upon as a 'trendy' consumer good that can be displayed in a collection of things or workshops. By commercializing First Nations' identity, the people (Nation...
members) themselves are marginalized. The true identity of a Nation is not a concern, only the commercial aspect of an identity is needed.

The importance of understanding the evolution of globalization and the affects of colonization and globalization upon First Nations cannot be understated. The challenges that indigenous populations have today have their roots in colonization. Globalization, as an extension of colonization poses problems very similar to those encountered by the indigenous populations during early colonial times. There are lessons to be learned and patterns to be observed. However the most important part of including the discussion on First Nations' educational values is what such a discussion can mean for tomorrow. Such a framework for viewing the world offers an alternative to the current world order. The ideas of respect and interdependence and spirituality found within such a framework can serve as the basis for offering resistance to the current corporate-global partnership. If education is to be a site of dissent and rebellion then such alternatives must be incorporated into the studies of all students.

The possibilities offered through First Nations educational values need to find their way into all levels of education. The inclusion of such beliefs and values requires a shift in current thinking in many educational institutions across the world. Such change may not be met with wide acceptance, but it is a struggle worth undertaking. First Nations' educational values need to be protected so that First Nations' students will be protected, but beyond First Nation students, such values could act as a cure for what ails the current system. Such values, if spread and shared offer solutions to the current problems resulting from the corporate/global dominance found within education.
Whether it is at the primary level or the university level, alternatives are a key to advancing the integrity of educational systems worldwide.
CHAPTER 5 – COCA-COLA CAMPUS

The previous chapter discussed the need to create alternatives for educational practice. First Nations educational values are one possible alternative. They are not the extent of alternatives, but the values found within First Nations' belief systems are promising in terms of creating hope for a different type of education. Such alternatives are not found in this chapter. Rather than striving out to find a new form, instead of trying to be bold, the University of British Columbia chose to accept the dominating world order and the requirements that such an order places upon education. What follows is an account of the University's decision and the consequences it has for education.

In 1995 The University of British Columbia (UBC) and The Alma Mater Society of The University of British Columbia (AMS) entered into a contractual agreement with Coca-Cola Bottling Limited (CCB). The deal was one of the first agreed upon in Canada, and it would gain significance due to exclusivity and confidentiality clauses. UBC maintained that "releasing the documents in question would harm the economic interests of the university." UBC also cited Section 21 of the Freedom of Information Act, "which protects third parties in such disputes, claiming that any revelations concerning the deal could cause Coca-Cola financial hardship, as well as Section 14, which protects information subject to solicitor-client privilege" (Martin, 1997). AMS and Coca-Cola concurred citing the need to keep the information exclusive due to the nature of competition faced by Coca-Cola (Carrigg, 2001). At the outset of the contract no
information was available. How much the University was receiving, what provisions were required, and who were the main benefactors of the contract were all unknowns. Two sides emerged from the initial signing of the contract; those in favor and those against.

**Initial Reactions to the Agreement**

For some students on campus, the contract was an inevitable sign of things to come and warranted no significant outrage. Andrew Lax, a third year Commerce student stated that “the presence of private corporations on campus is inevitable and profitable. In the long run, we'll be able to have the equipment and facilities we need and if it means we have only one choice of cola, so be it” (Longworth, n.d.). Proponents of this type of view could point to the enormous amount of resources that corporations had to offer. Proponents suggest that “corporate partners bring new sources of money needed to fill the vacuum created by the drastic cuts in government funding and public money to universities” (Huberman-Arnold and Arnold, 2001). In 1990, 135 Transnational Corporations each sold in excess of $10 billion (Stromquist, 2000). The money they had and the money they thought they could further earn brought them to schools and universities. Klein’s (2000) research describes the impact of major fast-food chains on the American educational landscape. She notes that these chains compete directly with 13 percent of cafeterias in the United States. Specifically, Subway supplies food to 767 schools; Pizza Hut to 4,000 schools; and Taco Bell to 20,000 schools. Such lunch programs benefit schools, either in terms of commission or through initial payment from
the corporation to secure a contract. These agreements also benefit corporations who receive valuable customer exposure and the profits associated with the sales of their products. Further examples include Nabisco Foundations' promise in 1989 to spend $35 million over five years to promote 'risk taking' in educational restructuring, and General Electric who pledge the same amount of money to support school reforms in the United States (Bradley, 1989) This side of the reaction sees that the money is available, that corporations are willing, and that UBC, to further its goals, should be willing to engage in corporate partnerships.

The other side of the argument expressed serious concerns that the Coca-Cola contract was the beginning of a frightening trend towards increased corporate control of UBC campus life" (Longworth, n.d.). Mike Golbach, a third-year film student, stated that:

UBC's relationship with the corporate establishment is a symptom of a larger disease called poverty... But, it's hard for me to understand why they can't find other ways to generate revenue... University is about developing your identity, but how can we learn to think for ourselves if Coke is allowed to make decisions for us? (Longworth, n.d.)

This side of the argument points to the potential ramifications of universities being involved in corporate partnerships. For example, the confidentiality agreement has proven to be a dangerous means of censorship as used by corporations in the past. Klein (2000) reports on three separate incidences that corporations have tried to use confidentiality clauses to suppress research done by universities. She discusses how Dr. Betty Dong, a medical researcher at the University of California at San Francisco (UCSF) and her relationship with Boots pharmaceutical; Dr. Nancy Olivieri and her relationship with the University of Toronto and the drug company, Apotex; and Dr. David Kern’s
relationship with Brown University in Rhode Island and a local textile factory. In all three cases the businesses used clauses in the contract and the threat of legal action to suppress findings that would have lost their company money or reported that their product was dangerous. This side argues that the ideological control that can be acquired by corporations through their donations is substantial and it is dangerous to education (Apple, 2000).

In the case of UBC the strongest reaction came from Stanley Tromp, a reporter for the Ubyssey, the University's student paper. In 1995 Tromp asked university officials to disclose the payments that were being made to UBC as part of the contract. UBC, the AMS, and Coca-Cola refused. Consequently, in the fall of 1996 Tromp filed a Freedom of Information (FOI) request that was rejected by the Office of the Information and Privacy Commissioner. Though defeated initially, Ubyssey appealed the ruling through the B.C. Supreme Court (Carrigg, 2001). Scott Hayward, a Ubyssey spokesperson at the time of the lawsuit argued that, "previously, universities had to be accountable for their financial dealings... But now that corporations have bought in, there seems to be two sets of rules... The problem is we can't discuss whether the deal is appropriate because we can't see the details, we don't even know how much money the university will make" (Martin, 1997).

The appeal of Ubyssey would eventually be successful, leading to the opening of the contract to the public in 2001. To understand what exactly is being put at risk through such an agreement it is necessary to examine the contract's finer details. It is this examination that follows.
The Contract Between UBC, AMS and CCB

The total for the 10 year deal was $8.5 million (Sit, 2001). The money received by the University went towards a number of different projects. The four main projects can be found on the UBC website. They are: 1) $2.4 million to the AMS, student athletics and event sponsorships; 2) $640,000 to improve disability access; 3) $525,000 allocated to the UBC Library in 2000 and; 4) $100,000 for UBC's most recent Open House (as of May 29, 2001) (University of British Columbia, 2001, *UBC Releases details of Coca-Cola Sponsorship Agreement*). Though the above may seem beneficial to UBC and its students, the true nature of the contract lies in the finer details.

The Need for Confidentiality

One of the most prominent aspects of the contract is the warning printed at the top of each page. The contract makes explicit that the details of the contract are confidential. The warning reads as such: “By the terms of this agreement, it is a breach of contract to disclose the contents. Inducing a breach of contract is actionable” (Agreement Among the University of British Columbia and the Alma Mater Society of the University of British Columbia and Coca-Cola Bottling Ltd., 1995, p.1). That such confidentiality is demanded causes questions. First and foremost is, why? The answer of which may be found at the University of Wisconsin at Madison. In 1996 Reebok was negotiating a deal that included a non-disparagement clause with the University. Under such a clause university members (students and professors) would be unable to criticize Reebok while the contract was in effect or for a “reasonable” amount of time after the contract had expired. The University of Wisconsin at Madison
The Exclusion of Student Voices

Related to the above point is that the agreement was made without any sort of direct student representation. The contract states that “UBC, AMS and CCB have agreed that for the term of this Agreement…” (Agreement Among the University of British Columbia and the Alma Mater Society of the University of British Columbia and Coca-Cola Bottling Ltd., 1995, p. 2). As with the confidentiality aspect the lack of student voices is concerning. The protestation of students could have seriously undermined the negotiating process and the overall deal as it did at the University of Wisconsin at Madison. Student participation can be controversial and take unexpected turns. Klein (2000) points to an instance in Georgia for such an example. She makes note of Greenbriar High School, which in an effort to secure $500 from Coca-Cola decided to have a ‘Coke’ Day. All the students were to wear Coca-Cola t-shirts, and lectures were given throughout the day by Coca-Cola executives, flown in especially for the occasion. The plan, however, did not go exactly as desired. Mike Cameron, a lone high school student, showed up to school wearing a Pepsi t-shirt. Cameron was promptly suspended. Mike Cameron’s story illustrates the difficulty that corporations could encounter when working with students. The unpredictable reactions of students can be detrimental to business plans. In an effort to avoid such difficulties, UBC, AMS and Coca-Cola excluded them from direct representation. The contract never makes any mention of student representation or any mention of student feedback. For a contract of over fifty pages between a university and a corporate partner, it seems odd that students are so well hidden.
The Branding of UBC with Coca-Cola Logos and Values

The next point of interest in the contract appears in Section 1.1. Subsection ‘f’ states that “Authorized Cups” means unless otherwise agreed, the disposable cups used to serve Cold Beverage Products of CCB, illustrating one or more of the Coke Marks only, and supplied by CCB to UBC, AMS, or Designated Purchasers…” (Agreement Among the University of British Columbia and the Alma Mater Society of the University of British Columbia and Coca-Cola Bottling Ltd., 1995, p.3). Related to this point is the clause in Section 4.9, Subsection ‘d’ which states that:

UBC and/or AMS shall dispense all such Competitive Products in Authorized Cups, provided CCB has confirmed that such Competitive Products may be so served, and otherwise shall dispense such Competitive Products in unmarked cups and vessels provided by CCB to UBC and/or AMS. (Agreement Among the University of British Columbia and the Alma Mater Society of the University of British Columbia and Coca-Cola Bottling Ltd., 1995, p. 21)

The branding of UBC with a Coca-Cola emblem is at issue here. Sporting and social events invariably become linked with the Coca-Cola logo. The disqualification of other logos only further promotes the Coca-Cola logo. Combined with Section 2.1, Subsection ‘c’ which gives CCB the exclusive rights to Cold Beverage Products advertising, the provisions create a monopoly. Such control of expression, representation, and speech is in conflict with UBC’s ethos. The Universities Mission Statement includes the notion that “as responsible citizens, the graduates of UBC will value diversity, work with and for their communities, and be agents for positive change” (University of British Columbia, n.d., Mission and Vision). Does such an exclusive right to advertise, promote and supply, to the extent that CCB controls the majority, if not all, of the cold non-alcoholic beverages on campus, suggest that UBC values diversity? The University has
established a Mission Statement for guidance and contracts signed with outer parties should be held up to these guidelines if UBC is to maintain its integrity.

When further tied into Section 2.1, Subsections ‘e’ and ‘f’ which give Coca-Cola the exclusive use of AMS and UBC Marks (symbols or logos) on campus in its advertising or promotional campaigns on campus, it becomes clear that Coca-Cola is trying to brand the University as its own. The only corporate soft drink image on campus becomes Coca-Cola. This image is seen on its own but also with the images of the AMS and of UBC, linking it directly to the university experience. Such branding is similar to McDonald’s sponsorship of ‘Reading is Fun’, found in the United States, which features materials with the golden arches and McDonald’s popular and well-known cast of characters. Calvert and Kuehn (1993) suggest that the intention of such materials is to “persuade students that the company’s products or its views of an issue are the best of the alternatives” (p. 103). At the university level, at any level of education, such an intention should be considered very dangerous. The exclusivity and the branding form a one-sided view point of products and issues.

Directly related to the above is Section 31 of the contract which deals with ambush marketing. The Section states that:

In the event another person or entity attempts, without CCB’s written consent, to supply, advertise or otherwise associate its Cold Beverage Products with the Campus or with UBC, or AMS, or by referring directly or indirectly to the Campus, Teams, UBC, or AMS... UBC and AMS (upon receiving actual notice of same) will oppose such actions by taking reasonable steps (including, but not limited to, written complaints to the violating party, cease and desist announcements and, subject to proviso hereinafter set forth, in any case that it would be reasonable to do so in the circumstances the filing of appropriate legal actions such as temporary or permanent injunctive relief) to protect the exclusive association rights granted to CCB by UBC and AMS in this Agreement...

(Agreement Among the University of British Columbia and the Alma Mater Society of the University of British Columbia and Coca-Cola Bottling Ltd., 1995, p. 51)
Such a clause seems to be a form of censorship. The campus has been transformed into a Coca-Cola only establishment. The representation of other colas is practically illegal. Though not focused on ideas, the Coca-Cola contract sets a precedent where one group is allowed to silence all other groups.

A further example of this can be found in Klein’s (2000) work. She describes a situation of the du Maurier Tennis Open Tournament sponsored by Imperial Tobacco at York University. Permission to distribute anti-smoking pamphlets was refused by Susan Mann, the president of York at the time. The protest group refused to completely acquiesce and did distribute some leaflets during the tournament. Citing traffic problems, police, hired by tournament organizers arrested two information distributors. The conflict of interests should be apparent. A university that allows for only one side of an argument, or one cola to be sold puts itself into a position to defend that side or that cola, at the cost of an open forum and debate.

In fact in Section 2.2 of the contract, Subsection ‘e’ states that:

\[
\text{UBC will use reasonable efforts, having regard to the circumstances of each of the use Excluded Facilities, to encourage those persons or entities having control over the Excluded Facilities to purchase the Cold Beverage Products of CCB (to the exclusion of other Cold Beverage Products) for sale or distribution… (Agreement Among the University of British Columbia and the Alma Mater Society of the University of British Columbia and Coca-Cola Bottling Ltd., 1995, p. 12)}
\]

Similarly, Section 2.3, Subsection ‘b’ requires the University to promote CCB products even for Unauthorized Events. The contract requires the University to inform the organizers of the event that CCB has exclusivity rights, and if the event informs the University too late, then the cold beverages must be served in unmarked cups. Through such provisions the University actually becomes a significant marketing tool for Coca-Cola. Resources, time, and energy must be placed into ensuring that activities and events
not using Coca-Cola are persuaded into using Coca-Cola. The unabashed promotion of CCB products seems to be inconsistent with the purposes of an institute of higher learning. The persuasion used by the University could put the University in a position of conflicted interests, especially if UBC suggests in any way that by not using CCB products there could be some form of academic or social retaliation. Though this has never been cited at UBC, it is a possibility that could occur, especially if UBC or AMS need to meet commitment goals. To put the University into such a position would seem inappropriate.

The University's Best Interests

Further complicating matters is that it is in UBC’s best interests to see that Coca-Cola products are sold because of yet another provision found within the contract. Section 8.2, describes what should happen in the events of a commitment shortfall. If such a shortfall does occur, CCB can extend the contract at no extra cost to themselves, for a period (the ‘Extended Period’) which is the shorter of: (a) the number of additional months required in order for the Minimum Volume Commitment to be satisfied over the course of the Term plus the Extended Period; or (b) twenty-four months. (Agreement Among the University of British Columbia and the Alma Mater Society of the University of British Columbia and Coca-Cola Bottling Ltd., 1995, p. 29)

During this time, UBC gets no additional payments and cannot enter into any new agreements regarding Cold Beverage Provision. The Minimum Volume Commitment under terms of the contract is 1,400,000 “Standard Physical Cases of Cold Beverage Products” (Agreement Among the University of British Columbia and the Alma Mater Society of the University of British Columbia and Coca-Cola Bottling Ltd.,
The conflict arises when one considers to what length will UBC and AMS go to, to ensure that they reach the Minimum Volume Commitment? Related to the previous point, could UBC and/or AMS use coercion to ensure that the minimum commitment is reached? Once again this has not been the case thus far, but the potential for the University to act in this manner is existent. As of September 2001 UBC and AMS were not on schedule to meet the minimum commitment (Choo, 2001). At what point do the interests of meeting the contract requirements take a priority over student choice and university integrity?

The Nature of Coca-Cola’s Interests

The next item of interest found within the contract begins in Section 1.1, Subsection ‘i’. The subjection states that “Cold Beverage Products means: all cold carbonated and non-carbonated, natural or artificially-flavoured non-alcoholic beverages…” (Agreement Among the University of British Columbia and the Alma Mater Society of the University of British Columbia and Coca-Cola Bottling Ltd., 1995, p. 3). This definition relates to Section 4.9, Subsection ‘c’ which states that:

if CCB subsequently produces and/or supplies a non-carbonated Cold Beverage Product which is comparable to a Competitive Product that UBC and/or AMS is purchasing from a Competitive Supplier for sale at the Campus, then UBC and/or AMS, as applicable, will immediately cease purchasing such Competitive Product from a Competitive Supplier and purchase such a comparable non-carbonated Cold Beverage Product exclusively from CCB...

(Agreement Among the University of British Columbia and the Alma Mater Society of the University of British Columbia and Coca-Cola Bottling Ltd., 1995, p. 21)

The significance of such Sections can be found in the work of Wally Olins (2000). In his work Olins describes how major corporations try to appeal to as many individuals as possible, and how globalization has brought about the increase in major
worldwide brands whilst diminishing the total number of brands in worldwide markets. The definition states the ability of Coca-Cola to provide as many products to consumers as possible. However it is in the development of future products that the contract takes on a global edge. At any point during the contract duration should Coca-Cola develop a product that they do not currently have, and that UBC and/or AMS buys from a competitor, then CCB has the right to stop UBC and/or AMS from buying and selling that product in favour of their own.

What should prove concerning to schools is the theft of ideas that can and does take place in the business world, and the possible loss of ideas by smaller producers. Academically the theft of ideas is plagiarism, and students are warned about such illegal activity. Yet, that Coca-Cola can react to the market and develop a product that they did not originally conceive of and then market it as their own is deemed perfectly acceptable. Product development such as this is acceptable, in the business world. Should this be true of the academic world? Should this be true on university campuses? At their heart schools and businesses are different and this provision clearly shows the distinction.

Cheating in academics is against university policies, and at times it is illegal. Cheating in the business world enables businesses to further their profits and weaken their competitors, and because of that, it is acceptable.

The reality that a company can see the success of a competitor’s product and copy that product and then because of any numerous circumstances make a more popular product that weakens the original producer, without any repercussions, acknowledgements, or financial transfer. Of significance is the roll that intellectual property rights play. Burshtein (20000) suggest that “businesses have viewed their
intellectual property and technology as collateral assets...” (p. 2). He goes on to state that
"intellectual property can redefine industry structure or result in the creation of entirely
new industries. Often it can reposition a company within an industry” (p. 2). Kratz
(1998) discusses why such rights are important. Specifically he argues that such rights
offer protection to creators and act as incentives to creators to continue with their work.
The protection that is provided prevents others from simply stealing the hard work of
someone else. However, the above clause seems to put such rights into question. The
University could find itself within the middle of a fight over intellectual property, with
Coca-Cola being a company that is looking to exploit intellectual property rights in their
effort to advance their own product line. Integrity is at stake when such a provision is
legally written into a contract and if Coca-Cola’s integrity is at stake, so too is UBCs.

The next point of consideration can be found in Section 12.3, Subsection ‘a’
through ‘d’. The Section deals with the failure of CCB to supply cold beverages.

To this end, UBC...may purchase Cold Beverage Products from any
local supplier provided: (a) such supplier is not PepsiCo Inc., its
subsidiaries, affiliated companies, licensees and franchises
(“PepsiCo”); (b) such Cold Beverage Products is not a Cold beverage
Product sold, manufactured or distributed by on or behalf of
PepsiCo... (Agreement Among the University of British Columbia and
the Alma Mater Society of the University of British Columbia and
Coca-Cola Bottling Ltd., 1995, p. 38)

Such a provision relates to the above point in that the nature of the contract is
revealed. The contract is about competition and profit. By expressly stating that
replacement products cannot be supplied by Coca-Cola’s biggest competitor, the contract
can be viewed as a direct profit and competition related move for Coca-Cola. As with the
above, this is acceptable behaviour for a business, however it is not acceptable behaviour
for a university. It is true that competition does motivate many academic findings and
research, and it is becoming increasingly true that profit is desired from research, but to become an institution outwardly expressing such values puts the integrity of UBC in danger. In their bid to become more competitive in the global market, corporations move from one country to another seeking the lowest costs of production. They transfer money, products and people across borders (Langhorne, 2000).

Coca-Cola itself has been connected with the exploitation and oppression found within Nigeria under the military dictatorship of General Sani Abacha. Abacha “and his supporters have dissolved the remaining political parties, arrested and imprisoned political dissidents and have muffled any voice of pro-democracy opposition” (Grasso-Knight, 1997). Coca-Cola continues to do business in Nigeria, as do many corporations, whilst refusing to speak against the military dictatorship. The desire to remain competitive and to increase profits requires Coca-Cola to remain silent. Is such a requirement something that a university should be willing to overlook? Speaking of a new international students lounge found at McGill and sponsored by Coca-Cola, Mike Leitold of Corpwatch, the Quebec Public Interest Research Group at McGill, addresses the same question in a different manner when he says “I wonder if students from Nigeria or Guatemala will be allowed entrance” (Campisi, n.d.).

Once again the conflict of interest found within such a situation could be detrimental to the University’s integrity. Should any university which promotes an atmosphere of acceptance and freedom be the partner of any corporation, when corporations can and have acted in unscrupulous manners to meet their end goal of greater profit? The message that such partnerships sends is potentially dangerous. That in
their pursuit of funding, universities may be willing to overlook human rights violations should not occur. In its Mission Statement, as mentioned before, UBC declares that “The University of British Columbia will provide its students, faculty, and staff with the best possible resources and conditions for learning and research, and create a working environment dedicated to excellence, equity, and mutual respect” and that “As responsible citizens, the graduates of UBC will value diversity, work with and for their communities, and be agents for positive change” (University of British Columbia, n.d., Mission and Vision). With the dealings that corporations find themselves in, and in particular with Coca-Cola’s dealings with an oppressive Nigerian government, can the above mission be achieved?

Integrity at Stake

The final point of the contract that is worthwhile in its summative aspect is Section 28, entitled ‘Confidential Information’. The Section states that:

the parties to this Agreement acknowledge and agree that the provisions contained in this Agreement are confidential to the parties and that they shall keep the provisions of this Agreement confidential... The parties further acknowledge and agree that the disclosure of the provisions of this Agreement could reasonably be expected to harm significantly the competitive position and/or interfere significantly with the negotiating position of CCB... Any confidential information that comes to the attention of a party as a result of this Agreement shall be kept as confidential. (Agreement Among the University of British Columbia and the Alma Mater Society of the University of British Columbia and Coca-Cola Bottling Ltd., 1995, p. 50)

The confidentiality of such an agreement, though necessary for corporate competition, is not a desirable requirement for universities. Dorothy Zinberg, a faculty member at Harvard’s Center For Science and International Affairs sums it up best when
she discusses university responsibility. She states that, "Each infringement on its unwritten contract with society to avoid the secrecy wherever possible and maintain its independence from government or corporate pressure weakens its integrity" (Klein, 2000). Universities, all educators and education institutions for that matter, have a responsibility to be open about their policies and decisions. They have been given the public's trust and they must make that a priority in all of their transactions and relationships. The attempt to hide the contract from the public weakened this trust, and in doing so weakens UBC's integrity. The fact that the courts forced the contract to be open to the public has done little to restore that integrity. Had UBC been open about the process and had they been willing to endure debate about such a decision, with significant student and public input then they would have been merely upholding the responsibilities that had been entrusted to them. It is true that the economic hardships faced by universities world over require innovative and creative ways of fund raising. To hide the way in that this innovation and creativity takes form raises serious concerns about the process and the content of a contract. After a brief analysis of the contract, it would seem that these concerns are justified.

The Aftermath

Today, the Coca-Cola vending machines remain on the campus at UBC. From one day to the next, they are used. The various food outlets scattered across the campus also serve Coca-Cola, and they too are busy. There are no pickets, there are no meetings being held about the 'Coke' issue. Perhaps the most successful way to defend the contract was to simply wait. Wait for the initial negative reactions to die down. By going to court,
instead of succumbing to the demands of the Ubyssey, CCB, UBC and AMS ensured that if the contract was to be opened, it would not happen soon. Students come and go and if they could only wait long enough then perhaps the students most incensed with the contract process and content would finally just go away. Time, it seems, heals all wound.

Despite the problems found on the UBC Campus, corporations and universities continue to embark upon partnerships. As mentioned before, McGill University in Montreal received $300,000 (U.S). The money was used to create the international students lounge. The process included student consultations. Both York University and the University of Victoria agreed to cola companies on sponsorship deals (Campisi, n.d.). The University of Victoria's contract included the same type of confidentiality agreement that was found within the UBC contract.

In the summer of 2001, the University of Toronto (U of T) was considering a sponsorship deal of its own with a cola company. U of T's VP finance Michael Finlayson along with physical education dean Bruce Kidd began consultation with student leaders on the topic, but had expressed the sentiment that such a deal would go through with or without student consent. For Kidd the priority was on securing money for athletic facilities (Warren, 2001).

In December of 1996, Ohio State signed a five year contract with Nike for $9.25 million (Eldridge, 1996). The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill agreed to a $7.1 million contract with Nike Inc. that aided both athletics and academics on campus in 1997 (University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1997). The University of Illinois signed a 10 year exclusivity contract with coke in 1997 that saw the University receive $5
million (dailyillini.com, n.d.). Similarly, in 1999 Carleton University signed a ten year exclusivity deal with Coca-Cola (Carleton Magazine Online, 1999). The list goes on. Despite the troubles faced by Coca-Cola in British Columbia with the Ubyssey, corporate contracts remain a desirable income source by universities. The ripple of protest faced by such corporate giants is nothing compared to the tidal wave of revenue that such deals can generate. As discussed in an earlier chapter, as governmental educational spending decreases the need for other revenue sources increases. Ready and willing to help are corporations. What has changed since the contract between CCB, UBC, and AMS was opened to the public? It would appear not much, as for major corporations it remains business as usual.

To end on a note of ‘business as usual’ would be unfair and unwanted. As mentioned before students at the University of Wisconsin at Madison fought successfully to have an anti-defamation clause excluded from their contract with Reebok. Similarly, when Nike proposed a $2 million deal with Stanford in 2001 to allow Nike to use Nike logos on the clothes of athletes, students confronted university officials and Nike about Nike’s poor labour reputation. Students attacked Nike on the poor record they had in developing countries and as a result Nike agreed to ascribe to the Fair Labour Association Code of Conduct and the Fair Labour Association Code of Conduct. Both codes emphasize workers’ rights (Stromquist, 2002). The dailyillini.com reports of anti-sweat shop sentiments and the University of Oregon’s confrontations with Nike. Protests in 2000 forced University President Dave Frohnmayer to sign on to the Worker Rights Consortium, a labor monitoring group that stood in opposition of Nike CEO Phil Knight’s interests (dailyillini.com, n.d). Sweatshops have produced a number of
university organizations founded around stopping the abuse found within the clothes-making industry.

Students at Indiana University (No Sweat!@ indiana university, n.d.), the University of Notre Dame (Progressive Student Alliance, n.d.), and Ohio State University (United Students Against Sweatshops, n.d.), amongst others have all developed means of resistance, dissent and information sharing, in an effort to stop sweatshop practices. Opposition is mounting and changes are occurring at the university level. Such occurrences offer hope to the future, but this is not the only student-led forms of resistance. There are others engaging in the same type of activities. There are others trying to change the current corporate-global world order. It is to these others that our attention shifts towards.
CHAPTER 6 – SIGNS OF HOPE: DISSENT, EXPOSURE AND LIBERATION

The corporate reality that I have presented is bleak, and it is concerned with the bottom line. However it is not inevitable, or all-consuming. To believe that globalization and corporatization are inevitable and have the same affect on all of us would be erroneous. Equally erroneous would be the belief that the corporate-global partnership has not encountered resistance and that there are none that struggle against the future that this partnership promises. There is struggle, contestation and dissention, and in these, there is hope for something different, for something more than what corporations are offering to education and to the very structure of our societies. These events of dissent are a part of the picture that has been painted by corporations and the picture is not nearly complete until we can examine these sights of struggle. What follows is a sampling of struggle. A full detailed account of the struggle against the global/corporate partnership is not possible here but there are numerous stories of struggle and triumph.

Educationally speaking, struggles must be documented and injustices brought to attention. If corporations do take greater control of the educational realm, there exists the very real fear that through their shaping of knowledge, stories of struggle and injustice will never be told. These stories will be omitted because they undermine corporate goals. Competition and profit could be the standard upon which justice is measured. If we are to ever hope for a change in the corporate/global reality that we face, then it is in our educational systems that we must begin to offer alternatives to our students. Teachers and
students must be willing to do more than merely report on injustice and dissention, they must be willing to speak up and take action to prevent injustice and to ensure that the struggle against a corporate vision of society and education does not go unchallenged.

**Even the Smallest**

Earlier in this work I wrote about Mike Cameron. Cameron’s case is included in the work of Naomi Klein (2000). On the day of his school’s support of Coca-Cola, Cameron came into school wearing a Pepsi shirt instead of the school mandated Coca-Cola shirt. He was promptly suspended by school officials who argued that he knew there was plenty at stake with Coca-Cola administrators on campus who had the ability to award the school a financial prize. What the school missed was what was really at stake. It was not the money, but it was the silencing of difference in the effort to conform and appease a major corporation. Mike Cameron may not have been fully aware of what he had done, but he had rebelled against the creation of a single corporate identity. He had spoken against the corporate desire to control the educational realm; he had refused to become part of the corporate ‘team’. It is true that he wore the t-shirt of another corporation, but there is a case to be made that the only way he could make a strong statement was to use the logo of Coca-Cola’s biggest competitor. Would he have had the same impact wearing a Nike shirt or a Ralph Lauren shirt? Probably not.

The shirt really does become irrelevant though when considering the big picture. Cameron was suspended because his actions could have cost the school corporate
sponsorship. Instead of the topic being open to debate, instead of being allowed to state his case, Cameron was silenced through enforced absence. However, even though the school neglected its responsibility to its students, in particular to Cameron, Cameron's refusal to become another corporate drone is proof that resistance exists and that it can come from the smallest of sources, a single high school student.

Many Voices – Many Ways

Thankfully stories of resistance are not confined to the individual. There are many examples of resistance of the corporate stranglehold on education and on society at large. There are numerous groups and organizations across the globe which are engaged in the struggle against conformity and the handing over of our society, of our education to corporate giants.

Perhaps one of the most well known instances of resistant and dissention occurred in Seattle. In November of 1999, Seattle was to play host to the World Trade Organization. The welcoming ceremony was intended to be held within the football stadium where five thousand guests were expected to take part. Protestors formed a human chain which resulted in more than two-thirds of the guests not attending the ceremony (Smith, 2002). Images of violent clashes with the police could be seen on televisions across the globe. Of significant note is the role of the media in the portrayal of these incidents. Media attention did not become focused on the proceedings until they became violent (Stromquist, 2002). Peaceful protestations were not a focus, and it is suggested by Stromquist that such coverage implicates the modern media in the corporate
plan of action. This is an idea that she further expands upon when she notes that in the United States eighty percent of the media is syndicated, implying that the messages found within media outlets are not coming from different knowledge producers as consumers are made to believe they are. Rather it is a minority that is in control of the production and distribution of news and entertainment. With regards to resistance though, the uprising took place within the United States attended by a multitude of American citizens. With some of the largest corporations enjoying the American business climate, it does become essential that Americans actually begin to take an active part in the struggle against corporations. Seattle proved that not all Americans were enthused with the direction in which corporations have pointed the United States.

The Seattle protest was also significant for more than the public voice expressed, it would also prove to show that the South (mainly consisting of Southern Asian, African, and Central and South American countries) had grave misgivings about the direction of the WTO. Feeling left out of key deliberations that were directed by the United States, Canada, the European Union, and Japan, the South’s agenda in Seattle was to review the previously existing agreements and to make such agreements more equitable in their nature. Such an agenda was seen to contribute to the eventual breakdown of the talks in Seattle (Smith, 2002).

In her work, Nelly P. Stromquist (2002) cites the action of Jubilee 2000 as proof of struggle against the corporate hand. Jubilee 2000 is a coalition group made up of charities, celebrities, religious groups and Non-governmental Organizations (NGOs) that have been campaigning for the write-off of debts for fifty-two heavily indebted countries, whose combined debt equals US $375 billion (p. 163). By the year 2000, twenty-two of
these countries had received some debt relief for a total of around US $20 billion. Though the relief may seem inconsequential it does suggest that group resistance can be partly effective and can rally to make some impact on the global stage.

In his work, Kenneth P. Thomas (2000) explores the opposition to the tax breaks corporations receive at the expense of social programs, one of which is education. Thomas notes that in Canada corporate income tax share has fallen from 18.5 percent in 1955 to 6.9 percent in 1993. The situation is similar in the United States where corporate income tax share has fallen from 21.51 percent in 1955 to 7.87 percent in 1993. In Canada, the Canadian Taxpayers Federation (CTF) has been one of the more vocal opponents to this 'corporate welfare' climaxing with a major critique of the Department of Industry's subsidy programmes in April of 1998. Similarly, the New Democratic Party (NDP) at the national level and organizations such as the Ontario Federation of Labor and the Ontario Coalition for Social Justice have protested about corporate tax breaks.

Thomas also explores specific examples of resistance found within the United States. Friends of the Earth (FoE) sponsor 'Green Scissors' which targets subsidies to polluting activities. The Louisiana Coalition for Tax Justice (LCTJ), which was founded in May 1990 with a membership of over twenty organizations focus on property tax exemptions given to companies that are located within the state. In Minnesota, the Minnesota Alliance for Progressive Action (MAPA) focuses on wages paid by companies receiving tax exemptions. MAPA has been successful in lobbying for a law that requires “any company receiving US $25, 000 or more in tax exemptions to set and meet job and wage goals within two years or be liable to repay the subsidies” (p.215). Finally, Thomas discusses the ability of conservationists and Civil War historians to bring to public
attention the negative consequences that could ensue if the Walt Disney Company was
given permission to build a theme park in Virginia. The opponents of the park revealed
that seventy-three percent of the jobs created by the Company would be ‘part-time and
seasonal’, which would essentially create poverty-level jobs occupied by citizens who
would require further social welfare spending.

An interesting form of resistance comes in the form of Local exchange trading
systems (LETS). Such systems allow for “goods and services to be marketed without the
need for money” (Norberg-Hodge, 2001, p. 185). By subverting the ‘normal’ monetary
system, LETS create an alternative to the international monetary system and the demands
it places on both large and small markets. One of the most successful LETS is in Ithaca
New York where more than two hundred and fifty local businesses are participating.

An example of feminist resistance comes from Feminist International Network of
Resistance to Reproductive and Genetic Engineering (FINRRAGE). Members of
FINRRAGE are primarily concerned with the development of reproductive and genetic
engineering technologies. They believe that such technologies serve to “reinforce a
variety of different forms of reproductive control and coercion over women” (Akhter,
2001, p. 171). FINRRAGE was one of the first international networks of northern and
southern women to challenge reproductive technologies as a “phase” of patriarchal
relations that “dominate the modes of relations in reproduction” (p. 173). By resisting
technology, FINRRAGE states they are actually resisting patriarchy.

In Singapore, the Nature Society of Singapore (NSS) consists of about two
thousand members and was founded with the purpose of protecting the environment
against polluters and raw material consumers. In support of its cause, the NSS has
engaged in letter-writing campaigns, designed a plan for conservation, and
“commissioned its own environmental impact assessments” (Mittelman, 2001, p. 228-229). Similar environmental groups, such as Greenpeace and the Earth Liberation Front, have brought the environment to the forefront of global issues.

In Bangladesh a movement termed Nayakrishi Andolon (New Agricultural Movement) consists of over sixty thousand farming households. The ecological farming movement is based on three pillars. The first is that the movement resists the process of “privatization and colonization of the ‘body’ and the ‘mind’” (Akhter, 2001, p. 168). The second is that the “goal of Nayakrishi is not to produce more food for consumers, but to create life, diversity, and ‘ananda’ to live a happy life” (p. 168). The third pillar states that that new organizations and institutions should be built to “confront the logic of profit and the neo-colonial process of globalization” (p. 168).

Even the big American television networks are not excluded from the ability to protest against globalization and corporate injustice. In 1996 NBC aired an investigation into Mattel and Disney. Hidden cameras showed children in China and Indonesia working in slave like conditions to produce clothing for children’s dolls (Klein, 2000).

Another example of resistance comes from youth and art. The British Columbian youth organized group, “Check Your Head”, “educates and organizes young people to become active on issues such as labour rights, the environment and free trade as well as corporate threats to democracy, all through the framework of understanding economic globalization” (Check Your Head, n.d.). Check Your Head supported yet another form of resistance in the form of the play ‘Corporate U’. The play explores “how corporations -- richer and more powerful than most countries -- influence our attitudes, relationships,
united in their wish to seek alternatives for what is happening in the global setting we find ourselves within. The above forms of resistance indicate that there are individuals, groups, organizations and even states that are aware of the potentially devastating effects that globalization and corporatization pose. Such groups are fighting for the right to define themselves and their interests; they are fighting to define their identity. By uniting, such groups are expressing their identity in their own terms and by resisting they offer an alternative to the corporate identity machine that seems to be gathering so much steam.

If indigenous, individual, unique identity is ever to be saved, then it is in the shared experiences of these groups, in their stories of defiance and struggle, that educators must find lessons for their students. An example of this comes from Pickering, Ontario. At St. Mary’s Secondary School, Sean Hayes, a Physical Education teacher, organized a fashion show for the student population. However it was not the ‘expected’ version of a fashion show. Instead Hayes had the student participants show off their clothes which had most likely been made within sweatshops and then to present a brief commentary on the lives of the Third World workers who had made the garments (Klein, 2000). Resistance to the corporate tomorrow depends on resistance found in our schools today. Teachers are a part of the process in creating alternatives to corporate influences. As Hayes demonstrates, schools and educators must be willing to speak out against the injustices found within a corporate economy.

A Final Warning

Though there is reason to hope and to believe that change is possible, there needs to be a final warning about the effectiveness of resistance and the resources that
Corporations have at their disposal. This warning comes from Africa and should serve as a powerful reminder that in the struggle against corporations, identity is not the only casualty.

Cyril I. Obi (2000) documents the case of the indigenous Ogoni people of Nigeria. The Ogoni who were landowners eventually formed a protest movement called The Movement for the Survival of Ogoni People (MOSOP). MOSOP was formed in the hopes of reclaiming indigenous land and self-determination that had been slipping away to Shell Oil and the Nigerian state. The state had come to depend upon Shell in the development of the Nigerian economy. The oil that was extracted from Nigerian soil was one of the major contributor’s to the country’s economic system. The Ogoni people’s land was being developed by Shell in their search for oil reserves, however the Ogoni people were not employed by Shell, and the pollution caused by Shell had destroyed their local economy, including farming, fishing, hunting and trading.

In 1991 MOSOP began to bring the Ogoni people’s plight to the world stage. They went to Amnesty International, Greenpeace, the Unrepresented Nations and People Organization (UNPO), the London Rainforest Action Group, and finally to the United Nations. MOSOP used lecture tours, newspaper articles, and documentary films in an effort to protest peacefully and to expose the injustices they were suffering. However, very little changed.

By 1993 the leadership of MOSOP would change as the conservative leadership gave way to a more militant faction. As part of this militancy, MOSOP blocked access to oil wells, forcing Shell to stop operations and costing Shell huge sums of money. Even this increased militancy did not provide results, as Shell refused to give in to MOSOP’s
demands. The conflict reached a climax and the Nigerian government, acknowledging its financial best interests, mobilized the state military. In 1995 nine leaders of MOSOP were caught, tried and hung.

The primary lesson of the reversal of the Ogoni revolution is the danger in underestimating the capacity of global capital and the local state to defend oil-based accumulations in Nigeria... Equally important is the overestimation of the pressure that the global civil society could bring to bear on Shell and the state in Nigeria, not knowing the extent to which organizations such as Amnesty, Greenpeace and UNPO could go in actually stopping the ecological devastation of Ogoni, and the limitations they faced if they attempted to block Shell and the vital interests of the G-7 countries. (Obi, 2000, p. 291-292)

The case of the Ogoni shows the fragility in which dissention and hope exist. Corporations have a vital stake in the creation of a corporate world order and it should not be expected that they will simply relinquish their power when faced with protest. Corporations have a vast array of power and influence across the globe. The attempt to create an alternate path to what corporations offer is not an easy attempt. However not struggling offers a far bleaker and tragic option. The struggle is one that must be undertaken.

Education is part of the system, it is only a part. To suggest that the struggle to change the corporate/global reality begins and ends with education would be inaccurate. However it is one of many sights where this struggle must be engaged within. Schools as sites of skills development and attitude, value, and belief creation have become a focal point for corporations who seek to turn students into consumers. From the earliest of school development, as noted earlier in the work of Michael Apple (1990), schools have been used to shape the values, beliefs and skills of the students who attend them. It is no different today than it was in the past. The potential to use schools to shape students into
a ‘type’ of person is evident throughout the literature. Equally evident is that there is resistance to this control.

Noam Chomsky (2000) states that schools are “institutions for indoctrination and for imposing obedience” (p. 16). He further goes on to suggest that early on in a child’s education they are socialized to support the existing power structures, most notably the power of corporations and the business class. His work is supported by the work of Randall Collins (2001). Collins states how schools have been “founded by powerful interest groups to provide an exclusive education for their own children or to propagate respect for their cultural values” (p. 49). If there are no struggles within schools it is easy to see how the claims of these two authors become true. When discussing resistance and discontent, teachers must relate such stories to their students so that students can begin to form their own opinions, their own ideas and, most importantly, their own identity. The fate of the corporate-global partnership does not rest solely in the hands of educators, but educators need to be an essential part in the struggle against this partnership, for it is their students of today that will become the leaders of tomorrow.

I would like to end where I started, with my story. This thesis is my attempt to criticize the current corporate-global world order. It is my attempt at dissent. More than anything, though, it is my attempt to give hope to those who may not otherwise believe that there is any. When I teach, it is with the hope that my students will one day help to create a place where things are better for them than they were for me, or for many others around the world. When I teach it is with the purpose of seeing my students believe that they can make a difference and that change can happen. This thesis is my attempt to do the same for me that I do for my students. Corporations are massive in terms of their
resources and influences, and globalization may seem an inevitable process, but this does not mean that there should not be a struggle against the processes, ideals, and values behind the two.

This final section has highlighted the struggles against the corporate-global world order across the planet, but this entire thesis has been my struggle against the domination and oppression of the current corporate world order. My surroundings have very much influenced what has found its way into this writing. I also remarked that this story was not exclusively my own. The experiences, whether they have been victories or defeats, of others have also found expression here. I have tried to create an overall lens that begins with me and continues with the patterns of injustice and discrimination found throughout the educational context of myself and others. The goal has been the same since the start. To liberate, to expose, to question. For myself and for those around me. This is where my new story begins.

After finishing this process I am left with what I am. I am a teacher, who has, hopefully, undergone changes during this process. When I go back into the classroom I will not be the same teacher I was before undertaking this research. I will go back with a different set of questions, with a different set of answers, and with a different set of attitudes, beliefs and values. I am not saying I have been completely changed, but I have become more aware, as a person, and as a teacher. When I get back into the classroom I still hope to change the world, but it will not be in the same way as before. The process I have undergone requires me to be far more critical, far more creative and far more determined.
An area of primary concern will be the curriculum that I teach. As I discussed in the First Nations' section, curriculum needs to be important to students in a local sense. The things they study, the things they see, need to be an immediate part of the lives. From these local experiences, one can then go on to discuss and explore the challenges that are being presented nationally or internationally. I am not advocating the dismissal of current curriculums but I am suggesting that such curriculums can be bent and twisted to include more of the local and of the immediate. By doing so, curriculum becomes relevant and the injustices that directly affect us become apparent. There are ways to find the flexibility required in a curriculum at any level within any subject. The desire to do so must be there if the curriculum is to be expanded. However, it is not enough for one teacher in one school to adapt curriculum. Eventually there will be a need to restructure curriculum with the direct input of both teachers and students. Curriculum change will need to be undertaken to ensure that hope for a different tomorrow can be achieved.

Related to curriculum change is the comfort level of our students and of teachers. If we are, as teachers, to help our students understand what injustice means and what the consequences of our choices are then we must be prepared to engage the margins. We must be prepared to go into the dangerous areas of our cities and of our minds in order to understand what we are fighting for and against. I do not mean to suggest that every day and every class takes us into these danger areas, and I do not mean to suggest that students should do this on their own. Part of the responsibility of an educator is to ensure the safety of their students. However, I fear the dangers associated with not engaging the margins far more than I fear those margins themselves. By keeping the safe, known and tested curriculum we cannot break free from the current domination. These current
curriculums have been designed to protect the interests of the select, and to maintain their utility ensures that effective change cannot happen. We must be willing to break through the barriers, even if those barriers are holding out what we have long been taught to think of as dangerous.

As important as curricular changes are changes required in teacher training. To change the curriculum without also preparing teachers to engage this new curriculum would be self-defeating. The training of teachers must change in its orientation as well. New and different ways of thinking about evaluation, expression and presentation are vital for teachers to be effective agents against the current corporate/global world order. I use for example the concept of oral traditions. Within such traditions lie possibilities before not explored in most traditional Western classrooms. A significant reason for this lost possibility is because teachers are not trained to understand or encourage such a tradition. If the values I discussed previously in Chapter Four are to become a part of mainstream education then teachers must first be trained to understand, accept and promote such values.

I am a trained high school Social Studies teacher. Within Social Studies, with its focus on history, political science, and geography there lie numerous ways in which the fight against oppression can be explored. However, it is from my last teaching job that I have come to understand how much wider the struggle can expand. In Bangkok I taught Year One students the British National Curriculum. Perhaps one of the most powerful activities my students took part in to express themselves was their fine arts work. Whether it was music, art, or drama, my students could reach others and could express themselves in ways that they could not through their writing or reading. The struggle
must become a part of every aspect of school life, and a critical arts approach could become a crucial way in expanding the struggle against corporations and globalization.

When I get back into the classroom I will try to help my students reach the point that I have reached. What has been taught and told have not always been in my best interests and my students must come to realize that there is more than one side to any story. I hope that I will be able to show them that there are alternatives and options open to them, and that these options do have consequences, both for themselves and for the world around them. One person exploring their options and choosing a different path from the one being laid out by corporations may not seem like much, but the reality is that change must start somewhere and there is no better place to start this change than with a single student. Eventually these students will make their way into the world. They will become our leaders of tomorrow and their decisions will have an even greater significance. For me, I wish only to help them understand that there are many options open to them and that when it is time to choose, they will have to live with the consequences of their choice.

The above is what I believe I need to do and what I believe should occur to ensure that my students will face a better tomorrow than the one that they face today. This is the start of another story though. It will once again be my story, though not exclusively. I will share this story with my students and together, hopefully, we will write chapters that promise to change the world. For it is this reason why I have come this far, and it is for this reason why I continue.
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