University of Alberta

Capacity Building for Citizenship Education: Global Hegemony and the New "Ethics of Civilization"

by

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A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

Theoretical, Cultural, and International Studies in Education

Department of Educational Policy Studies

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Fall, 2012
Edmonton, Alberta

Dedication

To my family.

Abstract

The concept of capacity building has seen a swell of support in recent years. Many, varying from community-based practitioners to multinational institutions, have leveraged the concept in their work. By investigating the ethics (the normative positions), the explanations (the explanatory positions), and what evidence people use to measure capacity (the empirical positions), this research uses a Critical Discourse Analysis to investigate the relationships that are formed by employing capacity building for citizenship education. After investigating multinational policy documents and interviewing participants in Jamaica and Canada, I argue that capacity building for citizenship education has vastly disparate and contrasting manifestations.

While Capacity Building is widely understood as an effort to emphasize local agency, it becomes quickly evident that the nature of that agency is often circumscribed by dominant institutions of the global market economy. Take, for example, the World Bank, which propagates crippling structural adjustment policies in Jamaica, but at the same time is also one of the most active policy makers in the field of capacity building. There are, however, many voices that appear through the interviews that are critical of this process. These voices question the ability, and appropriateness, of capacity building when used by many policy makers, and the resulting intervention into people's lives.

This disparate condition of capacity building has been brought about by the articulation of three conjoined processes: The first – my critique of the explanatory position – is that the emphasis on the capacity for action unrealistically privileges agency at the expense of our understanding of social structures; the second – my empirical argument of the nature of capacity building – is that the movement has become intertwined with global political economic

discourses thereby providing the "spirit" of global capital; the third – my critique of the normative position – is that capacity building has attempted to provide an ethical project which stresses incorporation, as opposed to exclusion, as a form of hegemony. When these three positions are read together, I argue that capacity building has provided a complex policy matrix in forming the hegemonic relationship of global capital; what is referred to here as the *new ethics of civilization*.

Preface

Recently, I walked from where I live in rural Nova Scotia, to the river that runs behind my family's farm. My intent was to do some spring fly-fishing while the water was still cool and the trout would be active. The river, named the Herbert River, once was an important tidal river for the small community of Brooklyn. My family had farmed, worked in the woods, and fished in the area surrounding the river for some eight generations. The farm of my ancestors would pale in comparison to the behemoths of today's commercial agricultural industry.

At one point in time, the community of Brooklyn was an important river crossing for the Mi'kmaq people. Likewise, when French settlers later came to the Annapolis Valley, the Herbert and the surrounding rivers that emptied into the Minas Basin provided a valuable resource for food, irrigation, and transportation. My family, primarily of Scottish descent, but also of French, Irish, and sometimes English, settled here in the wake of the expulsion of the *Acadien* settlers. The remnants of their violent removal from the land consisted mainly in the dykes built around the tidal rivers in order to create valuable farmland.

As I made my way to the banks of the river, I spotted a silver shape on the riverbed. I could tell that it was a part of a fish. Because of its colour and prone position on the bottom of a river, I knew it was dead. As I waded out to it, I was fearful that it was an Atlantic Salmon that had been hooked by a reckless fisherman and thrown back in case it was found in a fisherman's possession – a significant offence should the person in possession of the fish not have the proper license. As I reached the fish I realized that my suspicions were wrong. It was not a human that had killed the fish, but instead, the gashes on the head of the fish and the front half of its body showed the marks of a raptor, most likely a bald eagle or an osprey – both common sights on the river. This realization led me to imagine the large bird splashing into the river and carry its catch

away – only to lose the fish as it had attempted to carry it off. Also, I realized the fish was not a salmon. Instead, its colouring, fin pattern, and eye divulged that it was a Gaspereau (*Alosa pseudolarengus*; also known as an Alewife, Kiack, or Kyack). It is usually bony and contains little flesh. Because of this, they are often used as bait for other, more lucrative, fisheries or used as canned or packaged fish (http://www.gov.ns.ca/fish/sportfishing/species/ale.shtml).

Figure 1: The Herbert River in the Fall. (Photo: Robert McGray)

As I later researched the fish on the internet, I found out that one of the uses for the Gaspereau is for trade with Jamaica, where "ackee and saltfish" remains a popular dish. The fish's flesh is preserved and used on the island in the dish that once contained Cod. I admit that I was a bit shocked to realize that there was such a connection to my home, and Jamaica, a place I had worked, and indeed, consumed many meals of ackee and saltfish. This gave me pause to think about the connections of the world I lived in…

Figure 2: Fish from Canada – in this case, herring from New Brunswick – and Ackee from Jamaica. Both bought from the same market in New Kingston. (Photo: Robert McGray)

As I thought about it, the connections between Canada and Jamaica began to reveal themselves. Not that they were every really hidden: some things just have a way of maintaining certain opaqueness. If you were to follow the Hebert River to where it empties in the Minas Basin, and ultimately the Bay of Fundy, you would find the orchards of the Annapolis Valley. These orchards host an influx of Jamaican workers every spring, summer, and fall under a program that the Canadian Government calls the "Seasonal Agricultural Workers Program."

Rural Nova Scotia may not be perceived as having copious international connections. In fact, it could be said that the connections between Jamaica and Canada lie just below the surface – regardless of whether the surface is the water line of a local river, or the surface of global politics. International research, at its best, is perhaps a crucial tool for understanding not only these sometimes hidden and beguiling connections, but also the disparities. Case in point: even

with the connections, Hants County doesn't face the constraints of economic structural adjustment the same way that Jamaica does.

I have had the privilege of teaching students in Kingston, Jamaica as they theorized how education can address some of the social issues they face. Their work was often inspiring to see how people in different contexts struggle to address inequalities that exist. Sometimes these struggles manifest in similar ways; sometimes with great variance. Students in Jamaica face levels of physical violence that exceed most Canadian contexts (as mentioned in the research, it often exceeds levels *anywhere*), but issues like literacy are a common subject in both places.

Figure 3: A View of Kingston from the Surrounding Hills. (Photo: Robert McGray)

As my connections to Jamaica exceeded the unconscious structural and historical links that had always connected Hants County – and Canada at large – the links between the two contexts which I have researched turned from the opaque, and often unknown, connections of international trade, to the more immediate phenomenological experience of researching, writing,

and teaching in both places. I suppose my point is this: while my historical circumstances have found me in both contexts, the connection between life in both places is inextricably intertwined. Like the Gaspereau and saltfish that would be traded with the Caribbean, policy, as well as ideology, can have profound and interconnected consequences. While this entwinement has led me to research on both contexts, I also hope that this work might further reveal the nature of these connections.

Acknowledgement

I would like to thank the many people that made this research possible. First of all, I would like to thank my supervisor, Dr. Jerry Kachur. His guidance and support through the research process, and my time in the PhD program, was crucial for the execution and completion of this process. Without his efforts, this would not be possible. Also, I would like to acknowledge the support from Dr. Jennifer Kelly for her feedback on my work and her involvement on my supervisory committee and as committee chair. Likewise, Dr. Alison Taylor has provided me many opportunities at the University of Alberta, not only in her role in reading and formulating my research, but also for the opportunity to work and write with her as a research assistant.

This process would also not be possible if not for Dr. Dip Kapoor and Dr. Kent den Heyer for their role as examining committee members. Their participation in the process is greatly appreciated, as is their constructive feedback. Finally, I would also like to thank Dr. Carmel Borg, the University of Malta, for his contribution to the project as an external reviewer.

Finally, I would like to acknowledge the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRC) for their funding of my doctoral research.

Capacity Building for Citizenship Education: Global Hegemony and the New "Ethics of Civilization"

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Introduction:

This dissertation analyses the theories and practices of development projects that utilize capacity building to inform citizenship education. Capacity building has been increasingly mustered as an important justification for informal learning and community development. Since the 1970's it has been part of a movement designed to empower communities (Crisp, Swerissen, & Duckett, 2000). In the 80's, the concept was shaped by highly influential policies from the World Bank (Harrow, 2001).

Amartya Sen (1992) describes the act of building capacity as the creation of local conditions where people are free to develop their own capabilities. Recent movements in education have accepted the notion that community development work should include capacity building and accept its theoretical implications such as democratization (Tang, & Tang, 2006) and local partnership (Sanyal, 2006). But as Martin Mowbray (2005) asserts, capacity building may carry sociological and philosophical assumptions that un-critically assimilate dominant, non-local paradigms about the nature and functioning of the world as well as assuming what the social problems are and what should be done about them. An example of this is demonstrated by the attachment of the term by international policy groups, namely the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), as well as the aforementioned World Bank. Because of this, "capacity building" may imply varied political, economic, and ideological variations that are not conducive to addressing local community problems in the way intended by practitioners.

For citizenship education and education projects to be effective and just, researchers must analyze the assumptions and practices of capacity building. This has led me to my research question: *What empirical, explanatory, and normative positioning does capacity building rely*

on as a method for developing citizenship education projects? To study this question, I engage

two international case studies and study efforts to create citizenship education through capacity

building on the basis of their empirical, normative, and explanatory perspectives. The two case

studies are Jamaica and Canada.

One may ask why I would choose to investigate the triple faceted aspect of the empirical

(what capacity building does), the explanatory (how do people explain capacity building), and

the normative (what moral and value position does capacity building operate from) in my

research question? In most schools of social science research, the study is delimited to

investigate one or the other. For instance, positivism, naturalism, and empiricism analyses

would privilege the empirical position of capacity building for citizenship education;

hermeneutic, pragmatism, and other discourse based research methods would privilege

explanatory positioning; finally, normative research models would ask what ethical positioning

capacity building for citizenship education would assume.

Empirical Analysis: What test can we employ to explain generative mechanisms of social phenomenon?

Explanatory Discourses: How do people explain the nature and function of social phenomenon.

Normative Positioning: What moral, ethical, and value positions enable or constrain social phenomenon?
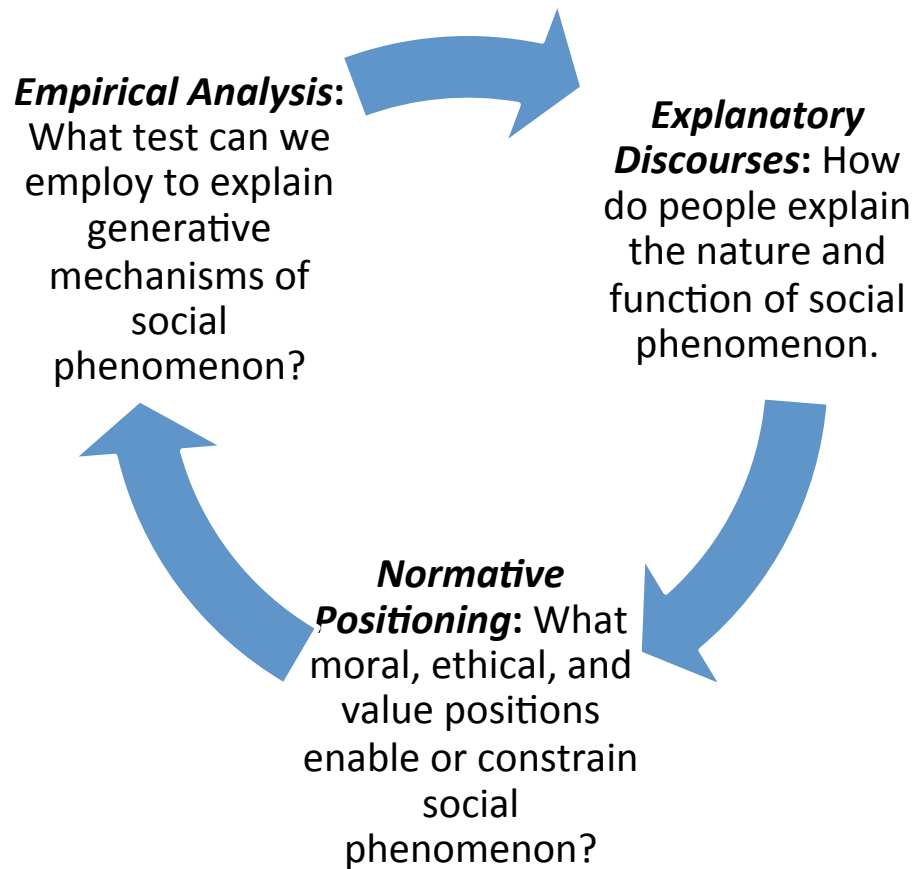
Figure 4: A Model of a Contemporary Register of the Social Sciences

Within what I refer to as the contemporary register of the social sciences (the discourses of the empirical, explanatory, and normative, see figure 4), the aspect that becomes privileged in research greatly depends upon the theoretical framework the researcher is utilizing. In the social sciences, there is a very important place for research that may delimit a study to investigate the function of how one of these three aspects of the social science field may interact with social phenomenon. As Michael Apple (1996) explains though, much of the segregation of the tri-partite social science field has to do with what he refers to as the politics of meaning. That is, the informal political justification of research that privileges how we come to know things, and the corresponding theoretical framework. As the politics of knowledge have played out in the social sciences, the tripartite social science field has been fragmented for ideological purposes,

and its three different (but not mutually exclusive) components have each in turn been ignored, over-emphasized, or conflated into each other. As such, I have decided to posit my research question in a way that will allow me to investigate not only the discourses of the three parts of the social science field and what they can tell us about how capacity building and citizenship education interact. Just as importantly, I will be able to understand if the social phenomenon I am studying (capacity building and citizenship education) operates from a contradictory (either logically or socially) position between the three related aspects. Examples of these contradictory positions would be: Do people explain that something is happening that is contradicted by the empirical? Or, do people value a position that is refuted by what is said to exist? Because of the investigation between the aspects of the tripartite register of the social sciences, I also hope to open up a research space to examine the varying political, economic, and ideological variations of citizenship education through capacity building.

At one point in my life, I could easily see myself arguing that examining social and educational phenomenon through the tripartite register of the social sciences would, and should, be a necessary step for the mediation of the politics of knowledge. Similarly, I could easily see myself arguing this kind of investigation as a possible meeting point or middle ground for many of the debates of research in the social sciences. However, I do *not* employ these lofty strategies here. Rather, I recognize that the investigation of the positions that capacity building for citizenship education hold through the lens of the tripartite register of the social sciences is in itself a condition of my own neo-Marxist and critical realist theoretical perspective. Further to this point, I do not make the claim that all that exists is encompassed by the aspects of the model of the register of the social sciences. Instead, I am employing these three aspects because they represent dominant research ideologies in the Western academic politics of knowledge. As such,

I would argue that my proposed research offers a transition from the broad sphere of a critical realist theoretical perspective, through a critical discourse based study, down to the particular research question that I am asking.

1.2 Justification for the Research

Although we may accept some forms of governance more than others, none of them are neutral or unproblematic. Any form of organization, whether it be in education or community development, shapes and constrains both how we see the world, and what we feel we should do about it. Currently one of the major methods of citizenship education is what can be referred to as capacity building. Capacity building can take many different forms. For example, it ranges from the United Nations' general call for "capacity-building to foster autonomous development" (2002, p. 1) in Africa, to Edmonton's Capital Health Authority and their attempts to draw on community capacity through asset mapping (Dedrick *et al.,* 1997). Although it is quite diverse in its manifestations, capacity building relies on a general understanding of promoting local capacity for action, by a community of practice. While I have already detailed some objections to capacity building, I hope to contribute to research by moving beyond the problematizing of capacity building, and understanding its specific theoretical positioning. This includes understanding the normative (what justificatory values it promotes), the empirical (what evidence do we have about what it does), and the explanatory (what claims are made about it through causes, correlations, and associations). By doing this, we will hopefully be able to gain understanding of the theoretical positions of a bourgeoning method for citizenship education. The triangulation of my research question also allows us an investigation into possible contradictions in the manifestation of citizenship education through capacity building on the

particular level of educational policy to a broader level of the theoretical assumptions that underpin it.

1.3 Significance of Research:

While there is a growing field of research based on the concept of capacity building, current research has not yet begun to address capacity building's underlying assumptions and implications. This issue is a crucial one, as there needs to be an ongoing dialogue about what underlying philosophies, social theories, and modes of political organization inform citizenship education. The significance of this research lies in the fact that researchers and practitioners will be able to build policy that can address the issue of the empirical, normative and explanatory positions informing capacity building. This means that they can develop suitable and dynamic education practices in a global context. This research fills an existing gap in the theoretical analysis of capacity building and will look specifically at the relationship between knowledge and politics (cf. Bhaskar, 1986; Foucault, 1980; Unger, 1984). As well, it provides those involved with citizenship education with a systematic way to reflect on and critically engage their current work and thinking about it. In order to answer the research question, I will also have to question and understand the assumptions and positioning of theories that underpin citizenship education.

Archer (1996, 2001, 2003) and Bhaskar (1986, 1993) stress that research must incorporate sociologically important issues of structure and agency, the nature of social reform, and relationship between personal experience and theoretical understanding. Furthermore, Birch (2001), Cunningham (2002), and Held (2006) point out that we must ask, what type of democratization and organization capacity building assumes to promote, and what effect will

this have on various cultural values? Along with filling the gaps in educational policy research, my methodology will allow the examination of these questions.

In addition to these methodological aspects of research, this research also broaches the subjects of education and political economy. As I explain later, the subject of capacity building not only is a popular discursive and ideological concept, but as well, it is a tool that has found its way into the complex world of international development, structural adjustment plans, and the development industry at large. As such, capacity building has found its way into community practitioners all the way up to major international organizations – The United Nations Development Programme and the World Bank for example. While the sway of these different scales of influence varies greatly, we can be sure that there are definitive affects on the lives of people whom exist, and learn to live their lives, under policies such as capacity building. On this topic, I conclude that some of the points which seem like contradictions within the field of capacity building actually enable a moral underpinning for the circulation of global capital.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

2. Review of the Literature:

To review the literature for my study, I have organized it into two main sections. The first (2.1) is a review of the literature on capacity building. The second (2.2) is a review of the literature on the concept of citizenship education. I conclude the review with a discussion on the strengths and weaknesses of the field (section 2.3).

2.1 Capacity Building

The field of research on citizenship education has spanned considerable ideological boundaries. This stands in contrast to the field of capacity building. While it is being leveraged in many diverse contexts, it has generally been confined to a particular school of political and organizational theory. Because of this, the nature of the research on capacity building has not been as diverse as that of citizenship education. As such, I will give a general overview of the definitions that are often employed to understand capacity building. After this, I will explore the literature that has identified different constituting aspects of capacity building and their effects on policy which utilizes notions of capacity building. Finally, because of the intentionally promiscuous nature in the manifestations of capacity building, I will detail some of the different forms of capacity building and how they are employed in different contexts.

By the method of introduction to the project of study, I have already detailed some of the descriptions, definitions, and factors that influence capacity building. Amartya Sen (1992) describes the act of building capacity as the creation of local conditions where people are free to develop their own capabilities. These capabilities can be diverse in nature, but usually require that whatever restrictions the capabilities impose on a community, they do not limit future

conditions of local decision making. Shirlow and Murtagh (2004) note that most often, the term community capacity building is utilized to posit a simple and unproblematic notion of the community and community contexts. They quote Edwards as stating, "More rhetorical fluff attaches to 'community' than most other words in the social science lexicon (with the possible exception of 'empowerment'). We still seem to have a romantic conception of community; all unitary values and communitarianism" (Edwards in Shirlow & Murtagh, p. 37). As such, a considerable effort of any venture to study jargon prone terms like capacity building must be able to penetrate the discourse surrounding the phenomenon.

Definitions of Capacity Building

As early as 2001, Jenny Harrow foresaw a discernable trend with the definitions of capacity building,

> As the notion becomes embedded in public and voluntary sector discourse,
> its vagueness has become a given, and perhaps a godsend, for those seeking pleasant
> names for policies, the implications and outcomes of which remain unclear. Its
> importance lies in the assumptions, which swirl around it; notably that capacity
> building represents a legitimate and graspable goal for funders (both public and
> private), of voluntary and public action; and that the resulting improvements in
> societies will be long standing and not transitory. (Harrow, 2001, p. 211)

Because of the trend to ambiguously define the phenomenon, she adds that "the intangibility of capacity building, alongside its widespread appearances, may make it the stuff of myth or magic" (p. 210) but also that it may be one of the only recourses for communities that face a dearth in financial resources.

Harrow traces some of the nomenclature involved in the phenomenon to a 1984 World Bank report that stressed a form of institution building for the development of stability in macro-economic terms. The origins are, as she asserts, vague, due to the involvement of different parties with capacity building, the biggest three being governments, practitioners, and academics. But in Harrow's assessment, capacity building has not simply found its genesis in a neoliberal agenda. To further her point, she offers two definitions from the UK. The first is from Young,

> Capacity building . . . relates strongly to promoting and strengthening community-based partnerships. The underlying purpose is to tackle social exclusion and empower people. This then helps draw people back in from the margins, enabling them to . . . be involved in the wider processes of social – as distinct from economic – regeneration. (Young from Harrow, p. 214)

The second she offers is from Skinner:

> Capacity building is a systematic approach to assisting community organisations to play a major part in the regeneration of their neighbourhoods. . . . {I}t has great potential to strengthen the ability of community organisations to achieve their aims . . . it includes aspects of training, organisational and personal development and resource building, organised in a planned and self conscious manner, reflecting the principles of empowerment and equality. (Skinner, from Harrow, p. 215)

Similarly, Sandhu (2002), also quotes Skinner in giving a definition for capacity building that entails "Development work that strengthens the ability of the … community and voluntary sector to build their structures, systems and people (knowledge and skills) so that they are better able to define and achieve their objectives" (p. 92). But Sandhu does not stop there. He also

notes that "capacity building seeks to maximize levels of organized community activity and increase organizational ability to manage projects through higher levels of resources" (p. 92). He argues that for capacity building to operationalize and operate in a tangible manner it cannot be a piecemeal approach. Rather, "Comprehensive capacity building means that community transformation cannot be pursued only on a single front – it must encompass and co-ordinate efforts to improve the physical, social and economic conditions of neglected communities. It needs to operate at different levels" (pp. 92-93).

The Facets of Capacity Building

The aforementioned levels that Sandhu refers to are individual, organizational, as well as macro scale infrastructures for definitive change. But Sandhu, who is writing about capacity building in minority communities, also notes one important caveat about the tool. Capacity cannot simply be focused on the community, as there are many structural pressures that constrain and enable the actions of the community.

A multifaceted approach (or at the very least, a socially plural approach) has risen in popularity as a concept in capacity building as well. Seddon (1999) highlights how capacity building on a personal level is also incorporating the social aspect,

> Capacity-builders attended to student's learning needs by focusing their educational
> work towards enhancing student's capacities for social practice. This meant more than
> educating students for work or for simple achievement on competency assessments.
> Rather, they sought to develop the student's capacities to act in complex environments,
> in workplaces and beyond. (p. 42)

As a more recent phenomenon, authors have had to bring into question the role of capacity building. Facing the realization that many capacity building projects have yet to be able

to develop much of the sought after change in international relationships, authors such as Deborah Eade (2007), have argued that it is not the nature of capacity building that should be drawn into question, rather it is the nature of the capacity building organizations (namely the NGO's) that have not adequately dealt with issues of power in international development relationships. Eade understands the political realities surrounding the term "capacity building" as she notes that the term varies from being used as a buzz-word, a synonym for international aid, and even a mask for NGO's that are simply doing one off training, and justifying it by calling it the building of capacity. Eade however does not give up on the ideology behind capacity building as notes of the transformative heritage of the concept lies "partly in the rights-centered *capacitación* of Liberation Theology and the conscientização work of Paulo Freire" (p. 632). She notes that in an interesting political twist, this transformative, and socially active tradition has combined with,

> the World Bank …(which has) also adopted the language of capacity building and participation, relating this to the neo-liberal agenda of rolling back the state, privatizing public services (the 'marketisation' of social welfare), good governance, and democratization. (p. 632, first set of parentheses added)

Eade's point is that "capacity building originally drew on a generally left-leaning range of intellectual and political traditions, but is today commonly used to further a neo-liberal 'pull-yourselves-up-by-your-bootstraps' kind of economic and political agenda" (p. 632). The danger for Eade, is that unless NGO's realize this fact, their work could be potentially damaging. Eade however does not back away from the idea of capacity building though. Instead, she advocates that NGO's must possess an increased capacity for being critical of their own work and abilities. This includes an interrogation of whether the NGO actually has capacity to build capacity (and

in what particular role), as well as the realization that learning is the center of the relationship

between NGO's that are working internationally, and the community context in which they are

in. Eade hypothesizes that these reflexive steps allow NGO's that build capacity, to not be as

prone to being a pawn in the neo-liberal economy.

Gary Craig (2007) also draws into question the nature of capacity building. Particularly,

Craig questions whether the term capacity building is actually something that is distinct from the

older term of community development. Interestingly enough though, while Craig, like Eade,

criticize the concept of capacity building, he uses much of the concepts of capacity building to

criticize it. This means that he uses an imminent policy critique of capacity building to hold it

accountable to its own norms and standards. Craig asserts that the term capacity building has on

marginally different goals than the larger, and more historically precedent concept of

community development. Capacity building, as a term, has only risen in popularity in the past

few years, and was only coined a few years before this. Craig notes that some of "the earliest

sustained references to *capacity-building* in the literature date from the early 1990's, in the work

of UNCED… and the UN Commission on Sustainable Development" (p. 341). He further notes

that as the UN decided that policy should be focused more on participatory programs, the term

"community" was often added to make the concept community capacity building.

As with many pieces of policy and its concepts, the term often served many different and

diverging purposes. Interestingly enough though, capacity building is as ready a target as any

policy to serve diverging interests, primarily because of its permissiveness in what it entails.

Craig points out that because of this, there is a great deal of literature (usually in the form of

government reports) that have had to deal with the ambiguity in policy meaning.

As mentioned earlier, Craig critiques capacity building for only being marginally different than community development hence making it "superfluous to introduce a new concept into the policy lexicon" (p. 349). Also, Craig most strongly objects to the underlying presumption that community capacity building "is based on the notion of communities being 'deficient' – in skills, knowledge and experience" (p. 352). Quoting Partridge, Craig notes that the term was,

> invented by social managers. It explains the lack of 'buy-in' to their regeneration schemes by implying a lack of skill on the part of members of deprived communities … neighbourhoods are deprived and regeneration schemes don't work because of an analogous lack of 'capacity' in the inhabitants. A nice form of blaming the victim. (Partridge, from Craig, p. 352)

The deficit model of development has been greatly critiqued as a modern form of imperialism, and a form of governance that exploits dominant hegemonic traditions between the developed world and the developing one. It is Craig's contention that one of the reasons that the deficit model often accompanies the practice of capacity building is because of capacity building's political nature. He theorizes that governments often have their own ideas about how communities should be organized, and what skills this organization will promote, "For those in power, this model of capacity-building is useful. It poses threat. It is top-down, paternalistic, and deflects attention away from the need to change the existing institutional and economic structures. It is a view that serves and supports the status quo" (Beazley *et al.,* in Craig, p. 353).

The critique of capacity building that Craig offers on the basis that it is based on a deficit model of development is an interesting one, as research elsewhere purports the strengths of some capacity building models (such as asset based community development, to be discussed

later) to be that it is not based on a deficit model. There is no clear consensus in the research or the literature on whether capacity building is necessarily based on a deficit model. The diverging paths in the literature can probably be attributed to the diverging nature of programs that can function and still be called capacity building. Another underlying factor that would lead to the disagreements about deficit based models in capacity building would be how the researchers themselves view the role of hegemony in development work, and politically how willing the researchers are to make claims about other culture's traditions that may be detrimental to their social context.

 Craig also objects to the ways in which capacity building (and specifically *community* capacity building) have been used uncritically and,

> In a contemporary context by organizations such as the World Bank…, and by national governments (including New Labour) to describe what are effectively 'top-down' interventions where local communities are required to engage in programmes with predetermined goals – such as the privatization of public services within a context of tight fiscal control – as a condition for receiving funding, approaches far removed from 'bottom-up' community development interventions. (p. 349)

The concept of the "bottom-up" development is one that is prevalent in literature in fields such as capacity building. Authors like Craig warn against top down capacity building as this "is pursued by powerful partners to incorporate local communities into established structures and mechanisms rather than having to face the challenges to those existing structures which effective working with deprived communities presents" (p. 350). Craig continues to note that in development work, top down developmental policy was replaced with attempts to "strengthen people's capacity to determine their own values and priorities and organize themselves to act on

this" (Eade and Williams, From Craig, p. 342). The tensions between the concepts of top down versus bottom up action in capacity building latter appear as an important theme in this research as well.

The ideology of local bottom-up action has a certain postmodern ideal of fragmentation, or perhaps because of the location of its emphasis (namely the global North-west in the early nineties), it is more apt to identify the ideology as a form of liberal humanist/relativist policy (c.f. Lukes, 2003). The liberal humanist ideology that often surrounds the work of both the proponents and the critics of working with capacity building is clearly evidenced by the literature that depicts the community as a whole and coherent acting subject, or comprised of independent subjects; the community that stands in opposition to structural, and often detrimental factors; the community is not complicit in the creation/formation/propagation of detrimental structural factors; the community is not connected to, nor does it propagate multinational corporations, organizations, or capitalist endeavors; the community that is able to choose which path is the right path for their own development; the community that is a rational group whose membership are defined unproblematically; the community whose decisions, because they are based on community direction, gain an authenticity; the community forms knowledge (often through tradition) that is exempt from epistemological questioning whether the knowledge is not detrimental to the health of the community. Clearly all of these assumptions (and many more) about the nature of bottom-up development that hinge on the community as the locus for action, must be questioned.

Returning to the theme of the need for bottom-up ideology in capacity building, Simpson, Wood, & Daws (2003) comment on how bottom up development is often made problematic by the manner in which government pressure is exerted on community groups. The

authors note that there is a widely supported notion within the literature on capacity building

and community development that the emphasis on locally driven and bottom up capacity

building "permit policies to be more socially inclusive and help ensure the social stability and

cohesion without which economic growth and structural adjustment will be obstructed"

(Mannion, in Simpson *et al.*, p. 277). But as the authors themselves note, "In successful

community development initiatives, true participation is driven by both need and awareness, and

is dependent on knowledge and genuine skill acquisition – processes that take considerable time

and application" (p. 284). The problem of developing successful bottom up programs is that

many communities do not have resources that governments often outsource to communities. The

result for the authors is that,

> Attempts to establish new initiatives without meaningful consultation, participation and
>
> consideration of the impact on existing projects or community organizations are likely to
>
> lead to failure. When this pattern of self-blame is repeated, the pressure on the
>
> community may cause erosion of the structures holding the community together. (p. 284)

Different forms of Capacity Building

Because of the fragmentary nature of capacity building and its corresponding policy, it

can obviously manifest itself in many forms. Harrow (2001) argues that capacity building has

different focuses based on one of three dimensions. The first dimension is that of human

resource development. In this dimension, capacity building focuses on an aspect of recruitment

and training of professional and technical human resources. The second, organizational

strengthening, focuses on systems of management. And finally, the third is institutional reform

that focuses on larger systemic structures for a goal of change within the legal and political

systems.

Further to these delineations within the types of capacity building, there are a number of popular organizational techniques that fall under the umbrella of capacity building. One such form of capacity building is that of asset mapping. Developing asset maps refers to the activity of realizing and mobilizing community assets (both physical and cultural) that allows for what Sen (1992) refers to as the functioning of communities. The concept of Asset Based Community Development has been explored in the Canadian context by Mathie & Cunningham (2001, 2003) and in the American context by Kretzmann & McKnight (1996). These theorists argue that there are important transformational and capacity building advantages of asset mapping for the learning of communities. Asset mapping focuses on identifying, clarifying, and valuing assets that communities already have but may have overlooked or under-recognized. Kretzmann and McKnight (1996) argue that a distinctive feature of this approach is that it contrasts with other community development approaches that traditionally focus on deficit model methodologies (i.e. what a community is lacking). ABCD asserts that communicative citizenship education helps to foster learning communities as an agent of social and cultural equality. The method of asset based community development (ABCD) is also seen as an important strategy for community revitalization. Page-Adams & Sherraden (1997), note that ABCD has important implications for personal well-being, civic behavior, economic security, women's status in the community, and positive outcomes for diverse groups, all essential attributes of community revitalization. A common trait of ABCD is that the project participants develop asset maps of community resources that enhance education and recognize existing community resources. These assets can include schools, parks, and public or private gathering places.

Peter Morgan (nd.), a consultant for the United Nation's Development Programme, argues that one of the forms of capacity building that is most relevant to development work is when it comes in the form of public private partnerships (PPP). Morgan explains that the value of capacity building and ppp's is that it would simultaneously create value for the public sphere, and gains for the private venture. As such, it is Morgan's analysis that this partnership would create accountability for the private, and innovation for the public.

Observations of the Field of Literature on Capacity Building

Three of the striking features of the field of literature on capacity building are: 1) the intentional leveraging of the positive normative perceptions of democracy, local action, and community, 2) the purposeful ambiguity of defining the phenomenon of capacity building and, 3) the divorce of the discourse of local action with the larger ideological structures that constitute the discourse.

On this third and final observation I am referring to the types of ideological structures that David Harvey (1989) illustrates as allowing for a shift to the concept of the local (his neo-Marxist term is flexible accumulation). While the jump from the theoretical to the practical organization of citizenship education through capacity building may be of marginal interest to some, its importance can hardly be understated, as Harvey theorized about the move to fragmentation of policy years before the aforementioned Sen (1999) and Muhammad Yunus (2003) were awarded Nobel prizes for work that performed exactly what Harvey predicted.

The second point that I have highlighted here (that capacity building remains ambiguously defined), is also an important point to explore, as it has normative implications for the field. Todd May (1995) argues that ambiguity in definitions of things like community leadership reflects a larger aspect of what he calls antirepresentationalism. May (1995) defines

antirepresentationalism as the principle that "representing others to themselves—either in who they are or in what they want—ought, as much as possible, to be avoided" (p. 13). The rejection of representation highlights the trend of capacity building to enable larger normative structures (i.e. antirepresentationalism, liberal relativism, etc.), all the while curtailing the baggage of past unjust traditions and their moral implications in development work.

Finally, the first point, the leveraging of supposedly good features of society like community, highlights a pragmatic belief in liberalism, both in social science, as well as sociology that has led neo-pragmatists like Richard Rorty (2006) to note that "Just ordinary liberal democracy is all the ideology anybody needs" (p. 60). When capacity building does not identify the pros and cons of any type of political organization, it operates under an axiomatic guise of existing in a benevolent state. Further research must be able to identify this fallacy and dig past the rhetoric of terms that evoke utopic policy jargon in education.

For the purposes of this study, I would also highlight not only a dearth of research in areas outside of a particular political ideology, but also a dearth of research that considers the relationship between the empirical, the normative, and the explanatory. An exception to this is Betty Hounslow's (2002) work where she draws attention to a tension within capacity building where community consensus that may arise does not address the evidence that is provided surrounding an issue challenging a community. I would highlight this as a disjuncture between the explanatory discourse of community consensus and the empirical leveraging of evidence.

I would also like to note a very important strength of the field of literature on the topic of capacity building. This strength is that the field is one that has currently attracted a lot of attention in recent years, and is a field that is both politically fashionable, as well as fundable. As such the field attracts a considerable amount of attention from many diverse groups. This

also means that research is not limited to a small area, or specialization, and that the research is also part of a quickly growing field.

While the definitions of capacity building vary within the literature, I would argue that there is enough coherence of definition to expound a definition that will allow guidelines of what types of projects and programs for citizenship education fall under the definition of capacity building. Let me first start off with a definition that we have already seen from Amartya Sen. This definition is that capacity building is the creation of local conditions where people are free to develop their own capabilities. I would reject Sen's definition as empirically and analytically valid as I would argue that it attributes unrealistic expectations of freedom through agency. It does however provide us insight as to what people believe capacity building does. As such, I would argue that capacity building is: *A form of public policy, whereby people focus efforts to develop or enhance agency on a micro social scale. The privileging of micro action has traditionally been leveraged by multinational institutions (i.e. UNDP, the WTO, the World Bank, and the IMF), who have used forms of antirepresentationalism in the definition of the phenomenon. Furthermore, capacity building gains strength as a form of policy by emphasizing populist explanatory reason by emphasizing and valuing what is referred to as "bottom up" action.*

2.2 Citizenship Education

In 2006, while traveling in northern France, it became apparent rather quickly that two months after the riots in the suburbs of Paris, tensions were still extremely high. The trigger for the original protests, the death of two teenage boys, was a tipping point for many. These deaths exposed (or perhaps a better term would be confirmed) the feelings of many that had experienced alienation and disenchantment in, and around, the French capital. The feelings of

alienation were experienced by many Arab and African immigrant descendants who could not find the same level of opportunities as many of the so called native French citizens. While many of the alienated population had family roots in France, there was, as with most major European cities, an increasing influx of migration. Before the riots, the city of Marseilles was facing a similar issue of increased migration. The reaction there was support for Jean Marie Le Pen's extreme right National Front Party, and their agenda for what they called a pure France (Muller, 2002).The increased migration added a mounting challenge to citizenship education for all the citizens of France. I do not raise this case to point the finger at the French citizens, but rather as a case study of what is happening around the world.

It should be clear that with the increasing movement of citizens around the globe, citizenship education has a great burden not only for those who are migrating, but for those who see their neighbors changing daily. The burden of citizenship education is formulating a paradigm in which we can understand the differences and similarities of other citizens in ways which spawn contexts for social pedagogical action.

Heidegger theorized about the dangers of citizens who, in a global world, find themselves physically close, but never near to those around themselves.

All distances in time and space are shrinking. … Yet the frantic abolition of all distances brings no nearness; for nearness does not consist in shortness of distance. What is least remote from us in point of distance … can remain far from us. What is incalculably far from us in point of distance can be near to us. … What is it that unsettles and thus terrifies? It shows itself and hides itself in the way in which everything presences, namely, in the fact that despite all conquest of distances the nearness of things remains absent (Heidegger from Harvey, 1996, pp. 299-300).

In the past few years, citizens of the world have seen vast amounts of human migration on a global scale. Although people are becoming more mobile, the Heideggerian concern of lack of nearness among citizens still is something that must concern us all. The lack of nearness, in spite of compressed time and space, has not necessarily led to people being able to interact together to their full potential. The idea of the humanization of citizens around the world has led Freire (1970) to surmise that "from an axiological point of view, been humankind's central problem, (and that) it now takes on the character of an inescapable concern" (p. 27). I would assert, the ability to understand why differences occur, and how and why we focus on difference is a central task of citizenship education. In fact, the task is not only one for citizenship education, but for social theory to be able to explain how difference occurs and how we should come to understand it. While this is no small burden for us to undertake, it is however a pressing one. In a world of vast human migration, we can see many examples of people living in close proximity, but with no nearness to one another. These examples don't necessarily have to be drastic examples human conflict, but can manifest itself as the implicit and explicit examples of xenophobia that exist when people for different cultures find themselves living together in multicultural societies. While I have given examples of, and seemingly alluded to, a kind of multicultural type of difference and citizenship education, I point out that this is not the only kind of challenge facing citizenship education. For example, one of my case study sites, Jamaica, many of the pressing needs do not stem from migration (at least not *into* the country), but from organizing sociality in a way that communicative pedagogical acts can exist in a culture of high instances of violence. The hope for citizenship education here is often that pedagogical communication can first exist and then transform many of the structural impediments facing communities in Jamaica.

Already then, I have introduced into the research a divergence in the theme of citizenship education. Some literature would point citizenship education in the way of understanding challenges facing multicultural contexts, others would highlight the need for the citizen as one that produces, and is the product, of non-conflictual existences. Most often though, the lack of specificity in the field of citizenship education results in a general conflation of the two themes.

Educational Literature and Citizenship

UNESCO defines citizenship education as, "a set of practices and activities aimed at making young people and adults better equipped to participate actively in democratic life by assuming and exercising their rights and responsibilities in society" (UNESCO, 2006, http://portal.unesco.org/education/en/ev.php-URL_ID=42077&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html).

As I have alluded to in the previous section, although the field of citizenship education offers the reader more definitions than the field of capacity building, there is considerable more diversity and productivity on the subject. The UNESCO definition that I have started with here offers us a starting point to identify the various activities that exist under the umbrella term "citizenship education"

Schugurensky's Four Dimensions of Citizenship Education

I have chosen to work with Daniel Schugurensky's (2006) framework for identifying four dimensions of citizenship education for two major reasons. The first reason is that Schugurensky identifies the dimensions of citizenship education not only from a curriculum/civics education paradigm of formal training for citizenship in schools, but in a

broader informal/lifelong-learning paradigm. As such, his dimensions reflect the theoretical

tendencies of sociality to generate practices of things like citizenship education. The second

reason is that Schugurensky has delineated broad enough dimensions that they encompass the

current debates in the field. This is highlighted by the fact that in England, for example, when

the 1998 "Crick Report" (Qualifications and Curriculum Authority, 1998) on citizenship

education was released, Schugurensky's categories of citizenship education were broad enough

and sufficiently theorized to identify the themes as well as the *raison d'etre* of both the original

report, as well critiques of it by authors such as Faulks (2006), and Olssen (2004). As such I

have employ Schugurensky's dimensions as a way of examining and categorizing the field of

citizenship education.

1: Status

Schugurensky's first of the four dimensions of citizenship education is what he calls

"status." This, he notes, is "the most common understanding of citizenship…to the extent that

often citizenship is equated with nationality or with a passport" (p. 68). As a practical form of

organization and propagation, the citizen as a status holder is justified by the legitimacy of the

nation state. It is important to remember though as Schugurensky points out, that social science

research on citizenship cannot readily accept all status holders as equal citizens, as there are

obvious inequalities amongst groups of citizens that have, and continue to exist. This mirrors the

previously mentioned critique of the Crick Report, by Mark Olssen (2004), as being "suspicious

of departure from the presumption of a unified social structure, and represents citizenship

education as the imposition of a uniform standard applied to all groups and peoples" (p. 179).

The nation state has faced many diverse challenges in the past century, so much so, its

role in a globalized role has been hotly debated by authors such as Hardt and Negri (2000) and

McLaren and Farahmandpur (2005). I do not intend to delve into these debates here, put highlight them as relevant as authors such as Davies and Issitt (2005) note that a contemporary trend in citizenship education is to reassert the role of the nation as a status provider in citizenship education. Specifically, they have found that Canada's formalized curriculum on citizenship serves mainly as a source of information of the government's institutions, England's curriculum focuses on teaching "socially useful and desirable qualities" (Osborne from Davies & Issitt, p. 400), and Australia's focuses on critical thinking and citizenship. While the three nations' approaches all differ in what the outcome of citizenship should be, the authors note that they are all reactions to the fear of a de-legitimation of the state.

In today's global society, Schugurensky points out an important point to consider is that it is not simply enough to recognize the inequalities between of groups of citizens, but also "the situation of nine million stateless who have no citizenship status in any state" (p. 68).

2: Identity

Schugurensky also examines the dimension of identity in citizenship education. Identity, he claims, refers to themes in citizenship education that deal with "issues of belonging and meaning" (p. 68). Citizenship as identity differs from citizenship as status for a couple of reasons. The first, is that it encompasses many of the cultural attributes that we may hold (he notes, language, values, and common history), rather than the explicitly political notion of citizenship (this is especially relevant to people who have been colonized and given citizenship status of the colonizing group). As well, citizenship as identity reflects groups of people that may transcend one nation state. An excellent example of this is Stuart Hall's (1995) article in the *New Left Review* entitled "Negotiating Caribbean Identities" on the politics and culture of the community of the multinational West Indies. Schugurensky himself notes that a point of

differentiation between status and identity can be seen by people who employ ideas of global citizenship with no real legal status.

Increasingly, we can see a push in the literature to develop concepts such as global citizenship. Davies and Issitt (2005), note that there has always been interplay with citizenship education and the legitimacy of the nation state. This is to say, citizenship education has been the tool that has been leveraged by Western democracies to ensure coherence and stability. In an increasingly globalizing world though, it is no wonder that we can see a movement to use citizenship education to act as a normalizing and legitimizing function of what serves the dominant interests – globalization. In a recent article that posits the commonly held beliefs of UNESCO (Pigozzi, 2006), global citizenship is posited as an answer to the downfalls of globalization. This includes, alienation from other cultures, conflict between the cultures, and a loss of identity from globality.

There is an increasing move to highlight issues of multiple identities for citizenship. For example, Alistair Ross (2007) explores the issue by introducing the term "nested identities" (p. 286) to refer to a multitude of communities of practice. In addition though, he also uses the term as a starting point for a discussion on how various rights of citizenship play into the facets of different and variously strengthened identities when citizenship is enacted. Concepts like the enactment of rights within nestled identities show how interrelated the categories of identity and status ultimately become.

3: Civic Virtues

The third dimension of citizenship draws our attention to the aspect of civic virtues. This dimension correlates well with an aspect of my own proposed research, as it draws to our attention to the normative, moral, and ethical dimensions of citizenship. Schugurensky explains

that civic virtues "alludes to the values, attitudes, and behaviours that are expected of 'good citizens'"(p. 69). The catch, Schugurensky notes, is that there is little consensus about what this means. As well, this aspect of research in citizenship education is, compared to the other three, the most neglected. This does not however mean that it is the least important, but may be because of a general trend in the social sciences to eschew the normative, and often politically loaded term "virtue." Althof and Berkowitz (2006), and Carr (2006) have recently attempted to facilitate a discussion of the civic virtues of citizenship education through a discussion of the moral aspect. I would argue that part of the retreat from directly dealing with moral issues in citizenship education coincides with the larger withdrawal from normative metanarrative underpinnings; a phenomenon which was facilitated by the trends of poststructuralism. Instead, morals often are treated like personal ethical positions, a move that becomes necessary for liberal humanist philosophers to argue the primacy of the individual learner in a culturalized world. Currently though, there has been what Axel Honneth (2007) has called an ethical turn in many contemporary forms of poststructural research. What this may mean for the category of civic virtues in citizenship education is an increasing amount of research coming from theoretical positions who have previously ignored the category in either its moral or ethical forms.

This does not mean that the category of civic virtues has been totally neglected though, as the Habermasean project of communicative and discursive ethics still has a strong tradition in citizenship education (cf. Deakin Crick & Joldersma, 2007; Guthro, 2007).

4: Agency

Finally, the last dimension of citizenship is that of agency. This is a theme that is often reoccurring in the literature on democracy and citizenship, and emphasizes the concept of social

action, and citizens as an actor in a social role that can evoke change. I will not delve too deeply into the social theories on agency, as this will be a major theme of critical realists like Margaret Archer who I will address in my methodology. Instead, I would like to posit that one of the increasingly acknowledged issues around agency is that it encompasses more than an individual acting against the structures of the world, but includes concepts of collective or community agency. In educational literature on citizenship, Biesta and Lawy (2006) have taken an active role in attempting to counter the dominant theme of the individual learner/citizen as an agent in hopes of changing the discourse to that of more collective agents. One of the concepts that Biesta and Lawly utilize to do this is to use a concept from Dewey that highlights democracy as not "merely a form of Government but primarily as a 'mode of associated living'" (p. 65). This shift in thinking is mediated by what they see as a change from teaching citizenship, to learning democracy. They note that,

> The focus on learning democracy allows us to show the ways in which this learning is situated in the unfolding lives of young people. It also allows us to make clear how these lives are implicated in a wider cultural, social, political and economic order. It is ultimately this wider context which provides opportunities for young people to be democratic citizens and to learn democratic citizenship. The shift from teaching citizenship to learning democracy emphasizes the point, in other words, that democratic citizenship should not be understood as an attribute of the individual, but invariably has to do with individuals-in-context. (p. 65)

What is interesting about this quote is that while they attempt to overcome individualism in learning about citizenship, it becomes clear that they, in the end, advocate a form of individualism that is mediated by the specific contexts.

In another work, the same authors (Lawy & Biesta, 2006) argue that there should be a significant movement from the emphasis on citizenship as achievement, to citizenship as practice. The difference they believe is equivalent to an emphasis on the process of learning, rather than the outcomes of teaching. Traditionally, they note that citizenship has been posited as an achievement by the learner/citizen that is a goal to be attained. They use a quote by Marshal to highlight this point,

> Citizenship is a status bestowed on all those who are full members of a community. All those who possess the status are equal with respect to the rights and duties with which the status is endowed. There is no universal principle that determines what those rights and duties shall be, but societies in which citizenship is a developing institution create an image of ideal citizenship against which achievement can be measured and towards which aspiration can be measured. (Marshall from Lawy & Biesta, 2006, p. 34)

Instead, they argue that the concept as a practice of daily life is a more fruitful endeavor as it aids in learning about the concept, contextualizes the ideals, as well as provides a relational model of learning.

> Our contention is that citizenship-as-achievement represents only a narrow interpretation of the idea of citizenship, and that the notion of citizenship-as-practice, articulated as an inclusive and relational concept, provides a much more robust framework for elucidating what it means to be a citizen. Citizenship-as-practice not only encompasses problems and issues of culture and identity but draws these different dynamic aspects together in a continuously shifting and changing world of difference. Such a view of citizenship, as we will argue, provides a more robust entry point for understanding and supporting young people's citizenship learning in this area. (p. 37)

At this point, I would like to turn attention from the formalized literature on citizenship for a number of reasons. The first is that the proposed research is delimited to examining the more community based projects of capacity building. This means that the citizenship education that happens is formulated in what is referred to as the informal or the non-formal educational contexts. The second, is that as I have previously mentioned, since the literature on citizenship education usually focuses on a particular aspect of citizenry (i.e. multicultural understanding of difference, peace ed., etc.), I would change the discussion to an investigation of the literature on what theories enable us to hold conceptions of the citizen. This turn also allows us to be reflexive in understanding the premises of the discourse on citizenship education, and what informal pedagogical activities spawn theories of sociality, the modern citizen, and policies that enable these things such as capacity building.

The Politics of Citizenship Education

The conception of citizenship as applied to educational theory has proved to traditionally be leveraged as a tool by what Slavoj Žižek (2001) calls liberal-democratic hegemony. The democratic citizen, which is often what citizenship education aims at developing, promotes liberalism by ensuring that individual rights and duties are protected and individual choices (specifically opinions and preferences) are valorized. Not to be democratic Žižek notes, "is fearlessly to violate these liberal taboos" (p. 3). The rhetoric of citizenship education then acts as what Žižek calls a stopgap. This stopgap is the result of the liberal-democratic hegemony that has successfully employed the rhetoric as political tool to immediately dismiss any criticisms of its own policy. As Žižek states, it becomes impossible to critically analyze democracy, liberalism, and I would add, citizenship education as the hegemony of the rhetoric dismisses

"the Leftist critique of liberal democracy as the obverse, the 'twin', of the Rightist Fascist dictatorship" (p. 3).

Citizenship education, as a tool of liberal democracy can often make any political action inherently difficult as it not only promotes the rhetorical acceptance of itself, but also the instillation of a major tenant of its ideology, that of its political relativism and individual opinion. Practically, the liberal aspect of relativism is enabled through the democratic skewed notion of equality through public opinion. Instead of requiring critique of an agent's position, liberalism simply counts people's opinion as equal to every other opinion. This is a major reason for Socrates' refutation of democracy, as he saw it as a flawed mechanism as people could easily be fooled, or have their opinion swayed for numerous reasons (Plato, 2000).

While we must be critical of what the term "citizenship education" means, it almost always leverages ideas of liberal individualism. Piattoeva (2005), for example defines citizenship education as having a main purpose to "connect individuals to their respective states and nations and to make them realize and accept certain roles, rights, and duties within the territorially defined political unit" (p. 39). Kroes (2000), points out that the theme of individualism in citizenship education is heavily influenced by American political thought of James Madison, Alexander Hamilton, John Adams, and Thomas Jefferson who all placed a great deal of emphasis on the relationship between individual rights and liberties, and the necessary link to the survival of a republic.

It should be noted though that Žižek's objection to much of the liberal/democratic/humanist leveraging of terms like citizen, are not just that it has quelled the social and political function of critique, but in itself has often dehumanized subjects. His analysis in *The Universal Exception*, (2006a) highlights the ways in which the concept of

citizens, and the corresponding discourse of rights, have broken down in the current socio-political climate. Žižek theorizes that because the discourse around the term has been so pervasive as a necessary and just concept and practice, it has replaced many concepts of humanness. For example, he quotes Hannah Arendt to highlight that the discourse of citizenship broke down when people (even before the massive twentieth century phenomenon of refugees) faced refugees without citizenship and were unable to recognize their rights, or interact with them in a socially healthy way:

> The conception of human rights based upon the assumed existence of a human being as such broke down at the very moment when those who professed to believe in it were for the first time confronted with people who had indeed lost all other qualities and specific relationships – except that they were still human. (Arendt in Žižek, 2006a, p. 220)

That is to say, citizenship as a discourse has been so pervasive that our society has been inadequately encultured to deal with humans, and their corresponding rights, if they fail to prove citizenship rights. This malaise in the politics of citizenship has been hinted at earlier in the literature in the first of Schugurensky's dimensions of citizenship; the dimension of status and the modern citizen who has no status.

In an effort to rectify this dilemma, there have been many strategies employed. As I have hinted at before, many of Schugurensky's dimensions of citizenship are illustrated in Habermas' (1989a, 1989b, 1990) work on the propagation of ethical discursive practices. They include Habermas' notions of the lifeworld and communicative action. In Habermas' project, he asserts that a crucial role of sociology is the rehabilitation of healthy social communication (what he refers to as communicative action) and the "feedback process by which lifeworld and everyday communicative practice are intertwined" (1990, p. 316). For Habermas, this project refutes a

form of Cartesian thought which privileges epistemological knowledge that comes in the dichotomy of the subject-object. As he states, "the paradigm of the knowledge of objects has to be replaced by the paradigm of mutual understanding between subjects capable of speech and action" (1990, pp. 295-296).

For citizenship education, Habermas utilizes a couple of concepts that inevitably endeared him to the existing field of literature. The first is the ethical necessarily of intersubjective communication, which highlights the values and norms of citizenship along with the pragmatic value of communicative acts. The second is the continuous and relational emphasis on the feedback loop that communication receives from the lifeworld. This last point resonates with the emphasis that many forms of citizenship education place upon identity. This is because the lifeworld is a constant source for social recognition of the role that people play. As such, those searching for social recognition often find their needs met through the enactment between lifeworld context and communicative acts. This is somewhat ironic as a fairly common trait is to see Habermas' work used to justify the identity of the subject, when his goal was to bring critical theory away from subject centered rationality and to replace it with a mediating rationality of inter-subjective communicative action.

The relationship between Habermas' work and forms of recognition cannot be understated as Habermas' own student, Axel Honneth (1996) picks up the recognition of social roles as one of the key sites of modern social conflict. While how much emphasis critical sociology should place on recognition is debated (see, Fraser & Honneth, 2003), one would be hard pressed to deny that it is a key issue in multicultural societies.

If I can return to the theme the politics surrounding the citizen who has no status, one aspect of the literature that Žižek (2006a) claims that it leads us to, is the recent work of Giorgio

Agamben (1998, 2005). Agamben puts a contemporary spin on citizenship by proposing a consideration of the concept of "homo sacer." For Agamben, the *homo sacer* is a citizen who has been stripped of the rights of citizenship and has been left with what he calls a naked life, or a life stripped bare. This is made so, by the implicit authority that we grant sovereign powers (i.e. governments, rulers, multinationals etc.) that uphold the formal realms of citizenship. The *homo sacer* differs from those who have been punished by death by a state or state power, as the *homo sacer* continues to live, but with the rights of the living removed from them (in Agamben's text, he uses the example of the ancient Roman citizen who can be killed by anyone, but can never be made a sacrifice, as sacrifice to the gods was a distinct and fitting finale to end to a life). As such, the *homo sacer* exists in a type of citizen's purgatory. Ernesto Laclau notes that this ban on citizenship "is not simply a sanction… but that it involves *abandonment:* the *homo sacer* and the other figures that Agamben associates to him are simply left outside any communitarian order" (p. 13).

An objection could be made that Agamben's thesis places too much emphasis on the formal political leadership to determine citizenship status. Following this objection, one could argue that Agamben's work reduces life to its bare or naked aspects with no consideration of what comprises life other than the explicitly political. While there is merit in this critique, Agamben uses the example of the *homo sacer* to exemplify how engrained the structures of citizenship have just become in our everyday life. While we may refute the powers, we are confronted with the harsh reality of how they still exist and are enacted in everyday life. As a final point on this, Agamben (2005) has recently adapted the concept of the *homo sacer* to highlight the plight of noncitizens that were detained, and remain so, on charges of terrorism in

the United States. As a result, the Western world has a contemporary example of the indeterminacy of life when citizenship rights are voided.

2.3 Strengths, Weaknesses, and Comments on the Field of Literature

To begin a discussion on the review of literature, I would first like to recap some of the conclusions I have made about the phenomenon of capacity building and citizenship education. I have attempted to wade through some of the rhetoric surrounding these two concepts to tease out some descriptive definitions on the theories and practices behind the concepts. This allows us to see through some of the political jargon surrounding the topic, but just as importantly, it allows us an understanding of what the qualities of the political phenomenon that I am proposing to study are.

First, in reviewing the literature on capacity building, I have concluded that *capacity building is a political form of policy/organization that utilizes antirepresentationalism to define themes and builds on populist explanatory discourse of what is needed for a community to further its agency*.

Second, in reviewing the literature on citizenship education, I have concluded that *citizenship education is a liberal democratic phenomenon which focuses on developing learning contexts in which people gain citizenship by engaging with one or more themes of status, identity, civic virtues, and agency*.

This allows us some further clarity in relation to my research question, as now I can propose to ask: *What empirical, explanatory, and normative positioning does capacity building rely on as a method for developing citizenship education projects?* Similarly, if we want to understand the qualities of the phenomenon which I am proposing to study, we could replace the original research question with the following question: *What empirical, explanatory, and*

normative positioning does a political form of policy/organization that utilizes

antirepresentationalism to define themes and builds on populist explanatory discourse of what

is needed for a community to further its agency, rely on as a method for developing a liberal

democratic phenomenon which focuses on developing learning contexts in which people gain

citizenship by engaging with one or more themes of status, identity, virtues, and agency

projects?

By interchanging the definitions for the more jargonistic terms, we have a more concrete

understanding of what is being studied. It is important to note however, I will keep the original

research question not only for the sake of clarity, but also because an investigation of the way

that terms and rhetoric are utilized is an important part of the discourse of the explanatory, and

the ways in which people justify many of the projects.

In the field of literature, I would note that there are a few differences in the field of

citizenship education than that of capacity building. The first is that citizenship education has

enjoyed a much longer history. As alluded to, the concept of the citizen was one that concerned

Romans through to the current day. As such, the term is also a much more familiar one than

capacity building.

The field of citizenship education also shares two features with the field of capacity

building. The first is that the concept is not strictly limited to one field, but can be seen in

literature from diverse fields. The second is that like capacity building, citizenship education has

increasingly attracted attention as a politically topical subject.

Unlike capacity building, the literature on citizenship has developed a much greater

defined internal debates on the subject. This is a sign of a field that has attracted a much larger

base of contemplation, and not limited to narrower ideologies. As well citizenship education has

more, but still not a great amount, of research that has balanced the aspects of the tripartite register of the social sciences. Evidence of this can be seen by examining the concept of values in citizenship education. There still is a lack of research that may combine how the different aspects of the social sciences articulate with each other. This is an area where I hope my proposed research may fill an existing gap.

2.4 Sites of Study

As a transition from the review of the literature to the outline of my research design, I offer here a description of the case study sites where capacity building actualizes, and where my research primarily focuses. The two case studies that I refer to are the contexts of Canada and Jamaica.

It is somewhat obvious to mention, but as Canada is a vast and diverse country, I have delimited my study to examine how capacity building actualizes in contexts where I have the most experience. That is to say, I have drawn most in depth from the Nova Scotian and Albertan contexts. It should be noted though – and perhaps even offered as a possible explanation to why I was drawn to this subject – that Nova Scotia and Alberta are two of the more active Canadian provinces when it comes to capacity building. By this same token, there are a number of aspects of the research that are national in scale. It is also worth mentioning that the official governmental policy on Canada – Jamaica relations from Canada's federal governmental includes policies on capacity building in Jamaica (Government of Canada, 2009).

Jamaica, primarily due to its size, does not have the same geographical constraints that Canada does. Also, Canada's provincial governments have mandates that are not seen in the parishes of Jamaica – this adds to an extra layer of politics and policy in the Canadian context.

Due, in part, to shared histories of English colonial rule, Canada and Jamaica have many similarities: the differences between the two countries, however, are extensive. These conjoined facts complicate the research process. How does one go about studying two nation states and their peoples in light of this complication?

The past thirty years in Jamaica have not only been important in formulating the context of this research on capacity building for citizenship education, but have also seen a dramatic

cultural shift for the island. While the age of free trade, and subsequent increase in concepts such as structural adjustment, has solidified Canada in its place as a benefactor on the stage of the global economy, it cannot be said the same is true for Jamaica. The challenges of global marketization for the island have been detailed with remarkable precision by Stephanie Black's (2001a) award winning documentary entitled *Life and Debt*.

Black's film traces the painful history that the island has had to endure in the face of globalized market pressures. As she details on the movie's website:

Former Prime Minister Michael Manley was elected on a non-IMF platform in 1976. He was forced to sign Jamaica's first loan agreement with the IMF in 1977 due to lack of viable alternatives-- a global pattern common throughout the Third World. At present Jamaica owes over $4.5 billion to the IMF, the World Bank and the Inter-American Development Bank (IADB) among other international lending agencies yet the meaningful development that these loans have "promised" has yet to manifest. In actuality the amount of foreign exchange that must be generated to meet interest payments and the structural adjustment policies which have been imposed with the loans have had a negative impact on the lives of the vast majority. The country is paying out increasingly more than it receives in total financial resources, and if benchmark conditionalities are not met, the structural adjustment program is made more stringent with each re negotiation. To improve balance of payments, devaluation (which raises the cost of foreign exchange), high interest rates (which raise the cost of credit), and wage guidelines (which effectively reduce the price of local labor) are prescribed. The IMF assumes that the combination of increased interest rates and cutbacks in government spending will shift resources from domestic consumption to private investment. It is

further assumed that keeping the price of labor down will be an incentive for increasing

employment and production. Increased unemployment, sweeping corruption, higher

illiteracy, increased violence, prohibitive food costs, dilapidated hospitals, increased

disparity between rich and poor characterize only part of the present day economic crisis.

(Black, 2001 "b")

Jamaica's foray into the world of structural adjustment, and indebtedness to international

lending organizations, has not been a smooth one. When I first went to the island, it was during

a tumultuous time. I would buy copies of the Kingston papers which were filled with the gun

battles between the various garrison communities – polemically divided between the two

political parties, the Jamaican Labour Party (JLP), and the People's National Party (PNP) – and

government controlled police forces. The depth of division between the two political parties is

no secret. In many garrison communities (a "garrison community" is the term used to referred to

the politically aligned and semi-fortified sections of the city) the political allegiance is spray

painted prominently on the entrance and walls to the community. While the subject is rarely

talked about – except perhaps in the most intimate contexts – the division between the political

parties, and the violent interplay between the two, seems fixed in the Jamaican consciousness.

The silence surrounding the violence and control of communities in the political process is not

simply a matter of decorum; it is also one of preservation and survival. As someone who does

not live on the island, it raises an ethical pedagogical dilemma. How can one begin a discussion

about education for transformation when the students in the class may have their, or their

family's, security threatened by questioning the structures in power? In my position in Canada, I

am relatively confidant that my critiques will not lead me, or my family, to face any retribution.

I quickly had to realize that this was not the case for some students. But as dangerous as public

discourse of the political system may be to citizens of the island, the consequences of the polemic system is overwhelming. The schism between the two parties, and the politics of Jamaica's foreign debt, are so important and influential to life on the island that the topic is necessarily broached on any analysis of Jamaican life. For example, the topic even occupies a key role in sociologist Dick Hebdige's (1987) work on Reggae music. While Reggae music is certainly a public international face of Jamaica, even the music has been highly influenced by the political nature of the debt crisis.

Stephanie Black's recounting of the pressures the island has endured can hardly be dismissed as a dissident voice opposed to the pressures by international lending agencies. The themes that she touches on pertaining to violence, poverty, and corruption are not only echoed in other widespread work on Jamaica (cf. Gray, 2004; Gunst, 1994), but are common issues that are often of concern in everyday Jamaican life. Not only is this apparent to anyone willing to engage people living in Jamaica in conversation about life on the island, but they are also central themes that I have encountered – and undoubtedly will encounter again – when teaching in Jamaica. In Kingston, as well as across the island, teachers, educators, and practitioners rightfully have oriented the concept of education and lifelong learning to attempt to deal with these themes. To reiterate how pressing the issues of violence and poverty are for society, I have worked with an entire class of Masters' students who identified these conjoined issues as the topic for their own research on education and learning.

Likewise, these issues remain of such pressing concern for anyone involved in island society that I directed considerable energy to a research project on the artifacts of globalization when I first went to research and teach on the island. The result, a collaboration between Donovan Plumb, Andrew Leverman, and myself (Plumb, Leverman & McGray, 2007), focused

on the proliferation of urban slums as a result of the types of multinational policies that Black

details, and the consequences for learning.

Although the structural adjustment plans, and the loan repayment conditions, have

officially been signed off on by governments, Black has been a vocal critic that these

agreements are between anything like two equal – or un-coerced – partners. In an interview with

the website Buzzflash in 2005 (Buzzflash, 2005), she points out that there are a number of

conditions that stem from IMF structural adjustment. She highlights that while the official

process involves the country presenting the details of the loan repayment policies to the IMF, it

is actually the IMF which has strict control about what is acceptable in the plans. One such

ideological pressure is the move to private ownership of state services. The ethical concern for

writers like Black, is that countries like Jamaica have little other avenue to be granted loans

from commercial funders. As a result, the only other avenue is to accept the IMF's policies and

adjustment strategies. One of the most visible artifacts of the process – and a key example in

Black's work – is the creation, and the ongoing prevalence, of Jamaica's "Free Zones".

The Free Zones are conglomerations of manufacturing plants that were established to

host private, multinational businesses, in an agreement that would see these businesses escape

tax on the profits they made, and reduce duties, and tarrifs that would normally be associated

with the movement of goods. Thomas Klack`s (1996) essay provides an analysis of the

Jamaican experience of the Free Zone process. He details that while the Free Zone is a popular

tool for the World Bank and the IMF, Jamaica "has experienced a greater foreign debt burden

and more structural adjustment agreements than virtually any other third world country`` (p.

352). Klack's essay details that the propagation of Free Zones is a tool that is valued by the

World Bank wherever they implement structural adjustments: this in spite of his analysis that

very few Jamaicans see benefits from the existence of them. Instead, the Free Zones are largely comprised of low paying "product assembly and keypunching" (p. 379) jobs that young urban women fill. The Free Zones provide a context where "skill acquisition is minimal, (and) free zone workers learn the rigors of an industrial setting that both foreign and domestic employers find attractive" (p. 379). While the latter point is one valued by the World Bank, Klack points out that these neoliberal policies are, in fact, part of the ongoing "social crisis" (p. 376) that continues in Kingston. The continuous de-skilling of young urban women – often under the guise of empowerment, or at least betterment – adds to the crisis and reproduction of poverty.

The World Trade Organization has their own reports, and views, on the issue of Free Zones. On their website, a review of Jamaican Free Zones details that, "…in 1985, Jamaica started a comprehensive programme of structural reform and liberalization and dismantled its price controls, privatized several public enterprises, reduced import duties and enhanced the role of the private sector" (World Trade Organization, 1998). One of the most interesting aspects of the quote from the world trade – and an excellent example of Black's earlier comment about how structural adjustment plans sell the action as the country's own will – is that the report attributes the action of establishing Free Zones, as an action precipitated solely by Jamaica. This is not to say that the government might not have thought it necessary, nor is it to suggest that you would not find support for the Free Zones in Jamaica. Rather, it highlights a concept of agency that under theorizes the role of larger structural constraints on the political action of the island.

To many, the consequences of the "trade liberalization" program are most apparent in the physical manifestations. Places like Kingston's free zone is something that is easily observed. In reality, the concept has far reaching and intricate functions. Rex Nettleford, a

former Vice Chancellor at the University of the West Indies, has noted that "the World Trade Organization (WTO) is going after higher education in its commodification enthusiasm and is about to liberalize higher education as a service" (2007, p. 6). On this theme, a recent article in Jamaica's Gleaner newspaper notes that former Prime Minister Edward Seaga – a key broker on Jamaica's international loan agreements in the eighties – believes that the IMF should fund educational reforms on the island. The paper details that in addition to re-negotiating terms of current loan repayments, "(Seaga) also believes that a loan arrangement to finance a comprehensive education-revamping programme should be negotiated with the IMF" (Gordon, 2011, p. C1).

It should be noted that the World Bank, and the International Monetary Fund – both Bretton Woods inspired organizations – as well as the more recently created World Trade Organization, often are used synonymously: This seems to be an unfortunate, but somewhat understandable occurrence. Understandable in that these organizations work together, exerting different types of pressures, to achieve common goals. For example, Watson (2000) notes that the increasing pressure to marketize social life in the Caribbean often occurs through the "(World) Bank's SAPs, the IMF conditionalities, and the WTO's authority" (p. 397) for trade through a broad range of contemporary international agreements. As such, the organizations can exert tremendous specialized pressure on tangible financial services. (For further background on the history of these organizations, see Scott MacPhail's [2008] thesis for how that history relates to lifelong learning, as well as Eric Toussant's, [2006] *The World Bank: A Critical Primer*.)

While the World Bank has been a major influence in the propagation of the term capacity building, another international organization has also demonstrated a deep affiliation with the concept. Here I refer to the United Nations Development Program. The UNDP has, as

is the case with most countries, released policy documents which outline the strategies, as well as the priorities, it targets for the specific country. For Jamaica (UNDP, n.d.), the UNDP has publicly identified a proposed program which articulates with the Millenium Development Goals. The proposed plan was a "multi-dimensional programming strategy linked directly to the United Nations Development Assistance Framework (UNDAF)" (p. 3). The document continues to note that "The UNDAF was developed in partnership with the Government and in close consultation with a wide cross-section of civil society and development partners" (p. 3).

As such, the brief document contains three major sections. The first, a "Situation Analysis", paints the overarching concerns for life on the island. Included in these concerns are: 1) poverty. The report highlights that while the number of Jamaicans living below the poverty line declined from "28.4 per cent in 1990 to 16.9 per cent in 2001" (p. 2), it is clear that "poverty is characterized by specific rural-urban and gender dimensions" (p. 2). The dimensions that they refer, is that women in rural areas are most often affected by poverty. 2) Crime. This certainly comes as no surprise, as Jamaicans have, in the past decade, lived under the reality of an extremely high murder rate. In fact, on another UNDP website (UNDP, 2008 b.), they note that, "In 2005, Jamaica had the highest recorded per-capita murder rate in the world. In fact, the death rate from violence in Jamaica is higher than in many wars: The standard international definition of a war or high-intensity conflict is violence characterized by fatality rates of over 1,000/year; in Jamaica, 1,574 people were murdered in 2007" (¶ 1). In my own experience teaching on the island, people would often identify crime, or crime related social issues as one of the most pressing issues that citizenship education could address. An overwhelming number of students chose to investigate these themes when self-identifying interests for paper topics, graduate project topics, and community based practicum work. In talking with other instructors,

I realized that this was understandably a common occurrence. 3) AIDS. The report notes that there is a "steady increase in the prevalence of HIV infection since 1990" (p. 2). The severity of this statistic is exemplified by the fact that "AIDS is the second leading cause of death in children aged 1-4 years" (p. 2).

The second section of the report details the history of the UNDP, and the subsequent lessons that were learned. These lessons are identified in the document as two-fold:

> First was the need to engage decision-makers and those at the highest levels of government from the inception. That strategy would ensure that global methodologies and development tools were adapted to transform national policy and development processes. Second, policy level action must be supported by effective interventions at the institutional and community levels. (p. 3)

These lessons stemmed from the UNDP's focus to "build government capacity" (p. 2) in all of the areas of their funded projects.

Finally, the third section, which addresses the agenda for the period of 2007-2011, most explicitly ties the social concerns in the first section, with how they could be addressed through capacity building. The policy notes that as a cooperation strategy,

> The key results to be achieved include: ... (b) increased capacity of stakeholders to sustain peace and reconciliation mechanisms; (c) development or restoration of sustainable livelihoods in target communities; (d) participatory planning processes that promote social and economic development and increased resilience to hazards for vulnerable communities; (e) increased capacity and opportunities for technical exchange at policy, institutional and community levels; and (f) male youth in targeted communities provided with livelihood, peace building and conflict prevention skills. Promoting

citizen security will be achieved with advocacy and public education promoting rule of

law and improving mechanisms for monitoring justice and security sector reform

processes. (p. 4)

It should be noted that the institution of policies such as the Free Zones, and structural

adjustments never operate in isolation. They are, rather, part of dynamic and pervasive policies

that, while they are sometimes hard to identify, have definitive consequences. Parts of these

policies often include capacity building type programs. It can hardly be a coincidence that

during the same years that Free Zones and structural adjustments were being debated and

instituted, Harrow (2001) points out that the World Bank was also redefining and constituting

the phrase "capacity building" in their work. In Obika Gray's (2004) work entitled *Demeaned*

but Empowered: The Social Power of the Urban Poor in Jamaica, he explains this as a

consequence of "external actors such as the United States, the World Bank, and the

Organization of American States... (being) interested in this project of democratization for their

own ends" (pp. 354-355). These ends, he notes, "pertain to restructuring socio-political relations

in peripheral societies to facilitate the penetration of capital and promotion of the sway of

political neo-liberalism as humanity's destiny" (p. 355).

It is also worth noting that the global context, specifically pertaining to the political

economic sphere, has changed substantively in the time this research was started. This project

was undertaken from the years of 2006 to 2012. Obviously, the different stages of the research

project meant that as the research and interviews were being conducted, the contexts were

constantly being reshaped. As such, the research has had to reflect a moving target, to use a

common phrase. Just as the global political context was changing, so were the policies and ideas

I was attempting to examine. One major cause of the shifts pertaining to the research contexts

has been the debt crisis of the past few years. Not only has the crisis – and the new vocabulary it has ushered in: austerity, bailouts, 1%ers, occupy, etc. – created a new political context for education and policies such as capacity building, but it has also, however inadvertently, provided impetus and justification for new formations of policy.

In fact, the changing political-economic sphere provides an interesting justification as to why I chose to study the phenomenon of capacity building for citizenship education. Even before the debt crisis, the IFIs that have had such profound influence on concepts like capacity building were reformulating a participatory ethos. A major focus on this participation has been education and learning. There is little reason to believe that this connection will end anytime soon.

Specifically, the concept of capacity building was beginning to resonate with a wide audience when I began the project. This is not to suggest that it was just beginning to appear – indeed, I detail the much longer history of the concept later on – but rather that the nomenclature related to the policy was beginning to be uttered by a much larger audience. From the immediate discourses of development, the term and idea gained currency with governments, consultants, and academics. Also, in terms of development discourses, the conjoined fields of education, lifelong learning, and pedagogy are all valuable concepts. They connote images of transformation, opportunity, and betterment. It can be no mystery that when societal pressures – like those of the debt crisis – reaffirm powerful inequalities, attention is turned to concepts such as those studies here to ameliorate the conditions. On a similar note, while I was undertaking this research, I also found that other policies such as microcredit lending were thriving in popularity in their attempt to provide this same amelioration (McGray, 2010). My critique, though, is that rather than solving a crisis, the programs simply reaffirm a crisis of credit.

While the context of the research has undergone profound transformations, there is a much more subtle connection that I would like to articulate. This connection is the nature by which the two concepts I have identified relate: Capacity Building and Citizenship Education. While the debt crisis has introduced a lexicon of terms hitherto unknown by the discursive public, I argue that it has also solidified a normative justification for others – both capacity building and citizenship education fall in to this category. Furthermore, the political context has also shaped powerful, if not often unintended or unexamined connections, between terms and concepts. I argue, again, that capacity building and citizenship education fall into this category. What do I mean by this? In short, I mean that capacity building and citizenship education find a relationship as mediating new citizenship discourses; illuminating the economic and political dimensions of citizenry. For instance, by understanding the relationship that capacity building has formulated, however innocuously, we can probe the discursive and ideological formations of the concepts.

Readers will note that I do reference some directionality in the relationship between capacity building and citizenship education. That is to say, the research here examines the ways in which the activities around capacity building seek to form pedagogical relationships of citizenship education. This, I argue, is an important consideration: the nature by which pedagogical relationships are constituted – in this case through capacity building projects – are often overlooked. Compounding this oversight is that fact that in a neoliberal era, economic ventures (and, indeed, considering the IFIs' ties to the concept of capacity building, I do consider it an economic venture) are often underscrutinized for their political and ethical mandates. As such, I attempt to retrace the political economy of the relationships of capacity building.

In attempting to trace how capacity building mediates new formations of citizenry, there are two additional points relevant to the discussion here. The first is that the connection I am attempting to trace between capacity building for citizenship education can be read as part of new citizenship discourses. The second is a reflection on the case study sites involved in this research. While I treat the two countries as separate sites (an important point considering the politics of the two countries detailed later), it should also be noted that because of the prevalence of capacity building and citizenship discourses by international actors, the two sites also represent actors in a transnational discursive site. This point is an important consideration. As the connections between large policy actors, such as the IFIs are complex, it serves to be attentive to the ways in which international connections – even those discursive ones – form and justify the policy actors.

It is worth detailing my own personal positioning and how it relates to the work of this study. At the outset of this project, I was drawn to the topic as the connection by educational projects to the idea of capacity building grew in popularity. Likewise, the interests who were major proponents of capacity building were increasingly tying themselves to pedagogical ventures. This seemingly sudden connection drew my attention. Why capacity building? Why tie the ideology to educational projects? What makes it lucrative at this moment? In light of these questions, my own position in researching the subject had a number of critical elements. The first was to examine capacity building as a discursive and ideological practice in light of its use, and employment, by powerful international interests. This element, as I argue in the last chapter, is an under examined feature. The second element of my positioning in this research, and related to the first, is to engage with a practice (capacity building for citizenship education) in the vein of critical theory (Critical Realism). This element is integral in the ability of

expanding critique to contemporary mechanisms. As the world grows increasingly complex, debates within the social sciences are tested against the ability to describe, comprehend, and offer alternatives. Finally, the third element of my positioning in this research is to examine the nature by which histories of colonial relationships interplay with complex mechanisms of policy and education.

Capacity Building for Citizenship Education:
A Timeline of the Case Studies

Jamaica enters into the first IMF loan agreements

Craig argues that the "the earliest sustained references to *capacity-building* in the literature date from the early 1990's" (2007, p. 341).

(1982) Canadian Constitution Act, including the "Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms"

Nomenclature shift from capacity *building* to capacity *development*.

Harrow (2001) identifies a key 1984 World Bank report which develops the nomenclature of institution building – a precursor to capacity building.

(Late 90's onward) – Explosion of policy documents which identify capacity building as a strategy

Canada's federal government identifies "capacity building" as a policy mechanism in its relationships with Jamaica

(1982) "Jamaica Export Free Zones Act"

| 1970 | 1980 | 1990 | 2000 | 2010 |

🟩 Event Specific to Jamaica   🟥 Event Specific to Canada

Figure 5: Timeline of the Case Studies

Chapter 3: Theoretical Perspective and Research Design

3.1 Overview of Research Design
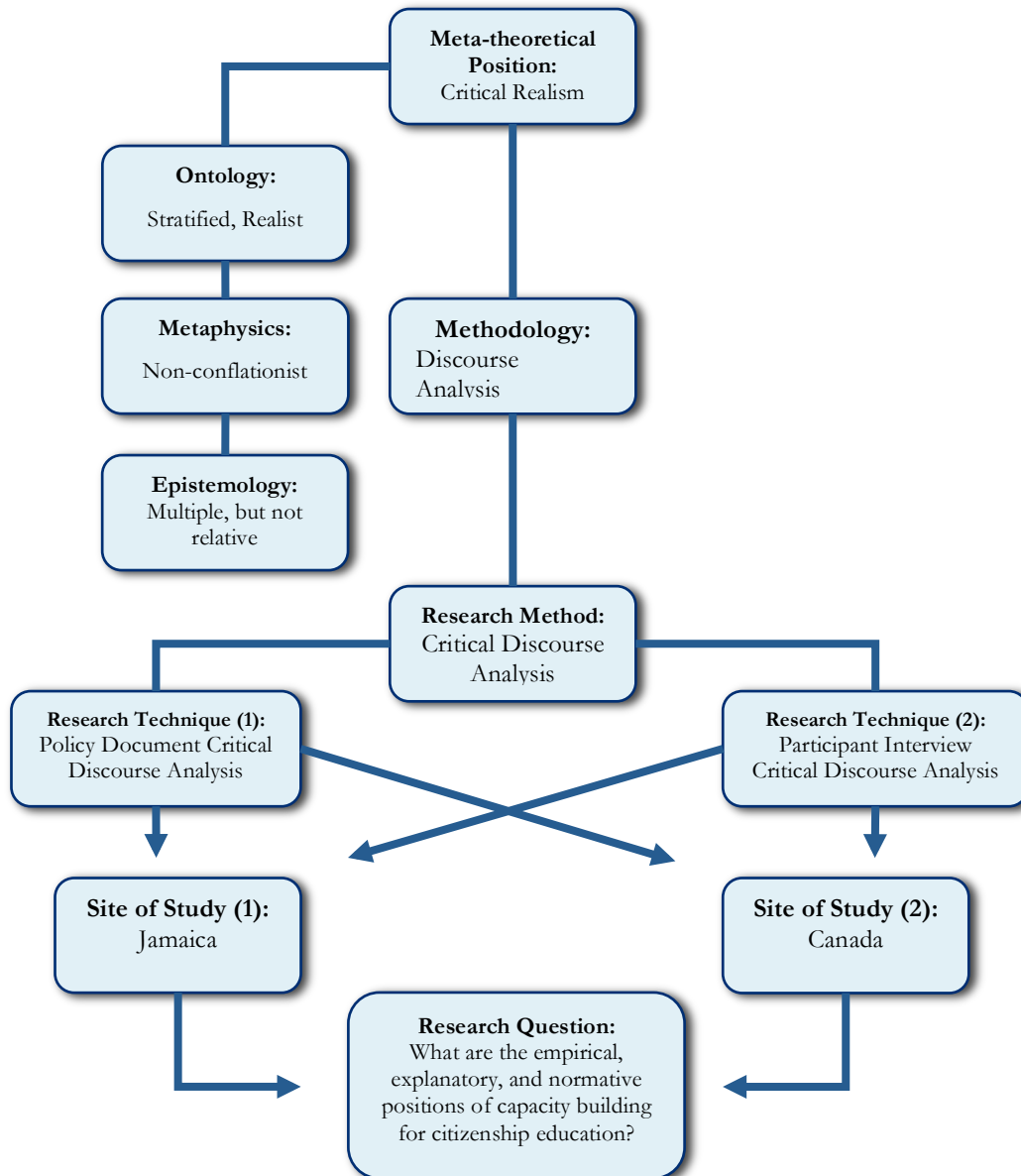
Figure 6: Overview of Research Design

3.2 Theoretical Perspective: Critical Realism

The nature of my research question has three distinct but related aspects. They are the empirical, normative, and explanatory positions of capacity building. This means that the study will examine a) what capacity building is actually doing (the empirical), b) what the moral and ethical positioning of those doing capacity building is (the normative), and finally c) what people believe capacity building is doing (the explanatory). In order to investigate all three aspects of the research question, my methodology need not only be one that theoretically allows adequate movement into the spaces of the questions, but should actively deal with the issues as well. As such, I am operating from a critical realist metatheoretical perspective (Archer, 1996, 2001, 2003; Bhaskar, 1993; Danermark et al., 2002; Sayer 1998, 2000) to understand what fact and value positions are taken when citizenship educators utilize the concept of capacity building. The strength of this particular research methodology is that it allows for an articulation with Critical Discourse Analysis (Fairclough, Jessop & Sayer, 2001). It also emphasizes the importance of combining descriptive and explanatory forms of research with normative (e.g. political and moral-ethical) approaches to social policies and practices that may affect of citizenship education. This integration of explanatory, normative and empirical description and investigation is a particular strength of the methodology as many popular philosophies of social science either fail to incorporate one of these factors, or intentionally exclude them.

Critical realism emerged from the historical tradition, and partial previous under-theorizations, of dialectical materialism. Common to critical realism's theoretical understanding of phenomenon is that it is a dialectical process between structures of the world, human agency, and levels of interaction between (Archer, 2001, 2003). Andrew Collier (2005) also points out that "critical realism holds that there is more to 'what is' than 'what is known', more to powers

than their use, and more to society than the individuals composing it" (p. 157). Specific to my

research question, critical realism offers marked methodological consideration to each of the

three aspects of the question. Critical realism offers an understanding of the implications of

normative positions in explanatory critique, and social sciences (Bhaskar, 1998a, 1998b; Sayer,

2005). As well, critical realism stresses an importance on the explanatory and empirical nature

of research.

Critical Realism and the Empirical, Explanatory, and the Normative

While I have identified three aspects to the research question in the empirical,

explanatory, and the normative, this is not to say that the three are distinct or mutually

exclusive. I have chosen to identify these three aspects explicitly as over the past number of

years, educational research, and social science research in general, have privileged one of the

three aspects due to what Michael Apple (1996) refers to as the politics of meaning. At the heart

of the debate of the politics of knowledge, is the underlying question of how we

epistemologically come to possess new information. The postmodern would claim that learned

information is only a manifestation of power; the empiricist would claim that learned

information is only a manifestation of knowledge. Instead of waging in the debates of the

politics of knowledge, my research question concedes that some learned phenomenon is the

result of power in human and cultural interaction, and some learned phenomenon is produced by

knowledge of the generative mechanisms of the natural world (such as laws of gravity). The

aims of my research, and subsequent research question, remain coherent with the larger goal of

critical realism in understanding sociality in this way. It may seem that as a critical researcher, it

is odd to include an aspect of the empirical in a research question. Indeed, it is popular for

critical research to include aspects of the normative and explanatory, but not the empirical. Even

Marx's (1998) eleventh thesis on Feuerbach notes that the point of the philosopher is not just to understand the world, but to change it. Many have misunderstood this aspect of Marxist thought to eschew the empirical. Unfortunately though, as critical research has done this, the field has been plagued with rhetorically critical work, that has simply contained the same basic presuppositions, as which it was believed to be opposing. Was this not Fredric Jameson's (1991) thesis about the nature of postmodernity and its underlying capitalistic assumptions? The empirical manifests a very important role in critical and transformative research. This aspect allows an investigation of how the proposed criticism can actually transform society. For example, we can claim that narrative inquiry allows for the emancipation of the subject by expressing an unheard voice of those that are impoverished, but if the empirical suggests that those communities have increased rates of starvation, we may want to suggest otherwise. The trap of claiming emancipation through research without any empirical aspect is a common one and relies less on theories of emancipation, and more on political research rhetoric that often justifies one version of the politics of knowledge. The link between the empirical and emancipation is well articulated by Andrew Collier (1998a). Collier draws on the work of Roy Bhaskar to make his case,

> …Bhaskar also says that emancipatory politics is necessarily 'grounded in scientific theory'. Why should this be? The argument so far has shown such grounding to be possible, rather than necessary. But if emancipatory politics means transforming structures, it must be based in the knowledge of those structures. It is such knowledge that transforms the will to ameliorate states of affairs – which is after all the necessary *motive* of emancipatory politics – into the project of transforming those structures which generate the unwanted states of affairs. (pp. 465-466)

There are two important points that Collier makes in his argument. The first is that the ideas of both suffering, as well as emancipation, are non-cognitive. That is to say, at the realm of the real, there are generative mechanisms that give genesis to conditions of human suffering. These generative mechanisms are non-cognitive because they (at least in part) operate independently of how we think about them. For example, we can have many narratives about a child starving, but if the child starves to death, we would be hard pressed to claim that the child was still alive, and that knowledge of the death is exclusively culturally constrained. To apply a similar example to a larger social scale, Collier notes that, "One can see people sleeping in the streets, and listen to their complaints; but one has to do research to understand the market mechanisms which cause this tragedy, and how they can be changed" (p. 466). As such, Collier draws on Bhaskar's work to note that there are five conditions of research for the "possibility of emancipatory practices" (p. 466). They are 1) the reasons we give, must also act as causes in the world. This means that "…our reasons for acting must have real effects… co-determining events in the open systems of the world" (p. 466). 2) The normative aspect of values is immanent in our actions and our research, and cannot be prescribed or deduced from research. 3) "Critique must be internal to (and conditioned by) its objects" (Bhaskar from Collier, 1998b, p. 467, italics removed). This points out that explanatory critique must come from the society in which it critiques, and the realization that the same structural forces are at play on the critique, as well as the object of the critique. As such, self-critique is always necessary, and leads to what Collier calls "epistemic grounding" (p. 467). 4) "there must be a coincidence of subjective needs… and… objective possibilities, already at or close to their historical conditions" (Bhaskar from Collier, 1998b, p. 467, italics removed). Put in another way, people must want change, and there must be a kernel of possibility for it to happen. And finally, 5) "for emancipation to be possible,

knowable emergent laws must operate" (Bhaskar from Collier, 1998b, p. 467, italics removed). Again, this justifies the empirical aspect of social and critical research as knowledge about constants, whether it be societal or physical, are needed to explain phenomenon.

The second point that Collier makes, is that there is a difference in the "'amelioration of states of affairs' and 'transformation of structures'" (p. 464). This returns to the point that some forms of research may take on the jargon of being critical, however they contain the problem's presuppositions (Karatani, 2005).

Returning to another part of my own research question, the explanatory component has a different function. An investigation of how and why people explain phenomenon serves to research not only the possible rhetorical elements of belief of capacity building, but it also allows an investigation into the epistemological function of how people believe that they know something. This provides a line of theorization into the before mentioned politics of knowledge, as well as hopefully inviting the same questions of my own epistemological theories that underpin this study. This provides an element of radical reflexivity that should underpin any critical research, and in particular, that of critical realist based research.

3.2.1 Critical Realism as a Meta-Theoretical Research Framework for Social Science Research

Andrew Sayer (2004), notes that critical realism is not based on claims of access to unmediated truth, but that it is based on the idea that a world exists independent of knowledge about it. This claim is not only based on the critical realist theories of the nature and functioning of structure, agency, and ontology, but also on the idea that our fallibility in what we have known. This means that our knowledge about the world, does not constitute what the world is (this is an excellent example of Archer's (2001) epistemic fallacy), a self-evident proof of this is

that we are often mistaken about how the world works. Sayer continues on to note that central to the critical realist ontology is the distinction between conceptions of the real, the actual, and the empirical.

The real, as a conceptual category, is explained by Sayer to have two aspects. The first is that the real pertains to "whatever exists, be it natural or social, regardless of whether it is an empirical object for us, and whether we happen to have an adequate understanding of its nature" (2004, p. 11). The second characteristic of the real, is that it pertains to the,

> realm of objects, their structures and powers. Whether they be physical, like minerals, or
>
> social, like bureaucracies, they have certain structures and causal powers, that is,
>
> capacities to behave in particular ways, and causal liabilities or passive powers, that is,
>
> specific susceptibilities to certain kinds of change. (p. 11)

While Sayer defines the real as the realm of potential powers or potential generative mechanisms, the actual refers to what happens when the powers are activated, or put into play. In this way, the actual is what happens when causal powers become generative mechanisms. Finally, the realm of the empirical is what Sayer uses to describe our understanding of the phenemenona that comes from the levels of the real and the actual.

Roy Bhaskar (1998c), notes that there have been four major tendencies in the explanatory[1] social sciences pertaining to the method of study, and how they have treated the object of study (social theory) (table re-created from p. 212)

	Method	*Object*
Utilitarianism	Empiricist	Individualist
Weber	Neo-Kantian	Individualist

---

[1] Bhaskar's focus is not on non-explanatory forms of research such as Ethnography or poststructural forms, so I have differentiated here.

| Durkheim | Empiricist | Collectivist |
| Marx | Realist | Relational |

Figure 7: Bhaskar's (1998c, p. 212) Tendencies in the Explanatory Social Sciences

For Bhaskar, social sciences have been mired in equally wrong-headed assumptions that social phenomena can either be understood in either collectivist (what he calls the Durkheimian reification stereotype), or the individualist paradigm (what he refers to as the Weberian voluntarism stereotype). Instead, phenomenon must be understood as a continuous dialectic between the individual and the society. This interplay means that it picks up the relational aspect of Marxist social theory, as well as an emphasis on the stratification of ontology. Sayer (2004) notes that this concept of ontological stratification (as opposed to a "flat" ontology) is the distinction between the real, the actual, and the empirical. This contrasts "empirical realism (which) assumes that what we can observe is all that exists, while 'actualism' assumes that what actually happens at the level of events exhausts the world, leaving no domain of the real, of powers which can be either activated or remain dormant" (p. 12).

Margaret Archer (1998), continues to note of stratified ontology that is of crucial importance because "the absence of ontological depth precludes crucial questions about the *conditions* under which *experience* is possible to agency (… just as experiencing educational discrimination is posterior to a given definition of achievement being institutionalized…)" (p. 196). Archer further explains that,

> In terms of the explanatory programme, the stratified nature of reality introduces a
> necessary historicity (however short the time period involved) for instead of *horizontal*
> explanations relating one experience, observable or event to another, the fact that these
> themselves are conditional upon antecedents, requires *vertical* explanations in terms of
> the generative relationships indispensable for their realization (and equally necessary to

account for the systematic non-actualization of non-events and non-experiences – such as the absence of black prime ministers in the West). Ontological depth necessarily introduces vertical causality which simultaneously entails temporality. (p. 196)

An excellent example of this is provided by Andrew Collier's (1998a) review of Marx's stratified concept of history. Collier notes that we can see a clear example of stratification in the nature of the relationship between nature and society.

…there is surely some ontological relation between nature and society; both are aspects of the real world, awaiting empirical discovery; nature is prior, both in time and in order of ontological dependence; society can only exist because nature is such that human life and social production are possible, and so on. (p. 259)

Collier gives another example (perhaps a bit more of a social science template) of how Plekhanov takes up a classical Marxist analysis of a stratified ontology when understanding economic phenomenon. His stratification identifies distinct, but related, mechanisms into the categories of,

1. the state of the productive forces;

2. the economic relations these forces condition;

3. the socio-political system that has developed on the given economic 'base';

4. the mentality of men [*sic*] living in society, a mentality which is determined in part directly by the economic conditions obtaining, and in part by the entire socio-political system that has arisen on that foundation;

5. the various ideologies that reflect the properties of that mentality. (Plekhanov in Collier, 1998a, p. 265)

Collier notes however that the theory of stratification is one that exists between generative mechanisms, and not between entities. He quotes Bhaskar to state that, "the predicates 'natural', 'social', 'human', 'physical', 'chemical', 'aero-dynamical', 'biological', 'economic', etc. ought not to be regarded as differentiating distinct kinds of *events*, but as differentiating different kinds of *mechanisms*. For in the generation of an open-system event several of these predicates may be simultaneously applicable" (p. 271).

Archer (1996) also notes that it is important to reject strict analogous descriptions of society. Because of the promiscuity and adaptability of social structures and their inherent ability to change, it is inherently problematic to compare the nature and functioning of society to things such as language, mechanisms, or cybernetic systems. Archer's wager is that it is a much more fruitful venture to understand society through a morphogenetic approach. The term morphogenetic approach is derived from " 'morpho' indicating shape, and 'genesis' signaling that the shaping is the product of social relations" (p. 166). When understood along side with morphostasis, Archer articulates an analytic dualism through which we can deepen our understanding of society and social functions. She continues to note that, " 'Morphogenesis' refers to 'those processes which tend to elaborate or change a system's given form, state or structure'. Conversely, 'morphostasis' refers to those processes in complex system-environmental exchanges which tend to preserve or maintain a system's given form, organization or state" (p. 166).

The morphogenetic approach finds its strength as a social theory "with the essential transcendental commitment to society not being wholly contingent, but with no substantive pre-conceptions that its ordering resembles any other form of reality (mechanical or organic), nor

that the whole is homologous with some part of it (language), or some state of it (simple cybernetic systems)" (p. 167).

Archer posits that because structures and agency are constantly entwined and always at work together to form social phenomena, there must be a type of conceptual abstraction of either of the two aspects to understand them. She notes that one such helpful abstraction is to understand the process of "Emergence-Interplay-Outcome" (p. 168) between social structures and social interaction. This type of conceptual abstraction is necessary as she notes that central to the Realist project is the instance that social structures are not created by agency, but are either reproduced or transformed at any point by agency. She points out that this approach is underpinned by four propositions.

(i)   there are internal and necessary relations within and between social structures (SS);

(ii)   causal influences are exerted by social structure(s) (SS) on social interaction (SI);

(iii)   there are causal relationships between groups and individuals at the level of social interaction (SI);

(iv)   social interaction (SI) elaborates upon the composition of social structure(s) (SS) by modifying current internal and necessary structural relationships and introducing new ones where morphogenesis is concerned. Alternatively, social interaction (SI) reproduces existing internal and necessary structural relations when morphostasis applies. (1996, pp. 168-169)

In conclusion to this meta-theoretical section, William Outhwaite (1998), gives a concise summary of the ontological tenants of the critical realist position. He organizes them in five key points. They are:

1 The distinction between transitive and intransitive objects of science: between our concepts, models etc. and the real entities, relations and so forth which make up the natural and social world.

2 The further stratification of reality into the domains of the real, the actual and the empirical. The last of these is in a contingent relation to the other two; to be (either for an entity or structure or for an event) is *not* to be perceived.

3 The conception of causal relations as tendencies, grounded in the interactions of generative mechanisms; these interactions may or may not produce events which in turn may or may not be observed.

4 In addition to these three ontological claims, and related to the first one, we have the rejection of both empiricism and conventionalism above. The practical expression of this epistemological position is the concept of real definition. Real definitions, which are important for both realist and rationalist philosophies of science, are neither summaries of existing verbal usage nor stipulations that we should use a term in a particular way. …

5 Finally, and related to (3) above, the realist conception of explanation involves the postulation of explanatory mechanisms and the attempt to demonstrate their existence. (Outhwaite, 1998, p. 282)

By utilizing a framework based on Critical Realism, I would argue that the proposed study is afforded an avenue to explore a relational program of critical social sciences, as well as one that can explicitly examine the empirical, the explanatory, and the normative.

3.3 Research Methodology:

In the following three sections (sections 3.3, 3.4, & 3.5), I work through the levels of Research Methodology, Research Method, and Research Techniques that appear on the flow chart of my research design (fig. 7).

Michael Crotty (1998), explains that in the case of social research, the term methodology is employed to detail "research design that shapes our choice and use of particular methods and links them to the desired outcomes" (p. 7). For Crotty, the methodology is not simply the overarching plan that ties the particular methods but it also includes a rationale of both the choice of methods, as well as why they were employed. Research methods for Crotty, are the actual techniques that allow for the gathering and analysis of the research data. He notes that when detailing the nature of research methods, it is crucial to be as specific as possible. Although Crotty would define the technique as part of the method, I have chosen to make this distinction for two reasons. The first is that having the research identified from methodology to method to technique makes a more seamless transition from the potentially philosophical concepts of methodology, to the very technical activity of the research technique. For example, I hope that a discussion of Discourse analysis, to Critical Discourse Analysis, to the technique of the analysis that I employ in my study, will aid in clarity and integrity of the research methods. In turn, I hope, it will provide a gradual stepping stone along the process and will aid in the assurance that there is not an ideological disjuncture between the methodology and technique. The second reason that I have chosen to separate the method and the technique is due to the vast field of literature on the subjects. Because there is a considerable work done on the technique, and the larger field of method in general, I do so to provide a space in this study to examine the different aspects of research methodology, method, and technique. As such, I do not argue with

Crotty that research technique is a part of the method, but rather I have created an artificial separation of the two concepts, and treated the technique as a subset of the method to allow for a further investigation into the particularities of the two concepts.

As I noted in the introduction, the research has been carried out through a type of case study analysis. This was achieved by extensive visitation to the sites, interviewing people involved in citizenship education (educators, funding bodies of the programs, government officials), carrying out analysis of historical, statistical, and policy documents, and reflecting on my experiences in the context. The critical discourse analysis approach analyzed not only the semi-structured interviews that I conducted with the study participants, but also the discourse of the historical, literature, and policy documents that I investigated about capacity building for citizenship education. As a result, this approach has generated theoretical and contextual data of not only the specific case studies, but of the theories that inform the practices of capacity building.

3.3.1 Discourse Analysis

As my research methodology, I have utilized discourse analysis. Obviously, as the focus of the methodology is on discourses, this will aid in investigating the explanatory aspect of capacity building for citizenship education. It is not limited to the explanatory aspect though, as I detail in section 3.4.1, the type of discourse analysis that I utilize for my research method is critical discourse analysis, which allows the investigation of the structural aspects of the empirical, as well as the normative. In this way, the term "discourse" refers to the larger material, linguistic, and ideological patterns by which we entwine ourselves in. Fredric Jameson (2005), notes that when considering discourse analysis,

It must finally be added, on this methodological point, that the conceptual framework of

discourse analysis – although allowing us conveniently, in a postmodern age, to practice

ideological analysis without calling it that – is no more satisfactory than the reveries of

the Proudhonists: autonomizing the dimension of the /concept/ and calling it "discourse"

suggests that this dimension is potentially unrelated to reality and can be left to float off

on its own, to found its own subdiscipline and develop its own specialists. (p. 264)

Jameson continues to detail what befalls us if we treat discourse analysis in a manner that is

unrelated to material, and political-economic reality. In this case, if we treat the discourse of the

market as a free floating phenomenon, a common practice in some forms of narrative inquiry.

I still prefer to call /market/ what it is, namely, an ideologeme, and to premise about it

what one must premise about all ideologies: that, unfortunately, we have to talk about

the realities fully as much as the concepts. Is market discourse merely a rhetoric? It is

and isn't (to rehearse the great formal logic of the identity and nonidentity); and to get it

right, you have to talk about real markets just as much as about metaphysics,

psychology, advertising, culture, representations, and libidinal apparatuses. (p. 264)

Jameson actually articulates an important point that is coherent with critical realism. That is to

say, the theorizing and recognition that modes of discourse are linked, and are generated, with

other phenomena. Jameson notes that these phenomenon include the mental, as well as aspects

of late capitalism. The danger conveyed by Jameson is the potential separation of the theories of

discourse and their relationship to the larger dynamics of society. Chouliaraki and Fairclough

(1999) pick up on this criticism of some forms of discourse analysis. They acknowledge that the

field of post-structuralism, and specifically the work of Foucault, has brought light to the idea of

discourse in the social sciences. Their critique, however, is that the post-structural notion of

discourse has failed to acknowledge both language and a semiotic understanding of discourse. Chouliaraki and Fairclough theorize that this failure is attributed to the "more general neglect of the cultural aspect of social life" (1999, p. 28). They note that an important part of discourse analysis is to be incorporated into the social sciences, but to be done in a way that is non-idealistic and does not reduce social life to discourse. In this way they argue for a non reductive theory of discourse analysis.

The question then remains, what can we call a discourse? van Dijk (1997) notes that the term has reached wide spread usage in the academy. He does note that it generally pertains to the three main branches of language usage, the communication of beliefs, and interaction of humans in the social sphere. Because these categories are extremely broad in nature, van Dijk claims that it is the task of the discourse analyst to theorize about how the three branches interact, or what he calls the integrated description of discourse. van Dijk's claim is that this must include the questioning, "how does language use influence beliefs and interaction, or vice versa, how do aspects of interaction influence how people speak, or how do beliefs control language use and interaction?" (p. 2). As well, he notes that discourse analysis is ultimately required to "formulate theories that explain such relationships between language use, beliefs and interaction" (p. 2, italics removed) in order to explain the nature and functioning of communication and discourse.

It is these methodological premises of discourse analysis that I will expand on later to both introduce and justify the methodology of Critical Discourse Analysis (section 3.4.1).

3.4. Research Method

3.4.1 Critical Discourse Analysis

To elaborate a method of critical discourse analysis (CDA), I utilize the work of Norman Fairclough (1995, 1996, 2001, 2003, 2006). Admittedly, I employ a less traditional structure of research by separating the method from the more practical research techniques to be discussed in the next section. Arguably though, Fairclough's work (2006) supports this step, as he maintains that too often methods like critical discourse analysis find their way into the pragmatic field of social science research as a kind of mechanical skill set in the form of technique. He notes that "It (CDA) can too easily be taken as a sort of 'transferable skill' if one understands a 'method' to be a technique, a tool in a box of tools, which can be resorted to when needed and then returned to the box" (2006, p. 121, parentheses added).

Norman Fairclough offers a well developed analytical framework for some clarification as to what a CDA research project entails. Interestingly enough, he attributes his framework as modeled from critical realist Roy Bhaskar's explanatory critique (Fairclough, 2006, p. 125).

Fairclough's analytical framework is as such,

1   Focus upon a social problem which has a semiotic aspect.
2   Identify obstacles to it being tackled, through analysis of
      A   the network of practices it is located within
      B   the relationship of semiosis to other elements within the particular practice(s) concerned
      C   the discourse (the semiosis itself)
           • structural analysis: the order of discourse
           • interactional analysis
           • interdiscursive analysis
           • linguistic and semiotic analysis.
3   Consider whether the social order (network of practices) in a sense 'needs' the problem.
4   Identify possible ways past the obstacles.
5   Reflect critically on the analysis (1-4).

Figure 8: Table of Fairclough's CDA Framework. Recreated from (2006, p. 125).

For the purposes of my research, the first step, or the "social problem" is understanding how capacity building for citizenship education relies on the three discourses (the empirical, the explanatory, and the normative) to underpin educational policy. As a research question, this of course carries with it certain analytical features, and certain emancipatory (or critical) aspects as well.

The second step in Fairclough's CDA analysis is to identify why the research has not been resolved previously. This is done by examining the community of practice that the research question concerns itself with, the relationships of that community to others, and finally the discourses surrounding the research question itself. Here Fairclough identifies four distinct but related forms of discourse that are to be analyzed. The first is the structure or order of discourse, which Fairclough exemplifies by illustrating how managerial discourse has trumped many other discourses. The second is interactional, which refers to the structures of interaction that different discourses position the discussants (i.e. conversational interaction vs. on-line chat room conversations). The third is interdiscursive, which Fairclough describes as questioning "how do particular types of interaction articulate together different genres, discourses and styles?" (p. 126) The fourth and final discourse is the linguistic and semiotic analysis that examines the actual words and sometimes pictures of the discourses.

Before moving on to offering alternatives to the problem addressed by CDA, Fairclough also notes that is important to consider in the analysis the possibility that the social networks involved may need the problem being addressed. A key step in the research means theorizing about how the communities of practice involved with capacity building for citizenship education

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may require that a blind eye be turned to the relationship between the tri-partite register of the social sciences. On this note, the theme of antirepresentationalism which I had identified in the literature review on capacity building proves to be an important theme.

In other work on CDA, Fairclough (1996) makes an important point in pointing out that the prevalence of managerial, and workplace like attitudes (that can often be found in organizations that run capacity building programs) has added a kind of "technologisation of discourse" (p. 71). This term is defined by Fairclough as,

> the embodiment in institutional forms and practices of circuits and networks which systematically chain together three domains of practice: research into the discoursal practices of workplaces and institutions, design of discoursal practices in accordance with institutional strategies and objectives, and training of personnel in such designed discoursal practices. (p. 71)

Indeed, Fairclough's assessment, while made in the nineties, is still relevant. In fact it could be argued that his concept of the technologisation of discourse has only ramped up with the continual pressures of neo-liberalism. Fairclough makes his point about the bourgeoning technicism of discursive practices to identify that there are a number of trends that emerge that need to be identified by the critical discourse analyst. These trends include: 1) the notion of the expert discourse; 2) a shift in the policing of discourses to, in part, further propagate the expert's authority, and; 3) an increase in the push for the standardization of discourse.

Because I have separated the sections of research method and research technique, I will leave the actual description of where and how I will gather my data to the section on research technique. It is, however, useful to review what types of data will be gathered within a research method of Critical Discourse Analysis, and what types of claims can be garnered from such

data. James Paul Gee (2005) notes that there are seven considerations that must be taken into account when examining discourse. They include 1) the significance, which means asking "How is this piece of language being used to make certain things significant or not and in what ways" (p. 11)?; 2) The Activities, "What activity or activities is this piece of language being used to enact (i.e., get others to recognize as going on)" (p. 11)?; 3) Identities, "What identity or identities is this piece of language being used to enact" (p. 12)?; 4) Relationships, "What sort of relationship or relationships is this piece of language seeking to enact with others" (p. 12)?; 5) the politics, or what Gee calls "the distribution of social goods" (p. 12), or questioning "What perspective on social goods is this piece of language communicating (i.e., what is being communicated as to what is taken to be 'normal,' 'right,' 'good,' 'correct,' 'proper,'…" (p. 12)?; 6) the connections, "How does this piece of language connect or disconnect things; how does it make one thing relevant to another" (p. 13)?; and finally 7) sign systems and knowledge, "How does this piece of language privilege or disprivilege specific sign systems (e.g., Spanish vs. English, technical language vs. everyday language, words vs. images, words vs. equations) or different ways of knowing and believing or claims to knowledge and belief" (p. 13)?

These seven criteria laid out by Gee fit nicely as different aspects of the category of "the discourse" or section 2c in Fairclough's proceeding chart on an analytical framework for CDA.

3.5 Research Techniques

3.5.1 Policy Document Critical Discourse Analysis

For the research technique of a policy document critical discourse analysis, data were gathered from the policy documents obtained from NGO's, Government organizations, and multinational organizations involved in capacity building.

The reason for using both the policy and interview analysis (sections 3.5.1 and 3.5.2) through the lens of Critical Discourse Analysis is twofold. First, it allows me to critically examine the interviews that I have conducted in comparison to the official documents on the subject. Second, it allows me to investigate the ways in which capacity building can be enabled or constrained at the informal level of social life by the more formal level of explanation through a Critical Discourse Analysis. As well, the examination of both the interviews, as well as the texts, on the subject allows me to research how people in different mediums garner evidence for normative positions on capacity building, and empirical data on the subject.

As noted before, I will employ a method of Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis for this part of my research. As such, I will be researching both the interviews and texts for their use of rhetoric and language usage, the form of the arguments (and how this may change between the verbal and the textual), and the assumptions about capacity building that underpin capacity building or citizenship education.

The data gathered for analysis were derived from policy documents that displayed relevance to the research topic. The level of relevance was organized around Rudestam & Newton's (2001, p. 64) Venn diagram for the organization if relevant literature (see fig. below).

In the context of my research, variable 1 pertains to policy documents that deal with the two case study contexts, variable 2 pertains to policy that address Capacity Building and Development, and variable 3 pertains to policy that addresses citizenship education. The policy literature was collected over a period of two years through a number of methods. These include internet searches, participant references to existing documents, and archeological approaches of existing documents: that is to say, the concepts and ideas apparent in contemporary policy documents were retraced through the references to find links to previous work on the subject. Please refer to Section 8, Appendix "B," for a complete list of the documents used for this analysis.

While Critical Discourse Analysis provides some framework for analyzing the interviews, I have to consider another aspect for the analysis of the discourses. van Leeuwen (2005) notes that texts, images within texts, and the design of publications, also introduce the designed medium into discourse analysis. This is what he refers to as "multimodality," or the concept that texts do not operate simply as an already written interview for analysis. Instead he

notes that "all mediational means come with affordances and constraints on action" (p. 94). Because of the multimodality, I will have to incorporate a form of semiotic analysis into the analysis of the texts and subsequent images, forms, and graphics. van Leeuwen suggests that this may include considering the typology (including fonts, sizes, and colours), the reading path of the text (where and how does your eye travel around the document), as well as the stages of the text (what is the problem that the text is addressing, what solutions should be offered, what is the effect of the solution, etc.).

3.5.2 Participant Interview Critical Discourse Analysis

The second stream of data for this research was garnered through participant interviews. These interviews come from semi-structured interviews conducted with educators, policy makers, and practitioners involved with capacity building for citizenship education. The interviews were carried out in both Canada and Jamaica. The total interviews were selected through a snowball sampling selection process (Hesse-Biber, 2007) and encompassed 14 participants. In Canada, participants were interviewed in two different provinces – Alberta and Nova Scotia; In Jamaica, the participants represented two different parishes. Two different individuals, one in Jamaica and one in Canada, had lived, worked, and held expertise internationally and spoke to policies and practices of capacity building that affect many countries. All of the interviews were conducted face to face and the typical length for the interviews was one hour.

The snowball sampling process was a way to sort out individuals who held experiences and expertise on the topic of capacity building for citizenship education. In this way, my participants represented influential backgrounds, which not only reflected important movements in the formation and organization of capacity building, but also were able to provide key

insights into the strategy and conceptualization of the process. The participants spoke to many different facets of capacity building for citizenship education. Some came from community development backgrounds and others represented educational backgrounds such as organizing adult education projects. The participants with development backgrounds often related to capacity building through consultancy work, while the participants with backgrounds that emphasized the educational aspect often worked in conjunction with universities, government, and NGOs. A benefit in interviewing these individuals was that they were able to contextualize many of the debates surrounding the phenomenon: whereas policy tends toward solvent discourses, talking with the participants provided subtle insights into the way capacity building operates.

The participants for the snowball sampling were chosen via a similar rationale to the selection rationale for the documents. That is to say, the participants had at least two – and preferably three – of the variables of: geographical and contextual intimacy with one, or both, of the two case study sites; expertise in the field of citizenship education; expertise in the field of capacity building/development. Obviously, the participants who had a connection to all three were identified as having great importance to the study.

It is worth noting that the first variable, that of geographical intimacy, was not as scrutinized as the other two variables. This is because, in part, I actively sought participants from these sites. Also, the two participants which I noted had international expertise in the field were both living in one of the case study sites, but could speak to other trends and practices globally.

The snowball sampling process provided its own challenges for the research process. For instance, once references for participants were identified, the onus for the selection rationale

returned to myself, as researcher, to then investigate the potential participant for these qualities.

It was during the initial contact, usually through e-mail, which I found most helpful to clarify to

the participant the reasons by which they were selected. I then asked then to identify if they felt

which, if any, of the categories of selection rationale they felt they could speak to. While this

felt unnecessary at first, I quickly realized that this was a tangible and productive strategy for

not only identifying participants, but also providing direction to the participants in

understanding the context of the study.

It is worth noting that participants in this study represent varied institutional affiliations

that may contextualize their participation. Because of the nature of the policy of capacity

building, many of those with expertise in the area come from a community development

background. Specifically, this community development background led to participant's

employment in two types of institutional involvement. The first are post-secondary institutions.

The second are small consulting firms. The consultant firms would often work on projects

funded by key stakeholders in development in education, such as the World Bank and CIDA. As

such, they would be involved in various projects depending on the length and value of contracts

provided by these funding agencies. In many cases the firms are comprised by an individual, or

two, and a staff person to help coordinate and schedule.

As the interviews were semi-structured, I have provided a typical list used in the semi-

structured interviews.

1) What type of education activities are you currently involved with?

2) How did you get involved with them?

3) What type of organization (if any) are you involved with to carry out the activities?

4) How do your activities relate to citizenship education?

5) What does it entail?

6) What do your activities do to provide citizenship education?

7) Why is citizenship education important to your context?

8) Is funding necessary or required for capacity building? If so, who should provide it?

9) Where does your funding come from? External? NGOs? Community Groups?

10) Who should be involved in leading/providing/facilitating community development projects?

11) What is the best scale for citizenship education to operate on? I.E. should it be community by community, or national?

12) What is important about capacity building for citizenship education?

13) What do you explain to people capacity building does?

14) When you talk to people, or introduce the concept of capacity building, what types of examples do you give?

15) Do these examples vary based on the audience?

16) When you are building capacity, what are some of the indicators that you feel demonstrate that it is working?

17) What are some of the major challenges that you see to building capacity?

18) What models of organization do you promote for communities that are interested in building capacity?

19) How did you (or your community) originally find out about capacity building activities?

20) What do you see as the strengths of capacity building? The weaknesses?

21) When capacity building is used to promote citizenship education, should it promote certain values? If so what is it? If not why not?

22) Where do you see capacity building models as working the best?

23) If there is a need to create capacity, or develop agency, what do you see has caused this

need? Has agency or capacity to act been taken away historically, or was it never there?

When I used the data garnered from the participant interviews, I advised my participants that I

would employ member checks of the full transcripts to ensure that they are correct and in the

spirit of what the participant was attempting to convey to me during the interview. The

interviews were fully transcribed and then returned to each participant. At this time, I

emphasized that if there was any part they would like to remove, they could do so. Likewise, if

there was anything they felt they would like to add, or change, they could do so. In almost all of

the cases where participants amended member checks, there were only minor and superficial

corrections made to correct inaudible or misheard words and phrases.

3.6 Ethical Considerations In Research

For ethical considerations in my research project, I had to consider the credibility and

confirmability of the research, as well as the ethical treatment of the participants in my research

work. Davis (2006) notes that in qualitative educational research, the same phenomenon that is

viewed by multiple researchers will ultimately bear different results and data. Highlighting

Eisner's work, Davis notes that one way of dealing with the disparity in understanding is to

reach "'consensual validation' as 'agreement among competent others that the description,

interpretation, evaluation and thematics of an education situation are right'" (p. 488). But Davis

notes that this is one approach specific to a methodology in the social sciences. He also

highlights that a more positivist material realist would claim that "Results are understood to be

substantiated where different perspectives converge so that triangulation becomes a process of

mutual conformation . . . The implication is that convergence provides evidence of accuracy and

objectivity" (p. 489). Davis does however note that while there are disparities in the claims that data and research can make, there can be understandings that can provide for some common basis of judgment in likeminded research schools. These involve the nature and extent to which the study aims at confirmability, and credibility. To achieve this in the study, I employed member checks, and was conscious of the potential saturation of the data that I received through the study.

Shively (2001) notes that there are two categories of ethical considerations for any study. The first category pertains to "the effects on society of what we discover" (p. 11). This category includes how research is utilized by society at large once it is completed and is accessible by the public. In education, we may believe that our research is well insulated from misuse. But Shively gives the examples of a military junta in Latin America co-opting the research of a political scientist for their own purposes as well as a biologist who found out that his research on frog's eyes was used to develop missile navigation systems.

The second category of ethical considerations that Shively highlights deals with the treatment of the people that are involved in the study. In this category Shively notes that we must consider harm to subjects, embarrassment or psychological stress, imposition, confidentiality, and fooling or misleading the subjects.

Another important ethical aspect that I had to consider is the information that I provided to my participants in the study. Because the people that participated are from very diverse backgrounds, I tried to ensure that I spend extra time discussing the nature of research, their rights, and how I will keep the study anonymous. In most cases, many of the participants had actually been deeply involved with other research. This led to many worthwhile – if not somewhat tangential – conversations about the research process and the nature of ethics in

interpersonal research. Although many participants had intricate knowledge of the research ethics process, I also had to consider that many people might not necessarily be familiar with what the nature of dissertation research is, who will read it, and why it is being done. As such, I tried not to make assumptions about what people might, or might not, know about the research process. To safeguard against any glossing over of their rights to participate, or withdraw, I ensured that participants had a copy of the research consent form (Appendix A) to take with them after they signed a copy for myself, and reiterated these rights when I sent back transcripts for member checking. All member checks were done via e-mail.

I have some relationships with the groups that I have worked with, as I have worked with research projects and facilitated workshops with some of the groups before. I hope that this experience allowed me insights on cultural appropriateness with research, as well as being able to convey the rights of the participants, and the ethical steps taken to ensure those rights.

Chapter 4: Research Data

4. Research Data

The following section presents the data that have been gathered to answer my research question. Because I have structured the question to address the empirical, explanatory, and the normative positions of capacity building I have separated the themes that have emerged from the data into three categories that correlate to these positions. As such, I have attempted to flesh out the themes that are relevant to the empirical position of capacity building first, followed by the explanatory, and finally, the normative.

Although I note in the previous section that my study utilized distinct research techniques of critical discourse analysis of both the policy and of the interviews, I have decided to present the data garnered from the two techniques together. In doing so, I hope to present to the reader a richer context of written policy, as well as verbal interviews. It is also my hope that links between the relationships of policy makers, policy readers, as well as the documents themselves, may appear. Likewise, my data were gathered from two distinctive, but intertwined, case study contexts – Jamaica and Canada. I have presented the data in this section together, although where relevant to a specific context, I make a note for the reader. I have decided to organize the data in this manner for two important reasons. The first is so that readers can have a sense of how policies can address homogeneous interests of the two contexts. The second – and the antithesis of the first point – is that it allows the presentation of contrasting themes to be fleshed out as they are presented. I end this section with a discussion of the data, and the themes of which I have identified.

4.1 EMPIRICAL

In 1999, the United Nations set out to garner "independent evaluations" (Maconick, R. & Morgan, P., 1999, p. 12) of capacity building in six different countries. Roger Maconick, one of the publication's editors, explains that the impetus for the publication was provided by the organization's "triennial comprehensive policy review of 1998" (p. 12). The publication, produced from the U.N.'s Department for Economic and Social Affairs, was as Maconick stated, "useful, particularly in linking the normative and operational dimensions of UN development co-operation, and injecting independent judgments on results" (p. 12). It also provides a valuable window into the study of what empirical evidence people use to describe the position of capacity building.

The document struggles with many of the issues that policy analysts typically face. Namely, what empirical methods constitute legitimate knowledge of a phenomenon? This question is intrinsically entwined with debates in the social sciences about the legitimacy of research procedures and the employment of different empirical methods. As Maconick elaborates in the U.N. document, "Evaluation is viewed and used differently in different countries, cultures and organizations. This fact needs to be reflected in the way the UN approaches such a task. Evaluation by external agencies, even from the UN system, is sometimes viewed with suspicion, hostility and seen as a waste of resources." (p. 6)

Further to this point, Maconick addresses the issue of using a study to measure the impact of capacity building. Because the common understanding of the term impact "implies that the activity concerned has been completed and that any changes, 'caused' by the activity, which created impact, had to be clear cut and specific events that could easily be observed" (p. 7). These observations may seem familiar to researchers and policy makers who, in the face of understanding complex phenomenon, are required to provide an empirical analysis. The market

impact is one of the overwhelming favorites for the discourse of empiricism, as it provides the

dual function of attracting attention of the general population, as well as forming a relationship

of the author of policy reports to potential funding. Maconick addresses this issue as well as he

notes that for capacity building, "the 'outputs' or 'products' do not pass through a market or

some other mechanism which provides a convenient and low cost measure permitting a

disinterested observer to assess their value" (p. 8). The point he ultimately makes though is that,

> …these uncertainties do not justify making no effort to provide some kind of framework
>
> or approach for making qualitative observations if not measurement. This kind of
>
> uncertainty is an area which all social sciences find problematic. There are a variety of
>
> distinguished sociologists, historians, economists and management experts who are
>
> striving to improve on previous approaches to analyzing complex processes where
>
> measurement is either impractical, impossible or both. (p. 8)

Maconick continues to note that the problems associated with measuring capacity building on an

international scale – or as a comparison between members of an international community – are

complicated by four main reasons.

> First, there was at the time of the evaluations, no generally agreed definition of capacity
>
> building among the entities of the UN system. Second, the concept of capacity building,
>
> such as it was, had evolved from an earlier concept of institution building. Third, in most
>
> instances, governments and UN agencies had yet to establish even provisional baseline
>
> data and tentative indicators for capacity or institution building or the systems necessary
>
> to monitor changes in them, let alone to track processes of change. Fourth, there was a
>
> need to define more precisely or rather more operationally capacity building. (p. 9)

As such, it is readily apparent that the empirical position of capacity building faces a wide array of interests and challenges both old and new. One of these newer challenges is what Maconick details as a lack of relevance to participants due to "lack of definite measures for success" (p. 10). This non-specificity of goals results in a meandering state of lofty and ill-defined concepts. Because of this, Maconick argues that "seasoned professionals" (p. 10) may be the best people to develop evaluations of the process of capacity building. I would argue that these evaluations inherently include – at least in part – an empirical positioning for capacity building.

To be clear, Maconick is explicit about the dearth of work on capacity building which evaluates capacity building. As he explains about the evaluations in his report, "The evaluation missions all suffered from a shortage of relevant information particularly a lack of baseline data and information on progress. One factor was the absence of generally accepted definitions of capacity building and measures of impact for UN system support to capacity building" (p. 10). He continues on to detail that,

> Another reason… that indicators of progress for… capacity building had rarely been established and so could not be used either to design a programme or project, to monitor one systematically, or to evaluate its effectiveness during its lifetime, or its impact after its completion. The evaluators were thus asked to make judgements without much hard data. (p. 10)

Because of the lack of hard data, Maconick reasons that the positioning of data on capacity building is to be left, in this series of reports, to the "'judgement of the wise'… 'reflective professionals'" (p. 10).

Relevant to this research, is the fact that the series of reports collected by Maconick is quite typical of how empirical positioning on capacity building is derived at. While I will argue

that capacity building is explicitly tied to political economic agendas, the empirical tests used to understand it are not strictly statistical number crunching. Rather, most empirical themes are derived at by practitioners and involved professionals as seen in Maconick's document. As such, the empirical themes that become developed early in the positioning of capacity building are – understandably – a confluence of experience, ideology, praxis, and history of not only the particular projects of capacity building, but their collected contexts and political realities. I would also argue that central to the importance of this research is how the intersection of these political realities in creation of the empirical positioning relates to human knowledge and ultimately citizenship education.

The United Nations Development Program (UNDP) (2008a) certainly posits capacity development as a crucial tool. In fact, their annual report states that it is so important that "capacity development is the key to sustainable human development" (2008a, p. 11). As such, the report continues to note that capacity development "is at the heart of everything" (p. 11) the organization does which "include(s)… scaling up leadership capacities; promoting education, training and learning; and enhancing accountability and broad engagement on achieving development results" (p. 11). The UNDP offers the following as a explanation of what capacity development is:

> If human development is the *what* of the UNDP mandate, capacity development is the *how*. UNDP defines capacity development as the process through which individuals, organizations and societies obtain, strengthen and maintain the capabilities to set and achieve their own development objectives. (p. 3)

This explanation is further elaborated upon on the following page of the report.

…UNDP has scaled up its work in organizational capacity support – strengthening

institutions to empower the citizens they serve. It works to support institutions that

safeguard political and economic stability, promote the equitable distribution of

resources, increase public transparency and accountability, and enhance the conditions

for sustainable human development. … (the UNDP leverages) its comparative advantage

as a trusted partner in development, UNDP forges partnerships across diverse spheres of

influence, from national, municipal and local governing bodies to non-governmental and

civil society organizations (CSOs), including grassroots coalitions, faith-based groups,

academia, as well as the private sector and international donors. In each instance, UNDP

places a priority on maximizing local resources and fostering collaboration among

Southern partners. This includes strong engagement with CSOs, which is critical to

national ownership, accountability, good governance, decentralization, democratization

of development cooperation, and the quality and relevance of official development

programmes. (p. 4)

It is worth noting that many of the policies and literature – as mentioned before – maintain

extremely vague explanations of capacity building. The above explanation by the UNDP of

what capacity development does is preceded by the following ambiguous diagram of the

process.
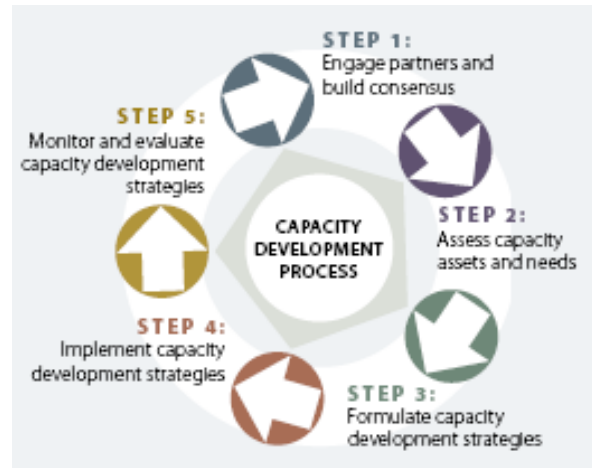
Empirical Theme "A": Capacity Building Navigates the Tension of being from the 'Outside' to Develop Internal Agency

> *...Could we introduce – and you know this is where it gets almost oxymoronic – I mean, can you stimulate community driven development from the outside?... On the face of it, it sounds implausible, by definition. But, on the other hand, when you think about it, can you reclaim, or can you work with communities to generate a kind of excitement, and reclaim a kind of way of working, that used to be the way communities worked? And then stimulate, and support it, and help build the kind of relationships so that they regenerate that kind of community, and then keep going, where it's not happening. And that was the $64,000 question. (S.D.)*

For all of the talk of interconnectiveness in this world, we also are keenly aware when we are not part of something. This disjuncture in experience can have many reasons. This feeling of alienation can be a form of cultural schizophrenia or exploitation (cf. Deleuze & Guattari, 2005; Marx, 1974, respectively). At the most pragmatic level, though, we also can experience the world in very different contexts. The limits of our experiences and, what Habermas refers to as, our "lifeworld" (Habermas, 1989b) have discernable limits – however

malleable they may be. Traditional forms of ethnography have struggled with these tensions of, what is often bluntly referred to as, insiders and outsiders in the research process. What are the ethics of an exterior intervention into a community? What are the implications when this is done in the name of research? These questions raise a whole host of issues that resolve around the concept of power, the legitimation of knowledge and knowledge systems, and, ultimately, the ethics of human relationships.

The theme that I have attempted to describe here – that of externality – is, in the case of capacity building, the first theme that I have drawn upon to identify as an empirical test of the phenomenon. It is quite apparent, in the policy, literature, and participant interviews, that the issue of capacity building sometimes acting as an intervention into already existing community life, has been an important one. As such, an empirical test for capacity building very rarely is without acknowledgement of the issue of an intervention, and the considerations taken to mitigate, or at least acknowledge this power.

Etienne Wenger (1998), has attempted to describe the tension of external vs. internal in terms of what he refers to as a community of practice. By developing this lexicon, the sociological aspects of inclusion into a community escape the binary logic of insider/outsider. Also, he theorizes that the mechanism for our participation in a community of practice is a learned experience. That is to say, within a community of practice, participants negotiate meaning and identity in a way that evolves with group practice. It can be inferred from Wenger's work that when capacity building practitioners feel that there is an intervention – an example of this is seen in the introductory quote questioning whether development can be stimulated from the "outside" – there is a realization that the genesis for capacity building projects may have come from outside the community of practice (CoP): I would reiterate a point

from the literature review that Harrow (2001) notes that part of the nomenclature of capacity building comes from the World Bank. Wenger notes that CoP's are rarely identified using his formal terminology. He does note that there are a number of characteristics of a shared CoP. They include, "sustained mutual relationships – harmonious or conflictual… mutually defining identities… specific tools, representations, and other artifacts… (and) local lore, shared stories, inside jokes, knowing laughter" (p. 125). These communities of practice form bonds (as he notes, sometimes these community bonds are conflictual) that are quite powerful. Even if they are hard to define, we seem to have a well defined sense when we are not a part of these bonds, or introduce a concept, such as capacity building, that may not be generated as part of these bonds.

There is a sentiment that while capacity building projects are very rarely identified as such in a CoP, and instead come from an external intervention, there are never the less a few considerations that participants claim capacity building must do. In talking to participants, this takes two major forms. The first is that people saw a need to have some discussion with community participants (the citizens), about the nature of the direction capacity building is going, or what it should address. One participant saw this as a critical mistake in many community based projects. In reference to one specific project that had a volunteer committee, but was ultimately run and structured, by a paid developer they noted:

> *…there is a methodology there that is a little screwy. Because they know where they want to go and haven't talked to the citizens yet.* (*P.G.*)

The second consideration is that capacity building lends, is that it often takes on an asset based approach to offset this intervention. To this end, another participant stated that in their experience, they had often noted differences between external organizations that identified

themselves as "capacity building" organizations, and those that did not. While they still carried out a sort of intervention into community life from the outside, the process, and results, were claimed to be substantively different because capacity building projects maintained a commitment to an asset based approach. It is worth noting that the asset based approach developed Kretzmann & McKight (1996), as detailed in the literature review, came up in many discussions on capacity building. It cannot be understated how influential this work has been on many capacity building and community development practitioners and educators.

> *...the capacity building organizations largely felt that their role was to build up what was already there. ... the one grassroots organization really felt that their role was to identify: "what are the cultural institutions and organizations that have a lot of positive, do a lot of positive things in their communities? (S.D.)*

They continued to compare this example with an externally based development agency which did not see their role as one of building capacity.

> *The other organization (identifier removed), they had almost become an arm of government. They had a fleet of four-wheel drives. They had 700 employees. And they were almost indistinguishable from government in terms that they provided everything from irrigation to dam construction, road construction, large-scale infrastructure, various programs, different income generating activities that they helped build. And they had a very hard time with taking a more asset-based approach. Or building on what people already had. They sort of had this blueprint, and they did some pretty amazing stuff but it was very, what I would say, very externally driven. In fact you could even feel when they came along, people felt a bit intimidated by their presence. ... So to get back to the capacity building, organizations that see themselves as capacity building*

organizations seem to be able to take this kind of idea of community driven more at face value, and then to see their role, to see it as possible to step back more and inject at various points into the process. And their role was in a way that saw the community taking more responsibility for their actions, for making decisions, even if they thought they were making the wrong decisions and helping these organizations build what we call internal agency. The capacity to act is how we define it, and building local assets together in this sort of virtuous spiral. You know, to a point where they were at a different place. (S.D.)

Later on they returned to this theme, and described how the orientation of externality in the development industry can lead to the jeopardization of projects.

Much of it is how do we fill this, how do we build the infrastructure, how do we build the technical capacity, how do we build the agriculture in this area, how do we build the enterprises? It's much more around how do we help them get up here, but much more of an externally driven agenda that may find favour with individuals and with groups because it's bringing a lot of resources in, but it doesn't build ownership. And so, how do you find external organizations with all these resources that are willing to really put the focus on building that local ownership and still provide that kind of support? I think there you have an opportunity to get over many of those (barriers) without undermining local ownership. But it's getting that match that seems so difficult. And getting a policy environment, local government or a national government that's supportive of this is challenging. Because pretty much, people are sort of locked into traditional thinking on development, that development occurs not so much from within indigenously, but happens by bringing in the right set of inputs from the outside…. I think it's a mixture,

you know I guess we would argue it's both. These communities would never get over the

(barriers) without some of that. But the way in which it's done has to be right. So that

that ownership stays. (*S.D.*)

One of the most interesting follow up questions pertains to the nature of need for external intervention into a community. Simply put, if there is a need for external influence to help build capacity, or to begin the process of developing the assets of a community, what has caused this? After all, there are very few capacity building projects, that are identified as such, that arose spontaneously. In most cases, there was some form of intervention, whether that was someone realizing the language of the idea, someone providing support or empowerment for a group to act, etc. The fact that these interventions happen, can easily be explained by the fact that those communities who do not need the help getting started, probably overcome obstacles and social issues without the light being shone on their plight – or at the very least, come to some sort of resolution of a social issue that appeases its members. Instead, the communities who engage in forms of citizenship education, usually are struggling with a pressing, and unresolved, social issue. If, we can see capacity building being leveraged in many diverse sites as it currently is, what has caused the need for the sweeping, semi-coordinated action? To this end, I asked participants if they see a need to build or develop capacity, what has caused that need? For example, did the communities that they are dealing with once have the tools, and agency, that they are now looking to develop? Or, has this capacity never been developed? I had hoped that by understanding why people felt the need to help communities they are not a part of occurred, the nature of the outside, or external, intervention might be revealed.

The results of this line of questioning, while interesting, highlighted its own set of diverging themes. For instance, many responses did feel that something in communities where

capacity building efforts were being employed had been lost. At the same time, many were quick to ensure that they were not, as one participant responded, romanticizing the past. For example, in Canada, one participant who focused a significant amount of effort in First Nations communities drew on many examples of the ways in which colonialism and globalization disrupted the social bonds of these communities. These themes, while manifesting in different ways in the Caribbean are also relevant. For instance, just as there has been work detailing the lingering consequences of residential life in Canada, Jamaica has had to come to grips with pre-emancipatory ghosts in a postcolonial period. As such, the realization that capacity building has to navigate a tension as being from outside a community is particularly relevant.

At the same time, one participant who worked with capacity building projects on an international scale acknowledged that ideas or practices that come from within a community are not necessarily desirable. In essence, this was an acknowledgement that a community of practice can form social bonds over socially undesirable issues.

While the question of what causes the need for capacity building is a complex sociological question, I would make one comment on the tension of capacity building being one that has to navigate the boundaries of a community of practice: The fact that the discussion of communities of practice and their relationship to non-native ideas even arises can only be interpreted as a positive step into the nature of cultural interventions across the globe.

Empirical Theme "B": Capacity Building and links to Private Forms of Capital

In a review of the concept for the field of public management, Jenny Harrow (2001) observed a trend of linking markets with capacity building. She theorized that the mechanism for this was, in part, a consequence of the capacity building movement being an articulation of

New Public Management (NPM) theory. One of the influential facets of NPM was the emphasis on the decentralization of services from the government. This move included a groundswell for ideas that would, as the OECD stated, improve "the flexibility to explore alternatives to direct public provision that might yield more cost-effective policy outcomes" (OECD in Harrow, p. 219). If the capacity to provide services were developed, or built, in communities, this would provide a mechanism for the devolution of governmental responsibility. Harrow continues to note that,

> The 'problem' of organizational 'over-reliance' on governments may also be addressed by some capacity building stances. Thus, the case that capacity building will sharpen non-profit organizational wits and confidence may be seen as governments doing their best to push organizations away, once a degree of infrastructure and capability is in place. (p. 220)

One of the mechanisms for this can be seen in the increasing links between capacity building and Public / Private Partnerships (PPP's). In the literature review, I have already detailed some of the manifestations in capacity building, but, PPP's can be seen in many aspects of contemporary life. The concept that private ownership can, and should be, merged with public ventures is now considered a common and often standard approach to developing programs. An actualization of this can be seen in The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) Annual Report (2008a) which affirms its own explicit commitment to capacity development – a commitment so strong that it used the term capacity development as a theme for their year's work in 2008. The report notes that,

> UNDP's standing as a strong partner in development is reflected in its expanding range of partnerships with the private sector. Leading businesses such as Banyan Tree, Cisco,

Coca-Cola, Engro, Global Alumina, Google, Kevian, Microsoft, *Pao de Azucar*, Pfizer, Visa and others are joining governments and UNDP in the push to achieve MDG's recognizing that inclusive growth yields long term benefits for all parties. UNDP remains the lead UN agency in developing countries for promoting the Global Compact, the UN system framework for engaging with the private sector. Currently UNDP manages over 80 Global Compact country and regional networks. (p. 5)

The pervasiveness of the belief that private interests should develop capacity is an overarching theme. The Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) (2000) begins its paper on the position of capacity development by noting that "capacity development in recent years is a response to widely acknowledged shortcomings in development assistance over the past fifty years, e.g. the dominant role of donor led projects" (p. 1). In spite of this acknowledgement, the definition of capacity development on the following page refers to "methodologies used by developing country, and/or external stakeholders" (p. 2). The report continues to define the role of stakeholders in capacity development as one that de-emphasizes "problem identification, design and implementation of interventions and greater emphasis on facilitation, strategic inputs and supporting processes aimed at strengthening developing country capacity" (p. 5). This raises the question of what happens when private interests – "donors" as CIDA refers to them – moves their involvement from the explicit, to implicit structural participation. Although the discourses set out by CIDA often imply that capacity will develop through locally led contexts and public forums, they note explicitly that "private sector or NGO innovations in education or health care delivery" (p. 5), is a desired strategy of capacity development. While the suggestion that private interests would control education or health care in Canada always spawns passionate debate, CIDA clearly does not hesitate to recommend this as a strategy for development. Relevant to the

discussion here is that it is also offered as an empirical test that explains when capacity is being developed.

To be clear, the relationships that are constituted, and maintained, through the discourses of government agencies such as CIDA's will represent the larger ideology of government. This occurs as a) the selection of researchers and policy writers will be made from a pool of people who believe that a specific section of empirical test will explain social phenomenon, and, b) the return of these empirical tests in the form of a report will maintain funding for their employment as well as prospects for future employability.

A publication from HRDC entitled, *The Community Development Handbook: A Tool to Build Community Capacity* (Frank & Smith, 1999), is an example of an early Canadian document on capacity building that highlights this theme. In it the authors lay the groundwork for developing community capacity. The document is a direct and well organized framework for practioners and community members who wish to develop both capacity and pedagogical bonds – specifically around the idea of affecting attitudes, knowledge and skills. In it, the authors tackle many of the pragmatic issues such as partnerships, change, and community participation. While the document balances many of the common assumptions about who can participate in capacity building and informal citizenship education, it also reinforces the mantra that private business is inherently linked in the process. The authors note that "business leaders" (p. 21), and "business clubs" (p. 21) are likely catalytic agents to the process. In describing the process of development, they note that financial institutions are involved in the process along side businesses, chambers of commerce, government representatives, community leaders, organized labour, political representatives, and residents of the community. They note that, "many private sector businesses have become increasingly interested in social development issues and some

government agencies are now entering into partnerships with community organizations to provide effective programs and services covering a wide range of interests" (p. 28). It is clear that the wide range of interests – especially when it pertains to community and citizenship education through capacity building – includes private business.

The HRDC report also highlights strategies for the funding of developing capacity. Inevitably, the issue of funding for capacity building is where the theme of private partnership is most explicit. It is important to note that the emphasis on private partnerships is hardly ever highlighted as the single form of funding; on the contrary, it is used to describe the ways in which private enterprise can be adaptive and work alongside of traditional practices and sources of funding such as community groups and the nation state. This is an excellent example of the ways in which capitalism has adapted to a role that coincides with existing structures and beliefs. As described in the report, "(the) move to concrete action it usually becomes easier to find and secure funding from local financial institutions, investors, government programs, foundations and private sector sponsors, or from community members themselves" (p. 49).

The HRDC report continues the trend of describing the links to private partnership as a empirical test for building capacity. It is noted that further strategies include developing "a funding package, business plan or request for financial assistance" (p. 51). As well they highlight that different funding models can be leveraged in building capacity such as, "shareholder and local investment, equity and capital funds to assist with access to loans, profit or revenue sharing from local industry agreements, lending circles and local currency, worker cooperatives or new generation cooperatives, and community economic development – profit-making and sharing" (p. 51).

This theme is not isolated to the written policy. In fact, it appears in the interviews as well. For example, one participant identified this as what they saw as a transformative mechanism.

All of those kinds of traditional practices. How do you build on those and develop programs? How do you build micro finance out of a burial society or rotating savings credit scheme approach? You know see you build it and make it bigger, and so that people can accumulate more? (*S.D.*)

And later:

You know to irrigate this land to get into high scale vegetable production from the small-scale introduction of potatoes that they've done from their cousins, you know, a hundred kilometers away and things seem to be working in the local market, but now things are getting bigger. You know they need an engineer to come in. Or they need the local government to say yes you can do that. Or a piece of equipment, or they need help being more market led in their thinking. You know what they're doing is great stuff, but how are they going to anticipate what the market wants? How are they going to get their stuff the market? (*S.D.*)

To be clear, the participant did identify that it was not the role of their organization as capacity builder to find those market-based solutions. It was however crucial that the capacity building exercise be able to provide the networks to link communities to the markets. They expressed a need to provide this network to the market as a necessity – perhaps inevitability – as communities face the links to the global marketplace regardless. As the participant continued to note of the marketplace,

Communities are pretty linked anyway… it's just they're not in very good terms. And so you know, helping them get more economic rent out of the value chain is usually a pretty

good thing. Although it might lock them in to some contracts, and some relationships,

that might – – that is a big step for them. You know, because if you are going to start

selling your stuff in the urban market, where you were just doing the local market, there

are issues around quality control. (*S.D.*)

I would point out that some of the participants interviewed were not only very cautious about these links between private capital and community building, but actually saw this as contradictory to the process of capacity building. As such, there is clear evidence that this aspect of capacity building forms a major divergence in ideology between those who believe that the link to private capital is important; contrary to this are participants who view this form of funding as a co-optation of the concept.

One participant was very clear to note that their organization, an independent community based capacity building organization, offered resources that ranged from consultant services, to free do-it-yourself resources that allowed at risk, or low income communities to have the same opportunities. As such, communities were not necessarily tied to marked based solutions, or require them to alter their activities to appease funders. The participant noted that the no budget version is, compared to the full consultancy version, more frequently used. Seeing the value in having community groups have training and access to free capacity building resources was something that the participant stressed as extremely important. In order to expand access and training, the participant had approached the province that they were working in to support the free venture.

We tried to work with the province at the time to say, wouldn't you love to have this

information? Why don't you support us doing some of the training with groups, on how

to use this kit, they can use it themselves, they can put their information in a provincial

wide database. You will know what the capacity is for all the community health boards

for example across the province. And if everybody is low on leadership, you'll want to

know that. You can use that information to help build their leadership skills, but the

province didn't go for it. (*N.T.*)

The participant pointed out that the intervention of private funding jeopardized the concept of

ownership of what is built in the community – ownership of the project being a key feature that

they identified. Also, in relation to the learned component of capacity building, the participant

noted that in offering a free resource, it frees the process of delivering specific results to a

funder. As well, the participant noted that when freed from the pressures of funding, a

relationship that develops, does so without being tied to outcomes. They continued speaking of

their experience in a particular First Nations' community.

...one of my pet peeves in community development is people say, communities know what

they need, they can decide what to do. Well, that part of it is true, but it's not the whole

picture because communities don't know what they don't know. So, how can they be

expected to think about that? So I think I bring skills, the people that I am working with,

the community brings skills, we put it all together in a pot so we are equal players, or we

are learning from each other. I don't know what it is like to be a First Nations' person

and go through the experiences that they are going through, and be treated from a

dominant group the way they are so... I can learn from their perspective about what's a

good way to do research in this community. So I think we are equal partners. We are

learning together. We are open to – I'm not tied to a particular outcome, and am open to

seeing where it goes. And then the community owns it. (*N.T.*)

Interestingly enough, while the examples of capacity building described in this dissertation always involve an aspect of learning – in part because of the delimitation of this study to examine citizenship education – the participants who held to the ethos that capacity building should not center on a relationship with private capital, were the ones who were most concerned with what was being learned by those involved. The participant above commented on how the community can learn from the process and what relationships precipitated that learning. For example, they noted that if the people external to the community (the practitioners) had skills that community members thought would be valuable to learn, they would build in a mentor relationship with younger community members. This is held in stark contrast to other examples where the market was the mediator of the learning relationships. That is to say, there are many examples where people see the role of building capacity to react to the market economy.

Another participant echoed the criticism of the increasing financialization of community development. Referring to the increase of people in the capacity building industry, they note:

Anytime you take community building whether it's the asset focus of building community, and you put a waged – an outside of the community – waged service provider, it's unlikely it is going to have success. Success meaning that there are outcomes that impact the community more than they impact the paid worker. (*P.G.*)

This comment led to a discussion that almost always came up in the interviews – the nature of funding for projects like capacity building. In this particular discussion, the participant noted that the funding of projects undermines local ownership. This in turn has detrimental consequences for the unity and solidarity of community life. They noted that when communities have spent the time to develop the unity and solidarity, they may come up with an idea that can

become fundable through some avenue, but they seemed to strongly suggest that this step is a secondary consideration.

One participant in Jamaica saw that the link to private funding manifested itself in a slightly different manner than it sometimes does in Canada. For example, this participant noted than it would occur as people struggled to replace the funding that might be cut by the government – this in differentiation to a more purposeful agenda of intentionally setting out to establish partnerships. As they stated,

> *Our government does not say where you should go it just says we're not giving you anymore. (laughter) We have cut your budget by 30%. Work it out. Full stop. ... so the pressure is there because the government cuts the funds. They don't bother to argue with you they just cut the funds. I think two years or three years ago it was a 30% cut and it has been increasing and increasing. And so the pressure is there for us to find private funding. (J.S.)*

They continue to note that this, as elsewhere, came at a cost.

> *And what that means in a small developing country is that the competition is great, because you have to know who gets through the door first, or whose program's a particular private sector company is interested in, or which institution the CEO is aligned with. All those kinds of issues. (J.S.)*

The participant noted that these issues occur in most aspects of the Jamaican education system, they note that the non-formal education system in Jamaica has been driven by donor agencies. In some cases, these agencies were international, and in others they were Jamaican. Likewise, some of these donor agencies were for profit (banks, phone companies, etc.), and sometimes they were international government organizations (such as CIDA), or NGOs.

The previous participants leverage crucial critiques of the process of funding capacity building and educational processes. I address the nature of this critique in the theoretical analysis of this dissertation. For purposes here, however, I will simply note that these critiques comprise a minority position in the field of capacity building.

So engrained is the belief that private partnership is a part of building capacity, I have made a significant argument in this section: the argument is that it is no longer an explanatory function of what capacity building *should do,* but rather, links to private partnerships are so wide spread and accepted in the discourse of capacity building, that it is seen as a necessary empirical proof of when capacity is being built for citizenship education.

I have included this section on the empirical policy positioning to examine *what tests are employed to explain phenomenon* – in this case the phenomenon is capacity building for citizenship education. The overwhelming theme that I have found is that contemporary policy documents overwhelmingly leverage the links with sources of capital as empirical proof that capacity is being built and developed. When looking for examples to disprove this trend, one becomes hard pressed. This theme has, of course, implications for how and why we explain phenomenon (the explanatory) and the value we subscribe to capacity building (the normative). In many cases, the empirical test that capacity is being built through links to private capital actually leverages the explanatory and the normative. While I have separated the empirical, the explanatory, and the normative for some clarity and direction in this research, it is important to note that the three often underpin each other and muddy any attempt to demarcate clear lines between them.

The connection between capacity building for citizenship education and private capital may be because neoliberalism stresses the primary emphasis of social development as being

economic activity. As such, any contemporary policy must maintain a relationship with the flows of capital: attempts to ignore a relationship with sources of private capital would surely mean the alienation of the policy and policy makers from future sources of capital themselves – albeit social, cultural, or financial capital. Of these three forms of capital, I would suggest that when creating policy, such as that exists on capacity building and development, Bourdieu's (1997) definition of social capital might best explain why the link to financial capital is used as an empirical proof. Bourdieu notes that,

> Social capital is the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition – or in other words, to membership in a group – which provides each of its members with the backing of the collectivity-owned capital, a 'credential' which entitles them to a credit, in the various senses of the word. (p. 51)

As such, the importance in maintaining and fostering networks through social capital is so important, we can see that any empirical proofs that are offered do not just function to explain phenomenon, but also, their very employment justifies and maintains social relationships. Offering empirical evidence that not only highlights – but emphasizes – public / private funding arrangements serves as a powerful tool: a tool that can be leveraged to maintain funding and justify the existence of a program.

Empirical Theme "C": The Actualization of Capacity should be described as "Developing" instead of "Building"

In many informal conversations, the term "semantics" carries with it distinctively pejorative connotations. Often, it is employed to argue that someone's interpretation or description of phenomenon is not shared. Essentially, it is meant to acknowledge amongst participants in the conversation that while the details cannot be agreed upon, the salient features

remain. If one plays with semantics, it is seen as a sort of linguistic twist, irrelevant to the reality of the situation. But this flippant dismissal of linguistic forms often neglects to recognize and explain the feedback loop that language engages with society. One such linguistic shift identified as it pertains to capacity, is the shift from capacity *building* to capacity *development*. This trend articulates with what people explain capacity does, as well as a normative position on what it should do.

In his book, *Ideas for Development*, Robert Chambers (2005) provides a brief description of some of the mitigating factors for the change in terminology. He details that in the 1980's, as the term capacity building was beginning to be used amongst a broad community, some began to interject the term to describe a training exercise. It was not until a decade later that he highlights Deborah Eade's work (see elsewhere in this document for a separate discussion on Eade's writing), as an example of using the term to describe a broader understanding of the community development process. At the same time that the term capacity building was being expanded, Chambers notes that a transition was occurring to refer to the phenomenon as capacity development. The impetus, he argues, was to transition from "capacity-*building*, with its connotations of design, construction, structure, materials and a builder, to capacity *development*, with its associations of adaptation, evolution, growth, good change and facilitation" (p. 48).

A good example of the shift in language can be seen in the Health Canada document, "Capacity Building: Linking Community Experience to Public Policy" (Dodd & Boyd, 2000). In this document, the authors use both the terms "building," as well as "developing" as it relates to capacity. The key in this report is that both develop what they refer to as "horizontal policy

processes" (p. 6). This is explained as policy formation that is increasingly responsive and accountable.

The literature on capacity building currently represents a split on what the preferred nomenclature is, or should be. But the split between those who would refer to the idea as "developing" or "building" does not reflect all of the tension with the naming of the concept. One participant expressed disenchantment with both the terms capacity building, and capacity development. While the split between referring to the concept as "development" versus "building" maintains a commitment to the idea, and a slight tweaking of the name, one participant felt the co-optation of the concept for instrumental governmental purposes was too much to maintain any commitment to the name. They note that they were regretful for using the term capacity building in developing a model for development.

> *...Regrettably, because we have also been around long enough and know the term capacity building to know that it means different things to different people. And for quite a long time, probably 8-9 years… the Federal government took it on and it meant training. … Capacity building meant training. There was no philosophical context…. It was just another word for training. And (the health sector) took that on to a certain degree. … But it became clear to us that the capacity building piece became systemized. And we found that disturbing.* (*P.G.*)

In light of this, the participant noted that the term "community building" was used for their work to represent an asset focused approach to what they used to refer to as capacity building. The participant made it clear that they felt the concept began to be co-opted and misunderstood by the focus on training. As such, the interpersonal connections that were built through developing relationships in capacity building were not valued and de-emphasized. Also, this was not a case

of a divergence of the type of work that was being done. The participant expressed that the move away from the terminology of "capacity building" was only because the training aspect was taking prevalence in the ideology. When asked if the original term had not been co-opted, would they have felt the need to change nomenclature, they answered by saying that they probably would not have changed terminology.

4.2 EXPLANATORY

> Q: …*would you say that using terms like capacity building… is that more accepted?*
>
> A: *It's accepted here. The question is, what does the other person think it means? (N.T.)*

In the wake of the 9/11 attacks in New York City, social theorist Charles Tilly set out to understand how people came to explain what was happening in their world. While accounts of any phenomenon can vary in the details of their explanation, Tilly was interested in the various modes by which people explain the details of their lives. In doing so, he produced the book, *Why?* (2006). The book explains that, as important as the conveyance of the details, the method by which we explain our world implements and re-constitutes specific social relations. As Tilly states, "reasons… interact intimately with relations" (p. 173). This is because of the give and take of reason giving as well as the work that reason receiving does, what he refers to as, "a wide range of social work" (p. 180). In the end, Tilly devised a framework of four modes of reason giving. They are: 1) conventions, 2) stories, 3) codes, and 4) technical accounts.

It is important to note, these modes of reason giving do not operate in isolation. Jörg Potthast (2008) points out that the act of reason giving is inherently involved with the production of political discourses, and the regulation of public space. The matrix of reasons that are given to explain any given event serve a crucial function. As such, Potthast argues that Tilly offers a call to "observe switches and cacophonies of justification" (Potthast, 2008, ¶ 12).

Another important point, specific to this research, is the connection between Tilly's framework of explanatory reason giving, and the work by Norman Fairclough used to describe

the facets of Critical Discourse Analysis (specifically described previously in section 3.4.1).

Fairclough (1995) illustrates the process of CDA as one in which the naturalization of discourse is drawn into question. In this way, CDA highlights a tradition of Critical Theory which attempts to question the illusion of inherent practices in discourse. I refer to this naturalization practice as illusory as what it hides away are the specific historical practices which produce and reproduce speech, practices of speaking, discursive utterances, discursive patterns, rhetorical images used to convey messages, forms of communication, etc. As a way to organize the discursive analysis that focuses on the explanations of capacity building for citizenship education, I would argue that Tilly's framework provides a compelling organizational framework. This is because the categories he develops from his work theorize the pros and cons of each category as a discursive form. For example, his research highlights which forms challenge societal practices and which forms privilege the conservation of cultural norms. This, I argue, does a tremendous amount of work in revealing the ways in which discursive practices of a phenomenon become naturalized. The next four sections query how the explanations of capacity building for citizenship education fall into Tilly's four categories of reason giving.

Explanatory Theme "A": Conventions

The first, and most conservative, mode of reason giving is what Tilly refers to as conventions. They are conservative because a convention is a type of reason that is provided solely on the ground that it is a socially accepted form of discourse. As Tilly explains, a convention is ultimately concerned with maintaining etiquette – often at the expense of an analysis of the phenomenon. As he explains, when reasons are given as conventions, "The reasons need not be true, but they must fit the circumstances. … in most circumstances that require polite behaviour conventions work better than stories, codes, or technical accounts,

which would only complicate the interchange" (p. 33). While conventions do not provide substantive material for empirical research, they are crucial for critical discourse analysis. This is because the nature of conventions requires that the relationship between the agents, giving and receiving the conventions, participate in an act which Tilly describes as one which will "confirm or repair social relations" (p. 33).

Because of the ability for conventions to mend social relationships, Tilly also points out that they will mark certain social boundaries between participants. There is a general assumption that conventions will be mediated by participants who recognize specific social norms. By reaffirming these norms, the identity and reaffirmation of a community of practice transpires between participants. As a result, the use of conventions can also be seen as a powerful tool for the reproduction for social values. The danger for conventions, though, is that "their acceptance requires little or no technical knowledge, and they follow rules of appropriateness rather than of causal adequacy" (p. 40). As such, they can serve as a barrier to further investigation and the interrogation causal mechanisms of a phenomenon; they *do*, however, provide an intriguing avenue for discursive analyses.

Conventions can be interpreted in a number of phrases that surround the concept of capacity building. In fact, the rhetoric surrounding the concept is often very oriented to re-affirming social bonds – a fact that points to the prevalence of conventions. Because the act of building capacity usually concerns itself with an imbalance of power, the discourses utilize conventions to form relationships that can be communicated as non-predatory. Conventions become apparent when we know or think, due to social appropriateness, not to question them.

It should be noted at this point that the nature of the discourses in my data for the study are inherently different. On one hand, I have examined the policy, and literature, that surrounds

the phenomenon; on the other, I have involved people through verbal interviews. The ramifications for this are vast. For instance, conventions that reaffirm social bonds may operate in wholly different ways when sitting across from a person involved in the study than, say, the examination of a document published for an international audience. In this way, the production of conventions corresponds to the social relations of the audience. The things which might reassure the audience of a policy document may be different than the utterances spoken between two people – people who also know that the information around the participant interviews will be kept confidential.

With that in mind, another dynamic which factors into the equation when looking at conventions is the nature of, for lack of a better term, closeness, or intimacy with the interviewees. Some of the participants were chosen through a modified version of "snowball sampling" (Hesse-Biber, 2007, p. 249). The down side of this is that as the contacts are made through referrals within a social network, the nature of the personal connection varies. As such, conventions which reaffirm social bonds also vary. Also, because the people I have interviewed for the study were reflecting on capacity building as, more or less, a part of their professional practice – that is to say, their involvement with capacity building was a part of their profession as educator, researcher, community development worker, etc. – the conversation may not have lent the necessity to utter conventions. Instead, I found that stories (see the discussion in the following section) were much more prevalent in the interviews.

There is one exception to this. I did find that when the discussion of external funding for came up, there was a tendency to at least start the conversation with conventions about why it happens. I would argue that this is a signal that the issue is a socially "tricky" subject in deciding where people stand on the issue. While it might seem to be a quite mundane topic,

especially compared to some studies on volatile personal issues, it is one of the more precarious in the field. For instance, a commitment to funding from private enterprise, IFIs, or governments funding sources all have varied effects on the identity of those claiming the commitment. If one maintains a passionate commitment in explaining capacity building should operate through any one of the previous sources, it can be read as a specific political commitment. In addition to the identity formation of this commitment, it also might have tremendous consequence to potential employment. If a professional in the field is too critical of a specific agency, or funding model, will it have ramifications for grants or funding for their own projects and livelihood? Conventions work in these instances to minimize political tension, at least until the people involved feel that they can safely discuss these matters. In Canada, this is an important issue; in Jamaica's current volatile and polemic political climate, it may be more so.

Fortunately, people did not tend to stick with explanations in terms of conventions though. Most participants offered a robust discussion about the nature of this relationship (see the previous discussion on Empirical Theme "B" for examples) once the issue was raised and we were able to begin the discussion. In this way, it must also be acknowledged that conventions also acted as polite non-sequiturs that allowed the discussion to transpire.

Returning to the difference between data in the study, policy is inherently less likely to state conversational conventions – that is to say, conventions that would be uttered in verbal discourses – there are many examples of conventions that occur in the *medium* of the policy documents. They include 1) the form by which the ideas are communicated, and, 2) the visual aesthetic of the form. For example, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) has leveraged a diverse and informative website (Capacity.org) along with a .pdf based publication under the same name. Both forms of media boast an array of articles, interviews, and features on

the policy of capacity development (note the use of development instead of building as an example of Empirical theme "C"; there are, however, instances in the publication that vary between both phrases "developing" as well as "building"). As such, the convention here is that the form would be an appropriate manner to disseminate information about capacity building. The publication is a bright and inviting one, with clear colour pictures of communities where, presumably, capacity building is taking place. It is accessible as the style of writing is not overly specialized, and further reading suggestions are given at the end of many of the features along with links to other internet sites of interest. The relationship formed with the reader is that, not only is the particular publication accessible and democratic, but subsequently, the concept it deals with might be as well.

Conceptualizing the conventions of discourse, along with the other three modes of reasons giving in the following sections, highlight an important part of critical discourse analysis: Both the mode of production, and the form of consumption of language. Norman Fairclough (1995) admits that, as a school of thought, CDA has been guilty of privileging the production of texts, but not of the consumption of them. As a simple example, this means "that in analyzing the text of a TV programme one should also have regard to the routines and processes of programme production, and the circumstances and practices of audience reception" (p. 9). Fairclough notes that this operates across a matrix of "text, discourse practice, (and) sociocultural practice" (p. 9). Both Tilly's modes of reason giving, as well as Fairclough's CDA model nicely articulate not only what conventions, stories, codes, and technical accounts are produced, but what they mean to the audience of the discourses. This is something I hope this research would also probe: By incorporating the participant interviews and policy analysis, it is hoped that some of this dialectic can be illuminated. But this point, in turn, raises another

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question. In many cases of CDA, mass media and popular culture are explored. In these cases, the audience is assumed to be those who participate in the culture. As such, conventions can be derived from the reaffirming social/discursive practices seen in society. When attempting to illuminate how conventions may be used in something like capacity building for citizenship education, there is another complexity: Which aspects of conventions can be attributed to the phenomenon of capacity building, and which ones are larger societal conventions? My goal in asking this question is not to try and separate the discursive practices of the phenomenon, but to try and delineate a more specific relationship of the phenomenon of capacity building and the discursive linguistic practices adopted, implemented, and used therein. In doing so, it is hoped that the second aspect of CDA – that of the consumption of the discourse – has light shone upon it as well. I would argue that the second aspect (that of the discursive consumption) is a more challenging relationship than understanding the production. The production of the discourse can be found, in part, through the text analysis and the interviews with the participants. The consumption eludes isolation for study as it integrates the discourse as one part of a complex consumption of messages, ideas, thoughts, conversations, and images that we interact with on a daily basis.

Returning specifically to the conventions apparent in the discourse, another level of complexity in understanding how they are consumed is provided by the fact that Tilly stresses that they, by nature, re-affirm social bonds and smooth over relationships. Because of this, conventions have a habit of beguiling those searching for them as they raise no red flags. In fact, they may provide a discursive assurance of normalcy.

Explanatory Theme "B": Stories

One of the most familiar and, according to Tilly, one of the most utilized forms of reason giving is found in stories. He notes that "Stories provide simplified cause-effect accounts of puzzling, unexpected, dramatic, problematic, or exemplary events. Relying on widely available knowledge rather than technical expertise, they help make the world intelligible" (p. 64). He notes that this intelligibility comes, in part, from the description of actors in the mode of a story. By using people as the focus in stories, we can supplant our selves, or our experiences, into the narrative. Further to this, he notes that when human agents are not involved in the story, and the protagonist is an animal or the environment, there is still a reified or anthropomorphized element that relates it back to the listener.

The downfall to this particular mode of reason giving is that stories, "By their very nature, they frustrate purists: they condense complex life into simple plots with absurdly stripped-down causes and effects" (p. 95). While stories capitalize on our ability to empathize or imagine ourselves as others, the depth and technical descriptions lag behind in terms of richness. One important consideration that should be noted about stories as a mode for explaining what occurs during capacity building; Tilly highlights that because of the nature of the narrowed focus of a story (it usually highlights the actions of an archetype actor), is that it can often convey that social life is individualistic, or the powers of social structures are narrow in scope.

As a form, stories dominant as a method of reason giving. There is no exception when capacity building is described. A predominant mode of storytelling can be seen in the interviews and policy documents – and indeed, this research – when evoked as a "case study." As one study participant was quick to explain what was happening through capacity building through detailed case study stories. Not only was this theme apparent in the conversation, but, as I

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looked through their writing on capacity building later, I realized the same approach was taken in their writing on the subject as well. When I asked about using stories to explain what is happening through capacity building, they explained that they saw it as a prime example of how an asset based approach to capacity building occurs.

> *... if you start to talk about stories, about what communities have accomplished for themselves, without outside help, you generate a kind of energy. And they call it the heliotropic principle, where plants bend towards the light... there's a psychology of change, a psychology of development, that's at work here. ... but there is something there, that we have noticed, that people, when they recount histories of success, and their own role in it – or their parents or their grandparents role in – they feel proud about their accomplishments.* (*S.D.*)

The participant continued to give examples of capacity building for citizenship education based on the work their students were doing around the world through anecdotal stories. Of particular note for this explanatory form, is that they saw stories as a tool unto itself through what they described as the heliotropic principle. As such, the story not only became a form of explanation, but a tool to mediate relationships between the storyteller and community members who would hear it. Also, because this particular participant's work was global in scale, the people that would hear the positive story are not limited to a particular geographical community. The strength of this technique might be found in Tilly's explanation that stories thrive on exemplary cases. Also, they can prove to be a more malleable explanation as the person that hears the story is able to substitute actors and contexts for their own.

The participant noted that these approaches to storytelling were what they (in the participant's organization) referred to as "positive deviance." Essentially, the term was

shorthand to describe the stories that were deemed to be from communities that had successful outcomes, or what the organization referred to as the leading – and positively defiant – tail of a bell curve.

> *It's somewhat inexplicable at first, the positive deviance, these outliers, the statistical outliers. But in fields like medicine we take it as a given that we would study them to find out what we would learn to help the others in the Bell. You know was it their eating, their environment, their genetics? And so on and so forth to see what we could learn, to see what we could learn that could then be applied.* (*S.D.*)

For the participant's organization, these stories were very important for the successful cases. Not only did they allow a retelling of the community's successes, but they saw them as actually re-affirmed, and propagating new relationships. A problem, the participant noted, was that these positive stories were being ignored or not being valued.

> *But in community development we don't tend to do that (share the stories of positive deviance), we tend to ignore those communities that are extremely successful, and have done so largely on their own because they don't need us. And their story isn't our story … . And it isn't some intervention, it's just something that they did. So we don't ignore it in a purposeful way … you know, in any sort of devious way, we just don't look at it. … those cases where the community has clearly changed over a 15 to 20 year period and sustained the change. Where they had become different places, and were locally known as these amazing stories. What was happening here?* (*S.D.*)

The rhetorical form of storytelling provides a valuable point in which to ask what relationship(s) are intended to be constituted or maintained between the discourse and agent? Also, with stories being a dominant form of explanation, is there a danger that these exemplary cases do not

actually represent what is happening in the world? That is to say, is there a risk of storytelling betraying the explanation of how capacity building works to enable or constrain people's learning?

Notwithstanding these questions, the form of storytelling does have strengths, and an allure, for those (such as myself) concerned with pedagogy. They can powerfully convey memorable connections to norms which are desired to teach – a reason that parables, nursery rhymes, cultural myths, and many other forms of stories reestablish cultural traditions. Also, as mentioned before, they can be quite captivating or entertaining. They allow us to block out many diverse influences and focus on particular tales. In education, this combination of norm establishment, coupled with captivating, and specific, instances can provide a memorable and powerful tool. It is no wonder that Tilly, as well as myself, chose to incorporate the story as part of the writing process. Is not the treatment of the case studies here an attempt to provide specific, and hopefully, tangible research story? At the same time, if the case studies of Jamaica and Canada are read here as a story, is it not an attempt to examine the "exemplary" aspects of these contexts to not only critique the normative project of capacity building, but to establish a criteria for norms.

There are a few obvious questions that arise from the use of stories. The first is to ask what the non-exemplary stories might tell us. In this way, the mundane features of everyday practices may reveal a key to understanding how a phenomenon like capacity building may work. The second is to ask about the simplified activation of normative projects that the stories enable. While they excel at having the audiences empathize with the plight, situation, or victory of the story's subject, they don't always allow a glimpse of the justification of the normative project described in the story. Finally, the third is to question whether the story is complex or

nuanced enough to manifest a description of the causes and effects of a phenomenon. Specifically pertaining to capacity building for citizenship education, we can ask whether the story is, in fact, describing the process whereby a change may be occurring: Does it identify and describe the correct generative mechanism?

Explanatory Theme "C": Codes

One of the most terrifying experiences of graduate student life is finding oneself at a social function and asked what your research is about. Often, the best-case scenario is to mutter – in as vague terminology as possible – and hope that the inquisitor asks for no further information. What is certainly not a good idea is to explain the work in terms of the codes that belong to the field. Tilly notes that, like conventions, codes "gain credibility from criteria of appropriateness rather than from the cause-effect validity that prevails in stories and technical accounts" (p. 104). Consider codes like a specialized convention. Where the social appropriateness of conventions are meant to re-affirm bonds within a cultural group, codes re-affirm bonds, and provide "standardized vocabularies" (p. 109) amongst practitioners and specialists in a field. Tilly's examples of codes stretch from the legal to the medical fields. In short, codes provide a short hand for analysis that is accepted amongst the peer group. He notes that with codes, "reasons given for actions cite their conformity to specialized sets of categories, procedures for ordering evidence, and rules of interpretation. Together, categories, procedures, and rules make up codes" (p. 102).

One of the difficult features for analyzing the codes in projects that utilize capacity building for citizenship education, is that both aspects – capacity building and citizenship education – have predominant features which attempt to make the discourses surrounding them as accessible as possible. The result is that codes may be looked down upon in favor of the more

accessible, but less analytical, mode of conventions. A consequence may be that there *seems* to be minimal specialized discourse for experts on the subject, hence fewer specialized codes. This should not be of surprise. There are many themes that hint at the idea that the community, or the citizen, will be able to explain social phenomenon. As such, there is little tolerance for complex categories of classification and analysis. Instead, conventions often move in to take the place of specialized codes. But does this mean that capacity building for citizenship education lacks codes? Well, first it must be noted that this does not mean there are no codes in the discourse: They thrive in places like policy documents. However, there does appear to be a trend to holding a commitment to avoiding codes in the name of inclusiveness. It is to say, that by eschewing codes, the relationship that is formed around the policy is that the position of capacity building is that it is inclusive, and open to participation. The trade off here is that while it forms a relationship of inclusion, the specialized language that makes dealing with complexity possible is minimized.

A point to be considered here is that someone, such as myself, who has been studying a phenomenon may not be the best to recognize the differentiation between conventions and codes. This is because of the familiarity of codes may hide away their function, and seem commonplace to an accustomed user – or at least someone who has been studying the discourse for an extended period of time! With that in mind, there are a number of explanations, definitions, and terms surrounding capacity building which function as codes.

Consider the following terms that have repeatedly risen in both the policy and interviews: *asset based, capacity, capacitization, community building, locally owned*. All of these could function as codes. But I would make a curious observation about the nature of these codes. Most of codes associated with capacity building are usually adjectives or verbs that

attempt to relegate the role of the specialist. In fact, many of codes are specific attempts to signify a shift to inclusionary language. As such, I would make the case the codes associated with capacity building are attempts to mitigate the often exclusionary social relationships that codes often establish. This, I would argue, is an explanatory manifestation of the antirepresentationalism I detailed in the literature review.

As noted earlier, the policy documents used in this study provide a field to find, and investigate, the use of codes – much more so than the participant interviews. As I reflected on this I had a number of thoughts. Because codes operate as a form of specialized discourse, they do not lend themselves well to a semi-structured conversational interview. I suspect that as an extended rapport is developed, they are more likely to reveal themselves. The other side of this is that as conversational discourse is built, there is often a slippage in the formality of language use between people. As a result, the specialized nature of professional codes will wane in favor of informal conventions to explain the same things.

On the other hand, policy documents do provide a place where codes can be fostered and valued. Codes here serve a few different functions. First, they act to legitimize policy. Because codes follow a historical regulatory mechanism of rules and procedures, policy that employs codes can be seen as influential (and, hence, gaining influence themselves). Second, codes in policy provide efficient shorthand which can prove technical discursive mastery of a field's lingo. This mastery can legitimize the procedures and rules that help to create them. In short, codes serve to form discursive relationships that legitimize the process of their creation. While they are necessary for complex professional and technical interactions, they can also be a very conservative mode of discourse. This is, in part, because of the historical formation of codes in specialized language. Also, it should not be over looked that the tests of a code – those cultural

processes which select and reproduce the codes – are, as Tilly notes, much more about the reification of terms as specialized shorthand than the testing of a code's robustness in the cause and effect description of a phenomenon. As such, when the discourses surrounding capacity building use codes such as *asset based community development*, it can be argued that a strength of this code is to mediate discussion among specialists; a weakness of this code might be that it, when used as a code, does little to describe the generative mechanisms of the phenomenon. For example, how does the proceeding code describe the relation to assets in non- *asset based community development*? Does it take a substantively radical position to other forms of development, etc.? These questions run contrary to the strength of a code's function of social appropriateness.

One question remains: What types of codes comprise specialist accounts in capacity building policy? A partial answer to this question may not surprise anyone to reveal that many codes in the policy documents rely on the modification of existing codes in dominant economic discourse. For example, the concept of *accountability* is a prominent code. While one could argue that the concept is so widely spread that it can function as a convention, there are many examples where it is utilized as a code by adapting the specialist discourse around it. Take for example a themed issue of the aforementioned UNDP based *Capacity.org* policy publication. In its August, 2007 issue, the theme focused on "Accountability," where different authors attempt to refine the specialist codes around the term. One such author, Thomas Theisohn (2007), elaborates many different specialist codes around accountability. They include notions of "vertical accountability," "horizontal accountability," "upward accountability," "downward accountability," "social accountability," "mutual accountability," "outward accountability," and "domestic accountability" (p. 5). By providing and elaborating a specialist discourse around the

code of accountability in the capacity building (they use the contemporary term capacity development), the author makes the argument for the necessity of accountability in the capacity building process. Likewise, other authors in the document provide similar explanatory devices linking accountability and the phenomenon. In providing the elaborated discussion around the term accountability provides the codification of a specialized discourse.

The use of the specific term "accountability" functions as an interesting code by itself. Tilly's use of the category of codes examines, in part, the nature of the social relationships that the discourse establishes: This concept mirrors one of Norman Fairclough's considerations for Critical Discourse Analyses, in that a strength of the methodology is the illumination of relationships formed between those communicating. Work around the concept of accountability has pointed out that, as a specific code, it has had profound ramifications. Gert Biesta (2004) notes that the shift to the accountability agenda in education marks a major waypoint in mapping the nature of professionalization and managerialism in education. He notes that,

> Most authors agree that the rise of accountability should be understood against the background of *ideological* transformations (the rise of neoliberalism and neoconservatism) and *economic* changes (most importantly, the oil crisis and the economic slowdown of the mid-1970s, and the subsequent rise of global capitalism). Together, these changes have led to the decline, if not demolition, of the welfare state and the rise, if not hegemony, of the neoliberal/global capitalist logic of the market. (p. 236)

Biesta continues to note that this relationship is important as it,

> …is the *reconfiguration of the relationship between the state and its citizens.* This relationship has become less a *political* relationship — that is, a relationship between

government and citizens who, together, are concerned about the common good — and more an *economic* relationship — that is, a relationship between the state as provider and the taxpayer as consumer of public services (most significantly, health care, education, and social and economic security and safety). (p. 237)

Subsequent dangers for this reconfiguration of relationships, Biesta argues, include the de-politicization and erosion of the public sphere. Biesta attributes his theoretical lens to the work of Zygmunt Bauman (1993), but I would be remiss not to note the connection between accountability codes and managerialism is an excellent example of Fairclough's link between discourse and professionalization.

Explanatory Theme "D": Technical Accounts

Simply stated, technical accounts do not appear often as a form of reason giving on the subject of capacity building – especially when compared to the first two modes of conventions and stories. Like codes, Tilly describes technical accounts as having "grounding in some systematic specialized discipline" (p. 130). Unlike codes, however, he notes that they "combine cause-effect explanation (rather than logics of appropriateness)" (p. 130). Tilly describes technical accounts as resembling "stories, conventions, and codes in facilitating communication within some group of specialists. Because they assume shared knowledge of previously accumulated definitions, practices, and findings, they economize on references to those definitions, practices, and findings" (p. 131). An interesting point about technical accounts is that because they are primarily concerned with cause and effect relationships, Tilly argues that they become more likely to cause rifts or disjuncture in social relationships.

The participants involved in this study did not tend to describe the actions of capacity building nor citizenship education in great technical detail. Instead, as I pointed out before, they

chose to primarily stick with stories. The written policy documents were more apt to venture into technical descriptions, but there is one caveat to this claim: the technical accounts offered in the policy were never explicitly about the nature or function of either capacity building or citizenship education. Instead, what technical accounts were offered were from other areas of expertise, such as state building, or economic processes (see for example, OECD, 2008). In this way technical accounts may be leveraged to justify capacity building projects, but not used to describe the cause and effect of the projects themselves.

One of the reasons that technical accounts may not appear as a form to describe capacity building is possibly the nature of antirepresentationalism found therein. Another reason, though, is possibly the potential for technical accounts to open social rifts when it is employed as a reason giving tool. Because of the constant emphasis for capacity building and citizenship education to *build* communities, to *build* relationships, to *mitigate* conflict, and *avoid* schisms, there might be a tendency to avoid reason giving which might cause conflict. Because technical accounts do not always use explanations that are socially accepted, there is a possibility that the information that technical accounts provides actually contradicts the ideas valued by capacity building. This raises a curious question. If employed, what if technical accounts provided an explanation of capacity building that suggested it betrayed its own ideas; that it actually hindered the efforts it was employed to achieve?

4.3 NORMATIVE

Normative Theme "A": What Norms should be developed through Capacity Building?

> Q: …what kinds of values or principles do you feel that capacity building … should adhere to?
>
> A: I think… something around the public good. You can have a group with good leadership, good decision making skills, good research and evaluation skills, good organizational skills, good engagements of participants, and they could be the Ku Klux Klan. So if you have some common shared value, where you are working toward the public good, or the community good, I think that is the underlying one. (*N.T.*)

Among the interview participants, the overwhelming response to understanding the norms associated with capacity building was to give examples of interpersonal ethics. One participant chose to refer to these as principles.

...well, there's a sort of set of principles that one could talk about. I mean, one is that everyone sort of has something to contribute. Everyone has value so, when you're talking about wanting to do something you know, what can you contribute? … So you know a value or principle would be to… just have that approach that everyone has something to contribute. Another is, start with what you have. How do you know what you need if you don't know what you have? (*S.D.*)

Interestingly, in Canada, the concept of norms took a more individual approach. This was articulated, like in the above quotation, sometimes as principles. In Jamaica, there were hints that these norms might be more applicable to a wider, island wide, scale. This might be explained by societal differences; however, I suspect another factor that cannot be discounted is the nature of the organization of capacity building programs. That is to say, many of the

capacity building programs in Canada are aimed at individual communities (geographical, or communities of practice), often deemed to be at risk. In contrast, capacity building projects in Jamaica are more likely to be aimed at a larger, island encompassing, audience. Take for example, the World Bank's current project entitled, *Education Transformation Capacity Building Project for Jamaica*. This project is nationwide, and involves a number of government agencies. This scale of capacity building is rarely seen in Canada – with the possible exception of the previously mentioned HRDC project.

It should also be noted that an underlying theme seemed to revolve around capacity building projects providing a common good (see introductory quote to this section).

Normative Theme "B": Capacity and the Legitimization of the Nation-State.

Interestingly, the concept of capacity building in contemporary policy literature has morphed in its normative position to not only include what the project ought to achieve, but also include what it ought to legitimize. For example, the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) (2008), in its recent document on state building in "'weak', 'fragile', or 'failing' states" (p. 7) equates the capacitization for services to the legitimation of the nation-state. As the OECD states in the document, "fragility arises primarily from weaknesses in the dynamic political process through which citizens' expectations of the state and state expectations of citizens are reconciled and brought into equilibrium with the state's capacity to deliver services." (p. 7) The research continues to note that "disequilibrium (of a state) can arise as a result of extremes of incapacity" (p. 7). Later on in the document, this position is further reinforced, but this time with an equation of incapacity to illegitimacy:

Fragility, we argue, is primarily a function of disequilibrium between state functions and capacity on the one hand and social expectations on the other. It arises either from the

paucity of the political process for managing agreement on the social contract…or from extremes of incapacity or illegitimacy. (p. 22)

There are three important points of note about the discourses in the previous quote. The first is that the OECD conveys that fragility of nations is viewed as "disequilibrium" (p. 22). The second is that illegitimacy is conveyed as an extreme threat to the stability of a nation (surely a powerful assertion given the role that the nation-state has in the circulation of capial). In relation to the field of citizenship education, this second point could prove to be extremely important. If we recall the debates in the field of citizenship education elaborated by Schugurensky, even the discourses around so called global or trans-national type citizenship education implicitly rely on the nation to authorize these global movements. If lack of capacitization is equated with illegitimate national movements, even capacity building projects that are not explicitly involved with citizenship education implicitly underpin the very concepts that give weight to the status of citizen.

Finally, the third discursive assumption that the OECD uses in the previous passage (and numerous times elsewhere) is the concept of the state as a product of a "social contract" (pp. 7, 8, 11, 12, 15, 17-19, 22, 25, 26, 28, 34-38, 40-41, 68-70). In appendix A of the document, entitled "A Brief History of State Formation," the authors provide a history of the basis of the normative position for state legitimation. This history provides a rich background to the claim that we have already seen which compares the legitimacy of states to their capacitization for services (both in physical infrastructure as well as social, such as education).

The use of the term "social contract" is derived from Liberal (most notably Rousseau (1997)) and now Neo-Liberal political philosophy. The implications of a state as a social contract are that citizens are acting agents that explicitly (ie. voting) or implicitly (ie. general

compliance with civil order, paying taxes, etc.) enter into an agreement with the state. The legitimacy exists so long as both ends hold up their side of the so-called contract.

The discourses of contractism can be seen as opposition to strong forms of Weberian arguments of the state as holding "the monopoly of the legitimate use of physical force within a given territory" (Weber in OECD, 2008, p. 65). The OECD report does acknowledge the Weberian argument about the monopoly of the use of force:

Perhaps the most compelling normative account of contemporary statehood is given by Ashraf Ghani, both theorist and practitioner of contemporary state-building. According to Ghani *et al.* …, ten features of statehood constitute full *de facto* sovereignty. These are: i) legitimate monopoly on the means of violence; ii) administrative control; iii) management of public finances; iv) investment in human capital; v) delineation of citizenship rights and duties; vi) provision of infrastructure services; vii) formation of the market; viii) management of the state's assets (including the environment, natural resources, and cultural assets); ix) international relations (including entering into international contracts and public borrowing); and x) rule of law. (p. 70)

The extent of the OECD's acknowledgement of the use of force and legitimate state formations generally exists only in so far as they address issues of public security. Instead, they convey the primacy of contractism in state operation:

Concurrently, the emergence of rights norms in the west has led to a sense that there are certain core services – primarily education, water and sanitation as well as health – and broader provisions, such as infrastructure, that the state must provide. States are thus tasked with functions of a new order of magnitude. In addition to the foundations of security, basic legitimacy and certain human rights obligations, in this model a state

must also provide service delivery, economic performance and employment generation.

(p. 69)

Finally, the document conveys a forceful conclusion about the nature of the contract which capacity is a key to fulfilling.

…by common consensus, the government – the legal authority over the territory – is now held to possess a certain set of obligations, both to its citizens and to the international community. The exact nature and extent of these obligations is the subject of debate; the question of their existence is not. (p. 70)

While the debates in political science about the nature and function of state operations -- that is to say, whether or not we are organized by larger structural apparatuses of force, or whether we come to a nation by forming contracts of solidarity -- the OECD's policy on capacity provide a curious intersection for this research into the discussion. This intersection is the link between capacitization of services and the legitimisation of a social contract. These links vault the concept of capacity building and development to one that is a lynchpin of contemporary state status. By taking this step, both the concept of capacity and the idea of social contracts are likely to be increasingly leveraged as politically desirable goals. Because of the faith in, and the mechanisms of defence that citizenship education has imbedded in itself to justify contemporary nations and the status therein, the linking of capacity and state status will indeed provide a tremendous inertia for the moral position of capacity building.

The OECD is not the only organization to lay out policy as it relates to state function and capacity building. Returning to the UN's document entitled "Capacity-Building for Poverty Eradication" (Maconick, 2002), Roger Maconick's introduction provides an intriguing discussion on the role of learning in the process of Capacity Building. While the concept of

learning is not explicitly addressed in many of the documents, Maconick draws upon the work

of Donald Schon to argue that it is the state that must assume the role of a learning agent for

capacity to develop. For this argument, Maconick draws upon Schon's (1973) book entitled

Beyond the Stable State, to assert that,

> A social system learns whenever it acquires new capacity for behaviour, and learning
>
> may take the form of undirected interaction between systems... [G]overnment as a
>
> learning system carries with it the idea of public learning, a special way of acquiring new
>
> capacity for behaviour in which government learns for the society as a whole. In public
>
> learning, government undertakes a continuing, directed inquiry into the nature, causes
>
> and resolution of our problems. (Schon in Maconick, 2002, p. 8)

In another footnote, four pages later, Maconick follows up with another quote from Schon,

> The loss of the stable state means that our society and all of its institutions are in
>
> continuous processes of transformation. We cannot expect new stable states that will
>
> endure for our own lifetimes. We must learn to understand, guide, influence and manage
>
> these transformations. We must make the capacity for undertaking them integral to
>
> ourselves and to our institutions. We must, in other words, become adept at learning.
>
> (Schon in Maconick, 2002, p. 12)

The emphasis on the state as a flexible learning agent provides an intriguing twist on the role of

the state in capacity building. Surely this orients us to a conception of the state that is coherent

with Harvey's (1990) notion of flexible accumulation. As such, the state becomes a tool to

streamline contemporary forms of capital. The question that arises then, is how capacity

building for citizenship education is mediated by the idea that the state is learning?

Perhaps the answer lies in part with the hope that institutions such as governments, and processes such as education and capacity building, will be able to overcome any challenges to their existence. In this way, it offers people the idea that transformation is possible, all the while warding off radical critiques which might endanger the existence of social systems. This is certainly a trend that has shown itself in the review of literature on both citizenship education, as well as capacity building. In both cases, the idea that detrimental consequences of social systems might be ameliorated by the inclusion of alienated people to such a system seem to be a conservative effort to justify the conditions of these systems.

Specifically in this instance, is not the idea that the state should no longer be "stable" but instead, become a moving, changing, and transformative entity a mechanism to justify its existence? If we truly invent – as Schon argues – learning systems that can create their own transformation, can they ever exceed the constraints of their own conditions?

Most relevant to this research, is the nature of the relationship that the policy forms with the reader. I have included the discussion of this policy in this section as I would argue that the relationship here centers around the nation state. Just as capacity building utilises the discourses of a flexible and multi faceted phenomenon, the concept of a so called learning state that is a malleable entity posits similar characteristics. We can see one of the major impetuses for this thought is the link between states that are characterized by devolved and decentralized networks, and what Schon calls "effective learning systems" (Schon in Maconick, 2002, p. 12). Why is it that systems that are posited as transformative and effective at learning are those which most accommodating to what Boltanski and Chiapello (2007) refer to as the new spirit of capitalism? What evidence are we left with to consider that centralized states that do not attempt to build capacity of specific communities, systems, or institutions fail to be equal in their capacity to

learn – or for that matter, transform? Returning to Boltanski and Chiapello, they would argue that the answer lies in the fact that the discourses revolving around capacity building form a relationship between the phenomenon, the reader, and the nation state that work to provide a new spirit for the global economy. I will return to this point in the second section of the theoretical analysis.

It should also be highlighted that the concept of the stability, or flexibility, of state function plays out differently between the contexts of Jamaica and Canada. In Hilbourne Watson's (2000) essay on neoliberalism's foray into the Caribbean, he argues that the "new constitutionalism" (p. 396) of international lending agencies transforms the expectations of the state. According to Watson, these expectations have been mediated by "the (World) Bank's SAPs, the IMF's conditionalities, and the WTO's authority" (p. 397) to allow for the strengthening of "ongoing subordination of liberal democracy and public policy in the interest of investors" (p. 397). In places like Jamaica where SAP's and conditionalities thrive, there has to be significant effort to maintain a state that will accept the adjustments (this is not to say that they won't default, or repay loans – this has not happened). The emphasis on the capacity to provide services as a legitimation of the state, can be read as an interesting mechanism to justify the neoliberal agenda. Watson's critique of this new constitutionalism is found in the question of whether the marketization of states is an ethical one. Quoting Gill, he notes that under the new constitutionalism, the World Bank strives to circumvent "limitations imposed by mass democracy in the economic realm by restricting democratic participation to safely channelled areas" (Gill in Watson, p. 397). As such, it can be seen as no coincidence that the emphasis for the legitimation of a state is seen as a factor of the capacity built for services: If the World Bank helped drive the concept of capacity building in the 1980s, and it helped justify an agenda for

the marketization of society, why not equate the moral basis for states as one that correlates to

capacity building?

Chapter 5: Theoretical Analysis

5. Theoretical Analysis

So what is to be made of the research data? More specifically, it should be asked what types of claims or analyses can be made of a public policy like capacity building through a lens of critical theory? My assertion would be that while the research has shown disjunctures within the empirical, explanatory, and normative positions, critical theory provides an explanation unto itself about the nature of these disjunctures. The following Three (5.1, 5.2, & 5.3) sections attempt to come to terms with the nature of these disjunctures. Also, these final three chapters reflect the three aspects of my research question: the empirical, the explanatory, and the normative. I have organized this discussion so that it correlates to these same aspects reported on the research data in the previous section. A key difference is the nature of the order of the analysis. That is to say, the following chapters attempt to tease out broader themes and ideas that became apparent in the research. Some of these themes are more explicit – such as the discussion on the connection to neoliberalism, specifically in section 5.2 – while others are more subtle – such as the discussion on the privileging of agency in capacity building, in section 5.1.

The first section is an examination of the debate over structure and agency. Here I attempt to understand how a policy like capacity building, which makes bold claims about increasing citizens' ability to act, sometimes enables action, and sometimes forms unassailable frameworks for our lives. The question of how the ideology enables or constrains our agency or contributes to the formative structures remains unexplored. In doing so, not only do I hope to provide an analysis of the function of capacity building from a critical realist standpoint, but I also hope to utilize critical discourse analysis to understand the relationships that are formed by

conceptualizing agency as paramount in capacity building. This section primarily addresses and critiques the explanatory position of capacity building.

The second section (5.2) – most concerned with the empirical aspect of capacity building – addresses how the disjunctures of capacity building (not only the different manifestations, but also the competing ideologies often found within) work to form an ethos. This ethos, described by Boltanski & Chiapello as the "Spirit" of capitalism, forms a normative underpinning for global economy. As such, capacity building forms a malleable and diverse tool for the postmodern economy. I conclude this second section with a discussion of the ethics of the new spirit.

This leads to the third, and final, section in the theoretical analysis chapter (section 5.3) on the normative positioning. Here, I ask, how does this new spirit constitute a normative basis for capacity building? In a neo-Gramscian position on hegemony, I argue that the normative position for capacity building garners strength through inclusion into what Marcus Garvey once called "ethics of civilization." Where global hegemony once leveraged tremendous power from dispossession, I investigate the ways in which capacity building builds consent and participation in international markets. Stuart Hall's approach to power as participatory hegemony, for example, provides compelling illumination into the ways in which Jamaica has had to navigate the waters of state indenturism: From the heralded emancipatory potential of Garveyism to the global flows of Neoliberalism. This transition precipitated, in part, by the International Financial Instutions' normative discursive trinity: citizen, capacity, and market.

5.1 The Explanatory – The Capacity of Actors for Capacity Building: A Critical Realist Approach

Consider this: The claims of capacity building are inextricably intertwined with the commitment to build individual and community agency. At the same time, Jamaica, one of the sites of study, faces what Thomas Klak (1996) calls "greater foreign debt burden and more structural adjustment agreements than virtually any other third world country" (p. 352). A further curiosity is that one of the organizations involved in the mediation of Jamaica's debt and these structural adjustments – the World Bank – is actually a major proponent of capacity building in Jamaica, and one of the driving forces behind the development of the term (Harrow, 2001).

Is it not paradoxical that the agents of structural constraints are the most ready to offer hope for agency? In Herbert Marcuse's (1969) *An Essay on Liberation,* he hints at a potential explanation for this paradox. I have also italicized his use of the word "capacity" in the quotation.

> Organized capitalism has sublimated and turned to socially productive use frustration and primary aggressiveness on an unprecedented scale – unprecedented not in terms of the quantity of violence but rather in terms of its *capacity* to produce long range contentment and satisfaction, to reproduce the 'voluntary servitude.' To be sure, frustration, unhappiness, and sickness remain the basis of this sublimation, but the productivity and the brute power of the system still keep the basis well under control. The established values become the people's own values: adaptation turns into spontaneity, autonomy; and the choice between social necessities appears as freedom. (p. 13)

He continues on to note that,

Neither its vastly increased capacity to produce the commodities of satisfaction nor the

peaceful management of class conflicts rendered possible by this capacity cancels the

essential features of capitalism, namely, the private appropriation of surplus value

(steered but not abolished by government intervention) and its realization in the

corporate interest. Capitalism reproduces itself by transforming itself, and this

transformation is mainly in the improvement of exploitation. (p. 13)

If we maintain a Marcusian reading of the concept of capacity building, we can see how the

promise of agency, voice, and choice are not only encouraging and hopeful, but also – possibly

a point of exploitation. Are we really just building capacity for contentment? Does being

included in the ever expanding discourses of citizenship education hide away the exploitative

features of globalized capital? In the interviews with participants, I have found voices that not

only critique the policies of capacity building projects that heed neo-liberalism's call for the

financialization of community life, but are actively working with the concept of capacity

building to reclaim the relationships that are shared by community members. On the other hand,

it cannot be understated the amount of money, and influence, policy makers at many

international development institutes exert to use capacity building to justify the conditions that

exist in structurally adjusted contexts. In light of these diverging voices, the claim cannot be

made that one highlights the true conditions of a concept such as capacity building. Rather,

these diverging views have very different consequences for the concept.

In this essay, I return to the conundrum I described at the first of the chapter. Why is the

concept of capacity building championed by many of the organizations that also spawn many of

the crippling structural adjustments in places like Jamaica? On the one hand, major structural

forces have profound consequences for citizens' lives; on the other, policies like capacity

building are funded to tell us, peoples' capacity for action will be increased. I would suggest that this contradiction lies in the disjuncture of our explanation of what capacity building does, and the empirical position of the tests employed to explain the phenomenon. My argument is that when capacity building is used in these circumstances, the discourses unrealistically privilege the concept of agency. This comes at the expense of understanding how the structures we live in, enable or constrain our action. That is to say, many times, the use of capacity building privileges commitment to the ability for humans to learn and act, in the face of powerful social structures. The dilemma here is that not only does this idea fail to provide an analysis of the conditions of life, but actually detracts from those moments of potential when people do realize the potential of agency in their worlds.

To illustrate this point, the data on the explanatory position highlighted the overabundance of the use of stories in describing how capacity building functions. One of the ramifications of this is, as Tilly (2006) points out, that stories privilege the concept of the individual. The relationship between the teller of the stories and listener is subsequently a builder of the accountability of individuals. As Tilly notes, "by attributing their main effects to specific actors…, stories follow common rules of individual responsibility: X did it, and therefore deserves the praise or blame for what happened as a result" (p. 67). The failure of the mode of the story, though, is to be able to account for the structures which emerge with, and enable and constrain, our actions. Because of the potent, and widespread, use of the concept of capacity building by powerful and prominent organizations and governments, it becomes crucial for us to understand the powers of our agency and the structures, within which, we live our lives.

To flesh out this argument, I retrace the larger debates of structure and agency from a critical realist standpoint. In doing so, I hope to provide an analysis of the way many organizations assume agents and structures interact. First, I review the facets of what is meant by the terms "structure" and "agency." Second, I will review three positions on the debate of structure and agency; Michel Foucault (1969, 1975), Pierre Bourdieu (1977, 1990, 2002), and Margaret Archer (1996, 2001, 2003). The first two are critiqued by critical realist Margaret Archer as examples of "conflationism" (2001, p. 19). Finally, with the nature of the debate explained, and the critical realist position exemplified by Archer's work, I look at the relationship that the discourse of capacity building forms around the idea of developing agency, and how it privileges the concept of agency. As an example of privileging agency, or "upward conflation" (Archer, 2001, p. 19) in capacity building, I examine a work that was mentioned as influential in almost all of the interviews, and much of the literature – Kretzmann and McKnight's (1993) asset based approach to community building.

As a social theory, Critical Realism has been able to offer many theoretical explanations about the nature and functioning of society, the role of research and its interplay with the world, and the politics of knowledge gained through research. In particular, the understanding of the roles of structure and agency both in the research process, as well as human activity, is of particular importance. The importance stems from an understanding that allows us to interrogate the nature of action across social scales.

I have chosen to outline the positions of the three contemporary thinkers, Michel Foucault, Pierre Bourdieu, and Margaret Archer, as they represent three distinct ways of thinking that have greatly influenced, and represented, educational research in the past twenty years. These three also represent positions across the spectrum of the debates on structure and

agency. By understanding their positions, I hope that we can interrogate the concepts of action and agency which capacity building often leverages.

Ultimately, I argue that Margaret Archer's (2001, 2003) position, based on her discussion of non-conflationism, allows us to most comprehensively understand how change occurs through the reciprocal interplay of agency and structure. Archer's position also allows us to understand why the theorizing of structure and agency is inherently difficult as it explains how both structures and agency emerge as complex phenomena in a social emergence model (Sawyer, 2005). When applied to research on a subject like capacity building, we can begin to understand how our praxis is constrained and shaped by the structures in the world, and also gain insight into how our actions perpetuate, create, and/or challenge these structures.

For research, the debate about structure and agency centers on how we should employ research methodologies that can account for both structures (physical, cultural/social, and linguistic mechanisms), and agency (autonomy and ability to act as a subject). Specifically, the debate seeks to answer how much of the world exists or changes because of the propagation or instability of structures and how much exists or changes through the intentional agency of subjective actors in the world. The danger in privileging either one of the two aspects has serious consequences for both the research process, and the advocating of policy. If we privilege the notion of structures, we leave little room for understanding how we can create change and transformation (as we will see though, some theorists are more than happy doing this). Conversely, if we privilege agency in our analysis, we fail to see how aspects of structures can have long lasting, inter-generational, and tenacious constraints on the educational system and the people and communities involved in the system. It is the latter concern that, I argue, is the most likely to occur in capacity building – both in the practical projects, as well as the policy as

an ideology. I also make the argument that it is this privileging of agency that answers the original question in this chapter: Many organizations that implement such pervasive structural features also champion agency because of a commitment to upward conflation.

Understanding the nature, terrain, and context of the debate allows research to come to terms with how change may happen in formal and informal learning contexts. It also, as in this case, allows an analytical tool to understand how the discourses of a policy like capacity building play into our understandings of what we, as citizens, have the *capacity* to do.

Making, Creating, and Accounting for Change

There is little doubt that the world changes. Sometimes our world changes in gradual, incremental ways. Other times, we are affected by monumental moments of instability and upheaval. There are no major schools of thought that would deny that change occurs at some level. There is, however, considerable debate about what causes change to occur. There are some who believe that change in the world occurs through the intentional acts of people, or communities of people. These are people who believe in agency. There are others who believe that the world is comprised of structures (linguistic, physical, and cultural), and that change happens when there is an imbalance of the internal relations of the structures. Like everything else, most people are found in the muddy waters between the two extreme positions, providing various theoretical syntheses that combine the two positions to different degrees.

Often, the debates around structure and agency address many of the salient issues that face people trying to understand how change occurs on a community level. Ultimately, policies like capacity building find a tremendous boost from the movement to understand and implement change. Capacity building is, after all, almost always conceived as an intervention to facilitate a type of change.

Beside the fact that it is a crucial methodological point to understand structure and agency in research, questions will often arise if one can even create change in the structures that seemingly dominate our world. Consider the fact that, as a citizen, we face dilemmas about whether our actions really make a difference on a daily basis. In the West, the struggle often manifests in the dilemma of being able to save money by shopping at a multinational corporation versus the social responsibility we feel to be responsible consumers. If we buy something at the multinational corporation, does it make a difference? As a practical consideration, understanding structure and agency allows for citizens to be able to theorize how their actions can create change in structures, as well as what structures can, or should be, changed. A question that is often brought up in the literature is, if we are building capacity, what does this capacity address?

Theories of Agency and Structures

The term agency is generally used to describe acts that are intentional and performed by subjects (Davidson, 1980). Jennifer Hornsby (2004) explains that theories of agency are concerned with understanding the "distinctive deliberative and practical capacities of human beings" (p. 1). This means that when people theorize about agency, they are examining how people can change their world through their deliberative acts. This is not just an examination of how individuals can act to create change, but also a theorization about how communities of practice, to use Wenger's (1998) term, can create intentional change.

On the other hand, theories of structures are an investigation into the way that physical, cultural, and linguistic structures enframe us as humans to guide our movements. The study of intentional human acts (agency) are downplayed for an investigation of structural causality, or the ways in which unintentional aspects that are inherent in the structure of language, physical factors and relationships cause specific results to happen (Godelier, 1966).

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When we combine the two aspects of structure and agency, we study what actions are the results of intentional acts, and what events are the results of the causal powers of the structures we operate within. To understand the ramifications of a concept like capacity building, this is crucial as both theories have important aspects. When we understand how our agency operates, we will be able to examine how our acts can change our learning contexts (i.e. how capacity is built), or how education can hold potential for transformation and development (Mezirow, 1991). The theorization of structures is as equally important, as it allows us to understand how we become enframed by the systems and structures of language (Derrida, 1978), economics (Jameson, 1991), culture (Foucault, 1975), and geography (Harvey, 1996; Diamond, 1999). In education, the investigation of structures also allows us to come to terms with aspects of systemic inequality in education (McKay, 2001).

Neither position is mutually exclusive, so the debates on structure and agency are ultimately debates about how we combine the two positions and understand when events are caused by intentional learning acts, and when events occur due to the causal properties inherent in structures.

The Spectrum of the Debate

The three theorists (Archer, Bourdieu, and Foucault), that are specifically dealt with within this section, occupy distinct positions across the spectrum of debate on structure and agency. That is to say, each theorist would make different assertions about whether we should understand research and the conditions of the world as existing due to the propagation of structures, or acts of agency. This means that each person would privilege the idea of either structure or agency in explanatory and research technique. In the figure below, I have provided an illustration of the positions of contemporary theorists (and some of their influences) as based on their use and theorization of the scale of structure and agency.
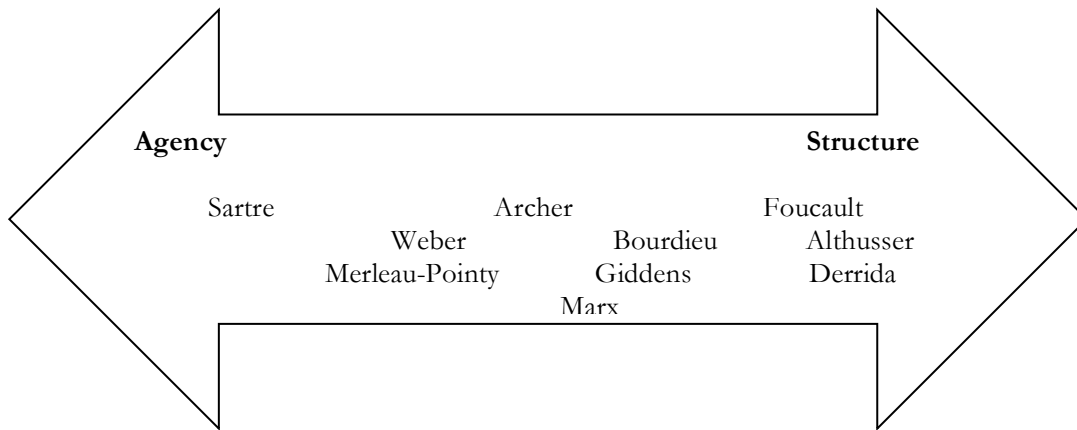
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On the far left side of the scale, we find those who would privilege the concept of radical agency. This position would encompass social constructivists (Kukla, 2000), rational choice theorists (Pincione, 2006; Sato, 2006), and existentialists such as Jean-Paul Sartre (1956). Moving more towards a central position, we can find phenomenologists such as Merleau-Pointy (2002), and the *verstehen* sociology of Max Weber (1978, 1980, 1994, 2001). While both of these schools of thought are distinct in their own right, they emphasize the idea of agents and intentional actors in the creation and reproduction of the world. Educational research that faithfully takes up these positions would privilege the understanding of the world as interpretation or primacy of the actor, as evident in Merleau-Pointy, or the idea of intentional meaning, as in Weber. While I have identified that these positions fall on the agency side of the spectrum, it is important to note that they do not seek to solely understand the aspect of agency at the expense of understanding structures. Both of these positions certainly deal with structures. For Merleau-Pointy we can see this in his examples of the body as physical structure, and for Weber, in his examples of economy as social structures. What the diagram is meant to represent is the degree to which people have advocated methodologies that privilege one position over another.

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Foucault on Structure and Agency

Sara Mills (2003), notes that Michel Foucault has undergone a diverse development of his theoretical positions from "pre-structuralist to a structuralist and then to a post-structuralist" (p. 23). Although Foucault's thought has undergone great transformations, he has maintained a position influenced by Claude Levi-Strauss (1962), and Louis Althusser (1965, 1971), that stresses the understanding of structural forces as causation for events. Foucault pushes this thought to deny human agency as a modern fallacy based on conceptions of individualism (Foucault, 1984). For Foucault, the author, or intentional agent, emerges not as an active subject, but as a dialectical phenomenon of the structures of contradiction in text:

> The author is the principle of a certain unity of writing—all differences having to be resolved, at least in part, by the principles of evolution, maturation, or influence. The author serves to neutralize the contradictions that may emerge in a series of texts (Foucault from Mills, 2003, p. 22).

Foucault also is quite diverse in his structuralist analysis as he examines not only text, but physical structures such as prisons and schools (1975), and the structure of power relationships (1978). Mills explains that for Foucault, "the internal structures of knowledge and discourse are seen to be produced through inter-relations of power and the effects of those power relations on individuals" (2003, p. 23). This means that a constant in Foucault's work is the idea that meaning is an epiphenomenon of the structures of the world. Rather than people being active agents in the meaning making process, or learning skills in an educational context, Foucault would assert that meaning is derived from structures, the same way that his mentor Louis Althusser (1971) would assert ideology is derived from (or more succinctly, inherent in) structures.

The tendency in Foucault's thought that privileges structures to the extent that he would deny agency can be traced to some of his early literary influences. Instead of "concentrating on the genius of the individual creative writer to analyze the underlying structures" (Mills, p. 26), Foucault saw much more benefit to deny the existence of the creative agent, and instead investigate the "discursive structures which shaped the text" (Mills, p. 26). As Foucault asserted,

> It is not enough, however, to repeat the empty affirmation that the author has disappeared. For the same reason, it is not enough to keep repeating (after Nietzsche) that God and man have died a common death. Instead we must locate the space left empty by the author's disappearance, follow the distribution of gaps and breaches, and watch for the openings that this disappearance uncovers. (1984, p. 105)

Focault's theory is an intentional effort to downplay intentionality of actors and agency. He theorizes that the idea of the individual is simply a modern fallacy that hides away and reifies the interplay of structures. It is this aspect of his (post)structuralist theory that we will return to when we investigate Margaret Archer's critique of Foucualt's thought.

Bourdieu on Structure and Agency

French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu and his conceptualization of the theory of *habitus* (1977, 1990, 2002) provides a mediating step from Foucault's position in the theorization of structure and agency. Bourdieu states that careful methodological work must be done to "escape the realism of the structure, which hypostatizes systems of objective relations by converting them into totalities already constituted outside of individual history and group history" (1977, p. 72). Bourdieu uses the term "realism" here not to describe the methodological ideology of the real, but the "real" totalizing properties of structuralism that hypostatizes, or reifies relationships and alienates them from history. In short, Bourdieu is appealing for the understanding of agency within human relationships and history, something Foucault would warn against. For Bourdieu,

strict structuralist analysis faces the danger of alienating history and human relationships, if we do not understand some aspect of intentional subjects as creating action. Bourdieu continues to state that it is necessary to move to "the theory of the mode of generation of practices, which is the precondition for establishing an experimental science of the dialectic of the internalization of externality and the externalization of internality" (1977, p. 72). When Bourdieu refers to the aspects of internalization and externalization, he is referring to the internal aspect of agency, and the external pressures of structures. In this way, Bourdieu makes the claim that change occurs as a dialectical movement from the interplay of structure and agency.

So how would Bourdieu propose that we move from a structuralist analysis, to one that allows this dialectical movement to occur? To accomplish this task, Bourdieu introduces the concept of *habitus*. The term habitus is meant to be a term that explains a way of being in the world. As Bourdieu states,

> the structures constitutive of a particular type of environment (e.g. the material
>
> conditions of existence characteristic of a class condition) produce habitus, systems of
>
> durable, transposable dispositions, structured structures predisposed to function as
>
> structured structures… collectively orchestrated without being the product of the
>
> orchestrating action of a conductor. (1977, p. 72)

In later work (2002), he expands to say that "the habitus integrates into the biographically synthesizing unity of a generative principle the set of effects of the determinations imposed by the material conditions of existence" (p. 437). The concept of the habitus is not dissimilar to Foucault's theory of structures, but the difference is that Bourdieu does not say the habitus is what creates meaning or action. Similar to early conceptions of the unconscious, the habitus is a kind of state of existence that we are born into that determines action or what he refers to as

practice. Bourdieu theorizes that actions, or practice, can happen from agents, but are *determined* by our current structures, represented as habitus, cultural and social capital, and our field (the particular situation we are in). He represents action as happening with the formula "{(habitus) (capital)} + Field = Practice" (2002, p. 101). The difference from Foucault's theory is that Bourdieu allows for the conception of agency, but it is an agency that is determined by our habitus, or structures. He calls this concept of habitus a "practice-unifying and practice-generating principle" (2002, p. 101). The concept is deterministic in the sense that the structures determine practice, but do not deny agency. As Bourdieu explains, "in interaction between two agents or groups of agents endowed with the same habitus…, everything takes place as if the actions of each of them… were organized in relation to the reactions they call forth from any agent possessing the same habitus" (1977, p. 73).

Archer on Structure and Agency

Further on the spectrum of the structure and agency we find the position of Margaret Archer. Archer (1996, 2001, 2003) critiques the positions that both Foucault and Bourdieu take on the issue of structure and agency based on the idea of conflationism. Conflationism, Archer asserts, is the reduction of one level or aspect of life to an aspect of another, in this case, the reduction of the concept of agency, to the concept of structures. Archer differentiates between types of conflationism as either "downward" or "upward conflationism" (2001, p. 19). If we look at the diagram on the debate over structure and agency, Archer claims that those theorists on the left of the spectrum are guilty of upward conflationism as they view phenomenon in the world as the result of human agency. On the right of the spectrum, there exists downward conflationism, as those theorists (included in this category is Foucault and Bourdieu) reduce phenomena to the determination of structures. She states that "this displacement of the human subject and celebration of the power of social forces to shape and to mould is the epitome of

what I have termed Downwards conflation" (2001, p. 19). Her critique of the downward

conflationism is based on two related critiques of the poststructuralist project. The first is that,

while it is true that the conception of the self is a relatively new concept, agency is not based on

the formulation of identity through the creation of self-hood. She would agree with Charles

Taylor (1991) in the assessment that radical reflexivity as the source of the self is a modern

concept, but agency has been happening as long as intentional action has existed. In this way it

is a pre-theoretical concept, the same way structures operate without our theories about them.

She theorizes (2003) that the idea of agency is similar to aspects of phenomenology, in that it is

incorporated in our primacy of practice.

The second aspect of her critique of the downward conflationists, is the rejection of the

project for the "dissolution of humanity" (2001, p. 17). She cites numerous examples in her

work *Being Human* (2001) about how postmodern thought takes up Nietzsche's project for the

dissolution of humanity through what she jokingly calls the "asphyxiation by social forces" (p.

18). The danger of downward conflation here is that people become "indeterminate material" (p.

19) and the "epiphenomenal status of humankind deflects all real interest onto the forces of

socialization" (p. 19).

While her critique of the positions that Foucault takes up, and of Foucault himself, are

obvious in Archer's work, she is also critical of Bourdieu's theories. For Archer, Bourdieu is

still guilty of downward conflationism. Because he establishes that structures determine, rather

than enframe, our actions, Archer objects to his theorization of agency. Archer makes the claim

that "practice is pivotal to all of our knowledge" (p. 152) to emphasize the idea of experience.

Bourdieu, as we have seen, privileges the idea of our habitus along with cultural and social

capital as determining our actions. The conception of practice for Bourdieu is determined by

structures, while Archer asserts that practice revolves around structures and our primacy in the world. Because of this, she asserts that Bourdieu "made practical thought radically discontinuous with discursive thought" (p. 152).

What is important to note about the work of Archer is that she does not reduce or conflate the two concepts of structure or agency, but rather, she asserts that we should theorize the two concepts as reciprocally informing, but distinct factors. This means that we can understand structure and agency as different levels of social structure that emerge from each other.

In Archer's (2003) later work she stresses that it is important that we do not attempt to transcend between the two concepts of structure and agency. Her reference to the concept of transcendence points to the idea that we accept the two concepts as distinct but related and do not attempt to transcend the idea of the two as different. This is an important factor for Archer as she explains that her "theory is obviously 'against transcendence' because it is 'for emergence'" (2003, p. 2). She continues to explain this crucial difference.

> Ontologically, 'structure' and 'agency' are seen as distinct strata of reality, as the bearers of quite different properties and powers. Their irreducibility to one another *entails examining the interplay between them.* (2003, p. 2, Original italics)

The importance of this position is the emphasis on the understanding of emergence. For Archer the concept of emergence means that we can understand structures not as totalizing (as in "all people are influenced by structures in the way X", or "because there are structures Y in place, outcome Z will always happen"), but as facilitating certain outcomes, as opposed to controlling specific outcomes. This means that events and outcomes emerge from the interplay of structure and agency because of their potential causal powers. She explains that the constraints of our

world that push and pull us to act in certain ways "are the potential causal powers of structural emergent properties, such as distributions, roles, organizations, or institutions, and of cultural emergent properties, such as propositions, theories or doctrines" (2003, p. 5).

The advantage of the emergent model of structure and agency as opposed to the transcendence model is that theories of emergence reject both the atomism of upward conflation, and the holism of the downward conflationists (Sawyer, 2005). This means that we can understand human life as being complex, and not simply complicated, or the sum of its parts (Davis & Sumara, 2001)

Capacity Building and the Commitment on Structure and Agency

So how does capacity building fit in? I would argue that it occupies a position on the other side of the spectrum from Foucault and Bourdieu. Rather than being an example of downward conflation, it actually provides us an example of upward conflation.

But what evidence demonstrates this upward conflation? It is not quite as obvious to the casual observer due, in part, to the lack of technical accounts used to explain how capacity building does, or should, work. There are, however, a number of examples that point to this privileging of agency. One influential early work by Kretzmann & McKnight (1993), named *Building Communities from the Inside Out: A Path Toward Finding and Mobilizing a Community's Assets*. As I have noted, this work, and subsequent community development work by the authors, is highly influential on many in the field. Among the interview participants, it became quite common to hear their names, and often stories of their own interaction with the authors. Kretzmann & McKnight became early champions in the field of community development for their work with asset based forms of development. One variation of this concept is asset based community development (ABCD). The premise of the concept is that many forms of development focused too much on what communities needed. An asset based

approach attempted to reverse this trend. Instead of focusing on what was missing, asset based approaches attempt to utilize what is there. The field of capacity building proved to be fertile soil for this idea. As such, this can explain the switch from the nomenclature of capacity building to capacity development in some circles. The reference to capacity also permeates Kretzmann & McKnight's work. Their 1993 publication is a handbook which lays out an asset based approach to developing capacities through the access to networks, relationship building, and leveraging various forms of financial capital.

While the publication is primarily a community handbook, and not a means to convey technical or sociological explanations, it does actually offer a very specific example of the commitment to upward conflation. In the last section of the handbook, the authors include a variation on a question and answer section. In it, they address the possibilities of success for capacity building type "internally focused strategies" (p. 373). One question they ask of their work is essentially how the internally focused strategies of asset based and capacity building programs can make tangible and replicable changes – for lack of more complex terminology, they call this "'real' difference" (p. 374).

So how do the authors address the potential of internally focused strategies to create a difference? They note that this question "goes to the heart of a basic understanding of how things change in a society" (p. 374) In short, their explanation is localized agency. They explain that, in the context of the building of America, people,

> did not have models for replication or plans to reach a significant scale. In some places they created Chicago and in others, ghost towns. In sum, they created a new society but it was achieved, local part by local part, sometimes creating centralized institutions from the bottom up. (p. 374)

The reference to "bottom up" action is sometimes a key clue to the characteristics of upward conflation. The authors clearly make two assumptions in this quotation. The first is that communities in the new world were not built on models or replication of other communities. The second is that when structures such as institutions are acknowledged, they are the product of bottom up agency.

Both parts of the claim leverage liberal ideology: the autonomous human subject created, and realizes capacity, from unmediated and unconstrained structures. The prevalence of these claims can also be read as a key factor in themes in capacity building, such as the tension of capacity building work being from the "outside" the community (Empirical theme: "A"). Upward conflation, when employed in this manner, can also be seen as a normative tool. Upward conflationists hold an ethical position in relation to agency: it becomes so key to sociological assumptions, anything that infringes upon it provides a moral danger. From Ayn Rand, to current American libertarian politics, structures often are portrayed as crippling and un-assailing forces that crush the human spirit. In this way, there is not only a moral authority attributed to agency, but agency which can be conceived as "bottom up" actually takes on the perceived role of combating a social ill. In some cases, even theories such as Archer's, or the study of structures in general, become dangerous to upward conflation – an example of this displayed in libertarian discourse of the university. The result: hardly a positive light; often the harbinger of anti- intellectualism.

Returning to the two claims in Kretzmann & McKnight's work I think that there is ample material to critique the assumptions of upward conflation. Take for example the first claim: That communities were built without "models for replication or plans to reach a significant scale" (p. 374). Were physical communities the result of unmediated action of

settlers? I have utilized the work of David Harvey elsewhere in this research, but I think his work on the history and influence of urban planning (Harvey, 1985; 2000) provide a compelling argument against Kretzmann & McKnight's claim. Also, the history of planning communities is a subject that, especially post Haussmann, has been the subject of considerable attention (cf. Benjamin, 2002; Lefebvre, 1991;1996). Indeed, even Foucault's (REF) work on the nature and design of public structures as disciplinary tools (ie. the panopticon) runs contra these claims of upward conflation. While it might seem like an innocuous point to critique the nature of upward conflation – I would argue that it has substantial consequences. Take for example the cases of Halifax's Africville, Canada's reservation system, or the organization and re-distribution of garrison communities in Jamaica. If these examples – as read as a calamitous element of community building – can only be analyzed as a particular manifestation of bottom up agency, the analysis of the pervasive and structural elements of racism go unaccounted for. Likewise, countries that have long histories of structural adjustment, colonization, or imperial intervention, often run the risk of having those histories ignored in the analysis of poverty and its reproduction.

To return to the original question of this chapter, namely, how can organizations such as the World Bank hold a commitment to capacity building all the while maintain such pervasive structural adjustments, I would argue that it can be explained, in part, by the nature of upward conflation. Because such a primacy is given to human agency, the belief that citizens simply need agency to transform any structure is pervasive. To be clear, upward conflation would not ignore the existence of structures. Kretzmann & McKnight, for example, tip their hat to them, but attribute their existence to bottom up action. This same rationality, I argue, enables the World Bank to cohesively maintain their ideology: by holding a commitment to building

agency, the upward conflationist maintains that the primary strata for existence is being addressed. As such, it will have concequences for the rest of society – in this case, things like structural adjustments. The danger here, I argue, is that the nature and function of structures goes unnoticed. As a result the historical inertia of structures continues the interplay with our own agency. Through the emergent properties of structure and agency, we are able to understand how our world enframes us, and how our actions can create change in it. This enables us a robust understanding of how local action can be taken to address structural inequalities.

5.2 The Empirical – The "Spirit" of Capacity Building for Citizenship Education

I realize that because the subject of my research involves citizenship education, many readers may come to this work with the assumption that I am an advocate of the concept. I have spent my time as a PhD student researching the topic, not because I necessarily agree with the process or desired goals, but rather because it represents such a grand contemporary component of pedagogical desire. In a seemingly seamless process, the idea of citizenship education has solidified the idea that learning processes can develop a unity of human subjects in an increasingly fragmented world. Earlier, in the literature review, I have detailed some of the critiques of citizenship. Namely, Agamben's (1998, 2005) work that aims to explain what is happening to those that escape the grasp of the unity of citizenship: a phenomenon that he refers to as a state of exception. Elsewhere, others like Charles Lemert (2009) ask a pressing question that ponders, "If there is a Global WE, might we all be dispossessed?' (p. 176) This question, I argue, has not seriously been examined by proponents of citizenship education. On the contrary, most forms of research on citizenship education have been mustered to include people into a concept without examining the potential alienation from such association. In instances such as these, citizenship education becomes a flailing effort to provide a functionalist framework for a diasporic world. The field is often suspicious of Fukuyamian universalist interests without identifying its own Hegelian idealist history. As such, citizenship education manifests itself as a modern form of "counting coup," a way to touch the Other and collect the cultural capital that it earns the survivor; both subjects believed to be unharmed, but unable to recognize that the form of contact was mediated by the conditions of a battle. In this analogy, citizenship education, like religion in Marx's thought, becomes "the heart of a heartless world" (Marx, 1994, p. 28); an opiate that leaves us impotent to address the conditions that have divorced us of our collectivity.

To be clear, my objection is not that the development of citizenship education is simply unable to address humans who are found in these states of exception. Rather, I argue that both capacity building and citizenship education create these states of exception. The result is a cultural condition where powerful state apparatus work, both innocuously – as a reading of Nicos Poulantzas (1975, 1978) would suggest – but also actively. This active involvement is evidenced through the increasing connection to multinational policy groups, such as Jamaica's relationship to debt holders. This argument suggests the tendency for capacity building to manufacture alliances between social classes – a point that Poulantzas' work would become noted for. Also, Poulantzas' work is described in the literature as contemporary Bonapartism (Walker & Gray, 2007). That is to say, it attempts to explain the ways in which the state does not actively grow capitalism, or represent specific class interests, but passively align itself to allow capital to develop. In addition to this concept, I would argue it is also important to discuss the ways in which states use concepts such as capacity building and citizenship education to explicitly develop private enterprise.

To achieve this – and balance Poulantzas' thesis of the state's passivity in the process of the growth of capital – I examine the work of Boltanski & Chiapello (2007) to try and come to terms with my research. As such, I argue in this section that capacity building for citizenship education has become prominent as it has been able to mobilize the emerging features of late capitalism. That is to say, it has, in part, become the spirit of the phenomenon.

The argument that follows can be divided into two main sections. The first is a description of Boltanski and Chiapello's concept of the new spirit of capitalism. Included in this section is a discussion of the ways in which capacity building for citizenship education has emerged as an example of this spirit. This provides a segue to the final chapter in the Theoretical

Analysis: a discussion of the normative ethics of capacity building for citizenship education. In the final chapter, I attempt to link the *empirical* description of the spirit of capitalism, with the *normative* mechanisms. While these normative ethics – sometimes identified, other times not – form a complex matrix, I argue that they do articulate in both the spirit of capitalism and the capacity building movement. In the investigation of this matrix, I use the Marcus Garvey inspired phrase, "the ethics of civilization" to examine how the spirit of capitalism has morphed market capitalism to move from accumulation by dispossession to inclusive, and participatory ethics.

The Spirit

Boltanski and Chiapello's book, *The New Spirit of Capitalism,* originally published in French, was translated to English in 2005. In it, the authors venture to restore a "sociology of critique" (p. xi) that, in their estimation, would replace "a critical sociology indifferent to the values that actors claim to adhere to" (p. xi). As the reader soon sees, this is no trivial methodological or semantic point for the authors. By placing an emphasis on the values of the actors that they are studying, the authors are able to cast their gaze to an aspect of capitalism that they argue has been, and continues to be, the impetus for its growth: that is to say, the ways in which the spirit transforms and generates the conditions of growth for capitalism.

The authors argue that moving toward what they call a sociology of critique as a framework allows them to utilize "approaches in terms of critical sociology, referring to supra-individual entities (especially capitalism) with the capacity to affect a large number of people over a long period, and approaches derived from pragmatic sociology, stressing action, the normative exigencies that intentional actions claim to be inspired by, and critical operations in particular, by pursuing the programme of a sociology of critique" (p. xii). To be clear, their desire to cast a new light on the phenomenon of capitalism does not just stem from a need for a

new research framework. Instead, the authors are writing from a space and time where the affects of capital have not just been ill-defined, but often ignored all together – a situation that is hardly unique to France. Boltanski and Chiapello note that this "abandonment of any reference to capitalism… was also accompanied by a kind of astonishment at the changes underway in the economic and social sphere" (p. xii). With this ignorance, sociology was impotent to deal with the rapid "mutations" (p. xii) of socio-economic systems that were producing traumatic conditions around the world.

Boltanski and Chiapello focus their work on France, from 1965 to 1995. Their rationale is that the first period,

> …was initially marked (1965-75) by an intensive critical movement, coinciding with a crisis of capitalism. Then, in a subsequent phase (1975-90), critique was brought to heel concurrently with a transformation and revival of capitalism. This revival finally led, in the 1990s, to the gradual construction of a new normative fulcrum – a new 'city'…. (p. xiii)

The concept of the city in a normative role for the insulation of capital is an important concept in their work.

While their study covers thirty years of French capitalism, it is interesting to note that in a review of the book in the *New Left Review,* Sebastian Budgen (2000) is critical that the work does not spend a great amount of time on the international changes in capitalism. As such, he notes that "one must wonder whether they do not overestimate the weight of May 1968" (Budgen, 2000, ¶ 19). Notwithstanding this critique, Boltanski and Chiapello offer a compelling framework for the empirical aspects of capitalism.

One of the most compelling aspects of their framework is their acknowledgement that any critique can be subject to assimilation by capital. This is perhaps an important point in relation to citizenship education and capacity building. To be realistic, I would not suggest that either of these concepts (citizenship education nor capacity building) have ever been trenchantly opposed to, or offered as total critiques of, capitalism. They are, however, often used to suggest that they can ameliorate the conditions that capitalism provides. As such, Boltanski and Chiapello's framework orientates us to a new way of questioning the world. Instead of examining how things may change capital, we might ask, how critiques of capital may be subsumed by it. Is this a pessimistic outlook? I would argue not necessarily. Instead of constant soothsaying about how change may, or may not emerge, by understanding how critique has been assimilated, we can develop a sociology that allows an avenue for agency to combat a complex socio-economic structure.

Boltanski and Chiapello point out that one of the most trenchant aspects of capitalism has been the spirit or ethos of the ideology. The spirit is traced by the authors as originally best explained by Weber. It is Weber, they argue, that illuminated the concept of work as "*Beruf* – a religious vocation demanding fulfillment – (which) furnished a normative support for the merchants and entrepreneurs of nascent capitalism" (p. 9). This, according to the authors, had the consequence of early business owners as:

> devoting themselves tirelessly and conscientiously to their task; for undertaking the
> pitiless rationalization of their affairs, inextricably bound up with the pursuit of
> maximum profit; and for pursuing material gain, a sign of success in fulfilling their
> vocation. It also served them in so far as workers imbued with the same ideal proved
> obedient, tireless in their work, and – convinced as they were that man must perform his

duty where Providence has placed him – did not seek to question the situation in which

the found themselves. (p. 9)

In utilizing Weber's conception of *Breuf*, to underscore their own theoretical work, Boltanski

and Chiapello continue to note that a theoretical re-focusing is necessary to use this concept for

a contemporary study. Namely, this re-focusing involves examining "the idea that people need

powerful moral reasons for rallying to capitalism" (p. 9), instead of the "actual influence of

Protestantism on the development of capitalism" (p. 9). While neither Boltanski and Chiapello,

nor myself, argue that the historical religious reasons for the development of capitalism are

unimportant, it is not the main focus of this research.

In the examination of the spirit of capitalism, or what they also refer to as the "ideology

that justifies engagement in capitalism," (p. 8) they also point out that there is a complex

interaction between the motivation for capitalism, and the ethos or spirit. While capitalism is

often conceived as an ultra individualistic phenomenon, Boltanski and Chiapello are quick to

note that the spirit has become pervasive as it has manifested a complex ideology of providing a

"common good" (p. 8). Capitalism's theory of the common good has morphed, from its original

religious Providential origins, to an ethos of participation. As an example, the authors highlight

the increase in capitalism's use of terms like "workforce participation" (p. 8). Later in the book,

they expand on this concept and detail the ways in which capitalism has subsumed the artistic

critique by linking a theory of the common good to participatory concepts such as: 1) autonomy,

or allowing workers to take control of their own actions thereby reducing costs of supervision;

2) creativity to spur on innovation and transformation while providing recognition for workers;

3) authenticity, a key illusion for the idea of autonomous liberal subjects; and, 4) liberation (p.

326).

A central concept in *The New Spirit of Capitalism*, is the differentiation between what

the authors refer to as the artistic critique and the social critique. The two forms of critique are

identified as major ways that French society has attempted to oppose capitalism since the late

1960's. The authors differentiate the two concepts by describing the artistic critique as a

movement which "elaborates demands for liberation and authenticity" (p. 346), and the social

critique "which denounces poverty and exploitation" (p. 346). It is their argument that as these

two forms of critique influenced action to ameliorate inequalities caused by capitalism,

capitalism has in turn, not only dissolved, but also re-appropriated many of the challenges put

forward.

In light of their description of the artistic and the social critiques, I would argue that

aspects of both can be seen as articulating in capacity building. On one hand capacity building is

posited as the development of agency (the artistic demand for liberation), on the other it is seen

as a crucial mechanism for development (the social demand for the amelioration of poverty). In

the representation of these aspects, capacity building provides a powerful tool to provide a spirit

behind the circulation of capital. It is, of course, a bit simplistic to refer to capitalism as simply

the mechanism for the circulation of capital. Boltanski & Chiapello's point is that capitalism

forms powerful normative bonds to justify its existence. These bonds are complex to say the

least. One of the ways in which these bonds become so pervasive in our lives, is through what

the authors point out as the use of networks. They argue that the spirit of capitalism hinges upon

our valuation of the network as a social bond. In a complex world, it is not hard to see why.

When living in a world where social bonds transform as quickly as they do, networking – a term

previously used in computers – becomes a beneficial strategy. In the framework of a network,

we are able to maintain numerous fluid relationships between organizations and communities of

practices. One of the facets of networking, and one of the reasons it becomes so engrained with the spirit of capitalism, is that the bonds of the network can be mediated through currency, and other objects that can take on aspects of currency. In the knowledge economy, this includes information. As such, the network is a paradigm that privileges the trade of boundary objects to mediate relationships: An excellent tool for the justification of capital: If our relationships are based on the exchange of objects, information, and social capital, does that not provide a powerful justification for the capitalist system? If we conceive of our relationships in this manner, it gives the illusion that the capitalist system is natural to humans.

Capacity building has found itself as a powerful tool to justify networking. In fact, the concept comes up repeatedly. As one participant noted:

And what we are seeing is the way to build that capacity is actually to link them to lots of different organizations not to have one gatekeeper organization, ...One of the latest terms is building a multi-stakeholder relationships. Right? How do you do that? And it comes through in all of our stories that we look at. That these successful communities have been able to forge relationships with 20, 30 different organizations for whatever issue they are dealing with and create partnerships that can provide support for them for these various things. They're not dependent on anybody in particular. And so they start to build their own capacity through these relationships. (*S.D.*)

I would argue that the participant is speaking about something more than a pragmatic organization of people and organizations. Rather, the statement represents a seemingly self-evident strategy about the nature of networking.

I would be remiss not to discuss, however briefly, one of the ramifications that Boltanski & Chiapello theorize about the nature of networking, simply because it may provide an

empirical argument for the nature of capacity building in the two case studies used here: this concept is *exclusion*. Boltanski & Chiapello note that while Marxism is traditionally based on a model of exploitation that found its genesis in theorizing they ways in which "nineteenth-century capitalism expanded rapidly. But different forms of exploitation, tailored to different worlds, can exist" (p. 355). One form which they discuss in their work is *exclusion*. While they recognize that the discourse of exclusion has been forcibly separated from discussions of exploitation (they highlight that in the 1990's, French civil servant Jean-Baptiste de Foucauld, "presented [exclusion] as someone's misfortune… not as the result of social asymmetry from which some people profit to the detriment of others" [p. 354]), in light of this, they attempt to speculate on the function of exclusion in a networked world. This, they argue, is crucial as it helps to explain the "new forms of poverty corresponding to the capitalist forms that emerged in the 1980s" (p. 355). While I would reiterate that their work focuses on France, I would likewise reiterate that the time frame that they speculate network exclusion develops to produce new forms of poverty is, in fact, the same timeframe where the concept of capacity building is being nurtured, as well as major structural adjustments and conditionalities are being implemented around the globe – more specific to this study, they are being implemented in Jamaica. As such, I think that their discussion of exclusion as "a form of exploitation that develops in a connexionist world" (p. 355) is especially pertinent.

    To be clear, Boltanski & Chiapello note that within a neoliberal context, the connexionist, or networking opportunism, is a broad form of opportunism that encompasses the workings and logic of the market. Within this understanding, they make a marked distinction between the concept of the *networker* and the *network-extender*. While both will share many of the same qualities and can capitalize on similar mechanisms for success, Boltanski & Chiapello

do make the important distinction that "the success of the networker benefits him alone, whereas the network-extender's attainment of better conditions benefits the whole city, and is thus a common good" (p. 356). This distinction, I would argue, provides a possible explanation of why capacity building has garnered so much support and momentum. Rather than portraying capacity building as the development of networkers – an older, and often despised, function of capitalism and colonialism – capacity building is seen as creating the agency of a network-extender. Not only does the network-extender bridge gaps but they are believed to provide that agency to those who have been extended to. Take for example, some of the terminology in the above quotation about capacity building and networking. It is clear that the participant reflected an avoidance for the concept of *gatekeeper* positions in the networked community. Also, the use language such as *multi-stakeholder relationships* suggests that capacity building mediates bonds between those who would form different levels of connection – perhaps even those who would have had no basis for a connection otherwise.

Returning to the concept of exclusion, Boltanski & Chiapello offer a possible explanation as to why the concept of capacity building has been leveraged so successfully. Not only do the networked connection that are believed to occur attempt to bridge a wide array of partners; not only do the connections tout that they (the connections) themselves build agency and capacity to reproduce more connections; not only is this seen as a civic good, but they also create, and at the same time alleviate, the fear that "in a network world, everyone thus lives in a state of permanent anxiety about being disconnected, rejected, abandoned on the spot by those who move around" (p. 364). The consequences of finding oneself outside the matrix of powerful global networks has dire results. If we read the act of capacity building as a function of the building of these networks – here I would argue that the networks need not even be actualized,

or even meaningful – it operates as a powerful motivator. For all of the power that capacity building can bring, we must ask of the consequences of being dispossessed of these networks. In light of this, it is Boltanski & Chiapello's claim that "roots, loyalty and stability paradoxically constitute factors of *job insecurity*" (p. 364, original italics).

I would argue that the reference to job insecurity constitutes a wide array of concerns relation to employment. Likewise, the concepts of "roots" and "stability" have curious ramifications when examined between the two case studies I highlight here. While many are quick to tout the impacts of digitization and subsequent technologies such as the internet as a mediating factor in allowing global mobility, it is easy to be wrapped up in the ways in which technology connects our networks. While geographers like David Harvey provide robust examples of the ways in which our worlds become smaller, and *seemingly* more accessible, through digitization, he also points out that this phenomenon is mediated by the material geography. As Boltanski & Chiapello carry out a discussion of the ways in which networking is predicated upon exclusion, I feel that a viable, and quite reasonable, critique of capacity building would be the acknowledgement of the ways in which the structures of the world circumscribe a long history on to the activity of coming to capacity building. Although digitization and technology make network connections seemingly easier, it is a culmination of cultural histories – often that mediate their own forms of exclusion, or exploitation – that structure our participation. As this was a major focus of the first chapter in this section of Theoretical Analysis, I will not belabor the point. I will, however, make an interesting note about the material conditions that mediate the participation in different kinds of networks. As a Canadian, with a Canadian passport, I was able to travel without substantial encumbrance to my sites of study. This statement would not be true of many other passports – possibly even a

Jamaican one. As such, I benefit from a wide array of cultural practices that benefit the practice of network extension. But as I was engaged with the research, I became fascinated by the existence of the Free Zones. As the labour performed in the Free Zones is not considered to be of great value, I found that few people would be willing to engage in a discussion about them – even some of the taxi drivers were apprehensive to take me there. As such, I was limited to reading about them in papers, and being able to converse about them with the few people I knew that had worked there and would claim that they did so (one such person was actually a student of mine). When I reflected on this, I came to the realization that there are curious inertias in the world: *While I had a difficult time getting to the Free Zones, some people could not escape them*.

Exclusion, as a practice as well as a concept, has vast and bifurcating responses. I have, up until this point discussed the ways in which capacity building can be read empirically as a herald of exclusion. I would be remiss, however, to note that part of the reason capacity building as well as citizenship education are such popular concepts is that they can have explanatory functions that a) are said to combat exclusion, or b) accept that exclusion exists, is perhaps necessary, and that these concepts are the *just* mechanisms that will govern exclusion. This is hardly a stretch to think of examples where either of these two scenarios are possible, or even plausible. If we make analogous the cultural capital that comes with being a network-extender, and the thoughts of scarcity that dominate the concept of commodities, I think many would agree that the mobility that comes with the capacity builder's position, in a odd twist, would be justified through the very act of excluding others. I think that Boltanski & Chiapello's discussion of the "mobility differential" (p. 371), mirrors this point.

The mobility differential is thus a highly valued commodity today. Its price is rising

rapidly and is paid exclusively by the 'slow', who thereby get the 'rapid' to harmonize

their pace and slow down somewhat. However, the rapid would not be able to survive

without the aid of settled activities; and the network that they inspire cannot do without

territorial inscription and the work of machines and human beings, those encumbrances

par excellence. (p. 371)

Could it be that a policy such as capacity building which is so touted to bridge gaps and connect

communities of practice actually does the opposite by relying upon a mobility differential? Jerry

Kachur (2008) has made note that the notion of the common good in a networked world has

subtly appropriated the mobility differential to normalize an evolving normative project. In his

reading of Boltanski & Chiapello, he notes that it is this differential that comes to define the

brokers between networks, as well as establishing social capital for keyholders. In addition,

these positions of brokering establish exploitation based on the dichotomy of

immobility/mobility. The keyholders fill a believed role of common good by simultaneously

justifying the role, and valuation of mobility, all the while driving the desire for further

networks. In this way, their roles as mobile networkers serve a tautological cycle of valuation.

Kachur further postulates that the primary danger of exploitation in a networked society means

that those who do not possess mobility for networking become excluded. Whereas exploitation

was traditionally raised in labour discourses due to alienating conditions, under networked

models, the non-mobile – those who lack in the mobility differential model – often face what he

refers to as expulsion from traditional spheres of labour relations. In this way, he highlights that

the networked discourses perpetrate a "blind spot" in the comprehension of exploitation.

In the face of exclusionary practices, the logic of connexionist discourses must find a way to ensure the connection to the common good that Boltanski & Chiapello note underpins the believed function of the network-extender – and by extension, I would argue, of capacity building.

I have spent the last few pages expressing how capacity building mirrors many functions of the new spirit of capitalism; most notably, the concepts of networking and exclusion. This, I have argued, constitutes an empirical articulation of capacity building for citizenship education. In the next section, I shift the focus from the empirical aspect of exclusion, to the normative act of inclusion in the ethics of the phenomenon.

5.3 The Normative – The "Ethics of Civilization" from Marcus Garvey to Stuart Hall

Marcus Garvey's words come to pass,
Can't get no food to eat,
Can't get no money to spend…
-- (Burning Spear, 1975)

Jamaica is full of acts of *homage* to Marcus Garvey. Garvey is not just a national hero, or exclusively, as Robert Blaisdell notes of him in his edited collection of Garvey's writings and speeches, "Jamaica's hero of African redemption" (Blaisdell, in Garvey, 2004, p. iii). Instead, as Blaisdell details, Garvey was one of the first to study and politicize the movement of civil rights on an international scale. A Jamaican by birth, Garvey always maintained his strong connection and political practices to the island nation while studying and working in England, the United States, Costa Rica, and Panama to name a few. An international of his era, Garvey also visited Canada in order to promote the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA), which he was a founder and a driving force (http://www.gov.ns.ca/news/details.asp?id=20070816001). The UNIA would be one of the largest forces that would combat the racialized inequalities that were, at the time, slowly being drawn into question. The UNIA has had a definitive impact on the civil rights movement in America, influencing Martin Luther King Jr., and Malcolm X; the former having a father whom was a member of the UNIA (Blaisdell, in Garvey, 2004).

While Garvey remains a heralded figure in Jamaica – indeed, an official national hero – it is no secret that he was also a highly contentious figure in the United States. This contentiousness was in part due to his challenge to racially based hegemony, but also augmented by the well known tensions between Garvey and other black civil rights movements and their leaders. Blaisdell's introduction to Gravey's speeches detail his relationship with "his most famous and bitter enemy… W.E.B. Du Bois, head of the N.A.A.C.P., who would characterize

Garvey as 'without doubt, the most dangerous enemy of the Negro race in America'" (Blaisdell in Garvey, 2004, p. vii).

One of the more intriguing documents found in the collection of Garvey's writings and speeches is a declaration of rights that was developed by Garvey, and a number of other representatives, at the "International Convention of the Negroes of the World," in New York City, at the end of August in 1920. The declaration is named the "Declaration of the Rights of the Negro Peoples of the World" (Garvey, 2004, p. 16). In it, there are a number of fascinating components which allow a peek into Garvey's work on emancipatory politics[2].

While reading the document, I was struck by the third declaration of rights. It reads as follows: "3. That we believe the Negro, like any other race, should be governed by the ethics of

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[2]For the purposes of this dissertation, I am examining this work as part of Garvey's *oeuvre*. I do not, however, wish to give the impression that this declaration is solely the work of Garvey. The Dover Thrift Edition, edited by Bob Blaisdell, (the edition I use and reference here) attributes the Declaration originally to the famous work, *The Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey, or Africa for the Africans: Vol. 2*. The Declaration is signed by the representatives of the conference, at which it is noted that Garvey was both the Chairman, as well as the "Provisional President of Africa" (Garvey, 2004, p. 16) – a position he was elected to at the same conference. Garvey was the first signature on the Declaration, but there were many others to sign it. They were: James D. Brooks, James W.H. Eason, Henrietta Vinton Davis, Lionel Winston Greenidge, Adrion Fitzroy Johnson, Rudolph Ethelbert Brissaac Smith, Charles Augustus Petioni, Thomas H. N. Simon, Richard Hilton Tobitt, George Alexander McGuire, Peter Edward Baston, Reynold R. Felix, Harry Walters Kirby, Sarah Branch, Marie Barrier Houston, George L. O'Brien, F. O. Ogilvie, Arden A. Bryan, Benjamin Dyett, Marie Duchaterlier, John Philip Hodge, Theophilus H. Saunders, Wilford H. Smith, Gabriel E. Stewart, Arnold Josiah Ford, Lee Crawford, William McCartney, Adina Clem. James, William Musgrave La Motte, John Sydney de Bourg, Arnold S. Cunning, Vernal J. Williams, Frances Wilcome Ellegor, J. Frederick Selkridge, Innis Abel Horsford, Cyril A. Chrichlow, Samuel McIntyre, John Thomas Wilkins, Mary Thurston, John G. Befue, William Ware, J. A. Lewis, O. C. Kelly, Venture R. Hamilton, R. H. Hodge, Edward Alfred Taylor, Ellen Wilson, G. W. Wilson, Richard Edward Riley, Nellie Grant Whiting, G. W. Washington, Maldena Miller, Gertrude Davis, James D. Williams, Emily Christmas Kinch, D. D. Lewis, Nettie Clayton, Partheria Hills, Jamie Jenkins, John C. Simons, Alphonso A. Jones, Allen Hobbs, Reynold Fitzgerald Austin, James Benjamin Yearwood, Frank O. Raines, Shedrick Williams, John Edward Ivey, Frederick Augustus Toote, Philip Hemmings, F. F. Smith, E. J. Jones, Joseph Josiah Cranston, Frederick Samuel Ricketts, Dugald Augustus Wade, E. E. Nelom, Florida Jenkins, Napoleon J. Francis, Joseph D. Gibson, J. P. Jasper, J. W. Montgomery, David Benjamin, J. Gordon, Harry E. Ford, Carrie M. Ashford, Andrew N. Willis, Lucy Sands, Louise Woodson, Grorge D. Creese, W. A. Wallace, Thomas E. Bagley, James Young, Prince Alfred McConney, John E. Hudson, William Ines, Harry R. Watkins, C. L. Halton, J. T. Bailey, Ira Joseph Touissant Wright, T. H. Golden, Abraham Benjamin Thomas, Richard C. Noble, Walter Green, C. S. Bourne, G. F. Bennett, B. D. Levy, Mary E. Johnson, Lionel Antonio Francis, Carl Roper, E. R. Donawa, Philip Van Putten, I. Brathwaite, Jesse W. Luck, Oliver Kaye, J. W. Hudspeth, C. B. Lovell, William C. Matthews, A. Williams, Ratford E. M. Jack, H. Vinton Plummer, Randolph Philips, A. I. Bailey.

civilization, and, therefore, should not be deprived of any of those rights or privileges common to other human beings" (Garvey *et al.*, 2004, p. 18). The phrase, "the ethics of civilization" is certainly not one that seems to be uttered today. Perhaps this drove my curiosity. To be clear, Garvey's work occurred at a very different historical juncture than today. But I was intrigued that Garvey may provide a linguistic starting point for the interrogation of contemporary society if we alter his phrase, and question, like Boltanski & Chiapello, the "new" ethics of civilization.

By coming to terms with what ethical position that "civilization" – or at least dominant forms of ideology that drive widespread international policies, such as capacity building – holds, I mean to question the ethic linked to an overarching project of emancipatory education. While this definition of civilization is somewhat disjuncturious with current understandings, I would hold that it resonates with Garvey's understanding of civilization as the state of civil rights, and citizenship through social participation. In this way, the reference to the ethics of civilization must be, at least in part, referring to the ethics of contemporary civil practice: A practice which large international political movements such as the implementation of capacity building are a critical component.

The question of ethics which I struggle with in this section are twofold. The first is the identification of ethical practices such as those proposed by policies like capacity building. This is a question of: What are the present day "ethics of civilization"? How have these ethics changed since Garvey's time? In this question, the position of capacity building for citizenship education is, at least in part, part of its formulation. The second is the interrogation of the appropriateness of these ethical practices in international contexts that are explicitly entwined with capacity building and citizenship education: An entwinement that continues to be built on a historical context of political-economic realities. To put simply, I wish to question the nature of

ethics as it relates to capacity buildings implications in the neoliberal development industry; as the new spirit of capitalism. The emphasis for this question I owe, in part, to David Harvey (2006) who has raised the issue that the ethics that are assumed to justify neoliberalism have gone unchallenged. Indeed, as many have noted, these ethics have been conceived as natural or innate to humans.

Garvey's original call for the extension of the ethics of civilization can be read with mixed results. There were many important achievements in the forms of civil rights, and for Jamaica, national independence. At the same time, the perpetual references to Garvey's name and ideas prove that there is still a desire and need for a discussion of civil rights. But, again I reiterate, Garvey's original call for the ethics of civilization came at a very different time than the present. He did not have to deal with concepts such as structural adjustments – in the formal contemporary sense at least.

I would maintain that it may be worthwhile to use his phrase to query if the ethics of international public policy – capacity building being a part of this policy – is an appropriate approach to a complex set of international relations. In this way, I would question if the ethics of current civilization – that of neoliberal financialization – is something which we should be attempting to incorporate people within. For my purposes here, I use Garvey's term "the ethics of civilization" as a tool to interrogate whether our current cultural constellations, the ethical propositions posed by multinational policy such as capacity building and citizenship education posit a viable alternative. As such, I pluck the phrase "the ethics of civilization," from its historical context, and use it as a conceptual tool to interrogate the present. In doing, so I hope that it can work as an allegorical phrase to guide our attention back to the question of ethics in the present day.

I would make a crucial point about the nature of my query into ethics here. While I am using the term "the ethics of civilization" as a phrase from Garvey's era, the contemporary practice is vastly different. The new spirit of capitalism orientates us in an evolving relationship to the field of ethics. In Garvey's day, capital relied extensively upon accumulation by dispossession. This dispossession relied upon segregation and exclusion from cultural practices and participation. For a question of ethics, it becomes necessary to orient that question in this historical period in a different manner than in Garvey's time. Whereas in a period dominated by the traditional circulation of capital – via dispossession – it becomes necessary to demand access to civil society; the new spirit of inclusion demands an interrogation of the overarching project of market ethics.

Garvey's Era: Overcoming Disposession

Ethics of Civilization

Incusion into the ethics of the market *as* the ethics of civilization

The *New* Ethics of Civilization?

Figure 12: The changing nature of the "Ethics of Civilization"

In this task, a helpful attendant may come in the form of another, more recent, Jamaican – Stuart Hall.

Hall's theorizations in the field of Cultural Studies have proven to be a valuable bridge between arrays of important contemporary issues. Most relevant to the discussion in this

chapter, is his theorization of the way hegemony operates in manufacturing consent – to borrow

Herman & Chomsky (1988), and Lippmann's (1997 [1922]) term – for dominant political

projects. Working with Hall's notion of hegemony, we begin to see how the ethics of current

civilization requires the inclusion of all, into the ethics of market based structures. James Proctor

(2004) attributes this feature of Hall's theory to Antonio Gramsci. He explains that,

> Gramscian hegemony actually describes the *process* of establishing dominance within a
> culture, not by brute force but by voluntary *consent*, by leadership rather than rule. The
> concept helped Gramsci explain why, for instance, the working classes had not become
> the revolutionary force Karl Marx had predicted. Hegemony resists revolutionary
> resistance by working through negotiation, incorporation and concession rather than by
> simple oppression. (p. 26)

It is precisely this concept that Proctor sees as underpinning Hall's conception of culture and

hegemony; "a site of resistance at one moment is a site of incorporation at another" (p. 26).

Specifically pertaining to capacity building, Hall offers a number of insights that allow

us to comprehend how these movements work to form a new ethical project. Hall (1996)

cautions that Gramsci's work on the ways that civil life and the state intertwine actually "vary

from place to place in his work" (p. 429). Rather than viewing this as a stumbling block to

understanding Gramsci, Hall maintains that it is because of the diverse application of how

moments of hegemony manifest that it should be read as call to further understand how this

relationship forms hegemony.

It is worthwhile to note, that not only does Hall's discussion of the way that the state

relates to civil society in the production of hegemonic power become a worthy one, but I think

also illuminates a possible explanation of how the state integrates new forms of legitimation

through capacity building. Up until now, traditional state apparati have been a part – but not necessarily the most central figure – in the implementation of capacity building projects. In reviewing the research, traditional mechanisms of state power have not been seen to be the driving force behind the projects. (The caveat here is that Canada's federal government has been involved in capacity building projects – much more so than Jamaica's government – but in a manner which has made great pains to emphasise a new, some might say devolved, relationship of power.) Instead, states have involved themselves with capacity building through their ever-changing relationships with multi-national organizations that have dominated the capacity building movement – at least in terms of funding, policy, and the development of a bureaucracy around the ideology – as well as the relationships they have had with development and community building programs. A reading of Hall would suggest, though, that this does not mean that the modern state has any less a role in utilizing capacity building to form a normative project of legitimation – on the contrary. Hall notes that it is in Gramsci's *Prison Notebooks,* where he argues the ethical function of every state is constituted by the fact that "one of its most important functions is to raise the great mass of the population to a particular cultural and moral level (or type) which corresponds to the needs of the productive forces for development, and hence to the interests of the ruling class" (Gramsci in Hall, 1996, p. 429). Hall continues to comment on this section of Gramsci's thought by noting how he "foregrounds *new* dimensions of power and politics, new areas of antagonism and struggle – the ethical, the cultural, the moral" (original italics, p. 429). This, Hall argues in a discussion which is coherent with Boltanski & Chiapello's argument drawn out in the last section, is done by the state in a indirect manner – by fostering a framework of "relays" (p. 429), not unlike the discussion of networks.

Hall's discussion of the relays that the modern state utilizes in constituting hegemonic relationships describes a defining aspect of capacity building for citizenship education. The normative aspect of the project – a circumscription into the new ethics of civilization – revels in the context of a new public pedagogy; legitimized by the state (and all of its morphing apparatuses), the market, and citizens alike. It cannot be understated the importance the pedagogical aspect of capacity building projects in legitimizing new norms. As Hall notes,

> The modern state exercises moral and educative leadership – it 'plans, urges, incites, solicits, punishes'. It is where the bloc of social forces which dominates over it not only justifies and maintains its domination but wins by leadership and authority the active consent of those over whom it rules. Thus it plays a pivotal role in the construction of hegemony. In this reading, it becomes, not a *thing* to be seized, overthrown or 'smashed' with a single blow, but a complex *formation* in modern societies which must become the focus of a number of different strategies and struggles because it is an arena of different social contestations. (original italics, p. 429)

It is this so called educative leadership, and the various strategies that Hall identifies, which I would argue provide a key to the comprehension of the connection between capacity building and citizenship education in the formulation of new ethical projects. It is important to point out that Hall is explicit in his clarification of Gramsci's nuanced stance on hegemonic matters. For example, Hall notes that "total victory of the bourgeoisie over the working class or the total incorporation of the working class into the bourgeois project are totally foreign to Gramsci's definition of hegemony" (p. 423); likewise, Hall later notes that "for Gramsci there is no pure case of coercion/consent – only different combinations of the two dimensions" (p. 426). As such, the educative leadership is a constant mediation of various constellations of social forces.

Capacity building, regardless of the agents, needs to be recognized as such a mediating mechanism. In attempting to trace the policy roots of capacity building (and specifically in this chapter, how it has formulated a new ethics of civilization), I would argue that the work I have produced here could be justified as an archaeology of how capacity building has manifested itself through a complex mediation of these forces.

It is, of course, useful to point out that because popular liberal discourses of power often view a question of hegemony as state (or interpersonal) oppression, Gramsci, Hall, and many other critical theorists do not make that connection. In fact, Hall's work can be optimistic about the nature and function of the hegemonic process; read through its most Gramscian lens, it is leadership. For example, Hall stresses that it is this process that provides – to jumble together Gramsci's own terms – organic collective will: A political process which Hall justifies its importance by quoting a passage from the *Prison Notebooks*, which notes that "only politics creates the possibility for manoeuvre and movement" (Gramsci, in Hall, p. 424).

In fact, it is this transformative potential of hegemony which has garnered Hall such significant attention in the critique of race, capitalism, and cultural studies. I have levelled various critiques about the concept of capacity building for citizenship education – most notably for the all too synonymous articulation with contemporary capitalism, especially as it pertains to the existence of structural adjustments in Jamaica, and the neoliberal wave of governance in Canada. To be fair, I must acknowledge that the hegemonic function can, in fact, have transformative potential.

Whereas the historical context of Garvey's time led the push for overcoming boundaries to be included into the "ethics of civilization," Hall's project orients us to the interrogation of what inclusion into those ethics might now entail.

I would, however, interject an important caveat into this discussion. At the end of the last section, I picked up an important discussion from Boltanski & Chiapello about the nature and function of *exclusion* in networking societies; here I flip the discussion and examine the nature of *inclusion* into the normative ethics of the project. How can this be? I would make an important point about this juxtaposition. The discussion about the nature of exclusion is offered as a perspective on the empirical function of capacity building for citizenship education; the discussion of inclusion articulates with the tenants of a normative project. While the dichotomy of inclusion/exclusion can be used to understand different aspects of the same process, I would point out that they also can apply, as I would argue the case here, to work in disjuncturous ways. This is to say that the *normative* function, of which I focus on the inclusionary aspects, can function in contradictory ways than *empirical* mechanisms: What something should, or be permitted to, do is entirely a separate question than what something does. In this case, it is not only conceivable that the normative project be inclusionary, while having exclusionary empirical aspects, but I would in fact argue that this disjuncture is actually an important element in propagation of a phenomenon so heavily tied with the market economy. As I have argued elsewhere (McGray, 2010), these disjunctures, if pushed to a crisis, do not jeopardize capital. Rather, they act as reformist harbingers of the dominant political economy.

Returning to Hall's discussion of the inclusion into the normative project, I ask: What then are the implications for projects such as those based on capacity building? It is hard not to question the rhetorical uses of concepts such as "participant driven," or "asset based" when faced with Hall's theoretical explanation that these concepts, at least in part, form contemporary hegemony. Are the tools that were used to exclude Garvey, the same as that which incorporate

many today? I would suggest that this suggestion might be vulgarly polemic: Regardless, it still might offer a correct explanation.

As one Jamaican participant noted of their experience with past World Bank capacity building exercises:

> *... our perspective has always been that their emphasis on capacity building is not emancipatory in its objective, but rather more a fiscal thing. ... So you build the capacities so that people can earn, so that we can have a properly run economy, so that we can get our funds. So it goes right back to the economics. Not the human economic side. But it goes back to financial matters, and how it affects loan repayment and the kind of society that would facilitate that. And tied to that is going to be a particular approach to the governance. Because it's going to have to facilitate – it's governance that facilitates an economic structure. That we create the kinds of gains that will support the repayment of loans. And that is a challenge to when we take up terms and use them uncritically.* (*J.T.*)

But, further to this point, the participant did highlight a crucial possibility.

> *But I have been in sessions where we have argued about capacity building, and it's ok, it could have come from anywhere. When you read their philosophical foundations, it might be more fiscal economic, but who says that I can't put my spin on it? And make it more emancipatory. That kind of thing. And that is why the world, the social world, of Adult Education is so complex.* (*J.T.*)

Indeed, the possibility for transformative action through capacity building projects does exist. It is my hope, that while providing a critique of the concept here, that this possibility is not lost. One author that does highlight the themes of transformation through capacity building in a

framework of a dominant political/economic model is Terri Seddon (1999). Seddon's work on capacity building in the context of Australian technical education teachers highlights many of the themes apparent in the previous interview quotations. In the face of political economic pressures, various conceptualizations of capacity building can describe contexts where "the teacher committed to bottom-up cooperative and democratic learning is the hero" (p. 48). But, as Seddon notes, because of competing lexicons around capacity building, "it has been appropriated by the World Bank to advance structural adjustment now that the costs of free market neo-liberalism are becoming impossible to ignore…" (p. 48). While I would argue with the concept that IFIs like the World Bank have "appropriated" the concept – as opposed to being a seminal influence – Seddon's analysis certainly highlights a central antimony for transformation and capacity building,

> Clearly, the capacity-builder and capacity-building practices are contested: claimed as the agent of the new softer neo-liberalism working on behalf of globalising informational capitalism and claimed as the agent of subaltern social forces reasserting human values over profitability. (p. 49)

In light of Boltanski & Chiapello, and Stuart Hall's work discussed in the past two sections, I would suggest that some factors need be considered in speculating the transformative potential of a disjuncturious policy.

The first is an articulation of what the transformative potential *does*. In what ways does the act of capacity building transform; in what ways does it conform? This may be a crucial component given the ways in which the "spirit" of capitalism has subsumed critique. Also prevalent to this point is to note that this articulation is not only a literal articulation, but an awareness of the nature by which the explanatory forms may enable or constrain the

transformative and pedagogical practices. This in light of the more conservative, and socially re-affirming, explanatory forms that are currently utilized (as discussed in chapter on the nature of explanatory discourses). In essence, this reiterates the call of Critical Discourse Analysis to question the relationships that are formed through discursive practices. An interesting example of this can be seen elsewhere in Gramsci's work. Richard Bellamy notes that Gramsci's use of the term *Jacobinism* oscillated in his work to vary between "a pejorative manner to suggest a sectarian, mystical, abstract or elitist attitude on the part of certain sections of the left," (Bellamy, in Gramsci, 1994, p. xxxviii) to a positive term in his prison writings, meant to convey possibility for transformative leadership. Like the concept of capacity building, Jacobinism – inspired by the French revolutionary group – can have a wide range of implications for transformation and complicity. Take, for example, C.L.R. James' (1980) use of the term to describe the revolutionary period of Jamaica's francophone neighbour, Haiti, in *The Black Jacobins: Toussaint L'Ouverture and the San Domingo Revolution.*

In a similar vein, the second point is an acknowledgement that the focus on the transformative *potential* of a phenomenon such as capacity building and citizenship education may be a red herring. What exists in the world that couldn't make some sort of claim to the possibility of a generative mechanism for transformation? To reiterate and paraphrase one of Žižek's (2006b, 2008) theses on violence; even violence can have tremendous transformative potential (and often does; as he states, "violence is needed – but *what* violence?" [2006b, p. 381]). But the ethical concern is not whether violence can create transformation, but if we are violent, will transformation necessarily follow? As such, there may be an over-privileging of the discourses around the potential for transformation. It might go a long way to trouble the discussion about the potentiality of transformation.

Finally, the third is a continual call for the investigation of the evolution of "the ethics of civilization." This means an interrogation of the current practices, in light of the structures, and historical and material realities. Also, it should be noted that the ethical practices we have now, are not necessarily natural, or innate. More likely, we simply privilege the historical development of these practices because they have become normalized. As such, the current ethics of civilization should be consciously negotiated and debated.

Hopefully, it is through this discussion, citizenship education can maintain a robust commitment to transformative action. I noted to one Jamaican participant that Jamaicans seemed to maintain a valuation of education and learning, at least in the public discourse, that does not appear in Canada. They responded by stating,

> *One of the phenemenons of my country is how we have used education right throughout our history, to take us through different eras, the different phases of our development, the different social contexts that exist. At the heart of it has always been education. Education as a social movement is a thread that runs through our history, so that is engrained in my people. And it goes right back to slavery. Because it was education – non-formal as it was – that pulled the people together and they rallied around through that.* (*J.S.*)

Chapter 6: Conclusions

6.1 Future Research and Possibilities around Capacity Building for Citizenship Education

As I have noted in the literature review, while the research around capacity building belongs to a more transient and disparate field than, say, that of citizenship education, there are still many possibilities for both bodies of literature; the least of these possibilities is further research into their ongoing connection in other contexts. Allow me to start with the field of capacity building:

1)   While this study has allowed me to investigate the phenomenon of capacity building for citizenship education in two distinct contexts, I would suggest that the global implications for studying capacity building hold tremendous potential. That is to say, while capacity building projects are implemented all over the globe, I would question if we have enough critical research investigating how the phenomenon actualizes. While it is valued as a malleable and locally oriented policy, it clearly has found a home with many of the International Financial Institutions that are major players in international politics. I would suggest that given the neoliberal bases for these institutions, and their policies, the amount of local orientation found therein may be overstated. This, I would argue, is not due to coercion, but, as Marx stressed, tautological position whereby it is believed that the dominant economic system is *natural* instead of *historical*. As such, many people may mistakenly believe that the historical aspect of capacity building which has underpinned global financiering is somehow an occurrence of local – and thereby assume they are natural – processes. I would argue that research that could make this differentiation may of considerable future value to studying

capacity building in international contexts. That is to say, rather than assuming the policy fits existing cultural systems, there is a considerable importance to question whether the policy fits because of existing pressure of globalization.

2)   The second point I would make can be read as the converse of the first: Not that future research need only to question the appropriateness of policy's influence on local contexts, but also to question the assumptions that we have about decision making processes of communities. As I have noted earlier on, there is not a strong tradition within the literature on capacity building which questions the abilities of collective agency to come up with positive decisions. This theme did seem to come out in some of the research interviews, but still is an area in need of further investigation.

3)   While my third point would be to highlight potential in the area for the investigation of the debates in structure and agency and international policies, such as capacity building and citizenship education, I also wish to provide a caveat: These debates are not new. In fact, the theorization of the relationship, and conceptualization of, structure and agency has raged for years. Why then would I suggest that it be a potential for further research? I would suggest that the pressures of neoliberal governance have swayed the conception of the equation to privilege agency.

4)   When I was a child, my grandmother – a lifelong schoolteacher – would make it well known that the only toys she might purchase for me must be educational. When Christmas or my birthday would roll around, I would pour through the *Sears* catalogue and attempt to articulate what exactly it would be that I would "learn" from each of the toys that I hoped to procure. Many of the things I would hope for would, of course, hardly be categorized as educational. Regardless, this fact did little to deter me from attempting to make my case about

what I might learn from each of the objects anyway. Sometimes I feel that the assumptions we make about citizenship education take the same form as the reasons that I would give to try and convince my grandmother: That all learning is, somehow, good. The answer, of course, is obviously that it is not. Likewise, I would suggest that research which might trouble the categories, as well as the moral and ethical imperatives, of terms like *capacity*, as well as *citizen* might be a boon to the fields.

  5) Finally, I would point out one of the greatest possibilities for future research in the field of capacity building and citizenship education is the momentum for internationalization. While the intent – as well as the outcomes – of the focus on internationalization is debatable, it cannot be denied that there is a desire and call for such work. Sometimes researchers, organizations, and universities find a tension in this focus; often the funding agencies for research on international projects are themselves the focus of critique. As such, we must be wary that the funding models are far from innocuous mechanisms. Be that as it may, the agency that Marx described as being afforded to those entwined in the logic of capitalism might be analogous to the agency, in the guise of funding, research opportunities, etc. to those wishing to further research in this area.

6.2 Conclusions

While I have attempted to flesh out empirical, explanatory, and normative positions of capacity building, I have also had to account for contradictions, tensions, and schisms. Within capacity building, there are many examples of the latter. But these disjunctures are not a new revelation. In the introduction to the research, I noted that one of the more intriguing aspects of studying capacity building was its fluctuating manifestations. In Harrow's (2001) study of the concept of capacity building, she concludes that she sees an "intriguing duality" (p. 215) present in the idea. On the one hand, she describes a "conservatism… in the sense that it seeks to create (or recreate) 'recognizable' institutions or accountability structures" (p. 215). On the other hand is what she refers to as a "radicalism where, for example, it underpins local participation, and where local organizations then take issue with government or other power structures; or where it encourages a post-professional understanding of individual and social need" (p. 216). Harrow's duality of the subject goes a long way to describe and analyze the nature of the disjunctures I have found in my own research. Harrow's work – a strong piece of concise writing on the topic of capacity building – concludes that her review for capacity building in the field of public management "has pointed to the uncertainties in its theoretical nature and the ambiguities accompanying its practical expression" (p. 225). She later reaffirms this point by describing capacity building as "theoretically homeless; but for which some temporary accommodation can be found, in a variety of literature, including that of new public management" (p. 226).

As I stated before, my own research has revealed similar disjunctures as Harrow's. On the one hand, large international groups such as the UNDP and the World Bank advocate the concept; on the other hand, critical practitioners are attempting to use the concept to build relationships. Also, like Harrow's research in public management, the attachments to the market

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by capacity building projects in education are both prolific and predominant. But I do make one significant claim that Harrow does not about the nature of these disjunctures in capacity building. This claim is that these disjunctures do not make the ideology of capacity building, as she stated, "homeless." Instead, I would argue that the disjunctures in the position of capacity building – sometimes even to the point of contradiction – have provided the articulation as the spirit behind political economy. Call it what you will: flexible accumulation; the devolution of services; partnerships and networking. This articulation of this spirit is typified in this research through three steps. The first is a commitment to agency as detailed by the assumptions of upward conflation in section (5.1). By attributing the primary, and legitimate, sphere of action as local agency, the lens on the long lasting structural forms surrounding human life becomes blurred. The state of uneven geographical development, to paraphrase David Harvey (2006), only occupies a peripheral location in our consciousness as we believe that we are addressing current actions as the primary, and paramount, phenomenon. The second step which capacity building provides for the spirit of capitalism is the incorporation into dominant market ethics (section 5.2). Finally, the third step is a justification through normative mechanisms (section 5.3).

Hopefully, this does not sound too pessimistic. The agency that is yearned to be developed for communities through capacity building can have powerful and transformative consequences. Also, to reiterate a key point, using Archer's conceptual framework is not to dismiss the power and potential of collective and individual agency. The key, she would assert, is that orienting our understanding of the interplay between the spheres of structure and agency. Not to dissolve one into the other, nor ignoring the historical and material consequences of this interplay. In this way, we conceive of, and actualize agency to, its emancipatory potential.

But the inertia of things like structural adjustment plans have long lasting and definitive consequences. Do concepts such as capacity building feed us a discourse of liberation only to be eaten in a "Free Zone"? It cannot be understated the power that policy can have in creating our passivity. In cases such as these, we must consider that capacity building may be, to paraphrase Marx, an opiate laced policy: the heart of a structurally adjusted world.

7. Appendix A: Research Ethics' Letter of Consent for Participants

To whom it may concern,

By way of introduction, my name is Robert McGray. I am a PhD Candidate in the department of Educational Policy Studies at the University of Alberta, Canada. I am conducting research on capacity building and citizenship education. This research is, in part, a requirement for my degree.

The purpose of this letter is to ask for your participation in this research. This participation entails a verbal interview at a time that is convenient for both of us. The purpose of the interview is to gain a broader sense of perspectives on the policy of capacity building as well as citizenship education. I will ask questions about how you view the working of the two subjects, as well as what your experiences with capacity building or citizenship education have been in the past. With your permission the interview will be recorded on a tape recorder, and later transcribed to paper. The interview will be approximately one hour in length. You will have the opportunity to review the written transcript and make any changes you wish after the interview.

The plan for this study has been reviewed for its adherence to ethical guidelines and approved by the Faculties of Education, Extension, Augustana, Campus Saint-Jean Research Ethics Board (EEASJ REB) at the University of Alberta. For questions regarding participant rights and ethical conduct of research, contact the Chair of the EEASJ REB at (780) 492-3751

 The following points will be strictly adhered to protect your rights as a participant:

1) If any of your information is used, every effort will be made to ensure that it is anonymous.

2) Under no circumstances will your identity be revealed.

3) The research will not be used in other research projects, and if used for further dissemination beyond my dissertation (i.e. journal articles, books, or academic publications), your identity will be held in confidentiality and anonymity.

4)   All information is for my purposes only, and will be seen by no one other than myself and my supervisor.

5)   You have the right to withdraw your participation from the research at any time, up to one month after the interview transcripts have been returned to you for review.

6)   If you choose to withdraw your participation, all transcripts and interview recordings will be destroyed.

If you have any questions, feel free to contact me at mcgray@ualberta.ca or by phone 902.790.1837. You may also contact my supervisor Dr. Jerrold Kachur at jerry.kachur@ualberta.ca or by phone 780.492.4427

Thank You.

Robert McGray

I declare that I have read and understood the above and agree to participate in the study.

Name:

Signature:

8. Appendix B: Document Analysis Summary

This appendix details the documents used for the document analysis in this research. They have been divided into two sections. First are the stand alone documents that influence the field. Second is a series of documents from a network called Capacity.org. I have listed these documents together as they represent a corpus that is a continued and pointed policy involvement in the field.

Section 1:

Canadian International Development Agency. (2000). *Capacity development: why, what and how*. Gatineau, Quebec. Retrieved, June 22, 2009, from http://portals.wi.wur.nl/files/docs/SPICAD/16.%20Why%20what%20and%20how%20of%20capacity%20development%20-%20CIDA.pdf

Dedrick, A., Mitchell, G., Miyagawa, M., & Roberts, S. (1997). *From model to reality – community capacity building and asset mapping*. Capital Health Authority, Edmonton Alberta.

Dodd, J.D. & Boyd, M.H. (2000). *Capacity building: linking community experience to public policy*. Halifax: Health Canada.

Frank, F. & Smith, A. (1999). *The community development handbook: a tool to build community capacity*. Hull, Quebec: Human Resources Development Canada.

Government of Canada. (2009, April). *Canada – Jamaica Relations*. Retrieved May 18, 2010, from http://www.canadainternational.gc.ca/jamaica-jamaique/bilateral_relations_bilaterales/canada_jamaica-jamaique.aspx?lang=eng&menu_id=7

Hounslow, B. (2002). *Community capacity building explained*. Stronger Families Learning

    Exchange Bulletin. No. 1, pp. 20-22.

Kretzmann, J. & McKnight, J. (1993). *Building communities from the inside out: a path toward*

    finding and mobilizing a community's assets. Skokie, IL., ACTA Publications.

Maconick, R., Morgan, P. (1999). *Capacity-building supported by the United Nations : some*

    evaluations and some lessons. U.N. Department of Economic and Social Affairs.

Morgan, P. (nd.) *Capacity development and public private partnerships*. Retrieved, Dec. 18th,

    2007, from http://www.gdrc.org/uem/undp-capacity.html#implications.

Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development. (2008). *Concepts and dilemmas of*

    state building in fragile situations. Retrieved May 6, 2009, from

    http://www.oecd.org/dataoecd/59/51/41100930.pdf

The World Bank. (2003). *Building capacity in post-conflict countries*. The World Bank:

    Washington. Retreived June 23rd, 2009, from

    http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTCPR/214578-

    1111751313696/20480287/CPR+Note+14+SD+88+final+for+printing.pdf

United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs. (2002). *Capacity-building in*

    Africa: effective aid and human capital. Report of the committee for development policy

    on the fourth session. New York: United Nations.

United Nations Development Programme. (2008a). *Capacity development: empowering people*

    and institutions. Annual report. New York: New York. Retrieved May 6, 2009, from,

    http://www.undp.org/publications/annualreport2008/pdf/IAR2008_ENG_low.pdf

United Nations Development Programme. (2008b). *The Jamaica Violence Prevention, Peace*

    and Sustainable Development (JVPPSD) Programme 2008-2010. Retrieved, Dec, 10,

    2010, from, http://www.jm.undp.org/jvppsd-20082010.

United Nations Development Programme. (n.d.). *UNDP Country Programme Document for*

    Jamaica (2007-2011). Retrieved, June, 13, 2010, from

    www.undp.org/latinamerica/country-docs/CPD%20Jamaica.doc.

World Trade Organization. (1998, October 23). *Jamaica must stabilize its economy and*

    diversify its exports - Jamaican products to face market access problems. Retrieved Jan.

    23, 2011,from http://www.wto.org/english/tratop_e/tpr_e/tp85_e.htm.

Section 2:

    The Series of Documents from Capacity.Org comprise a vast selection of publications,

starting in 1999, which reflect the work of many influential partners. Their own steering group

is comprised of organizations such as the UNDP as well as the European Center for

Development Policy Management. Below is a list of the documents used in the analysis specific

to this network. They are still producing this series, however this study only included the issues

listed below.

Capacity.org (1999). *Linking sector-wide approaches with capacity*. Issue 2. Maastricht, The

    Netherlands. Retrieved Jan., 30, 2009, from

    http://capacity.org/capacity/export/sites/capacity/documents/journal-

    pdfs/CAP1299_03_ENG.pdf

Capacity.org (2000). *Informing the capacity debate - operational experiences*. Issue 4.

    Maastricht, The Netherlands. Retrieved Jan., 30, 2009, from

http://capacity.org/capacity/export/sites/capacity/documents/journal-pdfs/CAP0100_04_ENG.pdf

Capacity.org (2000). *Local action through joint action*. Issue 5. Maastricht, The Netherlands. Retrieved Jan., 30, 2009, from http://capacity.org/capacity/export/sites/capacity/documents/journal-pdfs/CAP0400_05_ENG.pdf

Capacity.org (2000). *Partnership - an instrument for capacity building*? Issue 6. Maastricht, The Netherlands. Retrieved Jan., 30, 2009, from http://capacity.org/capacity/export/sites/capacity/documents/journal-pdfs/CAP0700_06_ENG.pdf

Capacity.org (2000). *Information and capacity building*. Issue 7. Maastricht, The Netherlands. Retrieved Jan., 30, 2009, from http://capacity.org/capacity/export/sites/capacity/documents/journal-pdfs/CAP1000_07_ENG.pdf

Capacity.org (2001). *Tools of the trade: capacity assessment*. Issue 8. Maastricht, The Netherlands. Retrieved Jan., 30, 2009, from http://capacity.org/capacity/export/sites/capacity/documents/journal-pdfs/CAP0801_08_ENG.pdf

Capacity.org (2001). *Capacity for dialogue on S&T*. Issue 9. Maastricht, The Netherlands. Retrieved Jan., 30, 2009, from http://capacity.org/capacity/export/sites/capacity/documents/journal-pdfs/CAP0501_09_ENG.pdf

Capacity.org (2001). *Approaches to ICT capacity development*. Issue 10. Maastricht, The

    Netherlands. Retrieved Jan., 30, 2009, from

    http://capacity.org/capacity/export/sites/capacity/documents/journal-

    pdfs/CAP0701_10_ENG.pdf

Capacity.org (2001). *Structuring civil society*. Issue 11. Maastricht, The Netherlands. Retrieved

    Jan., 30, 2009, from http://capacity.org/capacity/export/sites/capacity/documents/journal-

    pdfs/CAP1001_11_ENG.pdf

Capacity.org (2002). *Pooling of technical assistance*. Issue 12. Maastricht, The Netherlands.

    Retrieved Jan., 30, 2009, from

    http://capacity.org/capacity/export/sites/capacity/documents/journal-

    pdfs/CAP0201_12_ENG_LR.pdf

Capacity.org (2002). *Capacity development for trade*. Issue 13. Maastricht, The Netherlands.

    Retrieved Jan., 30, 2009, from

    http://capacity.org/capacity/export/sites/capacity/documents/journal-

    pdfs/CAP0202_13_ENG_LR.pdf

Capacity.org (2002). *Capacity for development: insights and innovation*. Issue 14. Maastricht,

    The Netherlands. Retrieved Jan., 30, 2009, from

    http://capacity.org/capacity/export/sites/capacity/documents/journal-

    pdfs/CAP0203_14_ENG_LR.pdf

Capacity.org (2002). *Capacity for 'voice'*. Issue 15. Maastricht, The Netherlands. Retrieved Jan.,

    30, 2009, from http://capacity.org/capacity/export/sites/capacity/documents/journal-

    pdfs/CAP0204_15_ENG_LR.pdf

Capacity.org (2003). *Capturing southern feedback on aid*. Issue 16. Maastricht, The

Netherlands. Retrieved Jan., 30, 2009, from

http://capacity.org/capacity/export/sites/capacity/documents/journal-

pdfs/CAP0301_16_ENG_LR.pdf

Capacity.org (2003). *Evaluating capacity development*. Issue 17. Maastricht, The Netherlands.

Retrieved Jan., 30, 2009, from

http://capacity.org/capacity/export/sites/capacity/documents/journal-

pdfs/CAP0302_17_ENG_LR.pdf

Capacity.org (2003). *Developing capacities for ICT enabled development*. Issue 18. Maastricht,

The Netherlands. Retrieved Jan., 30, 2009, from

http://capacity.org/capacity/export/sites/capacity/documents/journal-

pdfs/CAP0303_18_ENG_LR.pdf

Capacity.org (2003). *Capacity development: the why's and how's*. Issue 19. Maastricht, The

Netherlands. Retrieved Jan., 30, 2009, from

http://capacity.org/capacity/export/sites/capacity/documents/journal-

pdfs/CAP0303_19_ENG_LR.pdf

Capacity.org (2004). *Renewing approaches to institutional development*. Issue 20. Maastricht,

The Netherlands. Retrieved Jan., 30, 2009, from

http://capacity.org/capacity/export/sites/capacity/documents/journal-

pdfs/CAP0401_20_ENG_LR.pdf

Capacity.org (2004). *Promoting local governance through municipal cooperation*. Issue 21.

Maastricht, The Netherlands. Retrieved Jan., 30, 2009, from

http://capacity.org/capacity/export/sites/capacity/documents/journal-

pdfs/CAP0404_21_ENG.pdf

Capacity.org (2004). *Meso-level capacity development*. Issue 22. Maastricht, The Netherlands.

Retrieved Jan., 30, 2009, from

http://capacity.org/capacity/export/sites/capacity/documents/journal-

pdfs/CAP0704_22_ENG.pdf

Capacity.org (2004). *Embedding ICT in development*. Issue 23. Maastricht, The Netherlands.

Retrieved Jan., 30, 2009, from

capacity.org/capacity/export/sites/capacity/documents/journal-

pdfs/CAP1004_23_ENG.pdf

Capacity.org (2005). *Exploring the soft side of capacity development*. Issue 24. Maastricht, The

Netherlands. Retrieved Jan., 30, 2009, from

http://capacity.org/capacity/export/sites/capacity/documents/journal-

pdfs/CAP24_Jan05_ENG.pdf

Capacity.org (2005). *Harmonising aid efforts in Asia: the story so far*. Issue 25. Maastricht, The

Netherlands. Retrieved Jan., 30, 2009, from

http://capacity.org/capacity/export/sites/capacity/documents/journal-

pdfs/CAP25_Apr05_ENG.pdf

Capacity.org (2005). *From local empowerment to aid harmonisation*. Issue 26. Maastricht, The

Netherlands. Retrieved Jan., 30, 2009, from

http://capacity.org/capacity/export/sites/capacity/documents/journal-

pdfs/CAP26_0905_Empower_ENG.pdf

Capacity.org (2006). *Networks and partnerships*. Issue 27. Maastricht, The Netherlands.

Retrieved Jan., 30, 2009, from

http://capacity.org/capacity/export/sites/capacity/documents/journal-

pdfs/CAP27_0206_Networks_ENG.pdf

Capacity.org (2006). *Leadership*. Issue 28. Maastricht, The Netherlands. Retrieved Jan., 30,

2009, from capacity.org/capacity/export/sites/capacity/documents/journal-

pdfs/CAP28_0706_Lead_ENG.pdf

Capacity.org (2006). *Monitoring and evaluation*. Issue 29. Maastricht, The Netherlands.

Retrieved Jan., 30, 2009, from

http://capacity.org/capacity/export/sites/capacity/documents/journal-

pdfs/CAP29_0906_ME_ENG.pdf

Capacity.org (2007). *Partnerships for service delivery*. Issue 30. Maastricht, The Netherlands.

Retrieved Jan., 30, 2009, from

http://capacity.org/capacity/export/sites/capacity/documents/journal-

pdfs/CAP30_0307_Partner_ENG.pdf

Capacity.org (2007). *Accountability*. Issue 31. Maastricht, The Netherlands. Retrieved Jan., 30,

2009, from http://capacity.org/capacity/export/sites/capacity/documents/journal-

pdfs/CAP31_0807_Acc_ENG.pdf

Capacity.org (2007). *Fragile states*. Issue 32. Maastricht, The Netherlands. Retrieved Jan., 30,

2009, from http://capacity.org/capacity/export/sites/capacity/documents/journal-

pdfs/CAP32_1207_Fragile_ENG.pdf

Capacity.org (2008). *Organizational learning*. Issue 33. Maastricht, The Netherlands. Retrieved

    Jan., 30, 2009, from http://capacity.org/capacity/export/sites/capacity/documents/journal-

    pdfs/CAP33_0408_OL_ENG.pdf

Capacity.org (2008). *Producer organisations and value chains*. Issue 34. Maastricht, The

    Netherlands. Retrieved Jan., 30, 2009, from

    http://capacity.org/capacity/export/sites/capacity/documents/journal-

    pdfs/CAP34_0708_PO_ENG.pdf

Capacity.org (2008). *Research, policy and practice*. Issue 35. Maastricht, The Netherlands.

    Retrieved Jan., 30, 2009, from

    http://capacity.org/capacity/export/sites/capacity/documents/journal-

    pdfs/CAP35_1108_RPP_ENG.pdf

Capacity.org (2009). *Capacity development for water and sanitation*. Issue 36. Maastricht, The

    Netherlands. Retrieved Feb., 3, 2011, from

    http://capacity.org/capacity/export/sites/capacity/documents/journal-

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