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USING HISTORICAL NARRATIVE AS A TOOL FOR ORGANIZATIONAL
ANALYSIS: A TWENTY-FIVE YEAR HISTORY OF THE CENTER FOR
INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION

A Dissertation Presented

by

KATHERINE G. PFEIFFER

Submitted to the Graduate School of the
University of Massachusetts Amherst in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF EDUCATION

September 1995

School of Education

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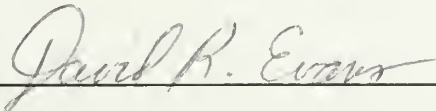
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A Dissertation Presented


by

KATHERINE G. PFEIFFER


Approved as to style and content by:



David R. Evans, Chair



Patricia Crosson, Member



Peter Park, Member



Bailey Jackson, Dean
School of Education

Dedicated to my parents,
for their support, wisdom, and patience.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Once in a while during life, we get the opportunity and encouragement to achieve very personal goals. Completing this dissertation was a personal goal of mine. I would never have gotten to this point without the assistance of many people.

For over two years, my dissertation committee has provided advise, insight, and the patience I needed. I thank David Evans for teaching me the value of learning through experience and confrontation; he judiciously walked the line between advisor and informant throughout this study. Pat Crosson gave me valuable guidance, pointed me in fruitful directions for discovery, and became a role model. And, I thank Peter Park for opening up a whole new ideological vista to me, as well as showing me how it could be practiced.

Early in my graduate studies, a group of us formed the "Hologram Society" -- Jane Benbow, Sue Thrasher, and later, Peggy Antrobus. These women challenged my every step during this process and supported me in a way only friends can. The intellectual grist I gathered out of our meetings directly influenced the goals and assumptions behind this dissertation. Their voices are as much a part of this dissertation as mine. Though, I accept full responsibility

for any errors and all statements herein, they taught me as well as anybody.

The seed of the idea behind this study came from Jane Benbow and Debbie Fredo while they were coordinating the planning of the CIE 25th Reunion/Conference. I ignored their suggestion that this could be an opportunity for research until Anna Donovan joined their cause. Thus, I acknowledge, most gratefully, Anna Donovan for planting the seed; Anna provided humor, wisdom, and stability throughout the entire research and writing.

I must also acknowledge that this would never have been completed without the assistance of the entire CIE community, past and present. David Kinsey, George Urch, Bob Miltz, and Sally Habana-Hafner, the CIE faculty, continually surprise me with their time, support, but ultimately what I learn from them. The "old" Center members I met at the 25th Reunion, and at other times, freely and honestly gave their memories and encouragement. The Center community on-campus has always been a source of inspiration, learning, pleasure, and sanity for me. Thus, this work is also dedicated to them, and their commitments to education for social justice.

Finally, the early morning and late night kitchen table discussions with Sue Thrasher, Jane Benbow, Debbie Fredo, Will Bundy, Flora Cohen, and Fatou Sarr kept me from wallowing in a love/hate relationship with this dissertation-thing, and instead busy writing.

ABSTRACT

USING HISTORICAL NARRATIVE AS A TOOL FOR ORGANIZATIONAL
ANALYSIS: A TWENTY-FIVE YEAR HISTORY OF THE CENTER FOR
INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION

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The purpose behind this study was twofold: (1) to argue the value of historical narrative as an alternative mode for organizational analysis, particularly for non-traditional, educational organizations; and, (2) to illustrate this by developing a twenty-five year, thematic narrative of the Center for International Education (CIE).

The historical research hinged upon the following two part question: (1) How has the Center for International Education responded to the challenges of maintaining multi-cultural, participatory and experiential learning and program management over 25 years of change? And, (2) How can these responses inform other organizations facing the challenges of maintaining innovation and renewal?

Part I of this study includes the methodology and rationale used for collecting and organizing the historical data. This methodology was derived from critical organizational theory and applied to the revisionist historiographer's medium of the narrative. Four issues were

emphasized: (1) sensitivity to context; (2) that the analysis flows from the narrative form based on the historical events rather than from a theoretical model; (3) the temporal position and interpretive lenses of the researcher; and, (4) the multi-level, simultaneous nature of historical analysis (Gillette, 1985).

After initial probing interviews for participants to define "critical incidents" in the history of the organization, six "critical eras" and a prehistory were defined. Data was further sorted according to themes that were emerging out of CIE discourse over time, as well as by three levels of organizational development: individual time, organization time, and historical time (Gillette, 1985). The primary sources of data were "retrospective interviews" (Simmons, 1985) with past and present members of the organizational, and archival materials. Part II is the historical narrative of the CIE (1968-1993).

In Part III the research and writing process is critiqued using the historical narrative as its lessons. Five dialogical themes generated out of the historical narrative and four operating hypotheses are presented that represent the "larger lessons" learned both during the research and by the CIE over 25 years. In conclusion, cooperative, community inquiry is proposed as a next step in organizational analysis for the CIE.

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PART I: DEVELOPING A THEMATIC ORGANIZATIONAL HISTORY

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION AND OVERVIEW

Why an Organizational History?

In making sense of our world, we engage in a dialogue between our past and present realities, recasting and redefining our visions and hopes for the future. These dialogues permeate our personal lives and our social organizations; influence our decisions and chart our options. The life of an organization embraces a tangle of historical dialogues -- from the individual to the collective, from the personal to the political. Purposefully unraveling these historical dialogues, exploring their themes and contingencies, lends insight to organizational continuance, and more so when unraveling an organization born out of the challenges of innovation or experimentation.

What follows is an historical study of a twenty-five year old nontraditional organization created during an experiment in educational reform at a large, New England, public university. This organization is a graduate degree program in international education that has struggled with the challenges of nontraditional and innovative pedagogical and organizational structures, and maintained experiential, participatory and collaborative processes in its curriculum and program development. The site and subject of this research is the Center for International Education (CIE), an

academic program within the School of Education at the University of Massachusetts/Amherst.

The anticipated outcome of this research project was a history looking at "critical eras" illustrating themes that cut across the academic and organizational life of this program. The research proposal hinged upon the following two part question:

- (1) How has the Center for International Education responded to the challenges of maintaining multi-cultural, participatory, and experiential learning and program management over 25 years of change? And,
- (2) How can these responses inform other nontraditional organizations facing the challenges of maintaining innovation and renewal?

While compiling the data and preparing an outline for the historical narrative, I began to study the craft of historians by reading history. I was looking for insight into translating my data and theoretical understanding of the historical method into a reasonable discourse. By reasonable, I mean text that would resonate with an audience which includes the key players in many of the events to be described as well as past and present members of this organization who define themselves as an extended community. I expected to find techniques for how to write a lively and illuminating narrative.

However, I was reading history as if it were a recitation of dates and actions - a product and not a

process. When finally I came round to reading a text covering the same time period of a previously read text, and discovered that I disagreed with the author as to the importance of certain events and his selection of actions to highlight, I realized that an historian is as good as his/her storytelling, in addition to thorough research.

Our histories are not a mystery. We may not know all of the discrete events, actions or exact dates and words spoken, but we know the ending. The suspense lies in how different events are described, how chosen actions are interpreted, and framed to make a story. But it is not a mystery because the ending is always known. The end of history is the present.

The Situational Opportunity of the CIE 25th Anniversary

In 1968 graduate students and faculty of the School of Education at the University of Massachusetts/Amherst drafted a new constitution for the school. In this draft they put forth that their goals for the "new" School of Education could only be achieved,

... by free and mobile individuals working through a community which supports individual creativity, growth and vitality. We see any organizational restraints on free activity as potential personal inhibitors...

[the school] shall be free and open... without status distinctions... all policies are ultimately derived from the whole and we shall strive for concensus [sic] of the whole... [and] avoid stifling effects that bureaucratic organizational patterns inevitably wreak on

individual initiatives, creativity and growth...
(Tabula Rasa, 11/19/68)

To do this numerous changes and innovations were tried and put in place within the school -- abolishment of a grading system, voting rights given to graduate students on faculty committees, reciprocal faculty-student evaluation systems, a portfolio system integrating in-class and out-of-class experience for determining student credit, purposeful promotion of just about any form of administrative or academic innovation.

By early 1969, the School of Education at the University of Massachusetts was heralded as an "experiment," a living "alternative" (Saturday Review, Roberts, 1/18/68; Gillmor, circa. 1970-71). And, from its rough and tumble "do your own thing" origins at an all school planning retreat under the trees of High Trails Camps in Florissant, Colorado, the Center for International Education was born as a "non-negotiable" piece of this experiment in educational reform (DWA Interview, 1993).

Saturday Review reporter Wallace Roberts wrote about the "new" School of Education,

This potpourri produces a dynamism and excitement that animates education both as an academic subject and an arena for action and social change. The problem, of course, is whether all this ferment, endless talk, and frenetic activity can produce a new set of assumptions and operating techniques for education that can be generalized and institutionalized. (Roberts, 1969: 63)

Though never an academic community or organization reaching any sort of consensus on a single, prescribed educational or organizational philosophy, the Center for International Education (CIE) engendered from its beginnings a learning environment open to alternative and innovative pedagogical and organizational theory, and promoted experimentation with nontraditional learning and organizing systems. The CIE was very much an offspring of this "new" School of Education.

Several consistent elements of the CIE philosophy and practice, however, can be traced throughout its twenty-five year history:

(1) a purpose to develop greater cross-cultural understanding and sensitivity to different types of knowledge by building an internationally diverse academic community;

(2) the promotion of collaboration and participation by sharing of resources and responsibilities in its academic and administrative operations; and,

(3) acknowledgement of the interdependence of theory and practice, and relevance of experiential and participatory learning in the classroom, applied research, and project development. (Bing, 1979; CIE documents, 1969-present).

These elements of philosophy and practice were manifest and interpreted in a variety of ways. A number of student and staff "rebellions," organizational upheavals, changes in faculty and staff, waxing and waning in approval and influences from the University and external groups, and funding crises are interspersed throughout the twenty-five

years. Expansion of and experimentation with curriculum, increased project development capabilities, innovations in research, development of publishing and extended training capacities, and consistent (often contentious) organizational self-evaluation and self-reflection are also evident throughout its history. In addition, the CIE has maintained a relatively stable degree of autonomy and self-direction apart from the twelve or so other "centers" established during the 1968 planning year which have evolved into other school structures or faded away.

In June 1993, the CIE celebrated twenty-five years of existence (or "community" as the organization often refers to itself) by sponsoring an international conference. Former staff and over 200 former and current students spanning twenty-five years attended this conference to discuss and reflect on the issues of:

- Educating the Development Practitioner
- Social Disintegration and the Challenge for Education and Development amid Global Crisis
- Using Participatory and Critical Methodologies in Formal Education Settings
- Community Education, NGO Development and the Market Ideology at the Grassroots Level
- Multiculturalism within a Hegemonic Society

Throughout the four day conference much informal discussion was devoted to reminiscing and reflecting on the past, as well as on the future of the CIE and to "re-visioning" the organization for the future.

Pettigrew (1990) chastises the field of organizational research and analysis for a tendency to be "ahistorical, aprocessual, and acontextual in character (1990: 269)." He argues for the need for historical research on organizational change, specifically in a contextualist mode that studies organizational change through "interconnected levels of analysis (1990: 269)." The occasion of the CIE 25th reunion conference -- ReVisiting the Past, ReVisioning the Future -- provided a unique opportunity for historical organizational research. Specifically, an opportunity was created for the study of how a program that was created as part of an "experiment" and a living "alternative" in higher education has persisted and maintained many of the original ideas intact for twenty-five years while the institution within which it is embedded has moved toward more traditional and hierarchical systems.

In approaching this project, I relied on a conceptual framework derived from critical organizational theory which, in response to Pettigrew (1990) above, emphasizes the significance of historical and contextual organizational research in contributing to our understanding of organizational life as opposed to simply explaining organizations. This mode of inquiry considers how meaning and purpose are sustained in our social organizations, particularly as to how they are reified, habitualized and transformed over time (Barrett and Srivastva, 1991).

Thus I chose an historical study of themes recurring throughout the development, maintenance, and evolution of the CIE. To initiate this research, I identified critical eras in the history of the CIE by asking the following questions:

1. What events or incidents are recollected as controversial, emotionally charged, embroiling, and/or collectively exhilarating?
2. What events or incidents have been critical or decisive in directing the development to the present day situation?

These "critical eras" have become the chapters of the second part of this dissertation.

In order to delve further into this research study and generate themes and patterns of organizational behavior and response, I posed for myself the following questions for defining each of the critical eras:

How is organizational change facilitated without compromising community needs and organizational goals?

How is theoretical and practical innovation and experimentation introduced?

How and from who is financial support secured?

How are new programs or courses developed?

How does the organization adapt or respond when faced with new or inconsistent expectations, demands, or needs from the community?

How is participatory management maintained while situated within a larger nonparticipatory, bureaucratic system?

How are community norms created with a transient and diverse staff and student population?

How are new members recruited and incorporated into the community?

How is linkage maintained with former community members?

How are conflicts resolved?

How does the organization position itself within the university in order to maintain autonomy? Within the development industry?

How are changes in social and political values manifest in organizational development?

In the process of exploring these questions, I teased out and selected themes that cut across these "critical eras" which constitute the first level of my framework for analysis.

Contribution and Relevance of the Study

Often when rummaging through files and boxes of papers in the CIE storage room, I felt as though I were going through a family attic. Boxes of Christmas cards, photographs of babies and later pictures of their development, postcards from vacations, group pictures, mementoes such as sea shells, puppets, table clothes, wall hangings, sweat shirts, even baby toys, are not the usual material found in an organization's archives. I first discarded some of this material, placing it aside as not pertinent to this study. Then later I decided to sort through it and gradually realized that these items are as much a part of the CIE history, and their archives, as the

annual reports. These pieces had been saved by someone in the past. When I mentioned certain items to the current faculty and staff, they brought small laughs, but often a pause and reminiscence of events or people from the past. With these reflections and the continued practice at the CIE to save items like these along with their financial reports, program reviews, and other documents, I began to better understand the emotional ties members have with this organization.

This study has been excitedly anticipated by past and present members of this organization. This is an organization that elicits an unusual amount of emotional involvement from its former members, as well as evokes a wide range of reactions from affectionate sentimentalism to anger and cynicism. Some see this study as a way to clear the air, clarify the debates around a few events, instruct new members on accomplishments, and prevent redundancy in the future. Some see this as a potential evaluation and/or planning tool. Others see this in a much more nostalgic light, almost like a family tree. Regardless, organization members have acknowledged in a variety of ways that this study, the process possibly more than the product, is at least a cathartic contribution and at most a vital part of their long-term planning process.

Institutional memory is an often underrated resource for organizational planning. Historical documentation is

usually in the form of formal evaluations and capability statements that cover past accomplishments, or the compilation of annual reports. Most organizations do not have the time or interest to generate a written history and their institutional memory is passed down by certain staff or founding members of the organization.

Limitations of the Study

Foremost, this is not an exhaustive historical study, nor a comprehensive chronology of events that took place in this organization's life. The following must be considered in light of the importance that written text holds in many readers' minds.

Facilitating Factors

Individuals engaged within an academic environment are often bestowed with a proclivity for written documentation and filing. Thus, numerous personal, project-related, academic and administrative files, correspondence, research, and written memorabilia exist that date back to 1968. The current faculty and staff made their files open and accessible to my inspection. The organization cultivates a relatively healthy environment of trust, and as a member of the organization I was able to move freely through all archival and nonconfidential files.

Federally funded project reports, administrative and fiscal files, must be kept by the administering unit for specified durations, the CIE has adhered to this policy and, in most cases, simply continued to maintain past files in their storeroom. Thus, all funded CIE projects are documented in the CIE administrative back files.

The CIE has published internal and external/alumni newsletters since 1968. A network, now numbering over 400, has been maintained through active correspondence, exchange of holiday greetings, networking through project-related business, socializing and travel, etc... Extensive files of Christmas cards, photographs, letters, written accounts of CIE community members running into one another, news clippings about graduates, etc.. have been collected and saved for these newsletters, and other personal reasons. All of these data sources were also made available for my inspection.

Finally, I must reiterate that the extent of freedom of access to historical data is primarily due to my relationships with individuals and the organization over a seven year period. In addition, I was a member of the CIE Executive Committee in 1989-90, worked as the CIE Publication Coordinator and edited the internal and international newsletters for two years, and have participated in several grant projects as a member of the Program Development Committee. Thus, I have privileged

insight and a degree of empathy already developed into the past of the CIE as it relates to the present.

Constraints in the Study

History is an interpretive process, but information must be gathered from the records and self-reports of the people involved. Thus, the historian's interpretations are compounded by the individual interpretations of the actors within the story. In this light, distortions in memories, contradictions between written documents and personal memories often cannot be resolved completely or are unresolvable for lack of corroborative information or argument. As well, gaps and biases in the written documents due to the nature of archival selection and other individual choices made by those responsible for filing and record keeping will effect the history presented. There is also a bias introduced by the tendency for some to keep more thorough and comprehensive files than other members of the CIE.

Another constraint on this research project lay in the fact that a large number of CIE community members live overseas and do not frequently travel to the U.S. Because of limited personal and research funds, contact with certain key individuals was limited.

The practical and intellectual tasks of constructing a thematic history (as outlined above) must preclude

consideration of this work in any form as an evaluation, source of recommendations for policy, curricular or other organizational change. This study is not a comprehensive and nor objective history of all aspects of the CIE, a collaborative endeavor or any form of review for accreditation, University or School of Education academic or program review. Nor will this history be written as a blueprint for future organizational change, development or intervention.

Finally, personal biases and my own perceptual distortions of the data will be unavoidable because of my intimate and personal involvement with the CIE community. Gillette (1985) points out that the research relationship between the historian or academician and the organization under study poses a challenge in terms of how this relationship inevitably shapes the nature and scope of the research questions, and also that this relationship changes over time.

Role of the Researcher

Simmons (1985) realized during her historical research over several years on a nonprofit public service organization that empathy and self-doubt are critical tools for the historian. Her personal reflections are insightful in approaching this research project because of the intimate and interactive role that I, as the researcher, have with my

topic. The fact that I am a member of the CIE community can be viewed as a both a facilitating and limiting factor in how I conduct this research.

Moreover, any history is necessarily a subjective and interpretive endeavor, thus my relationship to the Center, the data I chose to gather, and the form of analysis is tinted through my personal lens. Simmons writes,

I must live with the anxiety that my hard-won understanding may be yet another, deeper fantasy to fulfill some personal agenda. I face that agonizing conflict with every word I write, resolving it only temporarily.

At the heart, perhaps the conflict is one between the ideal that our intellect tells us must be found if we are to keep fooling ourselves about what we know about the social world, and the reality that none of us is quite up to the challenge. 1985: 303-304)

My personal understandings of the "social world" and the values I rely upon when making decisions are grounded in a specific context that defines my relationships and actions. All of my life I have lived within the shadow of a university or a school, as a child of graduate students then faculty at a several universities, a student myself, and later as a teacher/administrator in both formal and nonformal education. In these ways, education has been a focal point throughout my personal development. As a child I remember hours spent in university lecture halls and library stacks in lieu of the future daycare center, as an unobserved observer at faculty family gatherings, then later, in my own roles. Learning and schooling were

impressed into my life very early as a positive and constructive activity; it was a source of family income, family activities and identity, social support, friendships, creative and intellectual growth.

However, my understanding of the university and its prerogatives were also tainted early. A university, like a business, maintains an existence and future built upon an abstraction apart from the personal needs of its community. While product and profit are not center pieces to a university's goal, as with a manufacturing company, in our U.S. society we often equate knowledge with product, and financial security (such as unrestricted research money) with profit. After haunting many colleges and universities throughout my life, my present-day impression of the university is that it is a schizophrenic, dichotomous entity which can provide intellectual and creative stimulation yet also coerces conformity and breeds elitism.

My university-family background was enriching and also limiting. Upon leaving college, I was unable to see many options for myself beyond graduate study. So, I went directly into graduate school in social anthropology, eventually grew disillusioned, disagreed with their approach to community development, and dropped out. Over the course of ten years I eventually fell upon a few more options -- journalism, teaching biology as a Peace Corps Volunteer,

managing a children's theater, working in New York City as community development organizer.

If there are any discernable themes or constant realizations running through my life they would include:

- belief in the never ending need for personal and collective action to change society
- faith in the power of creativity, critical awareness and self-reflection
- joy in the richness of multi-cultural and diverse communities
- belief that each of us defines and redefines our own understanding of reality and truth

In retrospect, these personal beliefs and assumptions mirror the concepts and themes outlined within this study. Ironically, and apparently unusual according to the CIE "folklore," I knew nothing about nor anyone associated with the Center until I was admitted as a doctoral student in 1987. Thus, this study is also a very personal exploration.

CHAPTER II
REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Introduction

In designing this study I reviewed three bodies of literature: nonformal education (NFE); educational historiography; critical organizational theory and analysis. These three fields of study shed light on the corresponding academic, internal organizational, and external institutional contexts of the CIE. This interdisciplinary approach to research and analysis stems from my desire for contextual analysis and interpretation, i.e., to understand the CIE we need to consider that the CIE is embedded within specific historical, social (including institutional and pedagogical), political, and interpersonal contexts.

In addition, though not included in this literature review, I relied on the experiences of historians, particularly in how they delineate and write their narratives (Tuchman, 1981; Simmons, 1985; Carr, 1972). Their perspectives that I referred to when organizing the data and writing the narrative include the belief that:

- individual behavior and events of the present are interconnected with behavior and events of the past;
- the most appropriate treatment of historical data is through the narrative form to reconstruct the contextual fabric;

- the validity of the data and analysis is dependent upon the temporal position of the researcher, and her own interpretative (ideological) lens.

Nonformal Educational Theory

Nonformal education theory and practice has played a pivotal role in both the pedagogical and organizational development of the CIE. My hope is that by focusing on the problematic nature of integrating NFE principles into a formal education system as an educational reform or innovation, allows for a broader understanding of the rationale behind most of the CIE's academic and programmatic decisions.

While NFE was perhaps not originally intended as a critique of structural-functionalism or logical-positivist nor necessarily akin to a paradigmatic revolution (Kuhn, 1970); NFE grew out of an intellectual context in which traditional social science theories and research strategies were being questioned. The learner-centered, experiential-orientation, and cultural relativity of NFE practice took aim at traditional educational philosophy, particularly in how it related to a pursuit of alternative educational research and practice strategies (Popkewitz, 1991; Foster, 1986; Apple, 1979; Freire, 1985; Giroux, 1981; Illich, 1971).

Consequently, when NFE first emerged during the early 1960s as an alternative educational theory and practice,

many of those working in an international educational context saw it as an innovative solution. It was viewed as a more effective and appropriate approach for lesser developed countries who, because of disproportionate numbers of early school leavers coupled with acute shortages in resources, were unable to meet their educational needs through a formal education system, particularly in terms of adult basic education.

In 1968 Philip Coombs, former Director of the International Institute for Educational Planning (UNESCO) and U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for Education and Cultural Affairs under the Kennedy Administration, put forth an agenda for NFE with his book The World Educational Crisis. He wrote,

The poorer countries now face a priority task of nonformal education which years ago confronted today's industrialized countries. It is to bring to the vast numbers of farmers, workers, small entrepreneurs, and others who have never seen the inside of a formal classroom -- and perhaps never will -- a spate of useful skills and knowledge which they can promptly apply to their own and their nation's development. (1968: 142)

In his conclusions for strategy he suggests placing more emphasis on nonformal education as a feasible alternative for developing nations. He proposes,

...that serious reconsideration be given to the whole division between 'formal' and 'nonformal' schooling, as part of the strategy for overcoming the educational crisis. It would clearly be beneficial in many countries to deploy resources more heavily into various familiar types of adult education.... But we wonder whether this is enough, and whether there are not much more

radical innovations awaiting discovery which could, within the limits of available resources, strike much bolder and quicker blows against ignorance. (1968: 171)

In the course of discovering more "radical innovations" and distilling this process into a coherent set of practices, educational goals and theoretical models, NFE gradually became systemized into a sub-discipline body of professional knowledge. By the late 1960s, NFE was being taken more seriously by many international development practitioners seeking alternatives and innovations to aid their work. By the mid-1970s, millions of dollars of U.S. international development funding was being directed toward more collaborative program development worldwide, evoking the tenets of nonformal education.

With the growing developments in the practice of NFE came the demand for more research into the theoretical implications and transferability of NFE practices to a wider variety of learning situations and educational problems. As well, conflictual ideological concerns were raised, particularly by "Third World" scholars and practitioners, concerning the social and political implications of NFE programming as part of a larger international development and U.S. foreign assistance initiative. In Pedagogy of the Oppressed, Paulo Freire writes of his concern in terms of "cultural invasion:"

Whatever the specialty that brings them [professionals] into contact with the people, they are almost unshakably convinced that it is their

mission to 'give' the latter their knowledge and techniques. They see themselves as 'promoters' of the people. Their programs of action... include their own objectives, their own convictions, and their own preoccupations. They do not listen to the people, but instead plan to teach them how to 'cast off the laziness which creates underdevelopment.' To these professionals, it seems absurd to consider the necessity of respecting the 'view of the world held by the people. The professionals are the ones with a 'world view.' (1972: 153-54)

Perhaps in response to such criticisms, more inclusive or humanistic ideological assumptions were put forth as underlying NFE theory and practice. The CIE put forth the following assumptions:¹

- the belief that skills and knowledge are learned as much through direct immersion in actual problem situations as through academic treatment of subjects; that theory and practice are interdependent.
- the commitment to continuous direct participation by people who are representative of the people and countries for which education is being planned.
- the conviction that all ideas and techniques must either be derived from field situations or face early reality testing in settings for which they are intended.

Many international development education practitioners and educational reformers, including the CIE, latched onto NFE in this manifestation as an opportunity to reform and innovate formal education systems, enhance international and cross-cultural awareness, foster empowerment through liberation of creative and critical consciousness worldwide.

¹ Paraphrased from "Background Information on Nonformal Education Grant," background statement made available by the CIE regarding a USAID 211(d) grant, 1974-75.

Many of these reformers questioned not just the role of the teacher, the focus and objectives of curricula, and the effectiveness of teaching methodology, but also the epistemological and ontological assumptions about education as a social science. This deeper questioning examines the production, acquisition, and validation of knowledge, our relationship with our social environment, our perceptions and understanding of social phenomena and how we investigate these. Extreme critics and radical educational theorists charged that formal education systems and the notions that dictated these structures from kindergarten to the university, commodified knowledge, were alienating and dehumanizing, and stifled human creativity. They argued that these education systems perpetuated the oppressive cycles of classism, racism, and sexism, and that importation of these systems throughout the world was a continuation of imperialism. (See Giroux, 1981; Carnoy, 1974; Freire, 1972; Illich, 1971, 1973; Apple, 1979.) Illich, one of the most extreme critics, wrote in Deschooling Society, "The escalation of schools is as destructive as the escalation of weapons but less visibly so (1971: 10)."

Solutions ranged from the radical restructuring and reconceptualization of education (e.g., Illich, 1971) to curriculum reform and redressing past neglect by offering inclusion through parallel or alternative systems (e.g., Coombs, 1968; LaBelle, 1976; Allen, Melnick, and Peele,

1975). Amidst these intellectual forays, nonformal education theory took on chameleon-esque qualities and became mascot for both revolutionaries and reformists.

As the dust settled, however, certain qualities of NFE and a NFE practitioner took form. As well, critical offshoots and mutations developed that, in one sense, broadened the configuration of NFE to include participatory and collaborative learning, and participatory and action research. In another sense, however, some of its innovation and idealism was coopted as it was drawn into the international development industry as a fund-able and feasible solution to Third World educational problems.

Some of the applications of NFE in its broader configuration called for a more reflective practitioner (Schon, 1987), who balances "knowing-in-action" with "reflection-in-action" and aims to create a dialogue of reciprocal "reflection-on-action" between teacher/coach and student (Schon, 1987). The learning-teaching process was seen as dialogical and an empowering and liberating process (Freire, 1972). The production, acquisition and validation of knowledge was viewed as a subjective and dialectical phenomenon (Smith, 1987). The role of the teacher was seen as facilitator, co-researcher and co-learner in a collaborative and dialogical endeavor (Torbert, 1981; Tandon, 1981; Freire, 1972). And the adoption of critical, praxis-oriented, experiential and historical-based inquiry

into our socially constructed environments was called for (Freire, 1985; Gramsci, 1987; Simmons, 1985; Gillette, 1985; Popkewitz, 1991; Illich, 1973).

Concurrently, in response to the availability of international development education funds rising sharply in the early 1970s, universities began formalizing NFE as an academic area of study or specialization, often in conjunction with international development projects. Amidst this scholarly pursuit of NFE and the upsurge of NFE projects and programs worldwide (Coombs, 1985: 88), arose a somewhat inevitable discontinuity arose between practice and research to inform practice. Chris Argyris discusses this tension looking at organizational development as a budding profession:

The history of the practice of a profession shows that there is a continued tension between practice and research to inform practice... The danger with this state of affairs is that practice can contain inconsistencies and counterproductive activities without the practitioners realizing it. Or, if they are aware of such difficulties, it is difficult to suggest alternatives. Questioning and modifying present practices tends to require reflection and inquiry that is unencumbered by the genuine demands of clients. (from the Introduction to Alderfer and Brown, 1975: 1)

In terms of improving the quality of future practice of NFE and carving out within the profession a genuine opportunity for reflective inquiry and critical self-analysis in line with the underlying ideological assumptions of NFE practice, a new array of problems arose: Can the university as a professional training institution

appropriately prepare NFE practitioners? Can NFE play a role in reforming higher education? Can experiential learning, learner-center priorities, subjective analysis, and other NFE tenets be incorporated into the formal educational system of a university? How can it resist cooptation and maintain organizational integrity consistent with original needs and goals?

Over the past twenty-five year, the Center for International Education has wrestled with these problems while actively engaged in granting graduate degrees with specializations in nonformal education and conducting NFE projects in Latin America, Africa, and Southeast Asia. During this twenty-five year history, self-studies, program evaluations, and impromptu critical assessments for change have been conducted and implemented. Two dissertations were written touching on the problems of integrating collaborative and nonformal education models into formal systems (Bing, 1979; Cash, 1982). Numerous papers and articles have been written about the implicit and explicit values, management practices, and program developments of the CIE during these twenty-five years.² However, what is attempted here -- a reconstructed organizational history

² See the CIE archives and files for Ochoa, 1975; Schimmel, 1969; Donovan, 1978; Moulton, 1974; Kindervatter and Kinsley, 1978; Gomez, 1973, 1974, 1976. Also, see Lynd, M. (1990), unpublished comprehensive examination papers using the CIE as a research site.

that traces the dynamic qualities of the CIE in dealing with the problems discussed above -- has not been done.

Educational Historiography

Just over thirty years ago, the Harvard Educational Review published an essay portraying the new historian of education as not just a chronicler of names and events arranged by administrative functions, but a creative and critical social science researcher (Smith, 1961). This approach to writing history provided an opportunity for historians to use institutional histories as an organizational learning process and evaluative tool for change. The need to tap into interdisciplinary strategies for evaluation and investigation was reinforced by the cry of "crisis" and lack of faith in schooling by the public (Smith, 1961).

In 1968, Laurence Veysey published his seminal work, The Emergence of the American University; this comprehensive history of U.S. 19th and early 20th century higher education brought institutional history into the limelight of educational research. Veysey intentionally incorporated the social and political contexts of class, capitalism, and American democratic values into his study in order to show the distinctive development of the American university from its European counterparts in the late 19th century. Gradually the idea caught on that educational historiography

could change from a chronicling of topics or events to emphasizing the impacts and interrelatedness of the social and economic contexts of a particular institution (Petry, 1985).

The role of the institutional historian also came under debate. Howick (1986) cautions against biases in reporting and interpretation of data for the sake of celebration or achieving accreditation only. Thelin (1987) characterizes the stereotypical university "house historian" as "that of the uncritical Old Grad who chronicles a sanitized institutional past" (1987: 362). Thelin goes on to discuss the proliferation of institutional histories during the past three decades as creative avenues for subsequent research if they are tied with organizational analysis. In an earlier review essay, he proposes broader conceptual units of analysis and sources for historical data, for example, by capturing institutional memories through autobiographical methods and personal reminiscences (Thelin, 1983).

In the pages of the History of Education Quarterly debate continued, with responses and critiques back and forth among colleagues. In the Fall 1985 edition, five review essays were devoted to the issues of "revisionist" historicism versus the traditional institutional history approach -- Cline (1983) wrote an institutional history of the Northern Arizona University in which he relied on a chronological format but designed his analysis along three

conceptual themes: (1) community interrelationship with the university; (2) the multi-layers of political interplay affecting state universities; and, (3) the influences of personal values and attitudes on the part of university presidents. Raichle (1983) compiled an institutional history of Union College which analyzes this state university within the specific contexts of politics and classism. Smith (1983) provided an account of a small liberal arts university grounded in a very conservative and academically rigorous curriculum with no electives but steeped in the values of egalitarianism to the point where faculty and students are seen as peers in the learning process.

Other examples of nontraditional, "revisionist" institutional histories include Harris's account of Black Mountain College in which this school's nontraditional, alternative approach to higher education directed her to use a nontraditional analytical framework, looking at the context and values of the campus community (Harris, 1987). Duberman (1972) also wrote a history of Black Mountain College and focused on the community building aspects of this institution. Stameshkin (1985) produced a distinguished history of Middlebury College which showed the potential of institutional history as a mode of inquiry and genre by examining the "waxing and waning of institutional fortunes" instead of simply the chronological procession of events and administrations.

Various qualitative research techniques or approaches are also interspersed in the literature, from the use of oral history as a strategy for constructing institutional history (Christensen and Ridley, 1985) to phenomenological interviewing and critical analysis of specific social issues such as racism (Attinasi, 1991; Cooper, 1989).

Corollary, but somewhat distinct, is the field of institutional self-study. While institutional history and self-study are separate processes of investigation usually spurred by very different purposes, they can both be looked at as a-piece of the larger sub-discipline of institutional research. Because of this kinship and that the subject(s) and often researchers in both instances are similar, consideration of some of the research strategies being employed in institutional self-studies is helpful.

Self-studies are generally an administrative function of an institution or an academic evaluative function of a school or unit within an institution. They precede accreditation, curriculum, or administrative organizational reviews. Several aspects of the general outlines and recommendations in the literature for conducting self-studies are distinctive from historiography: (1) self-studies are a collaborative process involving horizontal and vertical participation in investigation and analysis; (2) because of the comprehensive nature and link to accreditation requirements, self-study is model driven and

somewhat prescriptive in terms of standard elements and structures for design; and, (3) descriptive history and historical data gathering is often considered a subcomponent, however the historical dialogue and dialectical nature of historical analysis as described above, is usually incorporated into the analysis.

Hart (1988) lists nine models used in systemic program reviews or self-studies; these range from an "accreditation" and "systems analysis" models to a "goal-free" and "transactional evaluation" models (1988: 70-71). Holdaway summarizes purposes of self-study (or program review which he uses interchangeably) from a review of the literature (1988: 48):

- To inform decision-makers about the strengths and weaknesses of programs.
- To determine the status of programs according to specific standards or in relation to other programs.
- To provide information for planning.
- To help an institution make decision about program installation, continuation, modification, expansion or termination.
- To help an institution make decisions about expenditures and efficiency.
- To demonstrate accountability.

Barak and Breier (1990) classify program reviews (self-studies) into four basic types: (1) formative for planning and improvement; (2) summative to aid certification or

accreditation; (3) public relations to increase awareness; and, (4) authoritative to exercise authority (1990: 3).

In the process of conducting a self-study, work groups or task forces are called upon to collaborate in both the data gathering and the analysis. While this aspect does not directly apply to the research study proposed here, the collaborative nature and participative involvement enables a wider range of data gathering techniques to be employed simultaneously. These techniques and the analysis gleaned are insightful to the educational historian because they are both process and product for construction of an institutional history. Program reviews, self-studies, and accreditation reports are often primary data sources for institutional historians. For this reason, understanding the context, motivations and related attitudes of review participants, and integration into broader organizational development processes are essential insights for the historian.

As with historiography, the contextuality of institutional life has grown to be an element in the process of self-study. To capture this, qualitative research strategies have been proposed as part of the study and review process. Tierney (1991) offers ethnographic interviewing as a tool for gathering information and as an "alternative lens" for decision-making. He argues that the ethnographic interview provides the institutional researcher

a tool to "uncover the perceptions and attitudes of informants in an organization.. (1991: 20)"

Bunda (1991) proposes aggregate analysis of student portfolios as an effective means for curricular assessment and planning. Since the portfolio includes description of both in-class and out-of-class experiences, self-reports coupled with regular academic evaluations, they allow a greater breadth and richness of information that captures student learning experiences, perceptions and attitudes.

Louis and Turner (1991) suggest the use of the qualitative case study as a means for understanding the socialization process of institutional life. They propose use of qualitative research frameworks as a way to focus on structure of programs, culture of departments or schools, and students' personal characteristics. Specifically, they argue that adoption of such frameworks derived out of sociological and organizational development theory is useful because of their insights into patterns of relationships, situational contexts, and natural environments of an organization (1991: 50, paraphrased).

Marshall, Lincoln and Austin (1991) propose a "quality-of-life research" strategy that merges qualitative and quantitative methodologies. They too emphasize the importance of contextuality in their research, particularly the political and philosophical contexts of decision-making,

student, faculty and administration communication, and negotiation of conflict (1991: 65).

The emphasis given by both the "revisionist" historiographers and the proponents of more qualitative program reviews to interdisciplinary strategies, contextual and thematic analyses, and the use of qualitative research strategies is also reflected in the design of this study. Though neither specifically designed to be an institutional history nor a self-study or program review, this organizational history draws heavily from both of these fields of research in both presentation and treatment of data.

Critical Organizational Theory and Analysis

Within the field of organizational development, a subset of researchers and practitioners are carving out a niche for more critical and contextual organizational theory (Foster, 1986; Ferguson, 1982; Denhardt, 1981; Martin, 1990; Morgan, 1986; Ramos, 1981; White, 1990; Forester, 1983; Pettigrew, 1990; Barrett and Srivastva, 1991; Gillette, 1985; Simmons, 1985).

Burrell and Morgan (1979) suggest that the application of critical theory within a radical humanist framework (as opposed to a radical structural paradigm characterized by more traditional and empirically based Marxism) would result in "anti-organization theory." This radical approach to

organizational study is based on the complete rejection of structural-functionalist principles of organization theory and is relatively undeveloped as a framework out of which to derive a research strategy.³ Nevertheless, their conjectures provide a way of framing future theoretical and methodological discourse and open up new territory for organizational theorists.

Forester (1983) examines how a critical theory of organizations would enable the analysis of organizations as "structures of communicative interaction (1983: 234)." Relying on Habermas' concept of "communicative action," Forester posits that the analysis of intersubjective and communicative experiences of the actors within an organization allows better understanding of the moral, political, and social contexts shaping organizational life. He argues that the application of critical theory to organizational study provides an "interpretively sensitive, and ethically illuminating research program that in turn may deliver to its students... pragmatics with vision (1983: 246)."

³ For an abbreviated review and attempt at constructing a conceptual framework for "anti-organization theory" see Pfeiffer, K. (1991) "Looking for Thresholds of Change (or Cooptation): Applying Anti-Organization Theory to Alternative Education and Development Organizations," unpublished comprehensive examination paper, Center for International Education, School of Education, University of Massachusetts/Amherst (October 1991).

In terms of methodology, Forester (1983) does not call for radically new methods for this research, rather he proposes a reorientation or reframing of the analytical suppositions. Building on these lines, Heydebrand (1983) proposes that in addition to an analytical reorientation, organizational researchers must adopt a new methodological stance that flows from the assumptions of critical and praxis-oriented perspectives. Without advocating specific methods, Heydebrand suggests an historical mode of inquiry that is sensitive to the "process of organizational formation and transformation, to the contradictions and mediations that mark this process, and to the emergence of possibly unknown forms out of older ones with which they coexist (1983: 313)." These methods would include delving into reflective discourse of actors, social and political structures of the organization, and the embeddedness of these structures and actors within a community of praxis. Observation, interviewing, and development of organizational profiles based on both qualitative and quantitative data, are examples of such a research approach.

Foster (1986) in his review of administrative and organizational theory from the perspective of an educator adds to the call for more critical and diverse modes of inquiry. He supports a reflective and dialectical approach for understanding educational administration and reaching a new way for conceptualizing education. This approach would

entail examining both the "micro-processes to discover how individuals create their own realities, and macro-processes to understand the relationships between organizations in a society (Foster, 1986: 146)." A basic premise of his approach is that organizational research is "processual" and historical in nature.

Barrett and Srivastva (1991) argue that the current field of organizational theory is dominated by a structural-functional ideology which guides its research strategies in a logical-positivistic orientation. This results in limited "snapshots" of organizations, simply measuring organizational structures and reducing organizational life to static maintenance systems. While this approach has contributed to the field of study, they argue, it is limited in its ability to reveal human actions and interactions which give meaning to contingencies and decisions made throughout an organization's life. Logical-positivist methods "have generated a misleading picture of the ongoing nature of organizational life (1991: 234)." Barrett and Srivastva propose the study of the "human cosmogony" of organizations. By "cosmogony" they mean,

...how the present evolved from day-to-day choices, conjectures, accidents (not some predetermined force or enduring pattern that establishes regularity and upholds order)... in order to see social arrangements [in organizations] as choices and habits that evolve from previous choices. (1991:232)

To do this they advocate historical inquiry to reconstruct the past and contemporaneous interactive complexities of the social-cultural contexts of an organization, and attempt to re-discover the original intentions, choices, and dynamic relationships of past actors in an organization (Barrett and Srivastva, 1991):

The continuity of organizational life needs to become central if we are to truly understand the present and unleash choices for the future. (1991: 251)

Simmons (1985) and Gillette (1985) offer more concrete and distinctive strategies for critical organizational research through reconstructive histories. The process of reconstructing an organizational history would involve, as mentioned above, capturing the reflective discourse of actors involved. Simmons (1985) discusses her use of "retrospective interviewing" as a research tool. These are "highly interpretive self-reports" designed to capture cognitions and emotions experienced at a particular event in history. In addition, she relies on archival documentation and other paper records in her research. However, in the process of reconstructing an organizational history, Simmons realized that the recording of her own empathic insights through diary writing and note taking became another method for inquiry (1985: 288). She writes,

The researcher must conduct a dialogue with the experience (of others) and with social, clinical, and cognitive psychological theory, gradually coming to see the raw data in light of those ideas that make it make sense.

... empathy is a process during which the researcher becomes increasingly involved with the past and must scrutinize the emotions of that involvement as second-order data -- a kind of validity test -- of the completeness of that empathic understanding. (Simmons, 1985: 288)

Gillette (1985) is a bit more circumspect in his advocacy of research tools and argues that researchers are failing to capture the dynamics of organizations because they overlook past events and try to understand organizations only from the present (1985: 305). He outlines four components to doing organizational histories:

- (1) Sensitivity to context.
- (2) The narrative form, i.e., that the analysis flows in narrative form from the historical events themselves rather than from a theoretical model.
- (3) The temporal position of the researcher, i.e., the validity of the narrative and treatment of the data must be understood from the historian's interpretive lens, selection of data, and by the historical time in which the researcher lives.
- (4) Levels of analysis, i.e., historical analysis operates on numerous levels simultaneously and that the "past is actively engaged in the present (p. 310)." Examples of levels of analysis are the "individual time" or developmental stage of individuals involved, "organizational time" or developmental stage of the organization, and "historical time" which represents the social, economic, political, and cultural context of the larger society.

To do this requires an interdisciplinary approach and requires conducting social science research through the lenses of an historical perspective and challenging one's own personal hypotheses about the nature of the present (Gillette, 1985).

Framing a Methodological Approach

The research approach I have chosen, gleaned from readings included in this review, relies on research strategies from historiography and critical organizational theory and analysis; this approach also assumes empathy with key concepts and value assumptions embraced within the broad field of nonformal education.

The conceptual frameworks of nonformal education theory and practice have played a central role in both the pedagogical and organizational development of the CIE; focus on the integration of NFE principles into a program embedded within a larger formal education systems allows for better understanding of the CIE's views on international development education.

Educational historiography (including literature on institutional and programmatic self-study) lends resourceful strategies for data gathering and presentation of the results; specifically, the literature speaks to a need for considering the characteristics that the university as the "sponsoring" institution gives to the CIE.

Critical organizational theory and analysis provides the scaffolding on which to illustrate the challenges and contradictions of many CIE internal management strategies, in addition to being the ideological skeleton for constructing a thematic, historical narrative. This literature also provides the rationale for using historical

narrative as an alternative mode of inquiry into organizations.

Finally, the literature reviewed in this chapter not only informs the reader as to the ideological sympathies of the researcher, but also the ideological underpinnings of the subject of this research project.

CHAPTER III
RESEARCH METHODOLOGY:
BUILDING A FRAMEWORK FOR AN HISTORICAL NARRATIVE

Process for Collecting Data

In the design of this study I have accepted the challenge, stated earlier, of questioning one's own personal hypotheses about the nature of the present, and the belief that contextual interpretation, multi-level analyses and empathic insights add greatly to understanding the nature of organizations. As Gillette (1985) stated, this challenge in constructing an organizational history then requires an interdisciplinary approach using an historical lens.

To do this, I began with a review of the development of NFE theory and practice as a way for me (and the reader) to better understand the pedagogical context of the CIE. My initial questions when beginning the data collection were derived from educational historiography; they were posed in such a way that the data might reflect the embeddedness of the CIE within a larger educational institution and address its organizational goals unique to a participatory, educational organization. The theoretical rationale for constructing this thematic organizational history was arrived at by reviewing the analysis of critical organizational theorists on the dominant structural-functional paradigm. Thus, I understood traditional

organizational analysis to be limited in its application to many development, social change, and not-for-profit organizations that proliferate in the U.S. today.

My approach to collecting data and discovering the critical themes that reappear throughout the development, maintenance, and evolution of the CIE began with reconstruction of a descriptive chronology of the CIE from archival materials and informal interviewing prior to the June 1993 25th CIE Reunion/Conference.¹ Respondents were asked to specifically identify "critical eras" that they consider:

- controversial, emotionally charged, embroiling, and/or collectively exhilarating;
- critical or decisive in directing the development to the present day situation.

While piecing together these descriptive chronologies, I identified "critical eras" that break the twenty-five year span into discrete blocks of time. Because the CIE is embedded within a myriad of temporal, political, social, affective, and cultural contexts, piecing together a descriptive chronology from many perspectives became relevant when analyzed as a bricolage, which is also more conducive to a contextualist and interpretive analysis.

¹ 5-6 critical eras quickly became evident from interviewing key faculty and staff. These interviews included: two of three current faculty with 23-25 years experience at CIE; one staff member with 15 years experience; a former faculty member from the late 1970s and with continued indirect relationship to CIE; and three long-term student members with 9-18 years experience.

After an initial descriptive chronology was created, I began teasing out and selecting recurring themes with which to begin this thematic history. The themes were weighed in light of their significance and omnipresence to the community as a whole and their perceived effect on organizational development. Criteria considered in selecting themes included:

- (a) the ubiquitous nature of a belief or attitude;
- (b) the magnitude or other relevant effects of certain historical events, personal actions and organizational decisions;
- (c) recurring or lingering contingencies surrounding these events or actions and the choices not made;
- (d) the degree of habituation or typification of certain organizational, academic, and interpersonal processes; and,
- (e) the characteristics and extent of recurrent acts of transgression or dissent to habitual or other processes, i.e., resistance, compromise and/or cooptation, negotiation, forms of resolution.

Over the planned five month period of data gathering, I experienced an evolving process of elaboration, clarification, reformulation, which repeated several times with each theme teased out. However, initially I attempted to work with only 4-5 historical themes that seemed to correlate to the "critical eras" defined by the descriptive chronology; this facilitated a more manageable approach to what grew to be an overwhelming amount of data.

To develop these themes and begin a more detailed process of constructing the history, I had planned to take this initial chronology and thematic overlay to the June 1993 25th Reunion/Conference. At the conference during two afternoon workshops on Reflecting and Recollecting CIE History, I was hoping to facilitate "focus group" activities addressing a series of questions/issues and therefore test my criteria for selecting these initial themes. At the same time, I scheduled retrospective interviews with select alumni and former staff in order to clarify conditions and events surrounding the critical eras used to define the descriptive chronology.

Due to scheduling difficulties, logistics, and greater than anticipated reluctance among alumni to participate in a research project, except one-on-one, the focus groups never took place. Many informal group discussions did occur and I was able to participate; however the nature of these discussions were frequently not related to my questions or my acting as "researcher." Needless to say, the data collected and the observations made during the conference proved rich. In future research endeavors, I would caution hastily or poorly planned participatory methods, especially when concocted at a distance from the subject/participants as in this case.

Sources of Data

The construction of this history of the CIE from Fall 1968 to Fall 1993 entails analysis of data from the following sources:

- a) Documents from the University archives, including media and press reports, university policy statements, university memoranda, grant proposals, project reports, accreditation reports, self-studies, program and staff evaluations (when available), program reviews, correspondence between university and funder (or other) officials, and meeting minutes.
- b) Documents and recordings from CIE "archives," administrative, academic and personal student/faculty files (as available), including dissertations, masters theses, concept papers for projects, project proposals and updates, interim project reports and correspondence, syllabi and course descriptions, CIE committee meetings and policy statements, internal and annual newsletters, occasional alumni correspondence, internal evaluations, self-reports by program or individuals, news clippings, written accounts of CIE events and recordings of conferences and invited speakers, and transcriptions of "reunion" conferences and other evaluative workshop formats, as well as biographical and other data from student records (as

available from the CIE database and files, when appropriate).

c) Retrospective interviews and written self-reports of select students, alumni, staff, all CIE faculty, and other key players as described below. The identity of all respondents is anonymous; subjects were placed within the historical context by the years in attendance or employment, and their status as a student, staff member, faculty, or a combination.

Respondents were selected based on three criteria:

1. Adequate representation of all historical periods as defined by the "critical eras." I interviewed or obtained self-reports from 4-5 administrative and project staff, M.Ed. and D.Ed. students from each period. Of these historical cohort groups, I attempted to match the demographic make-up of that period, i.e., representative by nationality, sex, and age.
2. Centrality or primary role/agency in the critical events and incidents. This also includes all persons holding principle staff and project related positions, and primary authors/sources of archival materials.
3. High degree of external influence on the CIE development due to position of authority within the School of Education or strength of personal influence.

In addition, I used a variety of investigative techniques to gather "corroborative details" (Tuchman, 1981) to verify data and enhance the narrative as outlined above. These investigative techniques included impromptu interviews with individuals related to CIE as well as members of the CIE community not included in the initial interviewing process,

media and informal public accounts of events, and personal recounts and observations from my own participation in the CIE history.

Validity

In terms of validity of data, the bulk of the information gathered and analyzed in this study was based upon subjective, highly interpretive personal recounts, or from documents that have been filtered by cataloguing or filing choices made by CIE members and university archivists. As well, my own personal lens and biases influenced the data. Thus, any test of validity is problematic.

Barrett and Srivastva (1991) discuss validity of historical data in terms of empathetic identification. They write,

Contrary to the logical-positivist epistemology which advocates that the researcher remain detached from the object of study in order to eliminate bias in his search for neutral facts that lie out there to be discovered, understanding human action through historical inquiry requires that the researcher empathize and identify with past actors if the history is to have any validity. (1991: 243)

Simmons (1985) alludes to the challenge of validity as personal perceptual distortions which created for her an "epistemological paranoia" (1985: 302). And that to make use of this anxiety about interpretation is one of the most demanding methodological tasks, namely:

- to acknowledge, fully and shockingly, the highly degraded, distorted and constantly reinterpreted nature of human memory;
- to build, with the aid of a theory about how humans construct their realities, setting-specific models of distortion that help us to make use of both the "fact" and the "fiction" of human perception;
- to acknowledge, deconstruct, and make use of the emotional involvement of the historian as yet another participant in the construction of explanations for events; and,
- to trust the guidance of those vague feelings of anxiety, using emotional empathy as a final test of validity. (Simmons, 1985: 302)

The test for validity of this historical research relies heavily upon researcher empathy and identification. To defuse any "epistemological paranoia," I sought at least three opinions or interpretations of events, incidents, or "critical eras" from community members or documents from the time. Informal feedback was also solicited from community members and others familiar with the research project as a way to continually "check" my own interpretations.

However, from my review of the research literature and the conceptual framework outlined above, it must be remembered that historical research is inevitably an interpretative and subjective endeavor. History has meaning only in so far as we give it meaning. One eminent historian, Edward H. Carr, defined history as,

... a continuous process of interaction between the historian and his facts, an unending dialogue between the present and the past. (Carr, 196: 35)

Organization of the Data

An important facet of critical organizational theory is the call for broader or alternative levels and units of analysis. In an earlier review of the literature (Pfeiffer, 1991, see footnote #3 in Chapter II), I described three alternative levels of analyses which are appropriate here:

- the "we-relationship" which captures the interpersonal characteristics and importance of communication;
- the dialectic between theory and practice and the processes of achieving congruency as part of organizational development; and,
- the interplay of different types of power in the patterns of formal and informal leadership and authority.

These levels of analysis proved helpful in developing themes for this organizational history and building a methodology. They helped me steer away from the more traditional, objective and quantifiable levels of analysis so easily referred to when thinking about organizations, such as quantitative measures of effectiveness, financial accountability and fluidity, and roles and structures of operations.

Gillette (1985) proposes three complementary levels of analysis which I attempted to apply to the data in order to develop a contextual understanding of historical events (1985: 310, paraphrased):

1. Individual time, or the developmental stage of the participants at the time of the event. This would mean exploring their personal expectations, needs, and values,

chronological age and relationships to others (e.g., the we-relationship).

2. Organizational time, or the developmental stage of the organization which refers to expansion, policy development, changes in autonomy and/or realization of long- and short-term goals and how they relate to the structural configuration of the organization.
3. Historical time, or the specific social, political, and cultural events and factors of the time period that would influence the organizational community in some way.

In sorting the data collected which turned out to be over 6000 pages of archival material, reports, and other documentation such as newspaper and magazine clippings, as well as nearly 20 hours of interviews, I worked through a multi-step process. First, I listened and read, trying to construct the general descriptive chronology and place the actors and events within a time frame. Then, I sorted the material chronologically and separated it into six "critical eras" which were defined by degree of emotional charge and/or decisiveness identified by participants. The six "critical areas" (plus a "prehistory" section) are:

Prehistory, 1967-1969: Hiring Dwight Allen to create a "new" School of Education

Era #1, 1968-1970: Laying the foundation defining their terms for building the CIE

Era #2, 1970-1974: Applying their theories in the field and "internationalizing" the CIE

Era #3, 1974-1977: Organizational expansion through two major grant awards

Era #4, 1978-1983: Organizational retrenchment due to fiscal set backs and major internal reorganization

Era #5, 1984-1989: Fiscal readjustments and search for an alternative paradigm

Era #6, 1990-1993: Revisioning and revisiting the past and future

Once the material was sorted, I began rereading and relistening to what I had collected. At this point the need to tease out and define the themes for this history became imperative or I would fall victim to what Barbara Tuchman calls the endless seduction of research. She wrote,

The most important thing about research is to know when to stop. How does one recognize the moment? When I was eighteen or thereabouts, my mother told me that when out with a young man I should always leave a half-hour before I wanted to. Although I was not sure how this might be accomplished, I recognized the advice as sound, and exactly the same rule applies to research. One must stop before one had finished; otherwise, one will never stop and never finish.... Research is endlessly seductive. (1981: 20-21)

Treatment of the Data

My treatment of the data was as a story-teller, always trying to subdue the analyst or social scientist in my head. As Tuchman (1981) and Gillette (1985) emphasized in their strategies for writing history, the process of historical discovery must not be biased by present-day theories -- "Validity is literary rather than scientific (Gillette, 1985: 309)." As Tuchman said,

As to treatment, I believe that the material must precede the thesis, that chronological narrative is the spine and bloodstream that bring history close to 'how it really was; and to a proper understanding of cause and effect. (cited in Gillette, 1985, 309)

However, I felt the need for some manner of sorting and filtering the amount of historical material I had at hand. Thus, I looked for threads of cohesion or general themes that recurred in discussions, reports, meeting agendas, or memories. As Tuchman also wrote,

A theme may do as well to begin with as a thesis and does not involve, like the overriding theory, a creeping temptation to adjust the facts. The integrating idea or insight then evolves from the internal logic of the material, in the course of putting it together. (1981: 58)

The initial themes teased out were kept vague so as to not overly skew my selection of material for inclusion in this study. The themes also needed to fit the criteria I had laid out in the research design, especially in terms of recurrence and ubiquity. The initial themes represented very general topics of discussion or facets of the CIE:

- academic life
- cultural diversity
- participation
- individualism
- cooptation

These themes were used as a filter for continued sorting and review of the data amassed. The themes were arrived at by an informal frequency analysis of topics and issues raised at organizational retreats, memoranda and reports, and in my interviews. Recurrence became the principle criteria used.

Once this thematic filter was in place, I began re-sorting and re-shifting the material/data collected for each critical era or package of material (as they were wrapped and stored separately from one another). At this point I

began discarding material and information irrelevant to this study and transferring secondary, or corroborative, materials/information onto note cards. I used the same process for the interview tapes, distilling the interviews into a series of quotations representing insights, reflections, and anecdotes related to the themes. Very quickly I was ready to begin writing a narrative.

[W]riting is hard work. One has to sit down on that chair and think and transform thought into readable, conservative, interesting sentences that both make sense and make the reader turn the page. It is laborious, slow, often painful, sometimes agony. It means rearrangement, revision, adding, cutting, rewriting. (Tuchman, 1981: 21)

Organization of the Narrative

Starting from the Present

Whenever we read history, we understand it from a vantage point in the future. We are already a part of the outcome of whatever history we read. Histories are not mysteries, we read with a certain level of prescience of how it all comes out, perhaps not in specific detail, but at least generally. In order to write this narrative, I had to place myself within the history of the Center for International Education. This meant making decisions about what I felt was important based upon my interests, participation, and present knowledge of the organization.

The discussions leading up to and immediately following the CIE 25th reunion in June 1993 were most vivid. That was

an exhilarating year; the discussions spanned generations and national borders. The community level and passion of participation were at one of the highest points I had experienced in my seven years at the CIE. The heat of some debates was also at a high point. The major areas of debate were:

1. How to diversify organizational linkages, namely with more non-governmental organizations, grass-roots based agencies, and communities with whom CIE members worked.
2. How to develop a broader funding base that would support student research and allow for more proactive program development to address issues felt critical for current CIE members.
3. How to redesign of the curriculum to emphasize "alternative research" and what that might mean for future recruitment and program development.

Based upon my impressions of these events I developed three new levels to overlay onto "time" dimensions (Gillette, 1985) as a way to outline the narratives for each critical era: Academic Culture & Structure (Curriculum & Research); Organizational Environment (Coordination & Control); External Relations (Collaboration & Autonomy). Not every point included in this framework would be covered in every "era," even though, this framework became a map for constructing a history which I could rearrange, revise, add, cut, and rewrite.

The framework that I used to construct the historical narrative which follows in Part II is described below (Table 1). I started writing by working from the bottom right hand

corner up and inside in a spiral. But, reader beware, I struggled with every page to let the data direct the narrative and keep this framework as a deeper, subtle layer, beneath the CIE stories.

Table 1

Framework for Writing an Historical Narrative

Perspectives/Levels of Inquiry

	INDIVIDUAL TIME	ORGANIZATN'L TIME	HISTORICAL TIME
ACADEMIC CULTURE & STRUCTURE Curriculum & Research			
ORGANIZAT'L ENVIRONMENT Coordination & Control			
EXTERNAL RELATIONS Collaboration & Autonomy			

PART II: A THEMATIC ORGANIZATIONAL HISTORY OF THE CIE

CHAPTER IV

PREHISTORY, 1967-1969: "NO IS NOT THE RIGHT ANSWER,"
"NOW IS THE RIGHT ANSWER"

Prologue

Near midnight on Saturday, June 19th 1993, I was driving home from Amherst to Northampton in a light, warm rain with the car windows open. There was no other traffic. When my dashboard lights flickered off and all I could see was the white tunnel of light from the headlights bouncing off black tree trunks and wet asphalt, it seemed that time paused. I had been driving this road regularly for seven years; but I had also driven this road off and on since 1974 when I first came to the University of Massachusetts as a senior in high school trekking through potential college campuses, and again throughout the late 1970s and 1980s to visit friends and my sister attending the University. It had not changed much past the construction of a medium sized shopping mall and a few new towers at the University.

I was coming from the Center for International Education (CIE) 25th anniversary celebration, frantically talking to myself. This three day conference/reunion had been a research opportunity for me to put faces and personality to the names I had grown to know over three months of archival research into the history of the CIE. Three months earlier, in my research journal I had written,

Going through the CIE storeroom, I feel like I'm going through a family's basement -- old Christmas cards from ten years back, hundreds of photos of babies and families, drawings by children, aerograms from around the world, knickknacks packed into boxes, notes jotted on napkins and envelopes pressed in between file folders, volley balls, toys, picnic paraphernalia... I've even begun recognizing handwriting of people I've never met as well as friends I haven't seen for years... but what kind of story does it all make, so many lives. (3/22/93)

There were people gathering in the large rooms off the porch from over a dozen different cultures, different class and religious experiences -- a former U.S. Ambassador, professors and school teachers, school superintendents, ministry of education officials, community organizers, artists, activists and bureaucrats. I felt so little in common with them that my task seemed futile. If I did not feel akin to them with any level of empathy -- how could I construct a history that would embrace them all. This seemed imperative that warm, early evening because there was something that was beginning to cause many, even so early in the three day conference, to pause in wonder at the sense of community among so disparate a group of people. Perhaps it was the expectation that a community spirit could not be sparked in just three days, and the wonderment that it was indeed happening. The "Spirit of Colorado" still twinkled faintly in the eyes of a few of them.

* * *

[O]ne of the difficulties in writing history is the problem of how to keep up suspense in a narrative whose outcome is known. (Tuchman, 1981: 21)

Hiring Dwight Allen to Create a "New" School

The early and mid-1960s were our cradle days of youthful democratic idealism, revelries in sexual freedom, psychedelic visions, social experimentation, and passionate personal devotions to social justice. The late 1960s saw an battered U.S. limping into a new decade; the tune-in, tune-out "Summer of Love" had been followed eighteen months later in Fall 1969 with the "Days of Rage."¹ The last two years of the 1960s were years of violent, bloody street riots in cities across the nation, assassins shooting down beloved national leaders, Chicago city police given orders to "shoot to kill," anti-war and civil rights activist going underground to engage in guerilla terrorism, and a conservative, Cold Warrior successfully winning the U.S. Presidency on a "peace" platform after eight years of Democrats in the White House. "Not since the Civil War Era had American life seemed so whimsical, arbitrary, confusing, and so murderously violent, as it did in 1968. (Viorst, 1979: 423)"

¹ The "Days of Rage" is a popular phrase coined by the mass media to refer to the staged assaults and demonstrations in Chicago (October 1969) during the opening weeks of the "Chicago Eight" court trials.

In 1968 Amherst, Massachusetts is a quiet, rural college town with a tree lined Common, hushed, leaf shrouded streets, and acres of rich, farmland rolling out into the basin of the Pioneer Valley. There is irregular train service, the closest airport is 45 minutes south at Bradley Field in Hartford, CT. A community ethos prevails of contemplative intellectual and cultural respite from the outside world. The five colleges scattered throughout the valley provide rich and varied social and artistic options.

North of the town sprawls the main campus of the University of Massachusetts. Driving into Amherst one evening in 1968, this multi-acre mishmash of modern and old, brick and concrete buildings with two lit-up high-rise towers, makes an eerie contrast to the quiet, dark nest of its surroundings. The campus population matches the town and state demographics then -- predominantly middle to upper-class, white, Christian, socially conservative and democratic.

Photos from the 1967-68 University yearbook (University of Massachusetts, Index, Vol. 100) show happy, scrubbed, smiling young men and women, Johnny Carson as a campus visitor, ROTC a featured extra-curricular activity, conservatively longish mini-skirts, conservatively longish hair on the men, and various seasonal beauty queens wearing various hues of pink and white lipstick. Reactions to the outside national events were handled in small peace marches

and special debate sessions. So, when 100 miles due east, the streets of Boston spilled over with mourners and protesters after Martin Luther King, Jr. was assassinated, the campus held candle-light vigils. Simon and Garfunkel performed at the annual Spring Concert. It was a respectful and peaceful campus.

By 1968 the University of Massachusetts was in the midst of a five year influx of state funding. Even until 1971, Massachusetts ranked last in the nation in per capita spending on public higher education (in 1971 Massachusetts ranked 49th). In 1955 only 10% of Massachusetts students in higher education attended public institutions. In 1970, the percentage had risen to 50%, still 25% below the average public sector attendance in other states.² Between 1965 and 1970, the University experienced an astonishing 15% annual growth. Construction sites dotted the campus. Oswald Tippo was Provost then and guided the University through this flush period.

During 1967 Provost Tippo headed up a search committee of eleven faculty and university administrators to find "a man who would make progressive changes at the School [of Education] ... who would make things happen. (Brainerd, 1973: 122)" In late 1967, the Dean of the School of

² Report of the President's Committee on the Future University of Massachusetts, Vernon R. Alden, Chairman (1971), unpublished document, Boston, MA. Reference from Brainerd (1973) later cited as "Future University". Document unavailable through University library in 1994.

Education, Ralph Purvis, had opted for early retirement. A faculty member from within the School, Ovid Parody, was appointed acting Dean for 1967.³

Provost Tippo had already successfully guided other programs within the university through a process of revitalization. Over these five years, his annual budget from the state had increased nearly 350% from \$15.5 million to \$55 million.

The American Council on Education rated the improvement in graduate programming at the University of Massachusetts as the highest in the country between 1965 and 1970.⁴ Tippo had recruited new faculty, attracting excellent scholars; he was able to promote and grant tenure to existing faculty, upgrade the quality of teaching, and improve research and resources available for the University community. Dr. Tippo's tenure was a period of financial boom and in 1967 he turned his attention to the School of Education. Describing

³ Much of the 1967-68 historical background on the School of Education presented here comes from Lyman B. Brainerd, Jr. (dissertation, Ed.D., 1973) Radical Change in a School of Education, September 1967 - November 1969: A Study of Leader-Dominated Change in a University Subcomponent (University of Massachusetts, School of Education). Information also comes from interviews with faculty and students present in 1967-1968, the University of Massachusetts archives, and general references made in School of Education documents from that time. Specific sources will be cited for quotes, official university actions or new policies and procedures.

⁴ Cited by Brainerd (1973) from Future University, no citation.

the "old" School of Education, Dr. Tipppo said in a 1972 interview,

The School [of Education] was universally, by the Arts and Sciences departments, by the administration, and by the outside, recognized as pedestrian, non-progressive, dull. We couldn't even claim it was second rate. It was one of the weakest parts of the University and one of the poorer around the country. (Brainerd, 1973: 121)

In 1967-68, the flourish of resources at the University thus enabled the flowering of the School of Education without threat of sapping resources from other parts of the University.

One of the outstanding scholars Tipppo lured to the university was Dwight Allen who was until 1968 an associate professor of education at Stanford University. The former Dean of the School, Ralph Purvis, who had headed the School since its upgrade from departmental status in 1956, also knew of these perceived failings of the School. Despite this, as Brainerd hinted at, he seemed unwilling to take any risks with the School and push the faculty or administration out of its "dullness." His emphasis was on teaching and faculty publications. On his side, though, sitting in the School of Education on the fringe of the campus, the incentives were meager for curriculum revision, stretching slim resources to support outside projects or supporting experimental programs and innovation. In his final Annual Report, Dr. Purvis wrote,

The inevitable conclusion is that for a period of time... the School has not had, to use a gross

understatement, adequate support.... In three years our enrollment has increased 69% but our faculty has increased only 12% and our budget in the operational characteristics has actually decreased by 13%. (School of Education, Annual Report, 1966-1967: 9-11)

Brainerd implies that Dr. Purvis submitted his early retirement for political reasons and possibly disagreement about the direction in which the School was being prodded by the Provost.

Dwight Allen was 36 years old when he first came to interview with the search committee in Amherst. He had a budding "guru" image at Stanford, with a golden-touch reputation for fund raising and innovative research. Allen was a Teddy Roosevelt turned 1960s flower-child. He carried the same pompous aura of political bully but it was tempered with the compassion of a teacher who rallies students into optimistic furor for reform in education. He was a stout man addicted to diet sodas, apparently requiring little sleep, ready and eager to be outrageous and a bit of an exhibitionist (for a University Dean), wearing West African dashikis to the office and scheduling meetings almost anywhere, and anytime, even before dawn. Two of his catch phrases during the 1968-69 academic year were, "No is Not the Right Answer" and "Now is the Right Answer." The press labeled him the "P.T. Barnum" of education; his colleagues referred to him fondly as a "hustler." He galvanized students around him and appears to have been relentless (and

willing to be unorthodox) in getting what he wanted once he was committed.

Allen was also a spiritual man with a clear, solid philosophical commitment to the Ba-Ha'i faith. He was foremost a dedicated teacher, with a vision of how education, specifically at the teacher training level, could affect social change. In an unpublished interview found among mimeographed School documents in the University archives, Allen is quoted,

Let's get rid of the pretense that there is one way of going about education and that teachers ought to be trained in that particular way. We must recognize that what we really need to do now is to train people with diverse backgrounds to do diverse things.... I want to be able to change within the structure rather than to pull the structure down. The main thrust of the School [will be] to use education to change society. (Gilmor, K., "A Day in the Life." no date: pp. 9-14)

Provost Tippo lured Allen to the University with assurances of freedom and support for innovation. Allen is reported to have told the Trustee Selection Committee "not to hire him if they wanted a cheap dean or a safe dean (Brainerd, 1973: 123)." His selection as Dean was unanimous among all interviewing committees (from interviews conducted by Brainerd, 1973). The conditions that he put forth for his acceptance of the job were met:

- (1) a substantial increase in faculty members, including hiring faculty from other disciplines,
- (2) support for a larger administrative staff (including two assistant deans and an administrative assistant brought from

- California), and a number of graduate student slots for which he could hand pick students
- (3) a University commitment to micro-teaching (a new teacher training method he had experimented with at Stanford), and room to experiment with other alternative approaches to teaching
 - (4) the continuation of a \$325,000 grant he had been awarded, and the support of the Administration in his procuring more "soft money" for the School without heavy University oversight,
 - (5) a delay in his assuming full-time residence in Amherst until January 1968 with University approved monthly trips back to California after that time.
- (paraphrased from Brainerd, 1973: 123-124)

Bolstered with these unusual and unprecedented assurances, Allen went on to employ, within academia, very unusual and unprecedented faculty and student recruitment measures. His priority areas for the "new" School in 1967 were higher education, teacher education, and international education with focuses on problems in educational administration and urban education. His method was abrupt and traumatic organizational upheaval in order to allow room for creativity, innovation, experimentation, and "freedom to fail." Allen later was quoted, "I hope that this school will become a living example of how you can get traumatic change within the system. (Resnick, Saturday Review, 4/4/72).

During the Winter of 1968 Dwight Allen moved from California to Massachusetts. He brought with him a five member administrative team (including three graduate students) to start recruiting new faculty and making plans for change. He announced that all existing classes and

programs would be suspended as of September 1969 and that the academic year 1968-1969 would be entirely devoted to planning and creating a "new" School of Education at the University of Massachusetts. On April 20, 1968, the Boston Globe ran an article titled, "UMass School of Education Abandons its Old Curriculum: Creating new concepts of education. Reporter Nina McCain wrote - "One of the most exciting educational adventures in the country is going on in a prosaic red brick building on the fringe of the University of Massachusetts campus."

* * *

During the same winter that Allen and his entourage moved cross-country, the Department of Defense called for an additional 302,000 men to be inducted into the army. Nearly half a million U.S. troops were fighting in Viet Nam, and the total reported casualty rates were higher than the entire University undergraduate enrollment.

Also in January 1968, President Johnson ordered the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) to cut its overseas spending by \$100 million. (U.S. foreign aid spending amounted to only 5% of the total defense budget in FY1967.) Famine and insurgent fighting screened nightly in American homes through television news from Biafra, Rhodesia, South Africa, India, and Israel. The streets of Paris, Rome, Belgrade, Rio De Janeiro, Morningside Heights,

NY, Washington, D.C. and Orangeburg, SC were filled with students in bloody battles with local militia and police. One month later the President's National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders warned that, "Our nation is moving toward two societies, one black, one white -- separate and unequal. (2/29/68, "Report from the National Commission on Civil Disorders")

One of the new School faculty members recalled later to a reporter, "I picked up the phone one morning and a voice said, 'Hello, this is Dwight Allen. How would you like to join a revolution?' (Resnick, Saturday Review, 4/4/72)."

* * *

Provost Tipppo had originally pledged ten new faculty positions to Allen. By March 1968, Allen's team had hired thirty new faculty and four more were hired in September. In Spring 1968 the Graduate Faculty had agreed to admit the first "Special Doctoral Student" as part of the Special Doctoral Program designed for outstanding students. This first student was working as a Special Assistant to Dean Allen and his admission into the graduate program was part of Allen's initial employment conditions to the Administration.⁵

⁵ The first "Special Doctoral Student," Gordon Schimmel, was one of the founding members of the CIE. He moved from Washington, D.C. where he had worked for three years in an upper level position for Peace Corps and prior to that been a Peace Corps volunteer in Morocco.

The Special Doctoral Student Program was "reserved only for those students of outstanding ability and maturity. ('Minutes of the Graduate Faculty Meeting', 2/5/68, cited by Brainerd, 1973, footnote p. 141)." The School of Education doctoral requirements were waived (but not University requirements); they were to receive credit for work on planning committees, carry equal voice with faculty in planning committee decisions, were to develop an individualized program of study in conjunction with a three member faculty committee which the student could change at any time.

Initially the Graduate Faculty approved support and admission for 15-20 Special Doctoral Students, by September 1968 Dean Allen had admitted 85 Special Doctoral Students who were now referred to as "Planning Doctoral Students".⁶

True to his reputation, Dean Allen revealed his Midas-touch in fund raising to support his ventures. He raised nearly half a million dollars during his first eighteen months at the School and was able to provide support for all doctoral students. Part of these funds included an additional \$45,000 from the University in graduate student stipends, and, in his first high risk financial maneuver, an extra \$125,000 in un-allocated University monies to cover

⁶ This information comes from Brainerd (1973) interviews and reports of Graduate Faculty Meetings, and later minutes from various school memos during Fall 1968 about procedures and credit for these students.

extra \$125,000 in un-allocated University monies to cover the 1968-69 operating deficit the School had rung up. A chunk of this over spending had gone to support the additional Planning Doctoral Students who otherwise may not have been able to attend. In an interview with Brainerd, Allen spoke of his strategy,

It was a choice. Either I had to take the risk or they did. It seemed to me that the personal risk of moving to Amherst with support uncertain was more onerous to the student than was my risk in guaranteeing money -- especially since I was optimistic that it would come through or that I would somehow do something to continue paying those people. (quoted in Brainerd, 1973: 148)

Brainerd later quotes Allen on this incident from a videotape titled "What Makes Dwight Tick?" saying "I had a choice between ending up with lots of people and no money or lots of money and no people. And that really wasn't a choice for me (p. 148)." This additional \$125,000 also increased the baseline University funding levels for the School in the future.

In less than a year the new Dean had fertilized the ground for planting the seeds for his "new" School of Education; and proven his warning to Trustees, it was not to be cheap and, if not exactly unsafe, riddled with many high risk ventures.

In the end, Allen hired 34 new faculty members bringing the total faculty count at the School to 69 in September 1968. The percentage of those with doctorates remained the same at 85%; the average age of the faculty dropped from 42

years to 34 years old. The number of minority faculty members increased from one to four; the number of women faculty members decreased from six to four. The number of Masters students, primarily part-time teachers, counselors, and administrators increased from 604 in 1967 to over 1,000 in 1969. The number of doctoral students quadrupled from 25 to 110 in September 1968, 25% of whom were U.S. minorities (the highest percentage of all schools or departments in the University). In addition to increases in University funding to the School for additional faculty and doctoral students, outside funding more than doubled from \$494,270 to \$1,240,625 between 1967 and 1968.

Perhaps one of the most substantive changes was in wider diversity among the School community which in September 1968 included -- besides those in education -- people from law, psychology, history, sociology, engineering, political science, business administration, english, and international development, as well as community activists, an opera singer, a folk musician, therapists, union organizers, college administrators, former Peace Corps volunteers, inner-city community organizers, and a wide array of teachers of all grades and subjects in and out of formal education systems.⁷

⁷ Data from The School of Education, January 1968 - January 1973: A Report to the Trustees' Committee on Faculty and Educational Policy, February 23, 1973. Unpublished report compiled by the School of Education.

The Planning Year: 1968-1969

Reform through "Traumatic Upheaval"

The University yearbook of 1969 shows a different picture of a campus life than just one year earlier. Janis Joplin was the featured musician at the UMass Homecoming Weekend Concert in Fall 1968. A student organization called the Martin Luther King Social Action Council (MLKSAC) had been formed and was sponsoring activities all year. In September, three weeks into the new semester, they organized a "Day of Awareness" during which over 300 students gathered in the Student Union to hear speakers on civil disobedience, racial conflict, and why the U.S. should pull out of Viet Nam. Later in the semester they organized a "Night of Inquiry -- Student Power" which was an all night sit-in involving over 2000 students. (Events featured in the UMass Index, Vol. 100) Pink lipstick and slightly teased hair still adorned the seasonal beauty queens, but free-flowing long haired young men and body-painted partially nude women, dancing in circles with long streamers on sticks also graced the pages of "extra-curricular" activities. ROTC was ousted from the campus.

* * *

Beyond Amherst, at the Democratic National Convention held in Chicago in August 1968, the Yippies organized a "Festival of Life." Yippie Party leaders Jerry Rubin and

Abbie Hoffman concocted this festival as a way to ridicule the "system." Three days before the convention opened, they released a 200 pound pig named Pigasus, the Yippie candidate for President, in the Chicago Civic Center Plaza. Pigasus was caught by police and turned over to the Chicago Humane Society. That night five thousand protesters massed in front of the Hilton Hotel where Hubert Humphrey was staying. Some people say that this was the point at which the police lost control. Jerry Rubin was quoted years later reminiscing about that week,

Everything that happened was both intentional and inadvertent. Everything was by accident, nothing happened as we planned. But it was all planned... After the convention was over the question was not what had gone on inside but why did the Chicago police go crazy, and what's wrong with America? (quoted in Viorst, 1979: 459)

When Hubert Humphrey visited the University of Massachusetts, hecklers and protesters would not allow him to deliver his speech. A photo of him walking off the podium with speech in hand looms large on a page of the 1969 Index (Vol. 101).

* * *

In late August 1968, dozens of new School of Education faculty and Planning Doctoral Students were converging on Amherst, mixing in with the regular caravan of U-Hauls and loaded cars winding their way north from the Mass Turnpike. The first meeting of the faculty and doctoral students was

held on September 4, 1968 where Allen threw down the gauntlet -- All courses, degree and certification programs were to be discontinued as of September 1968. The year will be devoted to planning this new School, planning for the intentional and inadvertent.⁸

Lyman Brainerd, a first year Planning Doctoral student, recounts that first formal all day meeting (1973: 165-168). Starting at 9:00 am in the Marks Meadow School Auditorium, Allen introduced all of the new faculty to the old faculty without notes; at 10:00 am the Planning Doctoral Students joined the group and Allen, again without notes, introduced all the students to the faculty. He then spoke of his vision for the School and laid out the task for the coming year: planning and then preparing a new "catalogue" which came to be referred to as the "Package" for University approval by the end of Spring semester. Brainerd describes the atmosphere of this meeting,

There was a sense of exhilaration and power inherent in the fantasy that here was an auditorium full of highly competent people talking in strong, confident tones of the kind of academic revolution that was usually discussed in guarded tones among small knots of people. And there was a strong sense of potential and adventure in the very appearance of the people, black and white, dress ranging from conventional suit to patched jeans, smooth-shaven to expansively bearded, crew-

⁸ Brainerd questions whether Allen actually had any authority to take this action. The "old" faculty resisted many of Allen's restructuring and decisions; many grievances were lodged against him during his tenure. See Brainerd for an excellent discussion of Allen's relationships with the faculty.

cut to Afro to shoulder-length hair... (Brainerd, 1973: 166-67)

Their first collective adventure was to be a one week retreat to the mountains of Colorado. There, in a rustic mountain summer camp,⁹ the group could focus its energy without day-to-day work distractions and "discuss needs and operational assumptions and specify objectives for the School of Education with a time frame (Allen, 'Memorandum to Faculty and Planning Staff,' 7/23/68)."

Once the Dean had spoken, the meeting proceeded to general business during which it appears that the "old" faculty were gradually out numbered and out voted. Fifty percent of the motions made by "old" faculty were tabled by majority vote until after the Retreat. All but one of the motions put forth by the "new" faculty were approved with the one being a move to seat a minimum of two students on all School committees with vote. This motion was narrowly tabled and the motion that the "faculty express its intent to include students on all faculty committees" was approved. In addition to this decision, the other motions passed included a suspension of all rules during this meeting, selection of Dean Allen as chair of all faculty meetings after the Retreat until another decision could be rendered, the abolishment of the Rules Committee and turning over of faculty meeting agenda preparation to the Office of the

⁹ The site was High Trails Camp in Florissant, Colorado; the retreat was held from September 15th to 20th.

Dean. There were several reports from various committees and projects, all provided by "new" faculty. This "old" vs. "new" scenario would be played out in many other ways as the planning year proceeded.

In the mimeographed "A Day in the Life," Allen is quoted as saying with a grin to a faculty member after a disagreement over a project issue, "These wily faculty members -- I'm the only person around here who does things without prior conditions." The faculty member replied, "You're like dealing with Mae West. She always said, '1 + 1 = 2, 2 + 2 = 4, and 4 + 4 = 10 -- if you know how to work it right'." (recounted in Gilmor, n.d., p. 10)

Most major administrative decisions and plans were put off until after the Retreat. The Dean and the Retreat Planning Committee headed up by the new Assistant Dean, Earl Seidman, solicited questions, topics of interest, concept papers and outlines for discussion at the Retreat. They received over 500 questions and ideas for discussion, including a five page memo titled "Possible Aims and Interests of an International Education Center."

The Retreat cost \$30,000, involved 152 people transported by chartered bus and plane. The whole thing, en route on the plane to late night bull sessions and party going, was videotaped and recorded.¹⁰ A new in-house School

¹⁰ Unfortunately these tapes seem to be lost or destroyed. I visited the School of Education Media Center in Spring 1994, where I was shown a room stacked with

newspaper, Tabula Rasa, was conceived during the Retreat for reporting sessions and decisions.

The Retreat to Colorado

The warm days and cool nights in the Colorado mountains, the sense of adventure and self-importance, and the comraderie and novelty for many, brewed up a heady experience for these renegade academics. This group was predominantly White, aged over 30, and mostly male; and possibly, with exception of the former Peace Corps Volunteers and staff, the handful of inner-city community activists and union organizers, not many of them had ventured to such a degree so far out from mainstream organizational planning and development processes. Such catch phrases as -- "Do your own thing," "Freedom to fail," "Black is Beautiful" -- and an internal joke, "Old Faculty is Beautiful" -- riddled their conversations and appeared on buttons and t-shirts. Once back on campus, the "Spirit of Colorado" became a popular reference to the sense of shared purpose and community developed at the Retreat. These fragile tendrils of cohesion and commitment held the group together over the next nine months like a "reserve of centripetal energy" (Brainerd, 1873: 187). Without their

uncatalogued and sometimes unlabelled old videotapes. The staff told me that even if I found these tapes, they no longer owned, nor knew of anyone nearby who owned, the reel-to-reel equipment needed to view them.

"Spirit of Colorado," the School community may very well have imploded over the next few months amidst chaos and controversies, disorganization and disunity. This "Spirit of Colorado" was a wellspring of group confidence during 1968-69 that Allen, despite his charisma, could not have sustained on his own.

Besides the spirit and sense of community, and creation of Tabula Rasa, the Retreat had three other significant outcomes: (1) development of a planning process around a "center" model based on interest groups (twenty-two by the end of the Retreat which later became eleven centers and four program areas); (2) adoption of a committee system for School governance which allowed for graduate student vote and interest group representation (an elected seven person Executive Committee headed up this octopus);¹¹ and, (3) an explicit commitment to combat institutional racism which resulted from the efforts of a small but vocal and assertive group of Black participants.

The "center" model represented a break from traditional academic organization patterns. These centers were defined by the interests of the faculty and doctoral students. They were a loosely organic model of organization since they grew naturally from personal commitments and participation to

¹¹ Brainerd surmises that the Executive Committee quickly became a sham as its decision making authority was diluted upon creation by a flawed system in which power to thwart any decisions always lay in the hands of the Dean or any dissenting minority group. (1973: Chapter V)

develop into organizational structures. But in another sense, they were simply academic reaction to an emerging intellectual movement on U.S. campuses during the 1960s that questioned the traditional university compartmentalization of knowledge. In Fall 1968, Richard Poirer, a professor of English at Rutgers University, wrote in an Atlantic Monthly article titled "The War Against the Young,"

... never before have so many revered subjects, like literature itself, seemed obsolete in any strict compartmental form... For if we are at a moment of terror, we are also at a moment of great expectation and wonder... To meet this challenge, the universities need to dismantle their entire academic structure, their systems of courses and requirements, their notion of what constitutes the proper fields and subjects of academic inquiry. (October 1968, p. 61)

Allen promised the center planning committees autonomy and a free-hand in developing their own goals, projects, courses, and programs of study which they would then submit for community review. Once reviewed, these many pieces would make up the "Package" -- the rationale, goals, and curriculum of their "new" School of Education.

Tab Razing

"Tabula Rasa" means starting with a clean slate, free to fashion one's own design and consciousness unfettered by preconceptions. But "rasa" is a form of a Latin verb meaning "to scrape" and implies deliberate force. So, with this as the name-motto of their new newspaper, the 150+ members of the "new" School set upon the task of developing policies

and procedures for actualizing their ideas. Dean Allen later wrote,

[W]e have had to leave the safe harbors of institutional respectability... Our mission is not modest, and we may fail. (1970, Annual Report, p. 2)

The full name of the new newspaper was, "Tabula Rasa: The NOW Journal of the UMass School of Education" and was started during the Colorado Retreat as a way to record meeting decisions, provide a community forum for sharing ideas, and report small group activities to the larger group. In the first mimeographed issue two writers posed the following,

This venture will never work if harmony or counterpoint is confused with consensus. Nor will it work if commitment is confused with conspiracy. (9/17/68, vol. 1(1), in Colorado)

But we have a working venture to which I can [only] commit myself as long as counterpoint prevails. (9/17/68, vol. 1(1), in Colorado)

One group attempted to spell out a list of community values: self-awareness, self-understanding, creativity, openness, flexibility. Others complained about raging egos and the problem adopting these personal values might pose when trying to create organizational goals and policies, especially if one goal is to fight institutional racism.

Promoting individual expression without forfeiting collective accountability remained an ongoing issue throughout the year - "structures must allow for individuality... [and] must be dynamic in order to respond

to a rapidly changing world (from "Report Submitted by the Task Force on Structure to the Entire Group for Consideration," Tabula Rasa, vol.I(2), 9/18/68, Florissant, CO)" From the Decision Making Committee came the suggestion that the community needed "to ask the kinds of painful question... we might not [otherwise] ask ourselves. (TR, 9/18/68)" And from the Committee on Goals came a list of issues to be addressed:

- need for autonomy, self-determination, con-
commitment for maintenance of standards of
institutional excellence
- respect for individual freedom and need for
social relevance
- need to regulate power and status
relationships fostering human worth, dignity,
and self-determination
- need for efficiency and effectiveness, using
means that are ethically and morally
compatible with goals. (TR, 9/18/68)

While filled with lofty values and romantic rhetoric, pleas for meetings to be scheduled in advance so that they could be publicized also dotted the pages. Humor too, sometimes self-damning and cynical of the whole endeavor, threads through these early chronicles, but generally congenial and spirit building.

An essay, "Are Grades Necessary?," was one of many individual proposals submitted to Tab Raz and carried over into committee discussions. "A New Corporate Design," an essay by two Planning Doctoral Students proposed adopting a more definite organizational structure versus the

meandering, octopus-like system that seemed to prevail as the "center model" took hold.

In the November 19th issue of Tab Raz, a draft of the preamble to the "new" School constitution was published. It stated that the goals of the school can only be achieved by "free and mobile individuals working through a community which supports individual creativity, growth, and vitality." They continued,

We see any organizational restraints on free activity as potential personal inhibitors... [The School of Education] shall be free and open... without status distinctions... all policies are ultimately derived from the whole and we shall strive for concensus [sic] of the whole." (TR, 11/19/68)

Organizational principles were put forth including the avoidance of "stifling effects that bureaucratic organizational patterns inevitably wreak on individual initiatives, creativity, and growth" (TR, 11/19/68). In the next issue, skipping publication during the week of Thanksgiving, an in-direct response to this draft was published. The author elliptically warned that "direct confrontation of relevant situations in an organization is essential." He suggested that there was a problem of communication and unequal power relations between the "chosen few" and the rest of the School of Education; and that without confrontation they were "passing the buck" and stifling discussion of relevant issues like racism and sexism.

The extent of using Tab Raz as a public forum for dissent (often anonymous) began to drop off as Winter approached and the first deadlines for submission of proposals from center planning committees drew near. Even though undercurrents of dissent were evident, in both the forum of Tab Raz and the grievances lodged by faculty against Dean Allen, tacit acceptance of the "chosen few" in light of the enormity of their task forced a general resignation to the "freedom to fail" and the momentum of the time.

Copies of various committee meeting minutes, poetry, cartoons, announcements of new faculty, babies, parties, lectures and visitors, and news clippings continued to be the regular grist of the Tab Raz. But, by December 1968, doubt and frustration with lack of progress toward defining School goals, developing workable governance procedures or producing concrete curriculum directives, after seemingly endless hours of planning, started appearing in the pages of Tabula Rasa. Questions like "What have we learned?" or "Where are we at now?" were typically turned around into concept paper generating activities. Ray Budde wrote a letter "to The Community" on January 2, 1969 where he posed the following,

Perhaps our difficulties in formulating goals during the first half of the planning year have been due to the fact that we have been (as Dwight states) 'pushing back the boundaries.' We have been purposely 'tab razing' the slate -- trying to think freely and creatively without having to

worry about where our ideas fit. (TR, 1/7/69, vol. 2, no. 1)

Time weighed heavily on the School now, with a larger number of personalities and interests, the fervor and quantity of work achieved during the previous year by the Dean and his small group of five was not possible. They had given themselves only eight months to accomplish their goal of creating a new curriculum and putting together the "Package" for University approval in Spring 1969 for implementation in Fall 1969. By Winter, four months into the planning process and four months away from their deadline for submission of the Package to the University, inklings of misgivings for not fully considering the organizational ramifications of "do your own thing" were raised in Tab Raz. The whole planning process was organized along the "do your own thing" interest groups or centers that emerged from the Retreat. Brainerd writes about this process,

In many cases planning committee meetings of the theoretically oriented groups consisted of little more than ongoing bull sessions reflecting the biases of those present, and worse, since the meetings themselves were usually undocumented, the same issues were often being addressed, without conclusions being reached as membership shifted from meeting to meeting. (Brainerd, 1973: 213)

The committee set up in late Winter 1969 to review and evaluate the proposals submitted by the various center planning committees returned a sarcastic report titled "There is Less Here Than Meets the Eye" (cited by Brainerd, 1973). In this report, the committee included a definition

of the word "rationale," and listed 50 "amusing terms" found in their review of proposals (paraphrased, Brainerd, 1973: 221-222).

* * *

A visitor to the School that Fall, Professor W.H. Crowley, referred to in Tabula Rasa as the "first professor of higher education" in the U.S., commented on their reform effort,

Trustees don't govern anymore except occasionally to veto. And when they do, all Hell breaks loose. Squatters have taken over, and squatters rights are valid. (quoted in TR, 10/28/68)

There were squatters in the School of Education that year, and the rest of the University, as well as a number of School faculty and graduate students, grew more and more skeptical. Some stopped worrying and became simply outraged. The media was watching too. Articles about Allen and the School appeared in the Boston Globe, the New York Times, and Time magazine. A Saturday Review reporter wrote,

The UMass education school is one of these rare educational institutions where almost anything is possible and where even the most far-out ideas are at least likely to be considered. The worst lurks in every corner of the school in the form of poor planning or no planning; aimless speculations with vaguely revolutionary overtones; a romantic commitment to the concept of change that, without a specific program, adds up to no change... (Resnick, 4/4/72, p. 40)

Yet, with all the "tab razing" and bubbling dissent, the School community doggedly pursued their plans.

The Package

They held steadfastly to their "center model" despite the disparities among the various groups. The final eleven interest groups went about their tasks of designing "centers" to offer courses and learning experiences that together would comprise a curriculum and eventually the School catalogue. These centers were Aesthetics in Education, Counselor Education, Educational Research, Humanistic Education, International Education, Leadership in Educational Administration, the Study of Educational Innovations, Educational Media and Technology, Foundations of Education, Urban Education, and Teacher Education. An additional thirteen "Special Programs" were covered as well.

Running along side the center Planning Committees were administrative planning committees: Administration, Goals, and Financial Support. Buttressing these was a student and faculty decision-making body - the Executive [Council] Committee - that reported to the Dean and the community, as well as various other faculty dominated committees, which allowed student participation, such as the Personnel Committee and a group designated to write the new School Constitution.

Breaking free of rhetoric became a growing concern as the School seemed to stall in a quagmire of abstract ideas about reforming higher education without agreement on action or strategies. In this milieu many things appear to have

been assumed as organizational prerogatives or School directives took shape in haphazard fashion and without systematic review. Reflecting on the first dozen months of the "new" School, two of the "old" faculty published "How it all Happened: A Perspective from Two Dissenters," where they describe the atmosphere of the School in 1968 as a "state of near anarchy" (Anthony & Thelen, 1975: 30). They characterize the adoption of pass/fail as a maneuver on Allen's part where he had "his" faculty award all A's to students and forced the University to allow pass/fail grading without going through proper University approval channels.

But, Allen had stated that he believed that organizational change could occur from within, and that free and unrestricted individuality and creativity would eventually coalesce in a new and different collective entity. He is quoted as saying, "I want to be able to change within the structure rather than to pull the structure down" (Gilmor, circa. 1970-71). At some point, some of the traditional institutional restraints meant to ensure accountability and credibility have to be unhitched. By giving free-rein and ensuring center autonomy and self-governance, and allowing them to devise their own systems of accountability, Allen was taking a huge risk -- a leap of faith that this group of academic rebels and idealists could pull it all together. The Squatters scrambled to organize.

Outcomes of the Planning Year

In the final interim catalogue approved by the University on a two year experimental basis in Spring 1969, a position paper adopted by the School's Editorial Board is quoted:

Perhaps the ultimate madness in which we are involved is an attempt to institutionalize change -- to guarantee that formal education shall be so structured as to facilitate innovation, to encourage challenges, to assimilate proven alternatives to whatever has gone before. ("Interim Catalogue," 7/24/69, p.2)

The Package, when the 2000+ pages of supporting documents are cut out, is a respectable reflection on the energy and excitement expended during the Planning Year. With 22 pages of text about the mission, background, and goals of the School, its bulk consists of 72 pages of detailed academic program descriptions featuring the eleven educational centers. In the introduction they state that "[s]ince September, we have accomplished much -- and learned much. We have learned, for example, that the enormous task of translating laudable goals into ongoing practices will not be accomplished in one year alone (p. 6)."

They also realized that the "freedom of this planning year has had some unfortunate consequences (p.11)." Some of these consequences resulted from their "chaotic method of operation," "unsystematic provision for transition between old and new programs," "non-bureaucratic mode of operation,"

and "intense preoccupation with our own processes and priorities." (pp. 11-12) They also acknowledge,

... the notion that each individual can operate according to his own beliefs about education has resulted in a school-wide neglect of the implications that an individual's actions might hold for the rest of the University... (p.11)

The contradiction between adopting an organic model for organizing the School and the non-organic tactics of traumatizing the system was spiraling into collision. While Allen's "now is the right answer" style of administration encouraged unfettered creativity in the centers, it had a boomerang effect as well. As the time to re-open the School of Education drew near, the University administration wanted to know more than what was going on **now** at the School; they and many members of the School wanted to know where all this was leading.

As one of the 1968 International Education Fellows remembered about that first year,

When all this was going on in 1968-69, you just cannot believe the strong feeling there was in the rest of the University about what was going on... and there was a concerted effort by the rest of the University faculty to get rid of Dwight, get this abomination out of the University. And they did everything they could, and Dwight fought them and won things like pass/fail and other things, but he used up so much currency in doing that... that he lost in the end. (Interview 113, 6/93)

* * *

The radical means which Allen used during the first year as Dean might not have gotten him as far as they did at

another point in time. His methods of recruiting new faculty and admitting new graduate students, were extremely successful given the short period of time he had and the quality of his appointments. But, his methods often smacked of deliberate contempt for traditional protocols -- skipping formal faculty committee review processes, appointing faculty who held little or no academic credentials, bringing in academics and professionals from outside the field of education, admitting a doctoral student who did not possess an accredited bachelors degree. He had given the recruitment goal to his five member team of finding "the best, most exciting people in the country (Brainerd, 1973: 129)." Their selling point for getting these people to relocate to a rural, poorly rated School of Education was only the personal vision Allen could espouse dramatically and passionately.

In response to several vocal dissenters to this experiment, Allen stated,

...we have shown that innovative structures can be implemented in the university, that significant educational reforms can be mounted... I also have said many times that individuals and institutions must have the right to fail. The School of Education has had to cope with the ambiguity inherent in any significant pioneering venture... Educators have long fooled themselves into thinking that new approaches can be tried without risk. (Allen, 1975: 31)

* * *

In that planning year of 1968-69, the School was entering a formative period, living out their right to fail. The contradictions between promoting creativity and nonconformity in an institution bound by intellectual orthodoxy, had still not been adequately resolved. Looming on the horizon were other organizational challenges: reaching a credible balance in their curriculum between academic rigor and practical relevance; prescribing cultural diversity and intellectual equity in a traditionally elitist and exclusive institution; and promoting democratic and participatory decision-making in a competitive hierarchical system based on slowly acquired intellectual authority.

On the micro-level, however, tensions of this sort were less stifling and daunting at this time simply because these innovations were more easily managed with smaller numbers; and, they were also less threatening.

* * *

The thrill of the experience still hums in the voices and memories of the players from this early time of planning and greeting challenge everyday. As Dwight Allen remembers,

...we were preoccupied with the distinction between formal and nonformal education... and that certainly leads to the empowerment of individuals and challenges some of the traditional institutional structures.... (Interview DWA, 1993)

When asked how this was operationalized for the "new" School of Education, Allen says in retrospect,

You have to look at the overall milieu of the school itself, because the milieu of the school was wheeling dealing, an open place where we would close the whole school down for a week and everybody would share with each other what they were doing and what was important....It wasn't that we were throwing the old things out, it was that anything that was old had to be defended as vigorously and as rigorously as anything new. When we finally came up with our new curriculum, it was probably 80% of the old curriculum. But, the new 20% was importantly different and it was only possible because of the process we went through. (Interview DWA, 1993)

CHAPTER V

1968-1970, ERA #1: A PROGRAM IN INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION IS NON-NEGOTIABLE

What is known, based on the few preliminary studies of organizational creation, is that choices made early in the development of organizations serve both to shape their enduring character and to constrain the range of options available to them in later stages of organizational life. (Miles and Randolph, 1980: 45)

Collaborators in Change

The first dozen months of the Center for International Education (CIE) were congested with meetings and make-shift, near "crisis" management. "There wasn't a Center," as one of the first year doctoral students put it, "there was an idea that there would be something international, but nobody knew what it was" (Interview 112, 6/93).

Ideas were translated into action in haphazard, trial and error fashion as the "Fellows" and initially two (three in January 1969) faculty tried to shed old ways of operating and build from scratch an idea not yet fully realized even in their own minds. They were the mature members of the "Flower Generation" teetering along the brink between two very different generations. Some of them were fresh from experiences in Africa, Latin America and Asia, ventures that a generation before them never had the opportunity nor role as Americans to fulfill. The U.S. was moving out of its

post-World War state, shifting its foreign policy and consciousness to a more outward and global mood. The U.S. government was no longer, after its hesitantly victorious role in World War II, promoting isolationism. The tide had turned and the U.S. was reaping the political and economic benefits of being a world military power. In Southeast Asia, the U.S. was also realizing the violent and bloody repercussions of self aggrandizement as the world's police against Communism.

Cross-cultural and global understanding were novelties for these new Center Fellows -- making a difference, carving a niche for themselves, and finding the boundaries of their world expanded beyond neighborhoods, beyond national borders, beyond their childhood conceptions of work and career.

The feelings of self-potential, of the ability to effect change and make a difference in their world through education permeated the air, stalked the halls. As Dean Allen later put it,

We were preoccupied with social change... and that certainly leads to empowerment of individuals and challenges some of the traditional institutional structures.... The people who were there honestly believed that we were trying to create a new world and that we were all collaborators in that.
(Interview DWA, 4/93)

Laying the Foundation: "Hustlers in the
Constructive Sense"¹

Before the time of the Colorado Retreat, an ad hoc International Education interest group had sprung up, mostly from personal contacts during the recruiting phase. Dwight Allen had pulled David Schimmel away from a position as Director of the U.S. Peace Corps Virgin Islands Training Center. Schimmel had been a practicing attorney with a law degree from Yale University, but since 1962 worked for Peace Corps in Washington, D.C., Ethiopia, and the Virgin Islands. George Urch, an Assistant Professor hired in 1967, balanced out Schimmel's non-traditional credentials for a faculty in international education with a Ph.D. from the University of Michigan, specializing in comparative education. He had taught for several years in Kenya and worked in Europe; he had numerous years experience in the classroom, in educational research and a growing portfolio of publications. David Evans joined the faculty in January 1969, after already participating in several planning events during Fall 1968. He had just completed his Ph.D. at Stanford University specializing in international development education; he also held a M.Sc. in Physics. He

¹ Gold (1973) quotes Allen talking about his recruitment criteria for new faculty and Planning Doctoral Students as looking for people who "had personal vision of the future of education... [and] were willing to take initiative, risk, and tolerate the ambiguities inherent in the experimental process... 'hustlers in the constructive sense' (p. 150)."

had worked as a volunteer teaching for three years in a secondary school in Uganda. Evans was 31 years old, Schimmel 35, and Urch 37.

There were 12 Planning Doctoral Students in September 1968 with an expressed interest in international or cross-cultural education plus 2-3 graduate students from the previous year who regularly appeared in international education planning meetings. By the end of the year the international education doctoral student coalesced into a group of nine.

Of the nine final "Fellows" of the Center for International Education, as they eventually came to be known: 8 were men, 7 were white North American men; of those seven, 4 graduated from all male (at that time), ivy league schools and one from Stanford. There were two Black students, one an African-American woman, the other a Nigerian student. Six of the American students had worked in Africa, five initially as Peace Corps Volunteers, the sixth with USAID. One Fellow had worked for Peace Corps in Hawaii as staff, and spent several years in Laos with USAID and IVS. Four held Masters degrees, two of them in education. They ranged in age from 27 years to one student who turned 40 that November. Except for the one woman and the Nigerian who had been admitted earlier and who completed his doctorate in 1971, they were a very homogenous group. The one woman "Fellow" stood out by both her sex and race; she

was the oldest member of the group, had four children, and previous work experience in the private sector which included only short travel to the West Indies.

The "international education" core group gravitated to one another during the Retreat. In one sense this group was already on track after having started some discussions and having prior personal contact with one another before the school year started, with some relationships dating back to college or Peace Corps. One of the initial members recounts that there was a feeling of exclusiveness about them because they shared certain common experiences like Peace Corps and seemed to have a more clear and coherent sense of direction than the other "centers." They also had a guardian angel in Dwight Allen who had always indicated that international education was a priority area in this "new" School. The group was given a project to administer - the Tororo Girls School in Uganda. This project was funded by the USAID, and had been awarded to the School of Education in 1962.² The International Education Fellows were the "fair haired boys

² One of the early faculty members who later visited the School to conduct an evaluation, told me that it was like a brand new, beautifully equipped U.S. high school plunked down in the middle of rural Uganda, with everything from chemistry labs, library, comfortable dormitories to tennis courts. The school was intended as a model comprehensive secondary school for girls. USAID funded this project for ten years with a total budget of \$5 million which meant, when Dean Allen handed administration over to the "international education center," they started off with a certain level of financial security for funding doctoral students and ensuring continuation on one level.

of Dwight," according to another of the 1968 Planning Doctoral Students (Interview 113, 6/93).

Locating the Center

Once back from Colorado, the International Education Fellows ensconced themselves in their new home, Montague House. Next door to the School of Education building, Montague House is the original farm house on the land where the School is located. In this old, white, wood frame building, the Center for International Education gradually came together. They set up a resource center/graduate student room connected to a room in the front for the Director's Office. Down the back of the house in two connecting rooms eventually resided the Teachers Corps. There was only one small foyer at the front door, and a long side porch with doors into the rear rooms. These were crowded quarters with constant traffic in and out of the hall-less connecting rooms. Their weekly schedule included a Tuesday morning International Education Seminar and a Thursday International Education Planning Meeting. Friday mornings were set aside for other meetings and eventually everyone was asked to keep it open since these "other" meetings seemed to always happen. Sunday evenings David Schimmel gave a study/discussion group session at his home. A weekly bulletin with announcements and meeting reports, published every Friday, began on November 1, 1968 - five

weeks after returning from Colorado. The discussion at Dave Schimmel's house that Sunday night was on the text Siddhartha with Summerhill scheduled for the next meeting. Also scheduled on that first weekly bulletin was a presentation on Wednesday morning (11/6) by a visitor from Stanford University, Dave Evans, on "International Education Degree: What Do You Do With It Once You've Got It."

Defining their Terms: "Active Participation in a World-Centered System of Education"³

The issue of defining their terms, reaching agreement on how they meant to operationalize "international education" as a practice and basis for a graduate curriculum dominated the discussions during Fall 1968. International development education as a subfield within education or the social sciences at that time was as much of a frontier as the proposal for creating learning centers based on interdisciplinary or non-traditional areas of inquiry.

In the late 1960s reform in higher education was not restricted to the field of education or teacher training, nor was Dwight Allen a lone academic revolutionary. In 1968 Jencks and Riesman analyzed the sociological and historical

³ Partial quote from "A Draft Proposal for Programs to be Offered by the Center for International Education," (p.3). Full quote reads, "'International Education' is, by definition, the institutionalized process of the mobilization and building of human resources for active participation in a world-centered system of education and human development."

developments in higher education in their text, The Academic Revolution. In terms of reforming graduate schools, they wrote,

In addition to encouraging and legitimizing non-academic modes of learning in graduate schools, there is also need for much greater flexibility in the grouping of strictly academic skills and expertise.... We have experts on Africa, but virtually no doctoral programs in African studies as distinct from sociology, political science, economics, and so on. We have research centers to study urbanization, but very few training programs to staff these centers. (Jencks & Riesman, 1968: 532)

International education as a subdiscipline, or academic grouping cutting across disciplines, suffered in the university environment from this inflexibility. The Fellows in 1968 had returned to graduate school not for the typical reasons of many doctoral students, and their choice of the UMass School of Education reflected this. One of the first year students remembers being recruited to join the School,

What did I know about a graduate school.. I didn't want to have anything to do with that beast... And [a friend] said 'look do you want to come up and be part of a dialogue to create a graduate program and that will be part of the graduate program... and I said 'that sounds terrific'... I thought the idea of getting together to talk about how to create one that was really hands on sounded fun.. (Interview 112, 6/93)

Another first year student changed his mind about ever going back to school when he learned about the proposed "new" School,

... because it was going to be a non-traditional way of doing it. I had always said that I didn't want to go through all those courses, all the rigamorole... so it was very attractive that [the

School] was going to be a student-centered program.. (Interview 113, 6/93)

They were seeking intellectual flexibility unhampered by the traditional limitations of seemingly monolithic university departments. They and the faculty were there to create something new, not only in an organizational sense, but an applied theoretical way. Jencks and Riesman go on,

Many research projects regroup subdisciplines in ways that cut across departmental lines, and many individual researchers find they must become expert in subjects nominally outside their disciplines. ...[but] faculty who want to teach subjects outside their department's traditional boundaries often find this difficult, and graduate students who want to pursue a pattern of studies that does not fall under conventional departmental definitions are likely to run into trouble. (1968: 524)

Comparative education, international affairs, anthropology, sociology, political science and economics offered the traditional academic frameworks for gathering together a subdiscipline of international development education. Within teacher training and pedagogy, the subdisciplines of multi-cultural education and teaching of English as a Second Language, also provided intellectual references. However, international development education was more of a professional designation - a practice or applied field - than an academic focus of study. Of the three faculty members in the international education group, only one had a doctorate that could be considered specialized in development education as a field of inquiry; it may not be coincidental that he held the most recent doctorate and was

the youngest of the three. There were simply not very many universities offering this type of academic specialization up until that time. Both Urch and Schimmel had practical experience and knowledge of development education from their Peace Corps and international work, but not as part of a graduate curriculum. Philip Coombs, an early international education "guru," wrote in 1968,

... where the universities have failed most singularly - to the extent that they have failed - has been in the matter of taking the initiative in stretching their own institutional arms across the seas... We have observed that an endless stream of individual university teachers, advisors, and scholars have crossed the oceans to lend a helping hand to peoples elsewhere. But all too often they have gone as academic truants, without the support and sponsorship of their universities, and frequently at considerable risk to their own academic careers at home. (1968: 158)

In placing responsibility on the university for taking initiative in developing international educational cooperation, Coombs wrote,

If they [the world universities] refuse the responsibility, they and all civilization will be the losers. But if they accept it and rise to meet it, the productive search for truth and knowledge, human development and progress toward peace itself will unquestionably move ahead in future years at a pace even now undreamed of. (1968: 161)

Coombs' book, The World Educational Crisis, quoted above, became a text for reading in later CIE courses (it was included on a bibliographic list published by the international education program in Spring 1969). The Fellows seemed to accept the responsibility Coombs was describing, in all its idealism and hope of undreamed possibilities.

The academic backgrounds of the international education program, or seminar members as they referred to themselves occasionally, were interdisciplinary. The faculty, as stated earlier had degrees in law, Hebrew literature, physics, international development education, and comparative education. The doctoral students had undergraduate degrees in history, English (2), Near Eastern studies, political science (3), and French; four held masters degrees in international affairs, French, and teaching (2). Their work experience was predominantly in the area of teaching and training, with some educational administration or Peace Corps staff work. It is not surprising that their definitions of what this program would offer were initially wide in range and scope, focussed on teachers and curriculum.

* * *

When Dean Allen, and later the Retreat Planning Committee, requested ideas, questions, and proposals for discussion in Colorado. David Schimmel, who had been hired to direct an international education program, proposed the following possible aims and interests for a 90 unit, 6 semester Ph.D. in International Education: [edited and paraphrased from 5-page typed lists, noted "no order of preference"]

1. International Organizations: To assist in formation of a "Universal Declaration of Educational Rights; participate in educational activities with international and regional organizations.
2. Foreign Students and Teachers: To facilitate meaningful collaboration and exchange between foreign students and teachers in the university as well as the larger community.
3. American Students and Teachers: To act as a resource center for students and teachers ending or beginning overseas experiences; to develop meaningful programs for students and teachers which address their experience and concerns while overseas.
4. School-to-School, University-to-School, University-to-Government Relations: To develop overseas teaching as an in-service activity; to assist 'education authorities in developing countries to find the most effective and imaginative ways to utilize' teachers.
5. International Educational Planning: To act as a resource, offer training, and implement studies in the area of national, regional, and international educational planning.
6. Program Synthesis: 'To compile, analyze, and synthesize disparate U.S. educational enterprises overseas.

7. Other Americans Abroad: 'To design and promote programs of local participation both for military and non-military U.S. citizens abroad..'
8. Evaluation Exchange: 'To promote the development of internationally exchangeable educational 'currencies' which' allow students and teachers to learn beyond the boundaries of their own cultures.
9. Within the University and School of Education: To act as a resource and offer courses with international dimensions and cross-cultural perspective.
10. Theory Testing: To test and evaluate current hypotheses in a variety of social sciences.
11. Public Policy: To help governments achieve better public policies in terms of their educational and foreign policy concerns. (CIE Archives, memo from D. Schimmel, 1968)⁴

* * *

⁴ Gordon Schimmel (no relation to David Schimmel), assistant to the Dean and the first "Special Doctoral Student" (as mentioned earlier), also wrote up "A few thoughts on the International Education Seminar." Gordon's ideas were on a different scale or put forth with a different purpose than the larger proposal David Schimmel had put on the table. He was more concerned with discovering common threads and interests among those leaning toward international education. He discussed the Masters in Arts of Teaching (MAT) program for returned Peace Corps Volunteers as one way to launch the program, get it off the ground. He too put forth a number of questions around the proposed doctoral program, managing admissions, time commitments for students, and relations to other academic programs -- "just the tip of the iceberg."

Defining the Curriculum: Learning Through "Mutual Exploitation"⁵

Along with the other centers in the School at the time, the International Fellows were trying to put together a rationale and description of their program to be included in the "Package" for the entire School. Their first attempt in mid-Fall 1968 was a 5-page draft titled "International Education - Interim 'Catalogue' of Experiential Opportunities: Learning Through Teaching, Discussion and Action." Later memoranda among the Fellows and the Director (D. Schimmel) indicate that this draft, as well as many from the other centers, was not well received. The "Package" committee's critique of the international education 'catalogue' is lost; but follow-up general correspondence from the committee to all centers shows their concern in

⁵ The term "mutual exploitation" refers to the Center's attempt to define an alternative approach to international education. In a progress report called "Where We're At" published in Fall 1969, they write:

... [We] dedicate our efforts to more than what is commonly referred to as 'international understanding, for we seek more in ourselves and in our students than simply an empathetic response to someone from a different subculture. While empathy is important to the development of a sensitive human being, the overuse of the word and others like it ... have sapped the force from what we seek to convey as a vital part of everything we do... What we intend, then, is to teach a philosophy of '**mutual exploitation**,' one which recognizes the pitfalls of altruism and properly acknowledges the mutual benefits ... This, for us, opens the way to search for learning environments which will provide maximum advantage for both sides in any interaction between cultures. (pp.2-3)

lack of conformity to criteria, little or no rationale for center development put forth, nondescriptive text on course and other offerings, vagueness around credit and monitoring of student progress, and generally bad writing.

The first try at an international education "interim catalogue" suffered from lack of description, vagueness, and a greater sense of wishful thinking rather than any actual plan for developing a curriculum. This first stab at a 'catalogue' consisted of three sections: Programs for Action, On-Going Seminars, and Special Events. True to its title of "Experiential Opportunities," the Fellows proposed twenty-four Programs for Action; only four On-Going Seminars; and three Special Events. The seminars and special events were vague and scantily described. A film series and a speaker series were listed along with four seminars. One was described as examining "some of the important issues and questions concerning international education," and three others that examined important books, journals, art works, theatre, and music, or looked at international education from the perspective of other social sciences. These were all listed on the last page in no more than 100 words.

The Programs for Action focused on teacher training, international exchange, and development of networks among schools, universities and international organizations such as the U.N. They proposed sponsoring conferences for foreign students in the U.S., developing a number of different types

of international exchange opportunities, workshops in the "Politics of Education," and curriculum and materials development for creating an international education resource center. Their most concrete experiential learning offerings were the Tororo Girls School and an MAT in international education preparing teachers (with returned Peace Corps Volunteers specifically identified) to introduce non-Western studies into the American classroom and curriculum.

After weeks of meetings, hours of discussion, the paucity of this first academic program design was discouraging. What they had was a lot of ideas, energy, inspiration, but no viable or organized way of actualizing these brainstorm. Time, or lack of time, impatience and itchiness from living with the vagary of "anything goes" finally caught up with them. One Fellow remembers,

[at the Retreat] they handed out these buttons that said 'no is not the right answer'... well, that came back to haunt people because it became a kind of code word that you would never say no to something. I think on one hand that's true, but it got perverted in a way that anything went..
(Interview 113, 6/93)

By their final draft, however, they were able to consolidate their program areas of focus into: Development Education, Cross-Cultural Training, and Internationalizing American Education. These were described in a detailed 60-page proposal outlining undergraduate, masters level, and doctoral level courses. The proposal included a 9-page description of the CIE's goals and objectives, and a

rationale for international education. A description of other learning experiences and projects, a section on planning projections, 26 course outlines, as well as a system for monitoring and evaluation were also included.

The opening paragraph of this "Draft Proposal for Programs to be Offered by the Center for International Education" talks about the recent "historic journey into space" by three American astronauts and their view of one world, not many nations. They wrote,

This global vision is significant to the rationale for studies in International Education: one world, where -- for the sake of human existence -- national animosities and racial prejudice are replaced by understanding and cooperation; one world, dedicated to the advancement of a truly human civilization based on the oldest, universal principle: the oneness of mankind. (p. 1)

The dimensions of their program would be inter-disciplinary studies within the social sciences of other cultures, experiential learning, "i.e., active participation by the learner in the activities of the developing society (p.3)," and evaluation. They defined two purposes for their Center: (1) "to prepare teachers for all levels of instruction at home and abroad;" and, (2) "to prepare people for non-teaching fields in the area of international affairs (p.5)."

Finally, they defined "International Education" as,

... the institutionalized process of the mobilization and building of human resources for active participation in a world-centered system of education and human development. It is a process of widening men's perceptions of themselves and of world cultures, and preparing them for fullest possible competence in world affairs; of improving

and more fully developing the existing network of cooperating international teachers, students, research and ideas; and of promoting the highest degree of international cooperation for the development of human potential in the world. (p. 3)

Defining an Organization: A Selective Participatory Democracy

Several factors during the Winter of 1968-69 seem to have coincided in a way that pulled the Fellows down to Earth and got them onto a forward track. But perhaps the most decisive factor was simply time - deadlines from the School and the University, and simple impatience with a "rudderless," "messy" feeling of being "out of control" (from interview with 1968 Fellow). One 1968 doctoral student remembers this period and a confrontation with the faculty and other members of the program,

There were long, long meetings about organizational issues... There was a time [in late Fall 1968] at a meeting that ... [two of the doctoral students] felt that the Center was rudderless, directionless... and we had a much more fixed idea of what this thing was going to be.... there was alot of tension around that... we had a lot of stuff going on and nobody was in charge... because there was so much other stuff going on in the School, it was like something was out of control and those of us who had some need for organizational control felt [that] if we're going to have anything, an institution, we can't just let this be a free-form thing. (Interview 113, 6/94)

Another Fellow from 1968 recounts,

When we came up here in September, we didn't sign up for any classes, that wasn't what we came up here for. Instead, [we] began this intense dialogue... it wasn't just with international

education.. [but] of what were the issues in education... what's real, what isn't, what within the whole constellation was worth looking at and what was bull shit, [and] how could it get structured.. (Interview 112, 6/93)

Participation became an issue too, particularly in terms of personal pursuits running in conflict with organizational needs. In December 1968, Dave Schimmel sent a memo to the "International Education Group" on the subject of "Principles of Selectivity," in it he wrote,

As we find ourselves confronting an overwhelming range of options (consisting of more meetings, discussions, books, seminars, journals, lectures, trips and research opportunities than any of us can possibly handle, I suggest that two principles of selectivity apply to our efforts:

1) Selective attendance: It is expected that none of us will attend or participate in everything we offered in international education. To do so would indicate a narrowness, compulsiveness or lack of discrimination... If we think we can learn or do more staying in bed at home one day, I think we should.

2) The principle of selective attention is a natural corollary. It assumes that no intelligent, mature person should necessarily pay attention to everything that goes on in a meeting, lecture or seminar. He should not be required by the etiquette of the group or out of "respect" for the "teacher" to appear attentive... everyone should bring an interesting book to every meeting or seminar, and if a topic or discussion seems irrelevant or dull, we should use the time reading or writing letters instead of expending our efforts straining to look interested or being polite... [the teacher] thus gets instant feedback concerning where the group is at. [Memorandum, CIE Archives, 12/2/68]

* * *

All year long, from October to June, the International Education Fellows met weekly to plan their Center. None of these "long, long meetings" seem to have been long enough for them to cover all issues, hash discussion out to the fullest, or complete their agendas.

Typical of their planning sessions, the group would start a morning meeting by trying to figure out how they would approach their task of defining goals, procedures and areas of concern. In one such session, they agreed that initially everyone would operate on two different levels: "the personal level which will involve identification and pursuit of an area of special interest, and the 'programmatic' level which will involve participation in activities more directly beneficial to the Center as a whole."⁶ This first decision would stall them throughout their meeting as their personal concerns and ambiguities kept tainting their group efforts at making organizational decisions; no one seemed to want to step on anyone else's toes, leave out any one else's proposals or concerns, or define a Center in any way that could not include everyone's personal areas of interest. Questions raised included: "Shall the Center try to embrace everything or should we let people take off on their own with the Center's endorsement?"

⁶ From "Summaries of Discussions on Monday, October 28, 1968," CIE Archives, mimeographed meeting minutes, p.1.

"Are we so involved in pushing our own ideas that we are not willing to seek solutions for the whole group?"

Meanwhile, in other weekly meetings they held discussion on criteria for developing grant proposals, the need for a brochure, hiring an administrative assistant, and "quality control". The Fellows were also travelling to New York City, Brattleboro, VT, and Washington, D.C. making contacts and networking. Several were very active in the International Club on campus. They were hosting international and U.S. development agency visitors.

By December, Fellows were asked to start keeping track of the number of hours spent each week devoted to the Center and record it on a chart in the resource room so that next semester they could re-evaluate the degree of personal commitments to Center maintenance. Several funding possibilities were bubbling up, a UNESCO contact was being courted, USAID and U.S. Peace Corps staff had been approached, the local high school principals and some teachers had been approached; the Teacher Corps proposal which would result in their first new, substantially funded project (\$200,000 in 1969) was being developed during Winter 1968-69. In late November, with the Uganda Project (Tororo School, \$400,000/year) and the anticipated Teacher Corps, the Fellows officially requested the entire first floor of Montague and began spreading out. In January 1969 they hired a part-time administrative assistant through work study. A

monthly rotating "duocracy" for handling the day-to-day "administrivia" of the Center was in place. These "Chairman" and Vice Chairman" roles were filled by the doctoral students and were intended to also assist the faculty "in various and sundry duties." One faculty member was officially designated as the Director and as mentioned earlier was approached by the graduate students for clarification of his role. Based on their accounts, he was most comfortable as an "inspirational leader" and guiding force in keeping discussions broad and theoretical. He was also spending more and more of his time, as the year progressed, writing the School's new constitution which was finished the following Fall.

At the end of the Fall semester a summary of their discussions and decisions was prepared for circulation. Under a section entitled "Principles," four generally agreed upon organizational principles were put forth:

- 1) The smallest number of people will spend the shortest time making the greatest number of decisions.
- 2) Close relationship between authority and responsibility for carrying out decisions (recommend decentralization or delegation of authority).
- 3) Those who are most directly affected by the consequences of a decision should be most directly involved in making that decision.
- 4) Participatory decision-making: the largest number of people will make the greatest

number of decision regardless of time involved.⁷

After presenting this list, the authors commented, "Frankly, we are at a bit of a loss as to just what we recommend doing with the above list."

As the Planning Year drew to a close, the group began discussing recruitment and admission of new International Education Fellows, an informal evaluation took place one evening at Dave Schimmel's house. In response to questions posed to the group, a large majority felt that (1) allocation of Center resources should go to the 3rd and 4th year students over the newer members; (2) the Teachers Corps was the most important project at the Center in terms of personal interest and organizational growth; (3) the UNESCO proposal and cross-cultural research were the second most important areas. USAID participant training, undergraduate teaching, and curriculum development were the lowest ranking areas of interest.

While the CIE Fellows were still far from operating in a secure and stable organizational environment, they had come a long way in defining an academic program, in building a base from which to develop "field experiences" and "out of classroom learning," and in molding together something that was larger than the sum of their personal interests. In May

⁷ From CIE Archives, memorandum from Steve Guild and Gordon Schimmel to Fellows of the Center for International Education, November 26, 1968, p.3.

1969 they opened their own bank account and were able to maintain a balance of several hundred dollars. The group had decided to finance this "Development Fund" with voluntary contributions and the money would be used for community activities.⁸

When I asked two of the first year International Fellows about the tenor of the School and Center during this planning year, one said,

112: One of the things that characterized the School and the Center [for International Education] was the real dedication to fun, having a good time in learning I remember one time, I got interested in the way the visual environment would affect learning. I learned how to use high quality paint and drip it onto slides over a Bunsen Burner and it would land on the slides and bubble and make these fantastic kinds of generative patterns, and I spent a couple of weeks just toying with this thing.. and that was legitimate, it wasn't that I had to hide it, everybody thought it was interesting... so it was being able to do that kind of stuff. (Interview 112, 6/93)

111: And knowing that it would be reviewed by people who ... wouldn't censor you for having tried it in the first place. (Interview 111, 6/93)

⁸ This fund was sometimes referred to as the "consultancy fund" because a percentage of what a Fellow/faculty earned from a consultancy obtained through the CIE was often the contribution.

Where We Are At: 1969⁹

In the final draft of the Interim Catalogue, the Center for International Education included in their two page description the following,

The programs, courses and experiences offered by the Center are designed to: 1) help foster the knowledge and understanding of students regarding subcultures of our nation and cultures of the world; 2) help prepare them for leadership roles in the international affairs of our nation; and 3) prepare them to work with the socio-economic and political development of other nations via the medium of education....

... Students, jointly with the faculty of the Center, will be involved in research, planning and implementation of a variety of governmental and private international programs. The Center will offer a Bachelor's, Master's, and Doctoral degree for both American and foreign students. (School of Education, 1969: 86)

Maintenance and Administration: Sharing Resources

The International Fellows and faculty had been networking throughout the planning year, going to conferences and meetings. During Summer 1969, two Fellows were funded by USAID to conduct a small research project in Laos with the support of faculty from the Anthropology Department at the University. Another student was actively involved in discussions with UNESCO about designing a training package that would involve institutionalizing cooperative relations between the CIE and the Schools of Business and Agriculture at the University. However, these

⁹ This is a frequently used CIE title.

organizational funding remained on the table for discussion or worry.

The School of Education was leaning on the various Centers to participate more in School maintenance and administration, as well as continuing to pursue their own funding with an overhead for the School written into the grants. Sharing of resources remained the norm they were promoting, along with their ideal of sharing authority in School decision-making. Dean Allen continued to be their ardent supporter,

I couldn't imagine a viable School of Education that wasn't concerned with the place of education in the global context.... alot of people objected to the patronage I gave to the Center [for International Education].... I sort of said that the CIE was nonnegotiable as one of the things that I wanted to see. (Interview DWA, 6/93)

But, as the Fellows had stated in their initial proposal for the CIE, international education is many things to many people. This deliberate vagueness¹⁰ in their definition of CIE's "mission" allowed individual pursuits by the Fellows to continue in the name of the organization, and allowed freedom for creativity and self-expression to become the wellspring for an organic organizational development. The early committee meetings to develop policy statements

¹⁰ For example, "It is a process of widening men's perceptions of themselves and of world cultures, and preparing them for fullest possible competence in world affairs" ("Proposal for a Center for International Education," 1969, p. 3).

and/or guidelines for program development, research, and external relations anticipated the expansion of the Center that would require an efficient system for coordinating information and response.

The Center members realized that securing substantial and stable funding was essential if they were truly going to put their ideas to the test and rise above the rhetorical traditions of academia. They were out to show that experiential, out-of-classroom learning, action and collaboration can be incorporated into a curriculum of higher education. With a curriculum that went beyond the classroom, external funding would be required to actualize this vital (as they believed) component for productive learning. A 1969 new student put it this way,

How can an alternative model of thinking be developed for working in the international theater, because alot of us had had experiences ... both internationally and domestically that [told us] that the accepted wisdom was bankrupt, was not functional... so on one hand it was how to come up with something new in an intellectual way and in a practical way, and the other side of it was what does that mean for the way that we would pursue studies... (Interview 111, 6/93)

Innovation and adding to the already existing programs at the School and University required additional funding. And in the yeasty funding days of the late-1960s, this was not an unusual possibility or expectation; federal funds were still available and the international funding sources were eager to explore innovation in the field of education.

Allen maintained this strategy of securing outside funding for organizational autonomy from early in his tenure,

... you have to chase money, but the real question is at what point are you selling out and at what point do you simply allow the availability of funds to expand or shrink any given activity. I don't think we ever took money to do things we didn't believe in, but we often times accepted money to do things that weren't our highest priorities, and I say that specifically about the Center [for International Education]. (Interview DWA, 4/93)

Without having priorities spelled out, the question of whether the mere availability of funds was driving the development of the Center became a side issue at the point when its "mission" was to simply advocate a global vision and process. This lack of a specific, focussed organizational mandate would become problematic.

* * *

"The students at the Center were always wonderfully wild individualists," remembers Dwight Allen twenty-five years later. He also remembers that they were considered more conservative than some of the other centers at that time. This is not a political statement, Allen said, but an organizational judgement in that they were willing to take certain risks by pushing educational innovations but were working within the confines of an already established development industry and program development tradition. They wanted to be taken seriously and that meant learning how to

negotiate with the agencies funding international education projects in a credible and respectful way.

Allen continues,

... one of the reasons the Center has been so durable and able to survive intact... was because it was more conservative in the way it went about things, and always more conscious of academic rigor... [Dave Evans] felt very strongly about making sure that the appearance of academic rigor was always there. When I say 'appearance' I mean that academic rigor was in other parts of the School, but it got disguised because people were paying more attention to the flamboyance of it all.. (Interview DWA, 4/93)

* * *

Implementing Details in an Organizational Plan

The Center as an organization was still embryonic. During the Summer of 1969 they hired their first full-time Administrative Coordinator to assume the day-to-day "administrivia" responsibilities and to oversee the Tororo Project, thus freeing the Fellows to pursue their creative and academic projects. Their "duocracy" happily collapsed into an ad hoc committee system - Admissions, Management, Fund Raising, and Academic Matters Committee. The first Center Administrator remembers,

... the original group had spent one year planning what the Center for International Education was going to be...and what they very quickly found out was that if individual graduate students were going to implement the Center plan, they were going to be spending alot of time in administration and they were much more interested in doing academic work or project work as opposed to really implementing the details of this plan --

getting a Center set up, funded, and so on.
(Interview 114, 6/93)

The new administrator quickly started organizing an office management system, first negotiating more space, drawing up a plan for allocating this space, and presenting it to the Fellows with a deadline for their input. Those who missed the deadline were warned, "Let there be no moaning at the bar... (CIE Weekly Meeting Minutes, 9/30/69)." He set up an accounting system and procedures for using the CIE Development Fund. Every Tuesday morning, from 10:00 am to noon, was set aside for the Community Meeting at which all members were expected to attend. And, they started publishing their first CIE Address/Telephone List.

A proposal for "quality control" and procedures for reviewing project proposals was submitted by two Fellows (see the Schimmel/Grant or Guild proposal). In the minutes of a weekly Center meeting, one student offered to look up discussion from the previous year concerning program development and "uncertainties tangential." He reported that the procedures seemed to be,

- 1) Center Fellows discuss and agree upon the idea or ideas contained in the proposal.
- 2) A presentation of Resource Allocations is made.
- 3) The proposal is reviewed as formalization begins.
- 4) The proposal and Resource Allocations should be presented in writing to the Center.
- 5) The Center decision on the proposal is vis-a-vis Resources. (CIE Weekly Meeting Minutes, 10/21/69)

By "Resource Allocations" they were referring to a system of assessing feasibility according to people, space, and administrative support available to insure implementation on their part. Program development at this stage was principally proactive -- developing a plan for implementing an idea generated by an individual or small group, assessing their organizational capabilities for implementing the plan, and then seeking funding to launch it. In the same meeting mentioned above the following questions were also raised:

- How does a student's interest and initiative fit into Resource Allocation?
- Are people feeling obliged to work on projects and in areas not of personal interest but deemed good for the organization?

Numerous small projects were on the back burners. The Teachers Corps with a substantial budget was up and running by Winter 1969 and, with the Tororo Project, was their main source of funding for doctoral students, including some juggling of funds allocated to pay for faculty time to be used for student stipends.

Internationalizing U.S. curriculum was an area where many small projects were taking place: curriculum development workshops in African Studies were planned for local teachers the following Summer, as well as a short trip for local teachers to West Africa. A longer workshop for Japanese teachers was also being planned; all of these projects were taking place in Amherst.

Discussions also began on how to obtain another faculty position. The School of Education and the CIE established the John Quincy Adams Lectureship in International Education. This was designed for a professional on leave from the State Department with a stipend provided by the School. Thus, John Blacken, a Foreign Service Officer, joined the CIE for one year.

Criteria for admissions were drawn up, reviewed, revised, and again drawn up. These included (a) interest in working in the international realm; (b) cross-cultural sensitivity; (c) flexibility,, self-reliance, participation in program development; (d) foreign language and a minimum of one year overseas experience (Center Archives, memo to All Fellows, no date, Spring 1969). The need for a CIE brochure arose at this point, as well as a strategy for recruiting people of color and from overseas. The sole woman and African-America had been raising the issue of lack of diversity among the Fellows for over a year. Another Center Fellow remembers her challenging many of their assumptions,

At that time, socially, the country [was experiencing] a lot of racial foment going on... she challenged alot of the assumptions,... [most] of the Planning Doctoral students were white males... there was alot of tension, and her challenge was a good thing. (Interview 113, 6/93)

Four new, White, North American, male International Fellows were admitted in September 1969, not as Planning Doctoral students, but simply doctoral students. However, the format of the doctoral program was forever changed after

the Planning year with all new students assuming the responsibility of planning their own program with minimal dictates from the School. This remained an attraction for the students and was again why many applied to the School who stated they would have never returned to graduate school without this flexibility. One of the new 1969 Fellows remembers,

I decided that it looked like it offered enough flexibility for me, I was looking for an opportunity to look into non-Western models of development, because I had spent two years in Tanganika trying to deal with the problems created by placing Western institutions on top of a Tanganikan church. I came away after a year and a half say, 'there's got to be some other way to do development.' (Interview 111, 6/93)

He went on to describe the admissions process in Summer 1969 as not including much time for recruitment, "[they] were all creating and building and so on, so by the time it came towards Fall they really needed a couple of extra bodies."

Participation in Center maintenance was still expected, though not stated as a requirement, Center membership was dependent upon participation. Those who were active were considered Center Fellows, those who chose not to participate were not Center Fellows. The same Fellow who spoke above, remembers his introduction to the Center,

...when our class came in, Dave Evans sat the four of us down and said, 'now you guys are professionals... you're going to have to define your roles.' When he came to me I said, 'well, I don't want to set foot in the school while I'm here.' And Evans said, 'well, this is a School of Education, what is it you want to do?' And I said,

"I want to work in nonformal education.' He replied, "what's that?' (Interview 111, 6/93)

Nonformal education was an innovation yet to be experimented with at the Center, or at least named as such. While not very systematic about their recruitment that first year, the Center was able to attract like-minded people ready for innovation in development education. Another Fellow reports,

The administrative set up at the School was probably the only place in the country that would have allowed me to do what I did... it was the openness, the kind of combination of intellect and openness among colleagues that encouraged rather than discouraged people in thinking about things that seemed so different. (Interview 112, 6/93)

A "Portfolio" system for recording student progress was being designed and tried out which allowed self-directed study, credit for out of classroom experience, recognized previous learning experiences including professional work-related experience, and promoted field application. A democratic system of decision-making was falling into place, with consensus decisions as their ideal; and with the smallness of the Center, consensus was often achieved. Comraderie and socializing were abundant. Another Fellow remembered the Evans' basement as a place for congregating and holding "bull sessions" late into the night, especially after they built a dark room which Fellows could enter from the side of the house and thus work even late at night. They traveled together to several conferences and meetings.

Several proposals for publications were developed and "CIE" as their acronym was an accepted reference among the

Fellows and within the School. The organizational environment was still hectic; the Administrator complained that his work was falling behind because his office was like "Grand Central Station." Physical improvements were going on with the Fellows painting the trim of their rooms in the old farmhouse. A Resource Center was growing with texts, manuals, and "artifacts" Fellows collected on their trips. A budget for purchasing books was provided by the School. Slowly, a negotiated order was emerging.

Crossing Academic Boundaries

Part of the motivation for improving their public relations was due to a memo from William Havard, Chairman of the Department of Government in which he expressed concern over duplication of work between the CIE and the International and Comparative Politics program in his department. He wrote,

... it seems inappropriate to develop facilities and courses without some preliminary exploration of existing programs.... In the past, departments which might be affected by course proposals of this type have been informed in advance of consideration by Academic Matters, yet we were apprised of this development only fortuitously. (CIE Archives, memo from W. Havard to the Faculty Senate Committee on Academic Matters, subject "Proposal by the School of Education for a Center in International Education, 5/15/69)

When this memo was sent, the School's "Package" had already been approved and with it the proposal for a Center for International Education. The Fellows decided to invite

faculty from other departments to regular brown bag lunch series to discuss ways of cooperation. This started in Fall 1969 with ad hoc lunch meetings; out of this "PR" move a cooperative relationship with the Anthropology Department (at least with three faculty) did develop. Dr. Feit from the Government Department (Political Science) attended a November brown bag luncheon meeting.

Among the other visitors that Fall of 1969 was Ivan Illich. When David Evans had asked "what's that?" meaning nonformal education, the Fellow he was talking to responded,

'well, I think I can help you figure it out. There's a seminar in Washington, D.C. at the end of the month where Paulo Freire, Ivan Illich, and Don Fox are going to be at American University.' [Evans] said, 'who are those guys?' And so about 15 of us ended up going down to AU and it was terrific. (Interview 111, 6/93)

They spent a lot of time with Illich who was interested in their planning efforts and innovations at the School of Education. A month later Illich called and asked if he could visit. The flyer announcing his visit to the Center and School community, reads,

... an author of many radical proposals. High on his target list is the concept of schooling given to the third world by the developed countries. He has, inter alia, advocated an end to traditional schooling, and a 'GI-Bill' of education for all citizens of underdeveloped countries to 'cash in' as they desire throughout their lifetimes... Talking with him this week should be worthwhile. (Center Archives, flyer, 10/27/69)

In Illich they found a kindred spirit. Freire, would soon become another of their "gurus." They were finding in the

"real world" other academicians who were naming the problems the Fellows felt intuitively. As one Fellow put it, they had rejected the traditional model of development "and in its place was a void (Interview 114, 6/93)." Finding this void was not imaginary and was being filled by others with the same inclinations, must have been relieving. The Center developed an informal relationship with Illich and his Center in Mexico. At least one student travelled to Illich's Center (CIDOC) in Cuernavaca, Mexico for several weeks that year.

Other visitors to campus that Fall included Chinua Achebe, the "Biafran" author; and Phillip Coombs, author of The World Crisis in Education, came to speak with the Fellows. Coombs was an advocate for experimenting with nonformal education in developing countries at that time, more as an economically efficient and effective parallel system to formal education than as a radical departure from traditional education. Illich was advocating nonformal education, not as it later became defined, but in that he advocated abolishing all formal education systems.

The "Proposal for a CIE" listed seven areas in which all graduates should be knowledgeable:

1. The problems inherent in developing societies and the contributions of education toward their solutions.
2. The nature of cultural differences and the barriers to communication implicit in those differences.
3. The internal structures and methods of representative educational systems of the

- world and the possibilities of 'mutual exploitation' for the good of all.
4. The present treatment of international studies in American social studies curriculum and possibilities for innovation.
 5. Sociological and anthropological concepts and tools basic to understanding and analyzing different cultures.
 6. The importance of language learning to cross-cultural communications and understanding.
 7. The importance of the student himself [sic] in the planning of his [sic] own preparation for his [sic] chosen field. (pp. 7-8)

These learning objectives were to be realized through five "focussed environments:" (1) Educational Structures and Processes; (2) Education and Development; (3) Area Studies/Minority Culture Studies; (4) Internationalizing Western Education; (5) Research and Inquiry Skills.

The Center offered undergraduate courses and 17 graduate level courses; a Masters in International Education and a major for undergraduates was still in the planning and discussion stage. Funding for Master's students was problematic. They envisioned the Masters program to be for recently returned Peace Corps Volunteers who wished to go into teaching; the Teachers Corps already offered a practical hands-on M.A.T. opportunity for this population. Discussion continued around ways to implement a corollary program without duplicating the Teachers Corps efforts. The other population targeted for the Masters student were mid-career foreign professionals in education. This was seen as a way to diversify the Center. Under consideration was a program for foreign teachers and educational administrators

to "adapt to less affluent systems what sometimes appears to be sophisticated techniques that only a wealthy educational system can afford" (CIE Proposal, 7/69). Funding for these students seemed more difficult since the expenses were higher.

Debate around offering an undergraduate major proved problematic as the "Resource Allocation" analysis showed little interest among the Fellows and faculty for teaching at this level and the fear that offering the number of courses required for a University "major" might drain their efforts from other projects. The design of the program was also in disagreement. A one semester exchange program for undergraduates to go to one of three colleges in the United Kingdom was in place and supervised by George Urch. The other proposal which David Schimmel and several Fellows were more interested in pursuing was a "Global Survival/Studies" curriculum which was implemented very successfully, eventually obtaining its own space located in another part of the University from the Center. This program involved an internship in a cross-cultural environment and collaborative learning experiences within the five-college system.

Self-directed study and learner centered design prevailed as a guiding principle among all Center academic programs with increasing flexibility from undergraduate to doctoral levels. Allowing students to gradually assume more and more responsibility over their own program of learning

and the learning potential of experiential settings remained an emphasis. As one of the doctoral students described the learning approach at the Center,

... up to that point in my life, education had been jumping hurdles, not really taking responsibility for it, saying 'nobody is going to make you read five books here..' You're either hoping to dig in and learn something or this time is going to be wasted... so I decided here are some things I want to learn about... classes or no classes, faculty or no faculty. I dug in and started working on things that I thought were interesting and important and something I wanted to spend some time on in the future and that started to form my program. (Interview 114, 6/93)

In terms of their participation in the planning and curriculum development, the prevailing feeling among the Fellows is illustrated by this Fellow's reminiscence,

There's an underlying assumption that we're here to change, not just add two layers to the existing curriculum, but to change it... it was the underlying theme of the School of Education when it was started that education needs to be changed. It was the theme of the group that did the planning for the Center and the attitude of most of the people who came in... that change is something you have to work for. (Interview 114, 6/93)

Evaluating the First Year

One of the 1969 Fellows wrote a "progress report" of the first eighteen months of the Center. This was to start a long tradition of organizational self-examination and evaluative processes running parallel with the School's required reports and University program reviews. The report, while incorporating much of the language and descriptive

text from the CIE "Proposal," reads more as a reflective and personal assessment of their efforts:

The unification of the thinking and doing worlds emerged as a frequent theme throughout our planning sessions. We felt that we were witnessing the close of an era ruled by the 'tough-minded' technocrat -- the activist who has little sensitivity for the wider world beyond his narrow area of responsibility. At the same time, none of us felt particularly drawn to the traditional concept of the cloistered academic -- philosophers and poets who, through their avoidance of day-to-day involvement sought out and articulated 'truth.' (CIE 1969 Progress Report, p. 2)

Their program characteristics emphasized student participation in designing a program of study, cross-cultural experiences, experiential learning ("a three-phase approach to learning"), alternatives for students not choosing a career in teaching, and "a blend of affective and cognitive learning environments" (1969 Progress Report, p.3)

The final paragraph of this report includes a self-reflective critique which captures a sense of what the future might bring,

...what has been made visible are only the upper portions of the iceberg; the planning effort has been a much more profound experience than could be transmitted here. The job of creating a student-oriented Center for International Education is not an easy one. The difficulties are numerous when one is trying to find a middle ground between structure and flexibility, self-direction and faculty assistance, 'participatory democracy' and individual authority and responsibility. Although there has been frustration and occasional disappointment, we believe that it is outweighed by the rewards of partnership in the creation of something which may be greater than ourselves. (1969 CIE Progress Report, p. 15)

Their first formal evaluation released on June 3, 1970, prepared by John Blacken, the John Quincy Adams Lecturer, was based on previous reports and a questionnaire administered to all Fellows. Blacken noted that the shortcomings and problems of the Center were "not momentous" (p.12). These included not enough attention paid to the "needs of the potential employers of C.I.E. doctoral candidates (p.12)", nor "the needs of developing countries for educators (p.12)." Insufficient funding and faculty were seen as the major impediments to the Center achieving its goals. He also felt that the Center's goals might be too broad, especially in light of their meager resources.

Doctoral students are carrying much of the load in implementing projects and programs; however, some of them feel a conflict between their personal goals of getting an education and a degree and the more generalized goals of the Center.... There is much feeling that some projects have little relationship to students' educational programs. Some students complained that they were compelled by financial circumstances to spend too much time and energy in activities which some feel have little educational value (p.13)."

Regarding the future direction of the Center and its administration, the Fellows felt strongly that the weekly community meeting was most valuable especially as their democratic decision-making organ. Though, many felt the administrative and planning directives should be more focused and that the amount of time spent making decisions could be reduced.

One of the resounding strengths mentioned was the informal way of operating, the high level of interchange plus the diversity and caliber of its members, especially the doctoral students. One of the Planning Doctoral students picked up on this point when asked about personal dynamics and the interchange between faculty and students,

Students made a lot of difference in the direction of the Center. I think [the faculty then] would have taken the Center in a different direction if they hadn't been battered over the head sometimes by students... I think that was very important, but over the long term, students can't do it.
(Interview 113, 6/93)

The evaluation ended with a "potential contradiction,"

It is possible that not enough attention has been given to linking the administrative experiences of students to their academic programs. The necessity for students to spend substantial amounts of time and attention seeking financing for projects and on administrative matters carries with it the danger that they will get bogged down in the administrative details to the detriment of the more theoretical parts of their programs. Secondly, it is possible that in administering projects of a somewhat routine nature, the thrust of the Center as an educational innovator could be weakened. These are possible dangers which the Center should keep in mind and, if possible, avoid. (p.16)

Overall, the "establishment of the Center as a functioning entity," its "group democracy" and "atmosphere of equality," and the "quality of faculty-student interaction" were a source of pride and recognized strengths in achieving their first purpose of building an alternative learning and service organization that embraced innovative and alternative approaches to education.

CHAPTER VI

1970-1974, ERA #2: WAKING THE SLEEPER -- NONFORMAL EDUCATION

Where Have All the Flowers Gone?

The early 1970s opened a new chapter in U.S. political history. President Nixon was able to evoke faith and support from the American public with the rhetoric of peace and his "Vietnamization" plan for ending the war. But then, three years into Nixon's first term, Daniel Ellsberg walked out of the Pentagon with 3000 pages of highly classified documents detailing how the government had been consistently misleading the American public about our involvement in Southeast Asia. He turned these papers over to the New York Times. Despite court injunctions against the newspapers for publishing these documents, the word got out. Ellsberg was indicted for espionage and conspiracy. Public outrage started rearing its head again, protesters, fresh from the campus trenches of anti-war activities, were still easily mobilized. But, the country was also torn.

On the eve of Nixon's reelection as President, Secretary of State Henry Kissinger announced, "Peace is at hand" in Viet Nam. Nixon won with a landslide coupled with one of the lowest voter turnouts in decades. Massachusetts was the only state to vote for the Democrat, George McGovern. Five months earlier, the "White House plumbers" had been arrested breaking into the Democratic National

Campaign Headquarters in the Watergate Building in Washington, D.C. And a worrisome story began to unravel leading reporters right to the back doors of the White House and to a complicity on a level never guessed. But, true to Kissinger's promise, a cease fire was established in January 1973 with the U.S. combat death toll at 45,958.

By 1973, the nation had plunged into an energy crisis; children began walking to school in the pre-dawn grey and lines formed across the country for gasoline. By 1974 worldwide inflation was wreaking havoc and economic growth in most industrialized countries slowed to near zero. In August 1974, Richard Nixon resigned from office as the House Judiciary Committee voted 27-11 to send to Congress its first article of impeachment against the President. Prices were rising faster than wages. Drought induced famine threatened the lives of millions throughout Africa.

On campuses across the country, the anti-war protesters were giving way to the anti-Defense department and anti-U.S. imperialism wave of activists. The University of Massachusetts campus felt the same labor pains and contractions of the birth of this new peace and anti-government movement. But the steady flow of incriminating information about the trustworthiness of the U.S. government coupled with the worsening economy was pitting American against American over politics, U.S. foreign policy, and jobs. Casale and Lerman (1989) in their history of the

"Woodstock Generation" describe the effects of the early 1970s as a time when,

[T]he innate trust Americans had in their leaders had been shattered a piece at a time. It would not be restored for decades, perhaps never for some of the Woodstock generation, born in an America that could do no wrong, and now living in an America in which nothing seemed to go right.... The splintering and active disinvolvement of the generation in this period would give way to an even deeper disenfranchisement. The lack of focus would lead to an ennui bordering on mindlessness. (1989: 78-79)

* * *

In late Spring 1970, the end of their first full year as a functioning entity, the Center tumbled wearily into the lazy, quiet summer typical of a rural university town. The Planning Year was a memory, a third new class was entering, and the original Fellows were soon to be out numbered. First year students remember feeling that it was time to withdraw from the day-to-day hectic-ness of implementing and maintaining their Center. It was time for them to get down to the nuts and bolts of finishing a program of study and producing a dissertation. This first "critical era" (1968-1970) in the history of the Center was brief, but intense. An organization was created, and space was hollowed out for more change and future developments. The seeds of a new theoretical and alternative approach to education, i.e., through nonformal education, had been planted (or discovered). A foundation of structural, procedural and

theoretical systems was in place and the experiment was producing results.

Between 1970 and 1975, the second historical era of this organizational history, the CIE was successful in institutionalizing its administrative systems by building a "track record" in the field, developing a funding base, internationalizing its student and staff community, establishing a core of courses, attracting a large pool of new applicants and streamlining its admission process, creating an external organizational image replete with a logo, and producing its first publications, including dissertations. They also moved to a different building.

In the process of accomplishing all this, the Center faced three major crises and many subsequent challenges including a divisive ideological rift among its community. This era is accented by passionate and vigorous debate on theoretical and political levels that threatened the fragile status quo of the organization. While the earlier years were characterized by passion and zeal in planning and coming together, these were tumultuous and exciting years of moving beyond experimentation and intellectual discussions to actually affecting people's lives. The three major crises mentioned above were:

- (1) The resignation of Dean Allen amidst a cloud of scandal and accusations lodged against faculty for mismanagement of funds, resulting

in a change over to a more traditional, less risky administration.

- (2) The issue of insitutionalized racism became a focus of debate and energy as the Center for International Education became internationalized with foreign students admitted into a Masters program.
- (3) The "boil of dissent" among students regarding the ideological and political connotations of accepting USAID funding burst and became a public issue.

"Mess at UMass": The Fall of Dean Allen¹

Allen figured strongly in the early years of the CIE. He was their advocate among the upper levels of the administration. His vision of international education was imperative for the successful institutionalization of their efforts into the School and University. He also was a buffer between the School administration, dissenters among the "old" School faculty, the University bureaucracy and the budding experiments of all the new Centers.

Over 40 grievances were lodged against Allen during his first few years as Dean by "old" School faculty members. He was accused of "disregarding established procedures,"

¹ "Mess at UMass" is the title of a Time magazine article, 3/17/75.

subverting old faculty participation in the screening of new faculty and hiring new faculty with credentials matching current faculty who had been denied tenure (Anthony and Thelen, 1975).

Anthony and Thelen accused Allen publicly in the pages of Phi Delta Kappan of creating an unstructured and permissive climate that was inoperative, inefficient, unaccountable (1975). In this atmosphere of "do your own thing," they put forth,

... that money and power, once considered a means to improve education, were more and more becoming ends in themselves. (1975: 30)

Allen countered with the response that,

... individuals and institutions must have the right to fail. The School of Education has had to cope with the ambiguity inherent in any significant pioneering venture... Educators have long fooled themselves into thinking that new approaches can be tried without risk. (1975: 31)

In Fall 1974, the School's Assistant Dean of Administrative Affairs, Robert Suzuki, became concerned over a \$13,000 discrepancy or possible misuse of funds from a federal grant awarded to the Center for Urban Education. At that point Dean Allen was on sabbatical in Lesotho.

Gradually the concerns being voiced were leaked to the press after a state audit. The whole event began to take on the tone of a "witch hunt," as one doctoral student from that time remembers. With Allen out of the country, many dissenters came out of their offices. Provost Tippo is reported to have said about the clamor, "When the kettle

boils, the scum rises" (recounted in the March 1975 CIE Annual Newsletter by DRE).

In March 1975 the records of the Treasurer of the University were subpoenaed by a Federal Grand Jury; a five-member commission was set up by University President Robert Wood to "take a critical look at the organization, programs and academic procedures and directions of the School of Education" (NYT, 3/6/75). The FBI was brought into the investigation. Allen returned from Lesotho.

Time magazine reported interviews with School faculty,

"Dwight is an operator, a wheeler-dealer," says Professor Robert Wellman. "But he's a very poor administrator," adds Professor Albert Anthony. "He's a P.T. Barnum type... he went for all of the innovations that were hot in the later '60s -- all the things that were beneficiaries of federal money."Under Allen, the School of Education earned a reputation as a diploma mill... Some doctorates were awarded to students who had no undergraduate degrees. (Time, 3/17/75, pp. 74-75)

The New York Times reported,

His critics contend that he was a showman and an educational huckster who cheapened the academic credentials of the doctoral degree and went after flashy federal programs and money. (NYT, 4/4/75, p.26)

The Times also reports that during Allen's tenure the School of Education accounted for 85% of the total University minority enrollment and that Assistant Dean Suzuki had recently been denied a raise. The initial grant being audited had been awarded to the Center for Urban Education where the majority of minority faculty and a large portion of minority students were members. The faculty in this

Center also tended to be those with less traditional backgrounds, more hands-on experiences, and greater history of political activity as community organizers.

At the end of April 1975, the University financial records went to a Grand Jury in Boston with the final sum of money being investigated at around \$100,000; many records were returned as not pertinent. A local judge had also ruled in that third week of April that the University records must be made open to local reporters, specifically students on the University daily newspaper and the local Hampshire Gazette.

The Boston Globe reported,

The hurtling express train of innovation at the UMass-Amherst School of Education, in motion for seven years, is in danger of derailment. Allegations of both academic and substantial fiscal irregularities have upset the excitement generated by a calculated challenge to traditional concepts of education... Under [Allen's] leadership the school pioneered in pass-fail grading, affirmative action for women and minorities, academic credit for practical experience and elimination of required courses in favor of realistic learning experiences.. (Globe, 3/2/75)

The Globe reporter goes on to quote Chancellor Bromery as saying, "When you don't fit the norm, and the school of education certainly doesn't. Then you're judged on the exceptions, the failures, rather than judged on the rules, the successes." Allen had stated earlier in face of growing dissent, "My goals are absolute, but my means are flexible" (Boston Globe, 3/2/75, p.28).

Dwight Allen resigned as Dean and assumed a faculty position in the School; he returned to Lesotho to finish his sabbatical. He was not implicated in any of the Grand Jury investigations. A faculty member from the time remembers, that Allen chose not to forfeit his sabbatical but rather that it was time to pass on the baton to someone else who would guide the School through this period. Professor Louis Fisher, a sometime critic of Allen's management but supporter of educational innovation, became the acting Dean. A national search for a new Dean was started during the Summer of 1975. Another faculty member, Grace Craig would act as Dean after Fisher before Mario Fantini was brought on in 1976-77 as the permanent Dean of the School.

The Center for International Education was also not directly involved in the Grand Jury investigation, but they were prepared to provide full accounting of all funds they had received. They were never required by the court to open their books. However, with the defrocking of Allen, the Center felt a new level of vulnerability. In the Spring 1975 CIE Newsletter, David Evans wrote the following in a summary of events for off campus Center members,

Now it is April, and the aftermath of all the shouting is a series of review and auditing committees. They constitute a confusing array of internal and external mandates. What the outcome of these efforts is difficult to predict...In some cases, I think we will have to fight fiercely to maintain some of our rights.... Basically, I am optimistic and feel that constructive use can be made of many of the reviews to help us clarify our

beliefs and procedures. (CIE Annual Newsletter, Spring 1975, p.9)

Internationalizing the CIE

The predominance of White, middle-class, North American liberal attitudes was an issue raised from the very first weeks of the Center's development. Cynthia Shepard, the Afro-American woman Planning Doctoral student admitted in 1968 raised this issue numerous times. The issue of their own credibility in embracing an international perspective, and promoting cross-cultural understanding when espoused by a group of White, American, men was not a point of contention. The faculty and students felt that diversity among their community would be an advantage. The means and the timing, however, were problematic. Funding another faculty position, specifically a woman and/or a non-North American, plus meeting the higher funding requirements for securing visas and travel for students from overseas, were painful discussions, especially when resources for current students were slim. The School of Education during this period was preparing for budgetary cut backs from the state and University. A memo circulated among the Center members² stating that the CIE was near the bottom of the Dean's

² At the 1971 Center Retreat, a Center Fellow put forth the following resolution - "Resolved: that the term Center Fellows be dropped immediately and the term Center member (small m) be substituted" (from 1971 Center Retreat files, memo by Ron Bell). This was approved.

priority list for new faculty slots; the gist of the memo, was that they must do something immediately to climb up nearer the top. Their tenuousness as an organization and the emotional rawness remaining from the planning efforts worried some. Securing another faculty position would add more stability and might, as some argued, be a better strategy than siphoning off resources (human effort) in recruitment of international students. One of the initial Fellows remembered an Admissions Committee meeting during 1969-70 when this issue was raised once again,

I was head of the first admissions committee, ...in [one] meeting John [Bing] made a very strong statement that this Center had to be representative of the world in which we live, and that we had to have students other than Americans in the Center and certainly more than American White males... and at that point we were feeling like it was very fragile, everything was very fragile and the argument was over whether... we [knew] how to deal with that yet, and if you get too much variation, too much diversity, you could destroy something before its enough of a thing; and that was the argument whether it was right or wrong, but John really persisted... (Interview 113, 6/93)

* * *

In Spring 1970, a one year Masters Program specifically designed for African educators to study in the U.S. was funded by USAID. The program concentrated on teacher training for English-speaking African countries, including an emphasis on "[a]lternative strategies for introducing educational innovations into the traditional educational

systems of developing countries" (excerpt from AirGram, Department of State, xeroxed copy of USAID circular, 4/28/70 sent to AID African missions).

In 1971, 3 students from different African countries entered the CIE's masters program with funding from this program. Several Latin American students also joined the Center, three from Ecuador. By 1974 roughly half of the on-campus Center members were non-U.S., as well, the number of women had increased to close to 40%. Not all of the "international³" students were funded through USAID, sources varied; there seems to have been a cascading experience once the CIE student community became "internationalized." From this point onward, the CIE remained roughly 50% non-U.S.

One of the first Center Fellows described these years of internationalizing the Center by saying,

...when you started to get the international students in, other issues emerged... then things started to change.... there were very, very strong feelings that people had and they were people who argued, and this was over issues that really got down to sexism, really got down to racism, really got down to cultural differences, and the sort of change from [the Center] from being what you'd call a traditional system with a little bit of opening for doing your own thing and figuring things out to something that was unlike other academic programs in the U.S. I think that

³ The term "international" was used by all Center members to refer to non-North American community members. Non-American was sometimes used, however, a number of Center members were Latin American and I chose not to use this terminology. The term "foreign" was never a common reference.

occurred largely because for one reason or another, the international students got accepted, they were strong people and they forced change. (Interview 114, 6/93)

"Let Jorge Do It": The Ecuador Project⁴

In a 1973 dissertation looking at the funding history/issues of the School of Education, Gerald Gold relates an anecdote learned during an interview with a CIE faculty member. This faculty member along with a Center doctoral student had been on a short term consultancy in Colombia during October 1970. Dwight Allen had asked them to stop and visit a friend of his on their way home. This man was a principal of a secondary school in Quito, Ecuador. The Center graduate student also had a former Peace Corps friend who worked at the USAID Mission in Quito. They all met for dinner at the home of Allen's friend, while sitting on the porch after dinner it came out that USAID Ecuador was looking for new educational directives. The Center party left that evening with a promise "to do something." In the interview with Gold, the Center faculty member is quoted as saying about this Ecuador excursion,

From the start this center has held itself responsible for supporting graduate students and funding field experiences. You can't do that without money. In fact, finding experiences, sites, and money is part of the curriculum,

⁴ This is the title of an early CIE publication developed out of experiences in the CIE Ecuador Project. The full title is -- "Let Jorge Do It: An Approach to Rural Nonformal Education," (1973), by James Hoxeng, CIE.

defining curriculum as experiences for learning.
(quoted in Gold, 1973: 152)

This same faculty member told me twenty-five years later that he felt the Ecuador Project was the most important Center project for setting the tone and direction for the future development of the CIE.

The Ecuador Project took over a year to develop and finalize into a contract with USAID. AID funded the project for three years, then the Government of Ecuador sponsored the project for an additional year. In some respects it was a proactive program development process, and was the first Center-generated project based outside of the U.S. dealing with development education. Even though they had had responsibility for administering the Tororo Girl's School project, it was not a CIE generated program, nor did it deal with nonformal education. While the Teacher Corps lasted as long as the Ecuador Project, and involved a much larger grant (final amount at \$1.35 million), it was not as "sexy"⁵ as the Ecuador Project, and not in international development.

Thus, the Ecuador Project, with a total funding level reaching only \$300,000, helped the Center carve a niche within the sphere of international development education. Over a half dozen CIE publications and an equal number of

⁵ An adjective used frequently in early memos and documents about program development and criteria for selecting Center projects (1968-1970).

dissertations were generated out of student experiences on the project. It also helped lay the foundation for developing larger and more significant future projects, in terms of developing institutional capability and international linkages.

The gist of the Ecuador Project was to develop and implement nonformal education in literacy and other basic skills. Participants in the project were campesinos and Ministry of Education staff in rural Ecuador. The project involved training village facilitator/animators and development of materials and methods to be used by the adult education staff of the Ministry of Education. The project was staffed in the field with Ecuadorians and Center members, and true to Center philosophy, tried to employ participatory decision-making processes with the emphasis on leaving Ecuadorians in responsible field positions at the conclusion of the project. Amherst-based students and faculty travelled back and forth between Amherst and Ecuador. They also brought field staff to the University for planning sessions and later three Ecuadorian project staff enrolled in the School. At last the Fellows were testing their ideas about educational innovation and nonformal educational theory in the real world.

* * *

The Center community had been introduced to Ivan Illich and Paulo Freire in 1969. One Fellow had travelled to Mexico to spend time at Illich's center in Cuernavaca; this same graduate student a year later travelled to Ecuador where he spent the summer of 1971 developing the CIE Ecuador Project with the Ministry of Education and USAID staff. The USAID contact in Quito had said that "his boss had read Freire and wanted to operationalize it" (Interview 111, 6/93). But, it was a rocky year in developing a project that "operationalized" Freire.

The graduate student who spent the summer of 1971 in Ecuador remembers,

...[by] Fall we ended up with a project design which was agreed upon by the [AID] Mission and the Ministry of Education, and then I came up here and tried to sell it to the University and AID Washington. I'm afraid that I was not very participatory, but I had just gone through pretty heavy duty negotiations down there and I knew that I had a project design that was good... when I came back up here I just took a sort of take it or leave it position.

It was really the first chance that the Center as the Center had to put its feet where its mouth was... try to do something in the real world rather than just talking about it... there were other things that were going on domestically, but this was the first real international thing as a Center. (Interview 111, 6/93)

By the time the project contract was finalized, the Center had been collecting a "market basket" of ideas for games, other materials and curriculum components; a daily 2:00 meeting was set up over the Winter for people to bring in ideas and be paid \$25.00 to \$75.00 per idea used. Thus,

18 months after the late night bull session on that porch in Quito, the CIE began its Ecuador Project.

One rainy night, about six months into the first year of the project, one of the Center Fellows working in Ecuador hosted two AID Washington staff visiting the project sites. The road to one of the field sites was washed out and he decided to take them the back way up the mountain, driving his big, old Chevy through rocky canyons and pouring rain in the pitch dark. By the time they reached the school around 10:30 pm, the passengers were more than a little rattled. But, when they saw that the lanterns were still lit, and people were still playing games, engaged in discussions and working groups, one of the AID staff began to cry -- He had never seen anything like this before. The other one said,

God dammit, these guys are going to start a revolution of rising expectations here. We're going to have some real trouble on our hands. We've got to tone this thing down. (related in Interview 111, 6/93)

"Here We Come to a Fork in the Road"⁶

Meanwhile, back in Amherst. During the second year of the Ecuador Project, the "Mess at UMass" events started to unfold. At the same time, students on campus were also asking questions about federal funding received by various other departments, but for different reasons than the FBI.

⁶ Quoted from paper for discussion at the 1971 CIE Retreat, by John Bing, 10/9/81.

Revelations about the Pentagon's activities in Southeast Asia, the covert operations sponsored by the CIA and State Department were coming out in the press, especially around events in Latin America. The Viet Nam War was over for the U.S.; but the rallying cries on campuses across the nation remained, this time focussed on the "secret wars" of the U.S. government. UMass students began requesting disclosure of federal funding sources from the University administration, specifically regarding the Department of Defense, United State Army (and other military branches), and the State Department⁷. They based their demands upon a memorandum from Chancellor Randolph Bromery to UMass President Wood in which he recommended that the campus administration use as their guiding policy a statement regarding grants and contracts adopted by the Graduate Student Council. This statement recommended that the University enter into a grant or contract only when it has the "freedom to disclose the purpose and scope of the proposed research, the methods, and the results." The statement also includes conditions "which do not require the approval of any outside person or agency prior to publication or dissemination of the results of any research."⁸

⁷ USAID falls under the U.S. Department of State.

⁸ Quotes excerpted from memo on Government Supported Research, taken from newspaper clipping found in CIE Archives, no date.

During this time, discussions at the CIE around the implications of receiving federal funding, specifically from USAID, were also escalating. The crux of the early CIE discussions lay more with issue of how to keep their participatory form of administration and learner-based pedagogy from being chewed up in the machinations of the USAID top-down, bureaucracy than the ethics of taking federal funds. This soon changed.

A Revolution of Rising Expectations

From the beginning, the CIE had continued the tradition of "retreating" at least once a year, echoing the heady days of the "Spirit of Colorado." The theme of their 1970 retreat to Nantucket Island was "Quality of Life and Education at the Center." Several concept or discussion papers were written for the retreat. These included, "A Proposal to Evaluate and Renew the Center for International Education" (1970), which began with the following,

I propose that the Center for International Education formally act to dissolve itself as a center within the School of Education effective immediately. (p.1)

This proposal refers back to the original Planning Year proposal that each center and the School would reconsider its priorities and evaluate its progress every two years in order to maintain innovation and not go static. The author of this paper, a 1968 Planning Doctoral student, saw this dramatic reassessment of the CIE as urgent because of a

large turnover of the community at that time, as well as a growing gaps between perceptions of Center goals among "old," Planning Doctoral students, new staff and students.

He writes,

Issues to which newer members wish to address themselves are "ploughed ground" to older members, who ultimately are thrust into (or unconsciously adopt) defensive attitudes when pressed to explain their recalcitrance. (p. 5)

He went on to say,

In addition, I am concerned about an attitude of disinterest which occasionally bubbles to the surface in reaction to a proposal such as this -- one which is reflected in the comment, "I'm sorry, but I simply didn't come here to do this. If this belief is seriously held by many, we need no further proof of our failure to communicate the thrust which spawned the Planning Year, the School of Education and the Center for International Education. (p.11)

Eighteen people attended this Retreat, over half of whom were Planning Doctoral students or original faculty.

The 1971 Retreat to Putney, Vermont was attended by 24 Center members, including the first "international" masters students. The Agenda Committee decided that there would not be enough time for any constructive decision-making and that, coupled with the large number of new members, the time would be used for generating ideas and providing information, a sort of orientation workshop.

Just one month earlier, the School and the Center had conducted day long workshops on how to combat institutional racism with a few recommendations for specific change or action resulting. This was the "hot" topic at the School

during the Fall of 1971. Institutional racism was not included on this retreat agenda. One Center member, who was also on the Committee to Combat Institutional Racism, wrote a memo to the CIE Community. In it he states his objections to an "information generating" retreat,

My basic concern is that I find myself in considerable opposition to attending a Center retreat/advance of the nature planned which is not focused on decision-making, and which does not even provide a minimal commitment to make explicit the operational goals of the Center.... I believe to the extent any institution does not make explicit its goals, the predominating cultural values norms will be in ascendancy -- and differences to those norms will be discouraged and eradicated at worst.... For evidence, I look to us:

1. predominantly American (USA)
2. predominantly white
3. predominantly middle class
4. predominantly ex-Peace Corps
5. predominantly male

(memo to Members of the CIE Community, from Ron Bell, "The Putney Event - Retreat or Advance?" n.d.)

Another memo, dated October 9th, 1971, from the Center member who stood up in the Admissions Committee the previous year and supported the internationalizing of the Center, wrote a three page paper on "Center Composition." He too starts with discussion of the lack of Center goals and purposes; he writes,

At this writing there is no apparent consensus about Center goals and purposes, or for that matter, about whether there should or need be such a consensus... If a consensus does not exist, then the Center should have no pretensions other than those pertaining to a quasi-academic, quasi-

commercial holding company. (memo from John Bing, 10/9/71, p. 1)

He goes on,

Very broadly conceived, the Center must be committed either to status quo positions or to positions that encourage change. I submit that it would not be impossible to reach consensus that the Center should pursue policies and programs which lead to recognition and action on issues related to human rights and others including national and international racism... (Bing memo, 10/9/71, p.1)

The community had been presented just 1-2 weeks prior to this Retreat in Vermont with a summary of discussion and recommendations for the CIE from the School of Education Workshop on Institutional Racism. Seven indicators of racism in the CIE were listed. These included:

1. To the degree that the Center does not define and examine its objectives in terms of their implications for perpetuating racism, the Center is perpetuating it.
2. The admissions criteria calling for prior overseas experience for graduate students and faculty in International Education draws on a population that is over 90% white.
3. Currently all hard-money faculty appointments in the Center are white.
4. There is a tendency in the Center not to connect analysis of education and society in the third world with the situation of minorities in the States.

And, the last indicator,

7. The Center's relationships to AID, and other Governmental and International Agencies has not been examined. In one case this led to a capitulation to the obvious discrimination in salaries between American and local workers.

(From memo titled "Summary of Discussion and Recommendation -- Center for International Education", Workshop on Institutional Racism, September 19 and 20, 1971, CIE Archives)

Developing an Organizational Identity Crisis

During 1972, the CIE held two retreats, a mini-Retreat in May and a longer Fall Retreat to the village of Cummington, MA about 20+ miles west of Amherst in the foothills of the Berkshire Mountains. Several of the issues so blatantly laid out in memos during the previous year were central topics at both retreats. In May, the provocative descriptions of their agenda topics included:

GOALS: The Center has not explicitly stated its goals vis a vis the Third World. Given the sources of financing to the Center and the composition of the Center such an explicit statement would be necessary to guide the selection of programs and projects if the Center intends to "Combat racism."

MEMBERSHIP: Predominantly white liberal with experiential background with white liberal institutions (Peace Corps). Minority membership and viewpoints are "tolerated" not sought.

CENTER PROJECTS: Assumption is made that the Center can use the sources of funding (like AID) without being used by them...

PATERNALISM: Adoption and application of innovation to Third World implies that innovations of the Third World to educational problems of Western World [sic] are not seriously considered...

PLURALISM VS. UNITY: Center assumes that the model of development is to move toward western

white liberal values... This assumption is generally not seriously questioned in the consideration of projects and programs.

(from memo titled "Issues for Center for International Education Retreat," May 1972, CIE Archives)

The ghost of "Do Your Own Thing" was coming back to haunt them once again. None of these issues were new, but the life-experiences and perhaps political experiences of those raising or affirming the problems were new. The sole U.S. minority and woman who had been at the CIE since the Planning Year had raised these issues, though phrased somewhat differently. As well, many white, middle class, former Peace Corps students and faculty had introduced the problems of paternalism and racism into Center dialogues, though somewhat rhetorically. Now, sitting across the table from the Center "Founding Fathers" were new Center members whose purpose at the University was not to "plan" a new organization, but effect social change with the support of an existing organization; and these new members were challenging the underlying assumptions and values of that previous homogeneous organization. The discussions became personal. As one of the "old", white, U.S., male doctoral student from this era put it,

I don't think anyone really understood how to make it an international center. I mean, they thought it was a great idea, but whether anybody had ever operated in a context where an international person is an equal, that's another question. I don't think many of us had. We'd always operated where, even in Peace Corps, you weren't really in

much of an equal situation, I mean, you weren't side by side, in some instances you were with a counterpart, but you weren't on a high professional level where that person's opinion mattered. (Interview 114, 6/93)

In 1972, Paulo Freire's "Pedagogy of the Oppressed" was translated into English. The Center Fellows had been introduced to Freire in 1969, this book was important in their curriculum. In "Pedagogy" Freire wrote,

Well-intentional professionals (those who use "[cultural] invasion" not as a deliberate ideology but as the expression of their own upbringing) eventually discover that certain educational failures must be ascribed, not to the intrinsic inferiority of the "simple men of the people," but to the violence of their own act of invasion. Those who make this discovery face a difficult alternative: they feel the need to renounce invasion, but patterns of domination are so entrenched within them that this renunciation would become a threat to their own identities. (1972: 154)

"Inarticulate Radicals:" The Political Becomes Personal

In April 1972 a Center member in the field started a correspondence with the community regarding some of the issues discussed at the retreats and Center meetings. He addressed his letter "Personal" and wrote to a friend with a caveat that "Personal" meant that these were his personal opinions and not meant to be private. This writer has been characterized by peers as the "first real radical" at the Center. In an April 1972 letter he touches upon all of the agenda items planned for the May retreat. In this letter,

which was used for discussion at the retreat, he wrote about Center projects,

I've been chided for refusing to work for Center projects financed by the U.S. Government's Agency for International Development [sic]. "Unscramble your scruples and we'll send you to country X," I was told the other day.... in my view: One: most Center members strive sincerely for greater (rather than lesser) educational innovation in less developed countries. Two: many of these Center members know, sense or at least suspect that the long-term purposes of such establishment sources are opposed to the kind of socio-economic change that would make greater (rather than lesser) educational innovation not only possible but also likely. Three: nevertheless, the Center hopes to use such sources without being used by them. (Gillette, 4/23/72, letter to "Tut," cc to David Schimmel, David Evans, Ron Bell; CIE Archives)

Regarding "Center Paternalism," he wrote,

In its view of its relation vis a vis the Third World, the Center is publicly paternalistic.... It has stated that one of its major functions is the "adaption and application of technology and innovations to educational problems in the developing world"... Nowhere has it stated that one of its functions (even one of its minor functions) is to adapt the many educational innovations of the Third World to the educational problems of the industrialized countries. (Gillette, 4/23/72)

These accusations brought by a respected member of the community raised welts of contention. The recipient of this letter, "Tut", sent a memo to the Center Director the following week in which he stated,

As honorable as your intentions may be, I am not persuaded that your elitist philosophy is a sufficient safe guard against the potential exploitation of Third World people implicit in the acceptance of AID and state department funds.... Moreover my own experience has been that ideas offered by Third World people which do not

coincide with prevailing views of some Center members are likely to be regarded as irrational, antagonistic and inspired by evil notions. (memo to Dave Schimmel from Tut, re Participation in Center Retreat, 5/3/72, p. 2)

This memo was read to the Center community at the weekly meeting, and a response was sent to "Tut" welcoming his participation at the retreat. On the back of the copies of this correspondence found in the archives is scribbled, "inarticulate radicals."

At the Fall 1973 retreat, another letter from Arthur Gillette was discussed, this one dealing with more specific issues than goals and paternalism. In the December 1973 CIE newsletter the following was reported,

Arthur Gillette sent a letter to the CIE, dated July 25, 1973, regarding Brazil's use of illegal detention and systematic torture as a means of government... After a lengthy discussion at the retreat and after a provision was made to send a ballot to Fellows not present at the retreat, the Center members voted on the following resolution (a political stand taken by Center members): "Any direct comfort to or support of the government or agencies of Brazil will be excluded from present and future activities of the Center for International Education until such time as the situation in Brazil changes." (CIE Annual Newsletter, December 1973, p. 2)

The vote on the "Brazil Resolution" was not unanimous.

A response to this resolution was also published in the December 1973 newsletter,

I feel it is absurd to single out Brazil among all the governments of the world which have been reported to use torture against political prisoners. I hope that further debate of this fuzzy resolution is allowed so that those of us who could not attend the retreat will be able to make our points.

What is meant by "until such time as the situation changes?" What kind of change? How much change will be required until the center would consider applying its resources to Brazil?

("A Response to CIE Resolution Re: Brazil," from Jock Gunter, CIE Annual Newsletter, December 1973, p. 2)

Another world government was soon singled out by certain Center members and discussions raged intensely and publicly about whether the Center would take another political stand. This time, however, the government was the U.S. government, specifically one agency of the government - the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID).

A "Mini-Watergate" at the CIE

The Ecuador Project was proceeding well, funded by USAID. Another, larger AID funded project was in the planning stages under the U.S. sponsored grants category referred to as 211(d). These funds were awarded to universities in the U.S. to help them develop certain institutional capabilities in training, community service, and curriculum development. The CIE proposed a five year, international, multi-site project to develop greater institutional capability in the area of nonformal education. This was to be their largest financial venture to date with a total budget of \$750,000.

Debate around relationship with funding agencies and criteria for program development had been escalating over

the past year. This was a topic discussed at length during the Fall 1973 retreat.

In Spring 1974, Alberto Ochoa, a CIE doctoral student, presented the community with some proposed guidelines "towards the development of a Center theology" and position statement on their relationship with funding agencies (from 3/7/74 memo attached to "Position Statement on the Relationships of Funding Agencies and the CIE"). In his paper Ochoa presents the argument that U.S. foreign aid and policy toward development in underdeveloped countries are driven by profiteering and maintenance of an underclass for economic dependency. He targets the CIE relationship with USAID as collusion with this policy stance. He writes,

The Center having no guidelines or theology in its relationship with funding agencies:

- (1) takes on the roles of researcher whose prime function is to participate in the gathering of knowledge for the sake of knowledge;
 - (2) becomes an extension of the funding agency and disregards its social position (as to its ethics and social consciousness) in its responsibility to the development of human potential;
 - (3) whether in a latent or manifest way, assists in the perpetuation of social injustices and social oppression by not specifying its working conditions and values when accepting funds and contractual obligation;
 - (4) by not specifying its working parameters prostitutes its integrity.
- ("Position Statement..," A. Ochoa, 3/7/74, p. 3)

He goes on to develop a grid for classifying "funding positions" stating that the Center, according to his classification system, comes closest to the position of

"Prostituted Integrity" (Ochoa, 3/7/74, p. 9). In the end he proposed both a series of value positions for the CIE as well as thirteen guidelines (resolutions) to be used in working with funding agencies. His values focus on development of human potential, awareness of human rights, and the right of individual choice and self-selection.

Within a week the position statement evoked a strong response. The guidelines were hashed out further with details regarding life styles of project staff, equity of salaries, de-phasing the assistance, use of consultants on projects, and the medium of communication (local languages), among other topics. However, the next draft of a more detailed CIE series of guidelines opened with the following,

The guidelines are seen as structuring:

1. the right of each Center member to make his/her own decision in his/her participation with funding agencies in order to safeguard the individual right of every Center participant and prevent the Center from practicing the principle of the oppressed and the oppressor by forcing members to take a Center position. (DRAFT, "Guidelines for the CIE in its Collaboration with Funding Agencies, n.d., CIE Archives)

The decision not to make a decision that might exclude any individual's personal stance prevailed. This allowed unrestricted participation, with broad freedom for individual expression and self-direction supported by the organization. This also allowed for unrestricted collaborative relationships both internally and externally. This high degree of inclusion for all and viewing an

organizational position as an oppressive action, suggests a degree of ideological homogeneity that apparently no longer existed in abundance at the CIE in 1974.

On March 11, 1974, Victor Gomez, a CIE doctoral student from Colombia, circulated his own response to Ochoa's position statement. In this memo he wrote,

...I would like to expand briefly on the philosophy of education of those "core members" and faculty of CIE who have effective control on decision making regarding relationships with agencies, direction of projects, etc.. These people's ideology has not led them to take "... on the role of researcher whose primary function is to participate in the gathering of knowledge for the sake of knowledge." CIE has never been that academic [sic] oriented. CIE has always been "action oriented" whatever that means: irresponsible pragmatism?, charlatanism?, utilitarian pragmatism?, lack of solid intellectual and research-based foundations for the projects being conducted?, delusions [sic] of grandeur?, mediocrity (read: reign of mediocrity)?, condescending and/or repressive attitudes toward outspoken dissenters? In the case of CIE I think all of the above hold true. (memo to the Center Membership, from Victor Manuel Gomez, re "Comments on Alberto Ochoa's 'Position Statement'," 3/11/74)

He goes on to doubt whether the CIE fellows and faculty could ever reach agreement on the "objective conditions of oppression" citing the way the Center handled Arthur Gillette's letter about Brazil. Gomez's basic argument is that any activities sponsored by the U.S. government, i.e. USAID, will promote capitalism which he views as the source of oppression and underdevelopment in the third world.

Within a month, Gomez had taken his position to the press by writing an op-ed article for the UMass Daily

Collegian titled "S of E colonialization." In this article, Gomez links the USAID with the CIA, stating,

AID as an agency of the U.S. Government is but a tool for the implementation of its policies of imperialism and subsequent exploitation and control of less developed countries. Traditionally, AID has served as cover for CIA personnel... (Daily Collegian, 4/11/74)

He ends his piece by listing the names and phone numbers of a CIE faculty member and the future NFE 211d grant administrator, a CIE doctoral student. His article sparked a letter exchange in the University newspaper. Two weeks later another article appeared titled "What's Going on at the School of Ed?" by guest columnist Deborah Schneer (5/1/74).

In this article Schneer writes,

It is therefore with great dismay that I see a center at our University enter into a binding agreement with this organization [AID] that is responsible for the despair, hunger, and murder of people all over the world. (Daily Collegian, 5/1/74)

Meanwhile, across campus, undergraduates had taken over Memorial Hall as part of their protest of Marine recruiters on campus and failure of the Administration to provide them with the list of federal grant recipients on-campus. On May 8, 1974, a student committee calling itself the "University Committee on International Research" sent a letter on University stationary to the Nonformal Education Officer at USAID in which they stated that there is "growing concern in the university community" over the CIE nonformal education grant (Letter to Bernard Wilder, USAID, from Marsha Miliman,

Chairman, University Committee on International Research, 5/8/74).

This prompted action by CIE faculty. The 211d NFE grant had not yet been officially signed off by USAID. A memo was sent to USAID describing the sequence of events that had taken place that Spring, stressing both School of Education and University approval for the grant. The memo discusses the role of Gomez and Miliman stating that their opinions had been given voice and consideration, and also noted that the committee they represented did not exist. In June 1974 the 211d Nonformal Education Capacity Building grant was officially awarded to the CIE. A Center for Nonformal Education was established at the CIE, a logo was created, and press releases sent out by the CIE Planning Policy Advising Committee.

This committee continued to work on developing guidelines for CIE relationships with funding agencies. In August 1974, John Bing, the NFE grant administrator, wrote a "Working Paper: Statement on External Relations for the Nonformal Education Grant" in which he states,

It is my belief that it is crucial that the program develop a non-ideological stance.... My contention is that we have no right to suggest or impose an ideology of self-determination or oppression (socialism, communism, capitalism) upon others. Rather, we may bring some added resources to help achieve goals that already exist. We may also assist in clarifying goals, and we should expect others to assist us in that process.

Further, if we admit to the validity of representing and proselytizing via an ideology, we

will have no defence against pressure from AID to disseminate AID's ideologies. We cannot have it both ways.

(from "Working Paper: Statement on External Relations for the Nonformal Education Grant," J. Bing, 8/15/74)

Gomez moved from the Center to become a doctoral student in the UMass Economics Department.⁹

On September 10, 1974, the "Final Interim Working Guidelines" for the CIE relationship with outside funding agencies was published. They were detailed and built upon Ochoa's and other's proposals from the previous year. In the first paragraph the committee put forth that,

The idea of guidelines per se ought not be equated with the principles of a constitution. In a learning situation they should never be a set of iron-cast regulations replete with prohibitions. They should instead be guides toward positive advocacy for action. They should basically be the personality of a people-to-people relationship. They should articulate the soul of expected actions. ("Statement on Guidelines" from "Final Interim Working Guidelines," 9/10/74, p. 1)

These were sent to the Editors of the Collegian with an attached letter from the members of the CIE. This letter read,

Over the past six months, five or six very critical and ideologically-laden articles regarding the Center for International Education have appeared in the columns of the Collegian.

Not once have the editors of the Collegian initiated any attempts to write a series of investigative articles on the Center and on the

⁹ Victor Gomez would eventually return and complete his doctorate at the CIE.

quite vocal detractors who have appeared in your columns.

We invite you to do so.

(letter to the Editors from the members of the CIE, 9/23/74)

These "final interim working" guidelines, copies of the Gomez articles, and CIE/NFE press releases were also sent to USAID. A Collegian reporter did then appear at the Center; the experience was not positive probably due to lack of experience and objectivity on the part of the undergraduate reporter as well lack of experience with the media on the part of the CIE. As a result, the NFE grants administrator issued a memo in November stating,

During this mini-Watergate period, I would like to have contacts with outside individuals and organizations on campus channeled through me in order to avoid potential contradictions in information which might be disseminated. My policy in dealing with other departments or individuals on campus is to provide them with documents related to the NFE Center and to state that I wish similar documents regarding their campus organizations. (memo from John Bing, to the Steering Committee, 11/27/74)

The School Settles into Establishmentarianism¹⁰

In June 1973 the CIE distributed its first international alumni newsletter which would be bi-annual for the next three years.¹¹ John Hatch, a fourth year doctoral student, opened the newsletter with the following,

Cheers - Looks like we'll have a CIE graduation fest here in August... the old guard changeth.

The year sputtered out with rising administrative problems and needs with the Center, the Cluster, and whatever. George will be away in Fall; Schimmel is 90% with Global Survival; Sylvia Forman is now Global Survival/Anthropology... leaving DRE with one foot in the grave and up to his ears in work -- with the School of Education, the Cluster, graduate students, AID, all zooming around in speedboats making waves. He may drown yet, folks! (CIE Annual Newsletter, 1973, p.1)

This newsletter coincided with the publication of the first 5-year report by the School of Education on its accomplishments and challenges. In February "The School of Education, January 1968 - January 1973: A Report to the Trustees' Committee on Faculty and Educational Policy" was completed. Dwight Allen was preparing to leave for sabbatical in Lesotho. Earl Seidman, Assistant Dean, would act as Dean during his leave. The School was settling into a

¹⁰ John Hatch used this term in reference to the School of Education settling down into new organizational/administrative systems (from CIE Annual Newsletter, October 1974).

¹¹ This newsletter is referred to in the bibliogrphahy and text as the CIE Annual Newsletter, despite its fluctuating publication schedule. In the mid-1980s the name Pangea was adopted for this alumni newsletter, but did not stick. In 1986 the newsletter was renamed Bricolage; this name took hold.

course of its own, responding to the University's requirements of self-evaluation and structuring of systems for accountability and conformity. Some of the self-aggrandizing characteristic of early School reports is tempered in this document by a cool, somewhat academic tone (not quite as self-deprecating, however, as the atonements woven through the 1969 "Interim Catalogue").

Among the accomplishments of these first five years described in the Report are: attracting a uniquely qualified and diverse faculty and doctoral student community; increasing the number of applications; placing doctoral graduates in influential positions; and, "providing superior educational experiences" for students through academic innovations such as pass/fail, a flexible curriculum, and a redefinition of learning experiences. (Report, 1973, pp. 17-18)

Juxtaposed with their two page list of accomplishments are five challenges that portended both internal and external change. These five challenges were:

1. The Maintenance of Institutional Vitality
2. The Consequences of Rapid Growth
3. Limitations of Existing Physical Facilities
4. The Building of a Multi-Racial, Multi-Ethnic Educational Community
5. The Maintenance of Adequate Financial Support

(Report, February 1973, pp. 19-21)

The possible avenues for dealing with these challenges included a focus on "consolidation of existing programs" (p.19). The authors wrote,

Our faculty, with the support of the administration, are presently taking steps toward more appropriate administrative, personnel, and governance mechanisms through a proposed reorganization of the governance system and a proposed consolidation of the existing centers into a smaller number of larger units which are expected to develop their own governance systems, personnel policies, and take considerable responsibility for student admissions, academic offerings, recruitment of staff, operation of programs and projects, and development of new projects. (Report, 1973, p. 19)

A pointed discussion of limited office and classroom space was included, noting that a request to build an addition to the School of Education building had been vetoed by the Governor a year earlier. Dividing the School between two buildings with additional classrooms was put forth as a fait accompli. The report ends with a touch of foreboding, warning of a looming scarcity of resources which would result in increased competitiveness among centers and departments within the University. Changing Federal priorities would effect many of the federally funded centers directly and possibly undermine the financial autonomy of the School in terms of maintaining certain experimental programs (57% of the School's budget came from outside, predominately Federal, grants). Thus, the authors of the report foretell that the University may be required to increase its support for the School, especially in light of

their accomplishments and successes at innovative programming. Considering the amount of overhead written into the federal grants for the University, this proposal might be read as a veiled threat (or a warning of a bigger splash to come if the "new" School looked like it were drowning). This was ten months before the FBI came to town.

In 1973 reorganization did take place, though very gradually and gently at first. "Clusters" were established to group the centers into a smaller number of administrative units. Over half of the School moved into Hills House South, a renovated dormitory on the other end of the campus from the School of Education building. Academic requirements and timetables were slowly trickling out of the Dean's office in memoranda to faculty and doctoral students. The "Portfolio System" which many doctoral students felt too cumbersome and confusing as a way to document academic progress was quietly eclipsed by a series of official School forms, steps and procedures for working through the doctoral program. Some students reacted to this as a retrenchment into the traditions of academia. This seemed especially true of those students at the dissertation stage who were resisting the increasing number of official directives from the Dean's office about how, when, and in what form they could receive

their degree.¹² A second year "new" School doctoral student wrote for the CIE newsletter,

I choose to think of the doctorate as a process designed to make a man learn to think, not to strengthen the muscles of his right arm by doffing his hat to the hundreds of people born before him... (CIE Annual Newsletter, June 1973, p.2)

¹² In Fall 1973, Center member, Jim Hoxeng, officially declined acceptance of his Ed.D. after finishing his dissertation. The reasons he gave in a letter to Chancellor Randolph Bromery included,

The School of Education promised its graduate students an opportunity to concentrate in new areas of educational thinking, and both Dean Allen and my faculty committee have backed up that promise. I was able to spend time studying and thinking about nonformal education, even though the school then offered no courses in alternative models. When an opportunity arose to put together a project proposal in nonformal education, we were able to move quickly.

I worked on the Ecuador Nonformal Education Project from the beginning until March 31 of this year. One of our major emphases in working with campesinos (rural Ecuadorians) has been that they should place importance on how a person acts rather than on what his title is -- an attitude which I feel has been the basis for much of the project's success in promoting change and development. I would be hard-pressed, then, to explain to my campesino friends why they should suddenly begin addressing me as "Doctor." (letter to Chancellor Bromery from Jim Hoxeng, 11/1/73)

The Chancellor responded with a letter expressing understanding. He wrote, "...I myself have been long worried about the implications of a credential conscious society" (letter to J. Hoxeng, 11/26/73). The option to claim the degree remained open and correspondence between the student, the Associate Dean, and the Director of Graduate Student Services continued through February as they tried to work out how this make actually take place.

Twenty-five years later, this Center member shared copies of all the correspondence with me at the 25th reunion. He has not officially accepted the degree to date.

The reorganization of the School into "Clusters" and the hoped for consolidation of the octopus-like decision-making and program development system of assorted centers and program also caused alarm. At first the idea of "clusters" as a more efficient form of administration with the Centers remaining intact and autonomous seemed appropriate and did not smack of a "departmentalization" of what they had worked so hard to create. But, as the clusters were designed, the old academic traditions of grouping disciplines and bodies of knowledge came into play; by Fall 1973 the four clusters with meandering names did resemble the more traditional departments found in Schools of Education.

During the Summer of 1973 two CIE members (one faculty, one staff) sent a terse memo to the Dean and his administrative staff in which they presented the "gravity of the situation" caused by the new Cluster system. Calling this decision an "administrative convenience" that might sweep away "the fruits of five years of trial, errors, and successes," especially if operationalized during the summer break without the benefit of CIE community involvement. They go on to outline their fruits of five years and state,

We have little doubt that CIE has housed one of the most humane and effective centers of Graduate Education in the country. The sadomasochistic rites of American graduate education have been fashioned into a more rational and humane process... (memo to Ernie Washington, Bob Suzuki, Dwight Allen, from David Evans, John Bing, 8/13/73)

They list their funded projects including a pending \$1 million USAID grant for nonformal education with a rider stating: "Not many people at the School or the University know about the significance of [these] programs... nor about the Center, for that matter. Public relations has never been our strong suit."

Their main point of contention lay in the proposed relocation of the CIE. Rumors had circulated which later, they state, were confirmed that they would be "forced" to move into 50% less space, with minimal or no project space, and "entirely out of character with the Center's working, decision-making structure." They conclude by saying,

The Center, thus merged with a cluster of administrative convenience, would cease to exist, its services to graduate students disappear, its current projects wither, and future projects would be aborted.

We wish to make it clear that this situation appears to be the result of misunderstanding rather than a genuine attempt to destroy the Center, its structures and projects. (memo, 8/13/73, pp. 2-3)

Their move was possibly thwarted for a short time by their efforts; however, in Spring 1974 the CIE relocated into Hills House South. They were given one corridor on the second floor with offices lining the hallway; at the end of the hall, several walls were torn down between three rooms and a larger community room was put together with the Resource Center to become referred to as the L-Shaped Room reminiscent of the kitchen meeting room in the old

farmhouse. The cozy, web of rooms of Montague House were gone. While the Center lost this first battle of the "Space War," they at least achieved enough attention to be allotted more room; as well, an unforeseen benefit of the move followed when the melee of FBI investigations began the following year of being located at a distance from the faculty and administrators under scrutiny.

During Fall 1973 while they negotiated their impending relocation, a CIE Governance Document was approved by the community. The differences between this document and past attempts at defining philosophy and structure were derived from the perceived need for an offensive position against the School's reorganization. The editor of the CIE Annual Newsletter explained,

Faced with the problem of reorganizing a center already legally absorbed into the new School of Education Cluster macrosystem, Center members working on the document (a Center collegial learning group) decided that the Center could only survive to the extent that it found a community of members, people brought together through their own mutual self-interest. (CIE Annual Newsletter, December 1973, p. 1)

In this document Center membership was defined by participation in all aspects of CIE projects, administration, and courses. They state,

... Each associate of the Center can and should fulfill himself or herself in harmony with others. In this spirit, projects and members should strive toward interdependence for the greatest possible achievement and growth.

In setting out to achieve these aims, we incorporate the twin methods of horizontal as well

as vertical models of organization, using the advantages both systems offer...

.... As Center members, we must respond to the reality of various interests and scarce resources while striving to build a community rather than different factions. (Center Governance Document, October 1973)

A seven member Executive Committee composed of the three faculty and four graduate students elected annually was set up; five standing committees -- Admissions, Finance, Publications, and Appointments -- with four ad hoc "Special Committees," including a committee for the "Center Move", were designated. The fortnightly General Meeting was vested with decision-making in conjunction with the Executive Committee. There were 16 graduate students in residence that Fall with the three faculty, an Administrative Coordinator and a full-time Administrative Assistant. There were 28 Center members in the field, of these, 6 or 7 were graduates with doctorates.

The Sleeper Wakes: NFE and 211(d)

Nonformal education (NFE) presented an alternative approach for international development education; this approach was embodied by both innovations in educational technique as well as the space it created for developing alternative theoretical frameworks within the university. In the early 1970s many of the practitioners in the field of nonformal education were working in the third world, and included a number of third world academicians (Freire,

etc..). In a very general sense, this octopus-like body of knowledge and practice presented the Center with an educational innovation arising out of the third world and acceptable within the university. It was a vehicle for them to return to the "field," to actualize their theories and justify ideals.

"International education" was described in the 1969 "Draft Proposal for Programs Offered by the CIE,

...as the vehicle by which the oneness and the diversity of mankind may be developed, practiced and preserved in an atmosphere of trust and growth. (p. 1)

To accomplish this, they would,

... approach the people of each part of the globe, and enter into the feelings, thoughts, struggles, hopes and aspirations of men and women of every race, creed, class, caste and nationality. Through this process we will not only increase our chances of national survival and of a more rational foreign policy, but American culture will also gain a fresh awareness and vitality from the insight and perspective of other cultures. (p. 2)

With the award of the \$750,000 211d grant from USAID, nonformal education became the CIE's primary vehicle and hope for entering into the "feelings, thoughts, struggles, hopes and aspirations of men and women" (1969 Draft Proposal). Throughout 1974, debate still continued around funding and organizational ideology. In October 1974, Patricio Barriga, a doctoral student from Ecuador who had been the project field director on the Ecuador Project, sent a memorandum to the Center membership stating his concerns about "NFE and its implementation by the CIE." He wrote,

[A] concern among some of us involved in the development and implementation of the NFE concept is how our findings and actions are going to improve the living conditions of our target population.... NFE can be useful in providing an alternative perspective for individuals -- consultants and community people as well -- where everyone may practice and attain freedom. The liberation process includes a re-definition of one's own identity with respect to his/her surrounding environment. This cannot be achieved by conquest, manipulation and messianic aid. If this happens all the creativity invested and the suggested alternatives will end up being only better tools for exploitation and dependency. (memo, 10/18/74, p.2)

The Administrator of the 211d grant (now the NFE Center) responded promptly in a formal memo stating, "I don't like this formal kind of dialogue, but I think you must have a good reason for doing it this way" (memo from John Bing, 10/22/72). In the one page memo he addresses in depth only the issue of grant management which Barriga had proposed become more democratic; he states,

The idea that [faculty member] could receive his executive legitimacy from the NFE community... is untenable; it overlooks the fact that the Dean authorizes Principal Investigators to select the grant community. The issue therefore becomes one of changing the University structure. Good luck. (Bing memo, 10/22/72)

By the end of the Fall 1974 semester the CIE was six months into the 211d grant, building linkages with sites around the world, increasing admissions, well settled into their new quarters, and finally hiring new faculty.

CHAPTER VII

1974-1977, ERA #3: THE NFE BANDWAGON AND THE 211(D) GRANT

Peaking at Technical Uncertainty

The political and cultural issues from earlier years were still being kicked around, but a high level of uncertainty about organizational capabilities to "produce a desired output" caused by the award of the \$750,000 of the 211(d)¹ grant demanded the Center community's whole attention. In 1974-75, the Center was spinning in an eddy of technical uncertainty² concerning application of the conceptual tools of NFE, only partially tested and developed during the Ecuador Project, to much larger and more diverse communities around the world. Even though this was exactly what they had been hoping for since the beginning -- the financial freedom to experiment beyond the classroom and actually go out to do international education -- the 211(d) grant triggered organizational upheaval.

Their soft money budget more than doubled between 1974 and 1976, with the bulk of the funding coming directly to the CIE (as opposed to being used for project field expenses) for their own institutional development. This

¹ This was funding authorized under Title II, Section 211(d) of the 1966 U.S. Foreign Assistance Act.

² Here I am making reference to Tichy (1980) who proposes three interrelated cycles basic to all organizations: the technical cycle, the political cycle, and the cultural cycle.

required a more elaborate administrative and accounting system. Their membership had quadrupled by 1974-75 from its original dozen Fellows; over 30% of its new members were from third world countries. Two new faculty members were initially hired, and later a third lecturer - the Center's first woman faculty member - was hired; a logo and NFE Resource Center were created. Of the 50 doctorates awarded to Center members between 1971 and 1978, 40% (20) dissertations concerned NFE; of the 69 doctorates awarded between 1979 and 1987, over 60% dealt with NFE. By the end of the 1974-75 academic year, the last of the International Education "Fellows/Special Doctoral Students" had left the Center. In 1977, 60% (29 out of 48 on-campus members) had been at the Center less than two years.

Over the three years covered in this chapter, the implementation of the 211(d) grant dominated and defined all Center activities whether in academic matters, management, admissions, faculty/staff hiring, or other program development. Nonformal education became their nomenclature.

The Times had Changed: Small is Beautiful

In the 1975 CIE international newsletter, one of the editors threw in a quote from the New York Times,

Muzak refers to itself as Specialists in Physiological and Psychological Applications of Music. It has gathered a board of scientific advisors, and one of them, a Dr. James Kennan, says that 'Muzak is synomorphic... a nonverbal symbolism for the common stuff of everyday living

in the global village.'" (CIE Annual Newsletter, March 1975, p. 9)

The 1970s brought us this new musical form, "muzak" which we could now hear twenty-four hours each day in elevators, lobbies of office buildings and shopping malls, and over the telephone when placed on hold. Ten years after Jimi Hendrix and John Lennon shared slots of top ten musical charts, the BeeGees and "disco fever" bands dominated the commercial air waves. Musak is synthesized and desensitizing.

In 1976, Jimmy Carter became president of the U.S.. His popularity waxed and waned dramatically, and eventually defeated him in the 1980 election. Carter tried to bring a more humane and overtly nonaggressive stance to U.S. foreign policy. In doing this, his Administration also aimed to combat a loss of faith in government. Popular historian Peter Carroll characterizes Carter foreign policy as an attempt to use American hegemony in the name of nonaggressive diplomacy (Carroll, 1982). Carter tried to promote faith in democracy through dialogue and education, not through military intervention. To do this, Carter resurrected the "Cold War" with a new connotation of humane righteousness versus political and economic security. In the harsh light of retrospection, this may have been Carter's political undoing. He successfully negotiated a Middle East peace agreement through diplomacy (the Camp David Accord); but his Presidency was fatally wounded during the Iranian hostage siege with the debacles of both a failed military

rescue and then the prolonged (and thus viewed as ineffective) diplomatic maneuvering and waiting.

The "crisis of confidence" trickled down from the government to eat at other social institutions -- the medical profession, legal institutions, sports, and public education (Carroll, 1982: passim). Meanwhile, within the U.S., a myriad of small social change "movements" began proliferating. The Womens' Movement, the American Indian Movement, the Gay Rights Movement, the Disability Rights Movement, the New Age Movement -- groups of people organizing to promote a different way of considering the status quo in order to change society. While the large scale mobilization of the 1960s around the Vietnam War and Civil Rights was dissipating, the social activists of the 1960s who had cracked the American social consciousness could not rest. But neither did they form enduring national coalitions. In his A People's History of the United States, Howard Zinn wrote about the 1970s,

Never in American history had more movements for change been concentrated in so short a span of years. But the system in the course of two centuries had learned a good deal about the control of people. In the mid-seventies, it went to work. (Zinn, 1980: 528)

Hollywood resurrected the anti-hero: Sylvester Stallone (Rocky), the underdog, white, working class man building his self-esteem by boxing; John Travolta, the white, underdog, working class man building his self-esteem by dancing. Both Rocky and Saturday Night Fever, were laden with the theme of

rearranging one's self-perceptions. Self-esteem, self-improvement, self-empowerment were vogue. If we could not have faith in our government or our social institutions, then we sought faith in ourselves. Decentralize government and localize authority, self-aggrandizement and self-improvement were the aims of the day. As Zinn put it,

With the loss of faith in big powers -- business, government, religion -- there arose a stronger belief in self, whether individual or collective. The experts in all fields were now looked at skeptically: the belief grew that people could figure out for themselves what to eat, how to live their lives, how to be healthy. (1980: 528)

The School Took a Right, the Center Kept Going Straight³

The School of Education was taking a hard look at itself during the mid-1970s. They had survived a federal investigation. Their primary efforts, namely teacher training, were under attack with the wave of criticism toward the failing schools in the U.S. The public schools in Boston were under violent siege with the implementation of court orders to desegregate. The School of Education, as a principle source of trained teachers in Massachusetts, had to address these issues. Death at an Early Age (Kozol), De-

³ Paraphrased from Interview #115, June 1993. The exact quotation reads in response to a question about the Center's perceived exclusiveness within the School of Education, "Because the Center maintained its focus much longer than the School did, it's very much that the School made a right hand turn and the Center kept going straight."

schooling Society (Illich), How Children Fail (Holt), were popular texts. Faith in our formal education system was low.

Even faith in higher education reform was ebbing, a 1976 New York Times article stated,

Many of the changes that grew out of the campus turmoil of the 1960's have had lasting effects on the curricula of American colleges and universities, but other academic changes have begun to fade.... the effort to give students greater participation in governance has gradually become less significant as young people on many campuses have returned to a mood of acquiescence. (Gene I. Maeroff, NYT, 3/28/72, p.1)

The "Future School of Education": Aftermath of the Federal Investigation

The School of Education which had been reorganized into "clusters" was reexamined again in 1975-76 by the Chancellor's "Task Force on the Future of the School of Education." This task force was a result of the federal investigation into alleged the fiscal mismanagement. The School was trying to patch-up its shredded reputation by picking up the pieces that showed success. One of their areas of strength put forth in the Task Force's five year plan for the "Future School of Education" included,

In the tradition of John Dewey, the School of Education has defined its professional field of Education well beyond that of formal schooling. At the present time, fully one-fifth or more of the faculty are primarily involved in non-school based programs, particularly in the fields of Human Services, Mental Health, Community Education, Human Development, Nonformal Education and the like. (cited in the 1976 CIE Annual Newsletter, p.3)

Center members were pleased with the inclusion of NFE and reported this development in their newsletter under a heading "We Made It!" This report was also being used as a guideline for funding state-supported faculty positions.

Along with the administrative retrenchments and five-year goal setting came a tightening up (or establishment) of graduate student academic requirements. The do-your-own-thing, experiential-based doctoral program had been gradually reformed with new policies and regulations coming out of the Dean's office. A ten-form system was in place for doctoral students, masters students with excessive numbers of course credits were being told to either graduate or be dropped from the School, and mandatory scheduling deadlines for oral exams were instigated. Along with this last policy which stipulated that doctoral students must schedule an appointment with the Dean, and bring a copy of his/her dissertation for approval at least three weeks prior to scheduling a defence, came the requirement that each committee also have a Dean's Representative present at the final oral defense.

The School maintained their self-designed doctoral program -- there were no required courses (outside of the licensing/credential programs, e.g., principalship, counseling). However, a mandatory curriculum was subtly included for all. Early in their doctoral program, students were asked to state specific areas of specialization; they

then had to list courses taken (or to be taken) in order to satisfy specialization requirements. This form was submitted to the Dean's office.

In 1976-77 the School was reorganized once again, this time into "divisions" which would stay in place for several years. The CIE fell under the Division of Educational Policy, Research, and Administration. On paper, the CIE was a "program concentration." However, ensconced in Hills House South now, the international education faculty and students continued referring to themselves as a "center." The new School administration was not antagonistic or leery toward the CIE, nor did the Dean's office offer the unconditional sponsorship of Dean Allen. A new dynamic began -- the CIE cooperated and worked within the new structures of the School, but diligently strove to maintain distinctiveness and resist absorption.

The School still gained national attention, but slowly this was shifting from the sensationalism of early Dwight Allen and FBI agents on campus, to a more conservative image as a serious, and still innovative, research and training institution. The magnitude of financial mismanagement of federal funds proved to be an exaggeration and when the case went to court, the actual amount of money examined was less than \$40,000 out of the budget of one program on the Worcester campus.

In an article published in the March 1975 issues of Phi Delta Kappan, Donald Robinson wrote about his investigatory visit to the School,

The conflicting judgements I heard during the next two days and the reams of evidence -- hundreds of pages of reports -- university review committee reports, School of Education faculty responses, deans' reports, surveys of graduates, and NCATE visiting committee reports -- lead me to one overall conclusion: The Umass School of Education offers a dynamic, creative, quality program that in conservative circles cannot fail to be controversial. (PDK, March 1975, clipping found in CIE Archives, no page number)

Robinson quotes faculty member Harvey Scribner, former chancellor of the New York City schools, as saying,

'The issue is not mismanagement but change versus resistance to change. The Establishment is on the move again.' (PDK, 3/75)

A New Dean

Mario Fantini was appointed the new, permanent Dean of the School of Education in Winter 1976/77. Dean Fantini's research interests were in urban and humanistic education. The 1977 CIE newsletter included excerpts from a recent interview with Mario Fantini in which he states,

I'm here to look ahead, and not look at the past except to say that we've learned from it... [in the late '60's] the university of Massachusetts administration wanted a different kind of School of Education and gave it license to explore, to experiment, to try to be an alternative type institution... Clearly, we are in a different period now. We are not in a period of economic growth and there will not be more and more resources to work with. At best, we're in a steady state period.... I think it's important to pay particular attention to the needs of the

Commonwealth, to the more immediate community...
(CIE Annual Newsletter, 1977, p. 10)

The new Dean was well liked and deemed a just administrator. The CIE's cross-cultural and international focus did not run against his agenda. He kept his hands out of their business. The CIE was a lucrative source of income for the School at a time when state budget cuts and inflation were threatening havoc. Urban Education and Humanistic Education were two of his primary areas for development at the School; nonformal and international education fit nicely within this two areas.

His administrative efforts were directed toward enhancing the School's graduate level training and research. He proved to be a supportive and thoughtful Dean, but also a conservative administrator for whom "no" could be the right answer.

The 211(d) Grant

The "211(d)" grant was awarded to the Center for International Education in 1974 by USAID for a five year period. This funding was authorized under Title II of the 1966 Foreign Assistance Act with Section 211 falling under the general authority of the President. Section 211(d) provided for funding to U.S. institutions, including universities, to build their capacities to deliver and apply new technologies and information in lesser developed countries. The 211(d) grants were used in a variety of ways

under the USAID Technical Assistance Program, all, however, were linked to foreign policy initiatives and goals. Morss and Morss (1982) link this shift in foreign assistance funding in the 1960s to a general lack of faith in the traditional capital-investment coupled with technical assistance form of development characteristic of the 1950s. Charges had been made that foreign assistance money was winding up in Swiss bank accounts of the third world elite.

With the 1966 Foreign Assistance Act, a "democratic model" of development was emphasized in order to assure

... maximum participation in the task of economic development on the part of people of developing countries, through the encouragement of democratic private and local government institutions. (U.S. Congress, House, Committee on Foreign Affairs, Report No. 15, 750, 89th Congress, 2nd session, 1966, Title IX)

In 1973, the U.S. Foreign Assistance Act was amended to include even more specific wording on participation. This was partly due to congressional lobbying efforts, the domestic agitations brought on by the failed "war on poverty," and increasingly obvious disparities between stated U.S. aid objectives and social realities and the hidden agendas of all parties (Morss and Morss, 1982: Chapter 2). The 1973 Amendments to Chapter 1, section 102 of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 states,

United States bilateral development assistance should give the highest priority to undertakings submitted by host governments which directly improve the lives of the poorest of their people and their capacity to participate in the

development of their countries. (cited in Morss and Morss, 1982: 27)

As part of the "New Direction" legislation of 1973, distribution and participation as objectives for foreign assistance assumed primary importance. This prompted one third world scholar to write,

It almost seems as if American donors are about to make social justice a categorical imperative for the LDCs who are recipients of aid. (Khan, 1978: 42)

This also opened up wider opportunities for the CIE to receive funds from and work with the USAID.

Developing a Proposal

Unlike the Ecuador NFE Project, the original idea to submit a 211(d) grant proposal was inauspicious. There were no happenstance meetings or after dinner bull session of "what if..." This project development process seemed a logical follow-up of their years in Ecuador and other center developments. The funding had been available for a number of years, and the new emphasis in foreign assistance and reassessment of USAID-university relations made UMass/CIE funding more likely.

In Spring of 1973 an initial proposal was submitted to USAID to develop the University's capacity in nonformal education. As Center member Jeanne Moulton wrote in her brief history of the 211(d) grant,

During the following months the proposal seemed to lie dormant in the Agency, except for telephone

assurances that it was still alive. Then in November interest was reactivated. AID had been reviewing the results of other grants (called 211(d) grants) which had been awarded other universities... and had found that the money was, in general, being well spent but that it needed closer supervision. Accordingly, the Center for International Education's application for a grant was to be considered but with revised parameters and stipulations. (Jeanne Moulton, June 1974, pp.2-3)

When they were notified that USAID staff would visit to review their proposal, a team of graduate students and faculty got together to revise their proposal to meet USAID's new "parameters and stipulations." However, as Moulton put it, the proposal eventually accepted by AID in March 1974 was "essentially the same as the proposal created in November 1973."

Between November and March (when they received notification of award), the team wrestled with many issues, sometimes the least of which was preparing the proposal along USAID parameters. The purpose of the grant award was,

[to] increase the capability of the University of Massachusetts to assist collaboratively developing countries, particularly in rural areas, with development-oriented nonformal education programs. ("Proposal for Support under the Agency for International Development Institutional Grants Program," CIE, May 14, 1974, p.12; cited in Bing, 1979: 113)

Within this scope, the CIE insisted that the "How?" and "For what end?" of the proposal could include their general operating guidelines of collaboration and experiential learning. In their proposal they stated that

mutual learning will be insured by mutual respect for the needs and capabilities of all collaborating groups... [and] that skills and knowledge are learned as much through direct immersion in actual problem situations as through academic treatment of subjects: that theory and practice are interdependent and must be provided in equal amounts. (cited in Bing, 1979: 118)

To this end, the Center set up a number of task forces as the administrative structure for implementing the grant. The reason to use this task force structure embodied the Center's ever persistent need for flexibility, diversity, and participation. The task forces were charged with the duties of developing long range goals and responding to "field sites, linkage institutions, Center and other University members (CIE Archives, Moulton, 1974: 5)."

Echoing the educational principles of Dwight Allen and the "planning year" the Center also included innovative risk taking, field-based activities, and reciprocity as guiding principles. The USAID staff who visited the Center in November 1973 to review the initial proposal accepted these proposed quasi-structures, "leaving Center members pleased and hopeful (CIE Archives, Moulton, 1974: 7)."

When they were notified in March 1974 that AID had approved the grant, they were also told that it must be rewritten to correspond to AID format. Moulton states,

At this time, though, a taste of the difficulty of communications between a Washington agency and an Amherst graduate center was introduced. Several drafts and several commuter flights later, a Logical Framework which reflected both the objectified product level urged by AID and the

flexibility insisted upon by the Center was produced. (CIE Archives, Moulton, 1974: 7)

During this pre-proposal time, the ideological debates of a Center relationship with USAID rose to a passionate and macabre level (as described in Chapter VI). Moulton describes these developments,

During this negotiation and rewriting period, other, even more demanding issues began to arise with the Center and the university in relation to the grant. A few people questioned whether or not the grant should be accepted, and others challenged the feasibility of implementing the grant within a value framework large enough to encompass those of all parties involved. Addressing the first issue evolved into a University-wide political contest, while resolving the second led to the formation of a policy advisory committee, to written Center guidelines for working with external funding agencies, and to numerous formal and informal discussions about the values and dangers of the new found wealth. (CIE Archives, Moulton, 1974: 7-8)⁴

In hopes of being inclusive and collaborative, the Center decided that the grant would be implemented by a "self-governing community of students and faculty" (CIE Archives, Moulton, 1974: 13). The first stage of this self-governing community was formation of a Preliminary Policy Advisory Committee (PPAC). This was meant to insure an

⁴ Moulton's "brief history" was written as an introduction for new students/participants in the grant activities. Unlike the many of the documents generated during this period, it narrates a tale of confusion and earnest intentions. Other documents smooth over the mistakes and meandering processes the CIE went through. Moulton chronicles the learning that took place rather than the actual events of the grant implementation much of which occurred despite the community meetings.

equitable means for allocating of funds for student support, sharing power and decision-making, and allowing students to learn through experience. This was also meant to be a way for those with ethical concerns about CIE relations with AID to participate in a forum that promoted ongoing debate.

Thus,

[p]rofoundly aware of atrocities committed by foreign agents and researchers in developing countries, the proposal authors expressed an intent to respect and rely on the explicit wants of those living in field site communities.... the policies underlying the grant implementation include - the commitment to continuous direct participation by people who are representative of the peoples and countries for which education is being planned. (CIE Archives, Moulton, 1974: 6)

But, as Moulton wrote, their idealism ran ahead of their pragmatism,

The obstacles blocking the realization of such a community were, first, that in fact the Principal Investigator was legally responsible for the use of grant funds, and it was not a light request that he delegate any or all of his authority. Second, although the grant's dollar figure seemed high, only about ten students could be paid enough to live on in a given semester. Resource allocation was, therefore a real problem, and one which could become easily confused with both educational and ethical policies. (CIE Archives, Moulton, 1974: 15)

As the summer approached and the committee dispersed, tasks had to be completed around grant implementation. The committee decisions about policy, budget, hiring faculty and project staff had been put off until Fall. Those who remained simply had to go to work and be paid for their work; and that is simply what they did. The PPAC resumed its

full membership in Fall 1974 and continued its discussions. However, a de facto administrative and decision-making system was already in place.

* * *

The Road to Hell is Paved with Good Intentions

The negotiations between the CIE, the University, and USAID over the 211(d) grant were prolonged. The "Gomez incident" and the correspondence between his unofficial university research group and USAID did not help expedite matters within the Center, but had no influence on the external relations between the University and USAID. The negotiations leading up their grant award and final contract were more tedious than problematic. The need for administrative and financial accountability as well as clarification on expectations and roles bogged them down. Systems had to be in place or nearly ready to start up prior to the final sign off. The University had implemented numerous federal grants and was well equipped to handle this one. The Center had not had an influx of money such as this before and did not have a system set up to handle the financial explosion, much less the field implementation. Luckily, they did have experienced administrators in their community who were familiar with federal programs and international assistance project implementation. And as ever, they choose to pursue an alternative path in

implementing their 211(d) grant. Only their professional experiences and relationships developed among CIE members and USAID staff during the Ecuador Project assured the USAID that the CIE's ideas for project management were not harebrained.

Despite the messiness of their self-governing community decision-making process, they were able to put into place, often de facto (as stated above), a workable system for both internal administration and international institutional linkages. Bing (1979) put forth the following as an ongoing characteristic of the Center,

The most basic stress on the Center is the problem of an organization committed, on the one hand, to principles of mutual learning, fairness and equity among Center members, and field projects which reflect cooperative program development; and, on the other hand, the personal, institutional and legal barriers to the attainment of these principles.... If the road to hell is paved with good intentions, the Center has sufficient construction materials to move a goodly distance. (1979: 122)

* * *

The Faculty Shuffle

By 1975-76 David Schimmel had passed the position of Center Director to David Evans. Schimmel and several CIE members had developed an experiential, quasi-residential undergraduate curriculum called the "Global Survival Project." This absorbed his time. Schimmel's interests moved him farther and farther away from the NFE and international

project developments at the Center. Internationalizing the American school curricula remained part of the CIE goals and curriculum, however the "sexiness" of international development captured the interest of the majority of Center members. With this shift in interests away from formal education, Schimmel's role became more peripheral.

With the 211(d) grant came funds to hire two new faculty members. Albeit soft money and thus temporary positions, this opportunity was eagerly seized by the Center. A committee was quickly put together, and advertising for the positions posted. Their want ad read,

Faculty member to assume responsibility for the development of Non Formal Education activities and coordinate activities at overseas sites and at the University of Massachusetts... (CIE Annual Newsletter 1976, p. 4)

By December 1974 they had narrowed their applicants down to twelve finalists including two Center members - Jim Hoxeng and Patricio Barriga, staff members on the Ecuador project. During the 1975-76 academic year, M. Kalim Qamar was hired as Assistant Professors; and David Kinsey was brought on as a visiting professor.

Kalim Qamar, a Pakistani, held a M.Sc. in Agriculture from West Pakistan Agricultural University, and an M.S. in Extension Education from the American University of Beirut, He was working on his doctorate in Extension Education at Cornell University when he moved to the Center in February

1975. He was the first and only third world faculty member at the Center.

David Kinsey, a North American, held a doctorate from Harvard University in Middle Eastern history and comparative education. He had worked for the Ford Foundation in the Middle East and taught at Harvard's School of Education. In 1978, the School of Education agreed to shift David Kinsey to a state-funded, tenure track position.

Qamar left the Center after two years and was replaced by Linda Abrams who had joined the Center in February 1977 as Training Coordinator. Abrams came with extensive international development experience as both a trainer and project director, but did not have a doctorate.

During this time two other School of Education faculty members became unofficially associated with the CIE: Dick Ulin (literacy and adult education) and Robert Suzuki (multi-cultural education). The 211(d) grant also sparked interest and association with several other University faculty who worked on field site activities and acted as Center advisors: Horace Reed (Education), Sylvia Forman (Anthropology), Juan Caban (Education), and Bob Miltz (Education).

Bob Miltz was another young Stanford doctorate who was hired in Teacher Education in 1971. During 1974-75, he had worked with UNESCO in Nigeria and returned to the School of Education in 1975. At that point, Miltz began splitting his

position between Teeacher Education and the CIE. (Miltz would later transfer from Teacher Education to become a full-time, tenured CIE faculty member in 1983.)

During this era the student:faculty ratio reached 1:15. From a ratio of 1:3 in 1968, it had increased gradually to approximately 1:12 in 1973, including those graduate students not taking courses, but who were on-campus working on dissertations.

Collaborative Programming & the "Task Force Structure"

USAID had gone through a reorganization and redirection during the early 1970s in response to congressional actions regarding U.S. foreign assistance. In his dissertation on collaborative programs in international education, John Bing, grants administrator for the CIE 211(d) grant, quotes from a memo on the subject of USAID's new plans,

A more collaborative style of assistance which recognizes that the people of the developing countries are at the center of development cooperation programs is the keystone of this redirected program. (USAID memo by Director John Hannah, cited in Bing, 1979: 53)

Bing comments on this "redirection" during the 1970s by writing,

It has also been argued... that collaborative programs represent nothing new, except for the label; that such programs began, involving U.S. institutions of higher education acting on the international level, as far back as the late nineteenth century; and that programs labeled "collaborative" today are really warmed-over technical assistance programs. There is an element of truth to this assertion, and there is always

the danger of reinvention of the wheel, slightly modified, re-patented, and sold under a new label... Skeptics assert that, at best, these programs are the old benign paternalism operating under a brightly redesigned label; at worst, a sinister form of neo-colonialism that doesn't have the decency to present itself under its true colors. These are serious charges and must be dispelled if we are to take collaborative programs seriously. (Bing, 1979: 109)

Developing, supporting, and maintaining collaborative programming was a serious issue for the Center; this had been a raison d'etre of their organizational structure and curriculum (however loose) since the "planning year."

The CIE organizational structure in 1974-75 was fluid. The structure was derived from maintenance functions rather than a hierarchy of authority, resource allocation, and competency. Though some would argue that a covert hierarchy of authority and resource allocation coexisted. Power and resource sharing was a constant theme in discussions around organizational governance at the CIE and their loose structure hardly discouraged this debate. On the contrary, dialogue and continued discussion around these issues was considered imperative for their mutual and experiential learning. The general 1974-75 CIE organizational structure and maintenance functions are outlined below in Table 2.

Table 2

CIE Organizational Chart & Maintenance Functions, 1974-1975

The Center Community

Center Director

Executive Committee
(faculty, and 4 student members)

Admission/Recruitment
Committee

Finance
Committee

Ad Hoc
Committees

Preliminary Policy Advisory Committee

Retreat/Workshops

Faculty Recruiting

CIE Maintenance Functions: (requiring participation of all
Center members)

Center Executive Committee	Center Cluster Representative
Faculty Recruiting	Institutional Relationships
Center Meeting	Center Retreat/Workshops
Admissions/Recruitment	Finance
Newsletter	Maintenance of Documentation Center
Registration	Courses/Curriculum Scheduling
Evaluation/Future Planning	Center Grant Projects
Appointments	Visitors
Communication with Center Members in the Field	
Publications	
Other - Physical/Manual Work (1 hour per week)	

This chart and listing of functions are derived from a memorandum to Center Fellows from the CIE Executive Committee, February 24, 1975. Center Archives.

Meanwhile in Spring 1975, the Nonformal Education Center was created for the project administration of the 211(d) grant. The NFE Center, whose members were Center members and which physically coexisted at the CIE, developed its own, very different organizational structure. While other Center projects had maintained their own internal operating system, this was of a scale and complexity that it grew to overshadow the loose and vague overall Center structure. See Table 3 below of the "Draft Management Line Chart, Nonformal Education Center (Spring 1975)."

Table 3

Nonformal Education Center, 1975 Organizational Structure

Steering Committee & Principal Investigator		Administrator
	Fiscal	Publications
	Communication with Washington	Resource Center
Coordinator	Coordinator	Coordinator
Staff Training, Courses, etc...	Regional Groups	Production Groups
	Asia	Conceptualization
	Africa	Materials Development & Research
	Latin America	
	Field Programs, Visitors, etc..	

COMMUNITY MEETING

The PPAC, discussed above, would evolve into the Steering Committee. In a proposal for creation of the PPAC written by the 211(d) grants administrator (John Bing), this PPAC/Steering Committee's primary objective was systematic information sharing and policy review by the PI, School Administration, and University authorities. It was to be eventually composed of members of the Grant Community (i.e., staff and regional group representatives) and seven other members:

- 2 students/members of the NFE community
- 2 faculty from other programs in the School/Cluster
- 1 faculty for a department/program with activities related to NFE
- 1 faculty from the International Programs Office
- Associate Graduate Dean for Research or his representative

Two others would be invited:

- The Chancellor as an ex officio member or his designated representative
- Dean of the School of Education as an ex officio member or as a fully participating member

(From PPAC proposal, 3/19/75, by John Bing)

The three task forces working to set up systems at the Center for grant implementation would evolve into the three sub-groups under the Steering Committee. The Research and Development Task Force concentrated on collecting publications relevant to nonformal education, generating ideas for new materials development, use of media, and setting up a resource center. The Training Task Force was

developing training programs for both the field and Center members on campus. The Linkage Task Force was investigating field sites for developing institutional linkages, exchanging information with individuals and institutions to create an NFE network, and soon began publishing a newsletter. The Regional Groups grew out of these linkage efforts, initially as a way of organizing their international search for NFE field-sites. The Regional Groups eventually became very important sources of information, advising, and social support.

During the first year of the grant (1974-75) in their search for international NFE field-sites and linkage institutions, Center members visited Ghana, Kenya, Lesotho, Senegal, Thailand, the Philippines, Indonesia, Iran, India, Guatemala, Honduras, Peru, Colombia, and Ecuador. Eventually NFE Field Sites would be developed in Ghana, Thailand, and Guatemala. Some Regional Group members became field staff at these NFE project sites.

As the Regional Groups continued to meet, they took on new dimensions. They became a decentralized policy and decision review system, as well as important in providing new member orientation and social support. As one CIE doctoral student from southern Africa explained,

We would want to relate our regional group to the policy of the whole center. How can our group get reinforced from the policy of the whole? How do we feel about what's going on in the Center? Do we feel that our needs are being addressed?....

We had a feeling that the Americans had an advantage because it's their home... At times one would feel overwhelmed, they were very overwhelming in terms of what should go on at the Center. And we come from different cultures, at times you feel that "Well, this is their own country, this is their own university." And then you get modest until you spend some time here and then you learn the game that here you just have to fight. (Interview 117, 6/93)

Another doctoral student at the time, from the U.S., talked about the Regional Groups in conjunction with the increase of the international population at the Center. He states,

To me it was a sign of success of the program... within the 211(d) grant at one point we established three regional groups: Africa, Asia, and Latin America. The reason for that was the people in the program felt kind of lost and without support to develop some of their own projects... and [these groups], if necessary, could serve as sort of interest groups with the Center which individuals couldn't do. (Interview 115, 6/93)

NFE Field Sites and Other CIE Program Development

By 1977 the Center had established three NFE field sites. The Regional Groups directed the site exploration, site identification and linkage development for their respective continents. The Africa Group developed linkage with the People's Education Association in Ghana with four program areas: facilitator training; cultural groups and community development; adult literacy; and training of apprentice auto mechanics. The Asia Group set up a working relationship with the Adult Education Division of the Ministry of Education of Thailand where they focused on

youth development and training for adult education teachers. Locating a Latin American NFE field site was problematic; in a summary report for the NFE Center 1974-1978 a preliminary site had been chosen in Guatemala working part-time with the Experiment in International Living (EIL). EIL is not an indigenous organization and thus did not fully meet the criteria the Center members had set up for themselves. Numerous field activities with other groups such as the Movement for Rural Reconstruction in Jalapa, the Ministry of Public Health in Chimaltenango were included. Politics and "additional restrictions" were cited as limiting factors for the Latin American Group selection; a summary report reads,

Numerous institutions and individuals involved in development and nonformal education in Latin America were contacted. Old ties were maintained and strengthened, and new contacts were made and relationships established. During the process of site identification, Chile, Peru, Paraguay, Bolivia, the Dominican Republic, and Guatemala were visited. Because of AID objections, site explorations could not be pursued in Chile, Paraguay and Honduras. Additional Restrictions and political considerations further limited the number of countries where a project could be established. ("Summary Report 1974/78... CIE, 5/78, p.31)

The Guatemala site was the weakest of the three, and slowly evolved into a small health education project.

In addition to the Africa, Asia, and Latin America NFE projects, the Center's list of activities included:

Iranian Guidance Counsellor Training
The Ecuador project (now funded by the Government
of Ecuador)
UNESCO Evaluation Project (teacher training
manual)

Cross-cultural Workshops on non-Western Studies
for Massachusetts Teachers
The Fun Bus (using music, theater, games for
community education)
The Housing Game (with the Springfield Housing
Authority)
Radio Education Project
Southlands College, Rolle College, and Cotopaxi
Academia Exchange Programs
Northern Ireland Exchange Program

To date, CIE project/field activities also included,

The Uganda Project (1962-72, Torrora Girls School)
The Teacher Corps (1969-72)
Non-Western Curriculum Development Program (1972)
Global Survival (1973)
African Educators Program (1974)
West African Curriculum Development Project (1974)

Between 1968 and the beginning of 1977, the Center had raised \$8,014,200 (from figures in CIE Capability Statement). By Spring 1978, 80% of their funding had come from USAID, 18% from state, UN, or other government funded agencies (e.g., Fulbright), and 2% from private foundations. This \$8 million dollars averages to about \$800,000 per year. Taking into consideration project overlaps, the large initial grants from the Uganda and Teacher Corps Projects, and a steady influx of smaller grants, this figure is roughly the CIE annual operating budget (including field sites) between 1968 and 1977. However, fiscal survivability remained an issue.

During this time, the Center was also gradually building up its membership through admissions. In 1978, the CIE community would level off and remain at around 50-60 on-campus members. Prior to 1978 community size purposefully

increased each year with their annual budget remaining constant; thus resources were spread thinner and thinner. See Table 4 below with project/funding dates and student enrollment figures.

Table 4

CIE Large Grant Awards by Year

'68	'69	'70	'71	'72	'73	'74	'75	'76	'77
			[#]						
[9]	[13]	[21]	[26]	[36]	[39]	[43]	[48]	[51]	[50]

Uganda -----
(\$5 million)

Teacher Corps -----
(\$1.35 million)

Non-Western
Curriculum Devel.
(\$40,000)

Ecuador -----
(\$421,500)

Global Survival
(\$90,000)

211(d) -----
(\$800,000)

West African
Curriculum Devel.
(\$35,000)

NFE 2-Sites
(\$240,000)

(Enrollment figures based on CIE database and academic records. Grant figures and dates come from the "CIE Capability Statement.")

As one Center member remembers,

... there was always this threat of whether the Center would continue, whether it would be funded. Every few years we would be told that the project in Latin America [Ecuador] was going to stop because we were not sure whether USAID was going to fund the project... this made us feel a bit uneasy. So, there

was this ambivalence, this uncertainty. (Interview 117, 6/93)

In addition to the increasing fragility in balancing resources, their survivability also hinged upon maintenance of diverse and innovative skills and services in order to remain competitive in the international development and educational funding arenas. This doubled-edged dilemma soon set off new challenges for the CIE.

Beginning of a New Cycle: The Future CIE

In 1977-78 the CIE published a 65-page descriptive pamphlet/capability statement in which study programs, projects, skills and services are presented. On the inside front cover under "Philosophy," they included,

Dialogue on the appropriateness of individual projects takes place continuously within the Center. In all its projects, the Center attempts to maintain a conscious awareness of the effect of its activities on issues such as social justice, income distribution, and the ability of people to control their own destinies. (CIE Brochure/Capability Statement, 1977-78)

Reflecting back on this period, one Center member commented,

We were management by objective... there were fifty or so of us, no one was sitting around waiting for class to start at 9:00, everyone was out doing what they thought they needed to do in order to get on with their lives and get a job. (Interview 116, 6/93)

This same person replied when asked about the organizational structures of the CIE between 1974-1978: "I had no idea what the structures were then (Interview 117, 6/93)."

In an Executive Committee meeting in September 1976, the "Center's decision making process - its problems and needed

corrections" became the exclusive topic of discussion. A series of planning sessions and the agenda for the Fall 1976 Retreat were developed out of this meeting. A number of position papers were quickly generated. In one "unauthorized" (as the author noted) paper, the scope of the problem was described as,

... what I have discovered is that planning -- or rather the incompleteness of such -- is what has caused the Center's decision making process to break down. That is, in the absence of a rigorous set of goals, objectives, and tasks (as defined herein), Center members are in a quandary as to how to rationally select a certain path to follow -- or to know indeed if all the paths possible have been identified, leading also to reversals of decisions previously made -- and an ever present concern regarding whether decisions made in the future will also be subject to reversal.

The tendency of "management" (i.e., faculty) to either reverse decisions, in spite of previous commitments, or management's reluctance to delegate, can indeed be traced to the lack of planning... ("Notes on CIE's Need for Planning to Aid the Center's Decision Making Process," memo sent to George, Dave, Kalim, John, Dick, by HLS, 9/27/76)

The discussion arose after a survey had been conducted in Spring 1976 to determine student identified problems. Over the Summer a series of recommendations for action were drawn up.

The survey, conducted by Center member John Comings, identified twenty-eight problems with a three page paper by another student. These included:

- Trust breakdown between people.
- Leadership has broken down in the last semester, and some leadership that we have is ineffectual and weak.

- Lack of clarity on the goals of the Center: are we a study-action center or an action-money making Center?
 - Better lines of communication or please stop the rumor mill problem!
 - Inter-personal competition based not on issues but on resource allocation and related tensions.
 - Recruited non-ideological people.
 - An imbalance on the side of administrative activities to the detriment of academic, research and project development.
 - Misunderstanding of the Center goals.
- (memo to Center Members, from Operation Problems Group, re results of the survey, 1976)

In the three page paper, Darioush Dehghan (an Iranian doctoral student), elaborated on one specific problem, (reproduced as is)

In defiance of the title of our center (Center for International Education) I do not see any effort to know the culture of various people who are involved in the center's affairs. In the other words I have noted that, center members who deal with international students do not have enough knowledge about culture of them. Result of this kind unawareness [sic] is that they consider Americanized students OK and count the other not OK. (letter to Center members, from Darioush Dehghan, 4/28/76)

Recommendations put forth by the ad hoc "Operational Problems Group" (subsequently set up) included:

- Informal gatherings or outings that are nonbusiness and fun and are self-sufficient in themselves to get people to come. Facilitate some situation where people can share their sensitivities with each other, and their skills so we can see what others are doing.
- New leaders or substantial and real retraining of existing leaders.
- A clear, concise and public chain of command..
- ... common professional courtesy [sic].
- Strong, much stronger leadership from faculty on issues and content areas, as opposed to keeping "squeaky wheels oiled," and matching the former with available in-house competencies and interests.
- Recruit political oriented people -- people who can say fuck you when it is necessary.

- Homogenize the goals of the Center, the various groups and individuals.
(memo to Center Members, from Operation Problems Group, re results of the survey, 1976)

After these survey results and solutions were circulated, a faculty member and the NFE grants administrator developed another list in which they regrouped these 28 into five general problem areas and listed actions to be taken for each (paraphrased):

Action: Establish P.I. as financial decision-maker; eliminate conferences as legitimate expenditures with certain exceptions; establish Personnel Committee.

Action: Reduce meeting times and instruct Center members on effective group participation.

Action: Develop chart of major NFE competency areas along with an advising system that increases accountability and reality of limited staff; improve assistantship monitoring and evaluation. Develop more effective means of relating academic programs and field experience.

Action: Plan a minimum of two social gatherings per semester for the entire group at \$50 per gathering.

(Memo To: The File, From: David Kinsey and John Bing, Re: Actions to Deal with Operational Problems, 8/23/76)

Throughout the Fall of 1977 planning sessions, the CIE Retreat, and a later CIE Faculty/Staff Retreat continued discussing these issues and actions that sometimes ran in "destructive cross-currents" (from Comings memo 1976).

In Spring 1977 a Center member along with an outside evaluator conducted a curriculum evaluation of the CIE. Out

of their interviews and course syllabi reviews, Elvyn Jones and Charlesetta Simpkins concluded that:

1. CIE students were generally aware of the three stated goals⁵ put forth in CIE literature. The faculty were more clear.
2. Students and faculty stated these three focus areas as the same as the CIE educational goals.
3. The goals were developed primarily by founding Center members to address international program issues at UMass and are tied to the "liberal position" regarding reform and the redistribution of the world's resources.
4. Goals have not changed much over the years, but the interpretation of these goals shifts with the changing Center population needs and interests.

(Paraphrased and summarized from the curriculum evaluation report submitted by Elvyn Jones and Charlesetta Simpkins, to David Evans, Director, CIE, May 5, 1977)

The courses evaluated during Spring 1977 were:

- ED 817 Techniques of Educational Planning in Developing Countries
- ED 870 Special Problems in International Education
- ED 790T Materials Development for Nonformal Education
- ED 690S Literacy Education
- ED 881 Comparative Education
- ED 790M Nonformal Education Training
(from Jones and Stimpkin report, pp. 11-18)

The evaluators concluded that there was a discrepancy "between Center educational goals statements and actual course

⁵ "... to provide training in Development Education, Internationalizing American Education, and Cross-Cultural Communication and Training." (from the "CIE 1976 Pamphlet," cited in Jones and Simpkins curriculum evaluation report, 5/5/77, p. 11)

offerings." Only three of the courses evaluated had prepared syllabi, and only one included a process for student evaluation. They also questioned the extent to which Center courses "perform the various functions of a graduate education." By this they meant preparation in research methodology, higher mathematics, thorough theoretical background, and,

Appropriateness and function of Center educational experiences with the actual demands of the internationalists' work world. (Jones and Stimpkins, 1977, p. 20)

Their four final recommendations were:

1. Clarify Center educational goals.
2. Solidify Center course offerings in relation to its educational goals, content, objectives, and evaluation.
3. Improve faculty-student academic relationships regarding graduate work and advising.
4. Aid graduate students in their ability to lobby for a program more responsive to their academic and professional needs. (Jones and Stimpkins report, 1977, p. 21)

As a result of these surveys and evaluations, several tasks groups were organized to: (a) consider establishment of a core curriculum for CIE; (b) look into restructuring the CIE groups/committee system; and (c) developing a statement of political and ethical principles for the CIE. (From memo summarizing Fall 1977 CIE Retreat, from Linda Abrams, to the Center community, 10/6/77). These discussions continued into 1978 when the CIE celebrated its 10th anniversary with a three day seminar on the "Future of International Education." Seventy-five CIE members attended

this gathering. After everyone had left for home or returned to campus, this seminar would turn out to be more on the future of the Center for International Education than on the future of this field of study.

CHAPTER VIII

1978-1983, ERA #4: REVOLUTION AND ORGANIZATIONAL UPENDING

"Full of Sound and Fury"¹: The Tenth Year Seminar

On Thursday, June 15, 1978, 75 Center members, former and current faculty, staff and students, gathered at the Fox Run Resort in southern Vermont for a three day CIE ten year reunion. Among them was former Dean, Dwight Allen as well as six of the original Center Fellows from 1968-69. The theme of the "seminar" dealt loosely with the "future of international education" and more specifically with the future of the Center for International Education.

Planning for the 10th year reunion began in earnest during Fall 1977. Approximately 100 people from out of the total 150 or so CIE membership, both on and off campus, had responded enthusiastically to a feasibility survey sent out with the annual newsletter in July 1977. Victor Gomez, who had stirred up the CIE "mini-Watergate"² five years earlier, responded promptly. His letter characterizes the

¹ This comes from an excerpt highlighted in the 1979 CIE Annual Newsletter: "John Bing observed that the Center's Tenth Year Seminar, held from June 15-18 (1978) at the Fox Run Resort in Central Vermont was "like most Center gatherings, full of sound and fury....But," he goes on, "far from signifying nothing, much that was said is of considerable significance to the future of the Center." (CIE Annual Newsletter, July, 1979, p.2)

² See Chapter VI: 1970-1974, Era #2: Waking the Sleeper -- Nonformal Education, for reference to Gomez and the "mini-Watergate."

tone and support from many other Center members (except for the surprise). Gomez wrote from Cali, Colombia,

I felt quite surprised to receive your publication and to find my name in the off-campus list of CIE members.... now that a new breeze seems to be flowing though the CIE I welcome the opportunity to exchange information and relevant educational experiences with those interested.

The CIE's 10th Year Seminar seems in principle to be a sound idea but it has to be carefully designed so that it will provide a meaningful educational experience for the CIE members, as well as an optimum opportunity for a critical evaluation of the CIE's objectives and structure. (From letter attached to CIE 10th Year Seminar survey results file, dated 8/10/77 from Cali, Colombia)

Gomez outlines several ideas for discussion, including a paper he would be interested in presenting; Gomez ends his letter by extending an invitation to interested Center members to conduct joint-research or dissertation research projects at his university.

Based on the surveys received from off-campus members, most felt this time best used as a sharing of field experiences and career evaluation; several more specific, substantive themes presented as papers or workshop discussions were also suggested. On-campus members leaned toward using this opportunity to assess the program activities of the CIE over the past ten years and start planning for new directions over the next ten years. All were enthusiastic; "thrilled" and "excellent educational experience" were often used phrases.

What ensued during this warm June weekend was a chaotic and passionate mishmash of nostalgia, personal exchange, problem-solving nee conflict resolution, and brainstorming. With six dozen professional facilitators, teachers, educational planners and managers in one room together, the CIE seminar planners' most successful agenda decision was not to plan too rigidly, except for designated time for evening recreation.

The seminar planners had envisioned small groups working on a range of topics/issues decided upon by the large group with closure sessions for reporting back. On the first evening a presentation of the "Center Philosophy" would take place after dinner. Friday was to be devoted to selecting and then discussing in small groups 4-5 of specific topics related to the theme of "Nonformal Education in a Period of Educational Crisis." Saturday was to be devoted to "Analysis of Higher Education in International Education" and looking at the "Future of Training in International Education" with Center members reflecting on the needs and future role of the CIE. Sunday was an half day with a final plenary session scheduled.

In one way or another these topics were discussed, but the participatory push-and-pull prerogatives of past and present Center members prevailed. On the first day the large group overruled the facilitator and voted to not split up into small groups. The two subjects discussed were "Center

Philosophy" and how to "go beyond" the Center. The friendships, Center Meetings, and collaborative working and learning experiences while at the Center were praised as the group members each took a turn. Working without this comraderie, frustrations with trying to translate the CIE nonformal education mode of practice into different circumstances, and the difficulty of building on the CIE's NFE theoretical orientation also peppered the self-presentations. The only conclusion drawn that day was the sense that staying in the large group proved more insightful than if they had broken into small groups.

After an evening of "discoing," the seminar reconvened Saturday morning. The morning facilitator, a second year doctoral student, started the day off with a jump by stating how distressed she was that some of the old Center members were not interested in hearing about what's going on at CIE now. The voices in the room grew silent for a moment, and then the proverbial "ice" was broken. A disjointed, but emotional large group discussion followed: [paraphrased excerpts]

Old Member: What is being done at the Center now in fulfillment of the beautiful dream we had in 1968?
(North American woman)

New Member: I just arrived here last semester and don't know about this "beautiful dream" and I'm at a loss as to what you want to talk about. (North American woman)

Old Member: It seems old members haven't fed their experience back into the Center to help it grow.

There is a problem of communication between the Center and the field. (North American man)

Old Member: I think there's a general sense of dissatisfaction but no one has put forth anything specific to change. It's always been like this. (North American man)

Old Member: Have we degenerated to the point where we cannot share dissatisfaction, if it has, then it seems to me that the Center is lost. What is frightening the international students that they can't speak out for themselves? (North American woman)

New Member: Sometimes there is a tendency to brand people. This shows cultural misunderstanding and cultural stereotyping. At the Center it's often three strikes and your out, then you just decide not to speak any more.... Most third world students are mid-career professional. But when third world people arrive at the Center they are analyzed from head-to-toe and then they must defend themselves. We are told we are very qualified, but then we are never recognized... (SW Asian woman)

Old Member: Does the Center have a set of principles, strong principles? (North American man)

New Member: Maybe we should ask the faculty? (North American woman)

Faculty Member: We're not here to pose solutions.... In making the Center more diverse and international we have also brought into the Center the issues and problems of the world. We have all the same problems as society, the same injustices.

I see two structural issues here. One, if you have a multi-cultural organization embedded in an American culture, an American institution and social structure... Whose culture is the dominant culture in the operation of the organization? What do you do internally to offset this is an issue.

And, two, when you have an ideal of joint decision-making and participation, problems arise when the organization is embedded in an hierarchical and authoritarian superstructure.

New Member: I am confused about the spirit or principles of the Center. I've heard from someone who applied for a position on the new Indonesian

grant that it is for Americans only. Are we selling ourselves short? (African woman)

Faculty Member: When we had the 211(d) grant we had more options in how to use the money. Now we are in contractual relationships for survival. Maybe we need to look at how these contractual relationships effect us?

Old Member: Can we maintain our integrity when accepting money like this? (North American woman)

Old Member: There is a certain irony of this clash arising now when the Center is finally working with a third world country as a donor, it wants to impose its humanistic values on that nation... (North American man)

[Many people talking at once, every other speaker contradicts the previous speaker.]

Faculty Member: Perhaps we should take the coffee break now and lower the temperature in here.³

Later that same day, the group discussion became more tempered. People talked about feeling depressed, but somehow there was a sense that the direction the group was moving was "healthy". Old members recounted similar instances of "trivialization of third world student ideas and actions" occurring during their time at the Center. "Not many organizations take such a frank look at themselves," one new Center member commented. An old member stated later,

The Center is unlike most institutions. People care. You find people really genuinely care for you. I knew something was happening to me... the Center became a surrogate family. You get your emotional needs met there, and when the Center doesn't act like a human being and love you right back all the time, well, you get enraged. 'How

³ Compiled out of excerpts from transcriptions of Sides 4-5 of the CIE Tenth Year Seminar, Saturday morning, June 17, 1978.

dare you treat me like that? That's not what you said in the brochure.' Cutting the umbilical cord helped me realize that this is just a room I am passing through and not to expect an institution to come up with answers in my life.⁴

A strong desire to strengthen the CIE network and formalize a system for keeping in touch, both professionally and collegially, and very importantly, as a resource for the Center, was expressed by many. This would become one of two long-lived outcomes of this seminar/reunion. The network was renewed by an increased sense of extended community. More "old members" visited during the next several years for extended stays than ever before; as well, indirect assistance by old members with program development occurred more often (partly due to the higher positions older graduates were attaining in many potentially collaborative organizations and third world governments). The idea that graduates were valuable resources to one another and to the Center as a professional network for recruitment, program development, and career opportunities began to take hold.

The second impact this reunion had on the Center was the prying open of a different kind of "space," as some have said, "a space that allowed for alternatives."⁵

⁴ Old Center member, North American man, doctoral student from early 1970s, transcribed from Side 8 CIE Tenth Year Seminar, June 1978, CIE archive tapes.

⁵ Recounted during the initial "Critical Moment" interviews by two new doctoral students from that time.

Over the next two years, the Center would dramatically redesign its administrative, academic, and decision-making structures. The staff, in their own words, "staged a coup" in order to gain full voting rights as Center members. The third world students organized into a "Student Assembly" with lists of demands, and the Regional Groups dissolved through attrition. The women at the Center pushed the issue of gender onto the Center administrative and academic agendas. And, program development became a more heated political issue in terms of proactive versus reactive fund raising than it had ever been in the past.

This was an era of "sound and fury" coupled with deliberate, planned change.

The 1980s: Making the Denial of Compassion Respectable⁶

The 1980s opened with mourning for John Lennon who was assassinated on his doorstep by an irate "fan". This was soon overshadowed by the new Reagan Administration's \$8 million inaugural extravaganza; the First Lady spent \$25,000 on her gowns alone. The U.S. was plunging deeper into economic recession; the "misery index" (inflation plus unemployment) was soaring over 20%. While Nancy Reagan was

⁶ "Reagan made the denial of compassion respectable," is a quote attributed to New York governor Mario Cuomo. Cuomo continued, "He justified it by saying not only that the government wasted money, but also that poor people were somehow better off without government help in the first place." (Cited in Mills, 1990: 19)

purchasing new china for the White House at a cost of \$209,580, her husband was moving legislation through Congress to slash welfare, HeadStart, and the core of federal social service programs. At the same time, Reagan was proposing a major restructuring of the U.S. tax system in favor of reducing personal taxes for the wealthy.

This was a decade that saw the U.S. military budget more than double while our national deficit more than quadrupled. The Yuppie, the corporate take-over, white-collar crimes, the power-lunch and power-physique, Lifestyles of the Rich and Famous, Rambo, and computer hacking were the preoccupations of America in the 1980s. The Metropolitan Museum of Art struck a deal with the department store, Bloomingdales to jointly promote the Met's China exhibit and Bloomie's new line of "chinoiserie" (Silverman, 1990).

In 1985 Philip Coombs published a "sequel" to his 1968 book, entitled The World Crisis in Education: The View from the Eighties. In this text he reviews the changing economic and political factors that have effected development education during the 1960s and 1970s by relating them to the current situation of education in the 1980s. In the introductory retrospect, Coombs writes,

Once the pages lay bare the evidence for this report... it will become apparent to the reader that the early warnings of a world educational crisis were no false alarm. Not only has the crisis been intensified by growing maladjustments between education systems and the rapidly changing

world around them, but it has acquired new dimensions in the 1970s and early 1980s. Of these new dimensions, the most significant is that there is now a crisis of confidence in education itself. (Coombs, 1985: 9)

As a new Center member stated at the 1978 reunion, "We've put the establishment on the witness stand." (Side 5, CIE 10th Year Seminar, archive tapes) The Center community would experience the scrutiny of the witness stand more over the next years than they had in the past, perhaps because of the change in Center community, but also perhaps in reaction to the new 1980s American issues of consumption, consumerism, and an escalating crisis of confidence in the system itself.

* * *

In July 1978 Anna Donovan had just started working as a CIE staff member. One incident she remembers from her first week at the center is Center faculty member, Linda Abrams, running down the hallway in Hills South shouting that they'd gotten the Indonesia project. "I didn't know what she was talking about, but she was so excited that I got excited. It was summer, there was no one else there to share it. We put up signs all over announcing it."

* * *

Make "Ruang" for the Indonesians⁷

By 1978 the 211(d) grant was winding down. In a 1978 concept paper, "Utilization of Capacity Developed Under the Nonformal Education Grant 211(d)", authors note that initially the grant provide approximately 70% of the funding for the Center, during the upcoming year this was expected to drop to 40%. They go on to note that only 20% of the graduate student stipends come from state sources (via the University). Therefore, when the plug is pulled from the 211(d) grant, more than just field research opportunities would wash down the drain.

The Center community had began seeking alternative funding to continue their NFE work and support their larger community of students, staff, and faculty. The African Regional Group was seeking funding for an extended project in Ghana and a new project in Swaziland. The Latin American Group was still investigating NFE site throughout the late 1970s and developing small projects in a number of locations. Literacy became a new topic for program development and smaller grant would sought. None of these would provide the substantial number of graduate assistantships and staff positions that the 211(d) had.

⁷ The classroom (room 279) at the CIE was renamed the "Ruang" room during the Indonesian Project because the Indonesian students were given this area for their offices. To this day, the classroom is often referred to as the Ruang Room. I've been told that "ruang" means room in Bahasa Indonesia.

In 1978 there were five faculty members with a half dozen "adjunct" or associated faculty from different parts of the School and University⁸. One faculty member's salary was paid from "soft" money. The others were state funded positions through the University. In Fall 1978 there were 23 assistantships for students at the Center, 21 were funded by soft money and "designed to fulfill the obligations of the grant which is funding them" (from CIE memo, to Center Members, from David Kinsey, re" Update on Assistantships in Center," 11/29/78). During Fall 1978, these 23 positions were broken down into partial assistantships to fund 28 graduate students. In Spring, 1979, 19 positions were broken down to fund 23 students on partial assistantships (1/2 to 3/4 time, 20 hours per week being a full assistantship). A handful, 3-4, half-time "thesis" support was made available from limited 211(d) funds for graduate students who had worked on the grant implementation and were writing dissertations pertaining to its NFE activities.

In 1977 a Long-Range Finance Committee had been set up, consisting of the faculty and 4-5 students. Their goal was to address both immediate financial concerns and long-range plans to diversify the Center's funding base. In November

⁸ Bob Miltz was still officially part-time at the Center and part-time in Teacher Education. However, from the records of meetings, his non-teaching duties seemed to cover a full-time load at the Center. He officially transferred to a full-time slot at the CIE in 1983, as mentioned earlier. The other faculty were: Linda Abrams, George Urch, David Evans, and David Kinsey.

1977 program development possibilities were: (1) the "Indonesia Proposal"; (2) linking up with the World Bank to provide program development and planning workshops for Center members; (3) a Saudi Arabia training proposal; (4) a Southern African refugee education project; and (5) consideration of developing programs in Francophone Africa with corresponding need for capability development within the Center to do this. Faculty were traveling to Washington, D.C. to discuss program ideas and try to rustle up planning and short-term training monies. While USAID did allow a limited funding extension on the 211(d) grant for partial "thesis" assistantships and some administrative costs, the Indonesian Project would be the only mainstay to develop for the Center during these 18 months of long-range planning.

The PENMAS Project

"PENMAS" is an acronym in Bahasa Indonesia that loosely translates to English as "Community Education."⁹ The \$2,781,000 for this four year project came from a World Bank loan to the Government of Indonesia. The overall goal of the project was "to strengthen the institutional capacity of PENMAS to develop nonformal education programs for a potential clientele that reaches close to forty million

⁹ PENMAS came from Pendidikan Masyarakat, the name of a large national organization within the Indonesian Ministry of Education that the CIE worked with during the PENMAS Project. (Cited from the March 1978 CIE Annual Newsletter, "News from the Sites" section, pp.7-8.)

adults and young people" (from the 1994 CIE Capability Statement, p. 28).

In June 1977 the Center had been asked to bid on the technical assistance component of the World Bank loan. Faculty member, David Evans, and several CIE graduates had been cultivating a relationship with senior officials in the Ministry of Education in Jakarta through consultancies and on-going discussions for several years. There was rigorous competition for this money. The Center was bidding against organizations such as the Harvard Institute of International Development and the Mid-Western Universities Consortium for International Activities which included Michigan State University, the University of Wisconsin, and Ohio State University.

In February 1978, the Center was officially notified of their award to go ahead with the project and final contract negotiations. As the editors of the newsletter explained,

This project is a tremendous opportunity and a considerable challenge for the Center. It involves providing about 18 man-years of technical assistance to PENMAS in Indonesia... They [the Indonesians] are consciously seeking people who are different from the normal UNESCO or other international agency personnel. They have had some bad experiences in the past, and want a different type of person. (March 1978, CIE Annual Newsletter, p.8)

This was the first large World Bank project in nonformal education. This was also the Center's largest project ever, both financially and programmatically. In addition to providing technical assistance in Indonesia in

the areas of management, materials development, training and evaluation, the project involved educational training in the U.S. for 25 masters candidates and an equal number of non-degree students. A majority of these students would be located at the University of Massachusetts. Another distinction of the PENMAS Project is that it was a service contract between the CIE and the Government of Indonesia as opposed to a grant award or contract through a U.S. government agency.

The PENMAS Project was designed with 11 full-time staff members working out of Jakarta. On-campus, the project included four on-going assistantships at the Center, with two campus administrators as staff; during the summer an additional seven assistantships were awarded to run the summer training program.¹⁰ During the first year, 18 Indonesian graduate students entered the CIE (making them 40% of the total Center community, and 50% of the student population); they were given assigned study carrells in the newly dubbed "Ruang Room."

The magnitude of the project was daunting, not just in the increase in the Center community the on-campus, but also of the work going on and expected in the field. John Comings, a CIE doctoral student, working on the project in Jakarta, wrote back to the Center,

¹⁰ In the following February 1980 CIE Annual Newsletter, an errata note mentioned that four additional students were listed as working on the Indonesian Project.

...from the point of view of the Center and its past experience, what is especially novel and interesting about PENMAS is the sheer size of it all. We are used to relatively small and short-term projects, where collaboration has meant working intimately with very dedicated people, themselves the trainers, and with results immediate and visible. Instead, Center people in Indonesia are working with the people who train the people who train the people who.... In the project alone... there are 2000 field workers, each covering a clientele of about 30,000.... the program will sponsor 110,000 person days of training for nonformal education project personnel next year. (cited in the July 1979, CIE Annual Newsletter, p.4)

The effects of this onslaught of people and activity had been excitedly and anxiously anticipated by the Center community. The effect this type of project would have on the CIE as a community and organization was, as always, scrutinized in committee meetings; but also, characteristically, this self-scrutiny began in earnest after the fact. In the words of a faculty member recorded at the 10th Year Seminar, five months after the official award of the PENMAS contract,

When we had the 211(d) grant we had more options in how to use the money. Now we are in contractual relationships for survival. Maybe we need to look at how these contractual relationships effect us? (quoted from Side 5 of the CIE 10th Year Seminar archive tapes, June 1978)

"We're on the Short End of the Stick for a Change"¹¹

The issue of decision-making - who was "running the show" - was a central topic of discussion at the Center during the late 1970s. But it was also a question of "who gets to be part of the show" that spawned the anger and debates raging at the Center between 1978 and 1983. A disparaging rumor had started among the student community during Spring 1977 that was supposedly prompted by a comment made by an Indonesian official or representative visiting the Center. Like many rumors, identifying the source or the actual incident leading up to it is impossible. At the 10th Year Seminar fragments of this rumor, which now had blossomed into a web of gossip, came out in large group discussions. The gist of the rumor was that one Indonesian had said that women and people of color, specifically Black people, would not be wanted as staff members on the PENMAS Project. This was followed, but not necessarily connected, by a Center member working with the group to settle the contract details emphasizing the need for Center members to be more tolerant of cultural differences. Finally, a very

¹¹ Quote from a faculty member at the CIE 10th Year Seminar/Reunion made when talking to the large group about the differences in per diem for Center members while in Indonesia (\$30 per day) and the Indonesians in the US (\$70 per day). It comes from a longer discussion which includes the following excerpts, "... it's not American money. We're receiving Indonesian money and it's a very interesting experience for us now that the Indonesians are running the show... we find it a bit strange, for example, we're on the short end of the stick for a change." (from Side 5 of the CIE 10th Year Seminar archive tapes)

unfortunate rumor began among third world students that their applications for positions on the PENMAS Project would not be considered and that the Center was reading the contract as limited to American students and staff. While the last rumor was quickly and clearly shown to be untrue, especially in light of the Affirmative Action clauses written into the contract by the CIE, it stoked the embers of a general dissatisfaction already glowing behind closed doors at the Center. The relatively short sequence of these "events" within an organization that had always vigorously debated the issues of multiculturalism soon escalated into a confrontation which could only end in an organizational drama.

Reorganization of the CIE

Decision-Making & Authority

After an early May 1978 Center Meeting, two ad hoc committees were set up to propose suggestions for changes in Center structure and philosophy. A concept paper, "A Proposal for Change", was prepared for the June 1978 10th Year Seminar that reported on these committees. In this concept paper, which was discussed at the reunion, a "Suggested Philosophical Statement," "Rationale," "Facts, Feelings, & Complaints," and a "Plan for Structural Change" were laid out. The philosophical statement included,

The Center for International Education purports to generate nonformal education and collaborative

techniques. Its in-house workings should match that claim, as closely as possible, within the University constraints.... during Center residency, each individual should have the right and responsibility to take charge of Center projects at all levels, allowing for personal satisfaction and positive social growth rather than the frustration and regression we have seen. (from "A Proposal for Change," to CIE Members, from the Evening Group, June 5, 1978: p. 1)

Statements about struggling together to rise above sexism and racism, and not accepting funding from institutions in opposition to their philosophy are also included. The "right to equal participation" is stressed throughout the paper. The rationale put forth for these statements was based on the "facts, feelings, and complaints" of divisiveness, lack of clarity in terms of hiring procedures, lack of shared decision-making power and a top-down administrative hierarchy. These were called "contradictions between Center practice and its (perceived) philosophy" ("A Proposal for Change," June 5, 1978, p.3).

The proposed five phase plan for change was spread over two years. It began with a five month evaluation and planning phase coordinated by a "Steering Committee" made up of 1-2 faculty, staff and student representatives. This committee, meeting weekly, would evaluate philosophy, management, funding, and curriculum preparing for a presentation ala a "comprehensive examination of the Center itself" (p.5-6, "A Proposal for Change"). Also suggested, reminiscent of the 1968-69 Planning Seminars, student members of this committee would receive course credit for

participation. This was proposed as a way to "begin at home" and "to practice what we preach" (p.5, "A Proposal for Change").

A third world woman who was a new doctoral student at the time, reflected fifteen years after these events,

Participation... the students were telling the Executive Committee that if the Center's philosophy is participation, don't go into the field and tell us to do it in our part of the world, show us here through demonstration. That was a big fight. That was the time when power was taken by the Executive Committee from the Director.... It came from all angles... It was thoughtful. (Interview 119, 6/93)

A student run "Oversight Committee" was established to "inquire whether there had been any bias, anything not conducive to Center philosophy" going on around issues of management and program development; it was "sort of like a jury looking into it all" said a member of this committee (from Interview 119). The Executive Committee became the main conduit for the initial evaluation and planning, subcommittees prepared special reports. But, probably due to the summer intercession after the May/June discussions, there is no evidence that a long-term "Steering Committee" materialized. This process was handled, though not without argument and dissent, by the Executive Committee who began meeting weekly in Fall 1978.

Participation - "From All Angles"

Up until 1979 staff members at the CIE did not have a representative voice, i.e., voting privileges, on the CIE Executive Committee. The informal lines of communication leading up to the reorganization had allowed their input, especially when their numbers were small. The nature of their work, and the concurrent roles of student and staff member of many in the past, also contributed to their informal participation in the loop of decision-making and communication.

However, by 1980 there were seven staff (professional and classified, mostly on "soft money") at the Center. With the committee structure taking on more coherent and cogent authority, their lack of participation as voting members on the EXCOM became a sore issue. Since the majority of the staff were women, the issue of sexism was also raised.

A North American male doctoral student remembers one staff member, who was also a graduate student, taking a leading role,

... one of her strategies was to work with the other women and especially the staff in terms of coming up with a manifesto. It was about gender issues and the role of power, and labor, within the Center. (Interview 120, 6/93)

A "Workplace Democracy Manifesto" was produced by the Center staff and published in the 1980/1 issue of Workplace Democracy. The staff began meeting on its own to discuss their position in relation to the Center. A memo stating

their needs and demands was submitted to the EXCOM on January 29, 1980. At the February 7, 1980 EXCOM meeting it was recommended that the classified and professional staff elect one person to join the EXCOM as a non-voting regular participant (from 2/7/80, CIE Executive Committee Meeting minutes).

Not until the following year, when the EXCOM was expanded to nine members and the election procedures revised, did a staff member join with voting privileges. Two years after their "coup" was staged, they wrote a section for the CIE Newsletter saying,

At the time of our first official meeting we expressed many concerns about the Center and our function and role; our major concerns involved the centralization of power, the decision-making process, the long-term goals and objectives of the Center, rhetoric versus practice, belonging/identity, respect, recognition, responsibility and trust.... [we] realized that the only way to solve this problem of feeling separated and alienated from the faculty and students of the Center was by working together and actively participating in the decision-making process... Gradually, we began to feel accepted.

We, as a group, appreciate the recognition from the rest of the Center community and thank everyone for their support. (CIE Annual Newsletter, March 1982, p.2-3)

The Student Assembly

Born out of discussions at the 1981 CIE Fall Retreat, the Student Assembly organized itself as a new committee to "foster better communication" among Center students. Some of the break down in communication and divisions among the

students had been attributed to the segregation of the Regional Groups. The Student Assembly was devised to promote "cross-fertilization" and "open new channels of communication" (cited in the March 1982 CIE Annual Newsletter). One of their first actions was to draft a list of Center goals to be used as guidelines for work in program development, recruitment and admissions, and course content. These were submitted to the EXCOM in December 1981.

Implied in the mandate of the new Student Assembly to foster better communication was the issue of racism. The divisions among Center students were more and more closely resembling a North-South break. This split was complicated by the large number of Indonesians and their membership at the Center circumventing the regular CIE admission process. The Indonesians were seen as a separate group; their names were not included on the on-campus CIE list in the newsletters. Many were not fluent in English and very few Center members spoke Bahasa Indonesian. Their large and well-funded segment of the community, coupled with a long history of complaints by third world students of unequal access to "learning experiences" (namely consultancies and assistantships) contributed to this segregation of the Center community. One North American doctoral student told me,

There was a petition one year [1982]... about why didn't the third world students have more assistantships, and some of it seemed to me to be a non-issue because a lot of the third world

students were funded by the World Bank or USAID. They had a lot of external money that North Americans didn't have access to.... I know for a fact that some of the people from Indonesia that came on World Bank funding saved enough money that they went home and bought two taxi cabs and set up a business.. so, some of the North-South dichotomy was false and it was played out in strange ways. (Interview 118, 6/93)

Another North American student replied when asked about discrimination at the Center,

It was constantly something that was an undercurrent, a very strong undercurrent. Things happen in very subtle forms and it's a very scary proposition to be able to name the source or to name the structure that is the source or the people who are associated with the source.... Sometimes I think it was coopted by Whites too... If I can say to someone, 'Well, I'm aware that the University of Massachusetts has certain structures that are institutionally racist,' it conveys to you that at least when I say that sentence that I am sensitive to the issues that are involved and it kind of short circuits the discussion. (Interview 120, 6/93)

A third world graduate student who was active on several Center committees at the time, told me,

Third world people, people from our part of the world, were considered as not people with skills, marketable skills. It could be right in a way. But we felt that they had a duty to give us more opportunities... to do trainings and things that were there and what American students were doing. American students could do anything, consultancies and at the same time could have assistantships. (Interview 119, 6/93)

When I asked another third world graduate student who was at the Center during this time about communication and the role of North Americans in the Regional Groups, he laughed and said,

There was no North American group. The White man, the Americans had more power. They didn't want to stand out, the Americans worked in any group. (Interview 122, 6/93)

On March 30, 1982, the Student Assembly met to discuss the "concerns of third world students." They addressed six areas which were termed recurring, unresolved themes at the Center. These were: Academics, Cultural Differences, Decision-Making, Election Procedures, Employment, and Publications. The report out of this meeting sent to the EXCOM is scathing. The quality of academic life at the Center is seen as in a "steady decline." Lack of research and a stagnant curriculum are mentioned. Examples of cultural insensitivity in communications with third world students are given; these include,

Contracting with government agencies that perpetuate the oppression of people..
Exclusion of Third World students from professional or relevant growth experiences....

And,

'Calling a Spade a Spade' - The word racism arches the back of many people at CIE (both Third World and others). At the mention of the word, immediate defenses go up. Some people feel that raising the subject implies that they are personally and consciously involved. Others fear that admitting that it is a problem jeopardizes the honor of the Center. Avoidance itself indicates a problem. Can we be open and honest and deal with it in positive ways?

(Memo from the Student Assembly to the Executive Committee, re Concerns of Third World Students, April 2, 1982: pp. 2-3)

In the memo, more democratic and open decision-making is called for; the EXCOM is labeled a "rubber stamp," its

process for awarding assistantships and the election procedures are attacked. Finally, lack of opportunity to publish for third world students through CIE is brought up as evidenced by the disproportionate number of North American authors on the CIE publications list. In 1982 twenty-two North American Center members are listed as authors on the CIE publications lists for various texts; the only opportunity for Third World Center members to have published may have been as members of Indonesian project staff or the Ecuador project staff which each published one book.

This report was used as a blueprint for discussions continuing into Fall 1982 and Spring 1983. Subcommittees were set up around the six areas of concern. A detailed process for soliciting, reviewing, and developing publications was developed.

The EXCOM election process was revised, as mentioned earlier.¹² Policy statements on everything from use of the xerox machine to authorizing expenditures from the Center Development Fund to posting and awarding field positions and

¹² Early Executive Committees were made up of one representative from each Regional Group, plus the faculty and frequently a project coordinator who had limited voting rights. But, generally an open election was conducted to fill out the membership..

The first revision tried in Fall 1979 in order to promote more diversity of representation was to divide the ballot up by region: North America, Latin America, Asia, and Africa) and one person was elected from each. All faculty were included and one staff member without voting rights.

assistantship were generated. New guidelines for program development were written and rewritten with ongoing debate. An admissions procedure was formalized and streamlined. The CIE Governance Document was revised to reflect these changes.

Discussions on how to redistribute the decision-making power ranged from a rotating directorship to a "four coordinator model." In Spring 1980 the staff had proposed a four committee organizational model. These four committees were: Executive Committee, Academic Matters, Management, and Projects/Program Development.

Decentralizing the Center

Starting in February 1980 the faculty had begun meeting to discuss the Center reorganization among themselves and at EXCOM meetings. Their concerns echoed the student concerns, though did not deal directly with the issue of racial or cultural discrimination. Creating more opportunities for students to participate, greater representation on committees by community members, and long-term program development to allow for freer use of funding and hiring were recurring topics.

The structural changes were slowly taking form. A four committee system was adopted and groups set about defining specific responsibilities and goals for each. The new structure was officially set into motion in June 1980 for an

experimental period of six months. The committee system had been operating de facto throughout Spring 1980. But the planning and implementation phases the Center had outlined for itself required an experimental period of implementation followed by a comprehensive evaluation and review for further implementation. New committee elections would take place in September and an evaluation was begun of the process in November.

Loose ends, such as the academic matters of the Center, curriculum review, a more diversified and stable funding base, and financial survivability after the Indonesian Project was complete, remained on the table throughout 1981-82. The committees worked diligently to address these issues, sub-committee and planning groups produced reams of reports and new proposals.

Stop-gap measures were taken on the fiscal side such as formalizing a "consultancy donation" to the Center Development Fund for everyone receiving consultant work through the Center. Students were asked to donate 5%, staff 7.5%, and faculty 10% of fees their consultant fees. Short-term, often summer, training programs were sought bringing educators from Korea, Morocco, and Egypt. Long-range financial planning remained a topic for ad hoc committees and the EXCOM.

The Swaziland Project was funded in 1980 for \$842,000; but like the Indonesian project this money was tied to

technical assistance in the field and support of Swazi graduate students. Two smaller USAID grants came in for literacy projects. After 1982, when the Indonesian project ended, there were no prospects for large grant awards on the horizon.

Revised "Guidelines for Project Selection" were put together to reflect both the changes in structure and philosophy emerging out of this period. Added to the long-standing focus on balancing study and reflection, the new "philosophy" included,

... a shared concern that educational activities be consistent with the requirements for social justice... [belief that] ethical and effective educational activity is best achieved by a participatory process of program development, a collaboration between parties. (Guidelines for Project Selection, Spring 1981)

Criteria were outlined to facilitate project selection and guide the EXCOM approval process. The general requirements included exclusion of any project connected in any way with intelligence activities; any project that does not promote "respect for the culture, value-system, and principles of the participating country" (1981 Guidelines..., Section IV, p.3). The Center would seek out projects with countries and governments that observe the UN Declaration of Human Rights, allowed equal participation of all Center members both on-campus and in the field, and those that promoted the CIE's academic reputation and integrity.

Keeping Everyone on the Dance Floor

By 1982, on paper and in committee meetings, a new CIE organizational structure had taken form. The ideals of the founders, the original International Fellows, had been adapted to a new decade and a new community.

However, two of the founders were still active and important members of the Center in 1980-81. Ghosts of other founding Fellows haunted the halls; their decisions turning up in file folders, policies, and the Center's past platform for program development. To keep the momentum behind the reorganization alive, the new Center community had to confront the ghosts. Within the community they had to begin a face-to-face struggle with the interpersonal dynamics of participation. The issues of racism, unequal access, and ideological cooptation had been dealt with in a structural manner. Now the day-to-day behaviors of Center members needed to follow suit.

Early in the reorganization planning, one faculty member had observed about the Center Director that the role over time had been as both Director and Principal Investigator on many projects. This had "led to the aggregation of a great deal of power around him" (from Minutes of a Special Executive Committee Meeting, April 4, 1978). A graduate student commented about the Director,

Power, who wants to share it, who wants to give it up? And you know, in fairness to [the Director], whatever you want to say... it's his life's work, he put a lot of time and energy and other people

come and go. You're a graduate student. You have other fish to fry... he had a lot of vested interest that's hard to let go of... participation means that other people can make decisions that you might not have made yourself. (Interview 118, 6/93)

During this transition period, fear of excluding or censoring anyone's opinion and vested interests (a frequently mentioned dread of the founding Fellows), was conspicuously absent from the reorganization discussions. The tone had switched to equal access, greater learning opportunities for more Center members, greater participation. This is a subtle distinction; but an important shift in emphasis from the needs of the individual to the needs of the majority, a precarious balance in an increasingly heterogeneous community.

These were not lost ideas. The costs of increased participation in terms of program effectiveness, break down of accountability in a crisis when a group takes the place of an individual, as well as individual freedom, professional interests and responsibility were all discussed at length in EXCOM meetings. (See CIE Executive Committee Meeting Minutes, 1977-1983.) The Director and other faculty were cautiously reluctant in the beginning of the reorganization process, but not resistant in meetings. They participated fully in the planning and implementation; often they were creative catalysts in the EXCOM.

But, reorganizing the formal structures would prove relatively easy compared to reorganizing the entrenched

informal structures. A Center member from the early 1980s told me how the Director had once said to her that his personality was probably the object of more development projects than anything else at the Center (paraphrased from Interview 118).

Another Center member remembered,

Even though we made these criticisms as a whole, [the Director] considered students as fully fledged individuals who had the right to speak out, the right to an open meeting. When we showed our opposition [he] listened to it. I remember that our student group met quite often. I can remember very emotional and heated things we use to discuss. It was a very good process. It was not very smooth. (Interview 119, 6/93)

Another Center member replied to my question of what held the Center together by saying,

Compassion.... I think it's probably unusual to be in a place where so many people have some kind of basic philosophy which is compassion, a concern for the most oppressed, concern for making the weak stronger, empowering people, and I think that is why we get on so excellently, because we have that foundation, all of us. (Interview 121, 6/93)

Another Center member from the 1980s attributed the Center's survivability to "the best parties and everybody danced."

Whatever it was that held the CIE together during this upending of structures, stripping down of old authorities and assumptions, in 1983-84 they limped into a new organizational era: reflective (and vigilant) participation.

CHAPTER IX

1984-1989, ERA #5: THE REIGN OF REFLECTIVE PARTICIPATION

[A]lthough the Center had a lot of warts and bumps, and we're very critical of it, it's a place at least the dialogue about racism and colonialism and sexism goes on. In alot of places that dialogue is not in the open.

CIE doctoral student, 1981-1988
(Interview 118, 6/93)

Setting the Stage

During this fifth era, 1984 to 1989, the Center's program development would shift to a more financially supportive and less research, experiential learning opportunity for students; the composition of the Center would change dramatically; another effort to secure an additional faculty position from the University would be launched; Paulo Freire would become an adjunct faculty member; the University would be rocked by a series of large budget cuts; and the Center would travel down a new intellectual lane, revitalizing its curriculum with alternative and participatory research, feminist and critical theory, popular education and examination of alternative theories of economic development.

Becoming a Center Member

In November 1986 I rented a car and drove to Amherst for an admissions interview at the CIE. The day turned out

to be unseasonably warm. The Admissions Coordinator was wearing a halter top. I was wearing a sweater. My first appointment was to attend a Center meeting (whatever that was).

Walking down the second floor hall of Hills House South The Admission Coordinator introduced me to a half a dozen people before we got to the L-Shaped room. Everyone wanted to talk, wanted to know about my work, my experiences, why I chose the Center. They also offered much more information about themselves, their work, their studies than I could have ever taken in. I shook a lot of hands and forgot a lot of names.

I had just quit my job as a projects coordinator in a NYC community development agency. For two years without a break, I'd worked in the neighborhoods of NYC patching together community development projects, building work teams of 18-21 years olds who saw this as their last change before welfare dependency or Rikers. Begging, threatening and prodding them to go to school at night after an eight hour work shift; promising them that a GED would make a difference until I felt the lie was tattooed across my forehead.

So there I was on a folding chair in a room of strangers waiting to be introduced and wondering if I could smoke. The meeting started with people standing up making announcements about academic, program development,

management and admissions committee meetings, class research projects, social, cultural and political events; and then more people standing up adding personal or political addenda to every other announcement. I could not tell who were students and who were faculty. My feeling was, "I've made a mistake. They're way too far out in left field." The last thing I wanted was to join another organization so eagerly struggling with itself.

Afterwards I was sent upstairs for two interviews. No one spoke of courses, degree requirements, job possibilities, prerequisites, financial aid, or faculty advisors. The interviewers wanted to learn about my values, intellectual fantasies, life style, and expectations. I left exhausted, but feeling better. They were truly curious.

Now it seems so normal, obvious. Whatever my preconceptions of the CIE doctoral program were in 1987, they have been rewritten over and over by time. Within a year I was a working member of the Center.

While writing earlier parts of this narrative, I felt as if I were discussing a place I had never been to and people I would never know. From that distance I assumed a degree of abandonment and freedom from personal accountability because I was not a participant. Now I am writing about events in which I took part; about people who I knew and still know as colleagues and friends.

There are heated EXCOM meetings from 1989, when I was co-chair, that are still vivid in my memory. There are events I am discussing that were part of my life: the evening planning sessions with the "Student Strike Committee," the special community meeting when we came up with our "Hopes" and Fears," working late at night to put together the Center Periphery,¹ working weekends to meet grant proposal deadlines, and spending hours arguing over rewording for the Center Governance Document.

In 1987 I became a participant in this history. And, I now am constantly aware of my accountability for what is being written as well as for what happened.

Closing the Last Chapter: The Aftermath of 1983

In 1983 the Center went through a difficult period of actions and reconciliations due to past decisions and future needs. By 1984, the beginning of this next era in its history, the Center was slipping into a reign of reflection. Changes had occurred, some dramatic and a few unforeseen or beyond their control. Now that the reorganization had been evaluated, it was tended, exercised, repaired, and reinforced by the Center members. Center meetings and the EXCOM became focal points of decision-making and information sharing.

¹ The Center Periphrey was an in-house, "occasional" newsletter put together by Center members for on-campus Center members between 1986-1993.

While still picking up the scattered bones left from the reorganization process, the CIE started the 1983-84 academic year they with many accomplishments:

- A start on diversifying their funding base by expanding to contractual relationships as well as in the application of NFE in the U.S., specifically in the field of literacy.
- Successful implementation of a \$2.7 million contract with a third world government that produced numerous publications, research, and included a participant audience potentially numbering in the dozens of thousands.
- Successful extension of their NFE 211(d) grant in Ghana and new application in Swaziland, bringing in more funding and opportunities for field research and new membership at the CIE.
- Strengthening and formalization of their international network by organizing an international seminar/reunion.
- Identification and consolidation of a core faculty and extended adjunct faculty network. Bob Miltz transferred to full-time at CIE; David Kinsey was able to secure a University, tenure track position.
- Redistribution of authority by formalizing a a new committee system that both encouraged more diverse participation and increased community dialogue; including staff as voting members in this committee

structure. Increased integration of third world students into decision-making roles by dissolving the regional groupings that had raised complaints of tokenism.

- Establishment of a system for communication and information, and rebuke for failure to comply, i.e., through policy statements and EXCOM review of infringements, e.g., not seeking approval for expenditures out of the Development Fund.
- Inclusion of the issues and complaints of racism and inequality as priorities on the community-wide agenda; debate on the significance of rhetoric versus practice and revision of the CIE Governance Document to reflect their community concerns. They developed new personnel, admissions, and program development policies.
- Start of a review and revision process for their curriculum; feminist theory, alternative and participatory research, critical theory, as well as a wider range of technical skills in management and planning were experimented with.
- The acquisition of the Center's first desktop computers, first for personal use then in a literacy and electronic teaching aids project.

Central to these organizational changes is whether they reflect a theoretical or practical application. Balancing theory and practice remained, as ever, an organizational

dilemma. While practice was emphasized up until 1984, participatory learning and reflection became the CIE modus vivendi in the mid-1980s. As alluded to at the end of Chapter VIII, realization of these ideals and philosophical stances on inequality remained to be tested through corresponding individual self-realizations.

As a woman doctoral student told me about sexism and issues of gender equality in the Center during the 1980s,

We had a women in development interest group... but it was like... 'Throw the girls a bone.' They can have the WID course and then everybody is absolved of having to do anything meaningful about integration of gender issues.... Let's face it, we didn't have many men, African, Asian, Latin American, or North American, who were with us.. There was some tension. Wasn't it interesting that always the African and Latin American men were on the bandwagon about racism, but they weren't standing with us or saying much about sexism. (Interview 118, 6/93)

"Practice what you preach" became an exercise in self-vigilance for Center members; they wound up refining and reconsidering their definition of participation. "Mutual exploitation" was a concept of their past.²

² See Chapter V. This was a term used by the Founding Fellows to describe their style of learning and collaboration.

Pink Slips

Between 1983-84, staff lay-offs took place. Juggling funds and rearranging staff duties to cover salaries within the scope of grant/contract guidelines had begun in 1982. No one wanted to see colleagues and friends lose their livelihood. But the Indonesian contract was at an end; collective management does not necessarily include collective sharing of resources. While many of the tasks staff members performed were still necessary for Center maintenance, their contractual services were completed. Tasks had been closely defined by contracts and grants and not necessarily for Center operations. In 1983 all of the classified staff were given notice that the Center could only guarantee their jobs until June 1984. There were eight staff members in 1983. Four left in 1984, including Cookie Bourbeau who had been at the Center since 1969.³

³ June "Cookie" Bourbeau's departure from the daily workforce at the Center was a milestone. Her connections with the Center would never be severed, and like everyone, she always remained a Center member. Cookie started at the Center as an administrative assistant with only a high school diploma. One of her first assignment was to coordinate the logistics of a visiting group of Ugandan educators. As the CIE Administrator who hired her remembered Cookie,

She was one of those people who was always up, always ready to do anything for anybody, anytime, and loved everybody, an open person. (Interview 114)

Cookie completed her bachelors and masters degrees at the University while working full-time as administrative and project staff at the Center; she became a fiscal administrator and worked on every large international

The 211(d) grant had allowed the Center to hire two faculty members in 1975, David Kinsey and Kalim Qamar. When Qamar left in 1977, the Center hired Linda Abrams. In 1978 David Kinsey was transferred into a University faculty track. Linda Abrams' salary was picked up by the Indonesian Project when the 211(d) grant was finished. Abrams was teaching full-time as well as providing administrative, advising, and program supervision support. All of the faculty were wearing two hats: professor and program administrator.

In 1982, the Center started a concerted effort to secure University funding for Abrams' position after the Indonesian contract wound down. This was not a new discussion or effort. In 1982 an ad hoc Personnel Committee had started meeting, with David Evans assigned as Funding Manager. This was seen as a priority measure taken to secure new funding for Center staff positions, including Abrams'

project. She continued working on contract with the Center off and on throughout the 1980s; her last position in Lesotho with the BANFES Project. In many ways, Cookie embodied a spirit and a way of life at the Center. The cable address for the CIE from 1969 for many years was "COOKIE."

At the CIE 10th Year Reunion Cookie was given a spontaneous ovation when she stood to greet everyone. She said with pride, as others were talking about their CIE membership starting when they finally got a mailbox: "I've never had a mailbox and hope I never get one."

In 1991 Cookie Bourbeau passed away after a long struggle with cancer. After fifteen years as a staff member at the Center and six more years as a consultant, the Center had experienced many "firsts" with Cookie; her death was a deep-felt loss experienced by the entire extended Center community.

position. By February 1983, however, no action had been taken on the part of the School of Education to allot state funds for Abrams' position or for Center classified staff. Some soft money, as mentioned earlier, was coming in, but not in any large amounts.

A funding projection made in Spring 1983 for 1984 faculty, staff, and student positions put Abrams as half-time funded by the CIE/Trust Fund (two other faculty would be on sabbatical). Four out of six staff would be half-time, one on three-quarter time, and one full-time; these were all to be funded by a combination of CIE Trust Fund money and the Swaziland Project. They anticipated 12 partial assistantships available to students. They also projected that the Trust Fund would be depleted in one year if it was continued to be used for staff salaries.

By Spring 1983, the EXCOM began assuming more authority in personnel decisions regarding the staff since the community decided that the ad hoc committee should not have to make those kind of decisions. The staff opted for a six month rolling notice procedure (with June 1984 as their projected notice); and EXCOM resolved that they would make Abrams a firm offer by the end of April. Bob Miltz was given the task to come up with a strategy on how to best "shepherd" Abrams personnel action through the School of Education Personnel Committee. A proposal was submitted to the EPRA division chair for increasing the Center's share of

their project overhead (the percentage of money deducted from grants by the University). This proposal was approved and indirectly helped the Center maintain support for certain staff.

On April 29, 1983 the EXCOM met to decide on its offer to Abrams. She had expressed her preference for a full-time appointment and concern, based on experience, about whether it would be possible to be half or three-quarter time and not actually work full-time. She excused herself from the meeting and lengthy discussion ensued. At this point, the School had tentatively promised half-time funding by returning Evans sabbatical salary; there was some belief that the Center could push this up to three-quarter. The final motion that was voted on read,

That we offer Linda Abrams a three-quarter time appointment for the next academic year. This is considered a minimum offer for negotiation. The Center will continue to look for and actively seek additional support. (EXCOM Meeting minutes, 4/29/83)

This motion was passed with four "ayes" and three abstentions.

At the May 10, 1983 EXCOM meeting, Abrams responded to the offer by declining the three-quarter time position. She had decided that if she worked at the Center it was important that it be full-time. She wrote in a letter to the Center community,

Given the multiple demands of the Center, I believe a three-quarters time position is unworkable and would mean full-time work for

considerably less payment. (from letter to CIE, 5/10/83)

Three days later another EXCOM meeting was held; in addition to the EXCOM members, 22 Center members attended as visitors. For two hours they discussed alternative offers they could propose to Abrams, including using all of the Trust Fund in "one swell swoop" to pay her full-time salary and securing a promissory note to cover one-quarter of her time. On May 22, 1983 Abrams agreed to work full-time for the 1983-84 academic year; 1/2 of her salary coming from the School of Education, 1/3 coming from the Center Trust Fund, and the remaining 2/12 to be sought through new program development.

A projection of CIE finances submitted by Cookie and David Evans for 7/1/83 to 6/30/84 was dismal. Projected expenses charged to their soft money accounts (Trust and Training Funds) totalled \$67,460. This included \$34,760 for staff and \$21,000 for assistantships. Projected income, including the additional overhead sharing of \$7,350, totaled \$38,650. Combined with \$6,600 in "uncollectible contingency reserves" their total loss for FY84 was estimated to be \$35,410. Their net loss for FY83 had been \$34,000. Their total current funds in May 1983 were \$78,000. The combined two year loss of \$69,410 would effectively wipe out their reserve accounts. The memo ended by saying, "Without substantial new income we will not be able to keep any staff beginning in July 1984" (from memo to CIE EXCOM, from DRE &

Cookie, 4/22/83). This projection was fortunately not accurate, but very close. By the end of 1984 the Center would be down to only full-time staff member, two half-time staff, 9 half-time assistantships; until her departure in Spring 1985, Abrams' salary would still be paid piece-meal with soft money and funds dredged out of the School of Education.⁴

* * *

The Republicans remained in the White House throughout the 1980s. The political and economic mood in the U.S. swung even further to the right. In foreign policy, there was a resurrection of the "imperial America" committed to wielding its power, overtly or covertly (Mills, 1990: 14).

Neither Ronald Reagan nor his successor George Bush were shy at involving the U.S. in military interventions. The U.S. spent over \$3 trillion on the military during the 1980s and doubled its share of world-wide military spending. Eighty percent of the U.S. military budget was spent on the "Cold War" efforts against the Soviet Union.

⁴ In 1985, Linda Abrams left the CIE to found a non-profit, international training organization in Amherst with an other Center member, Dan Moulton. The Institute for Training and Development is today a \$1+ million dollar corporation providing income for many Center students and graduates, and programs for participants from around the world.

The "end of the Cold War" with the dismantling of the Berlin Wall and later of the Soviet Union, were heralded as Reagan and Bush personal triumphs. Pieces of the Berlin Wall were soon on sale at Bloomingdale's (and elsewhere) for \$7.50.

Domestically, "Reaganomics" was eating away at the fiscal future of U.S. communities. By the end of the 1980s U.S. state and local governments would lose \$287 billion in job training, community and economic development funding, revenue sharing and environmental protection (a 51% cut in federal aid). Twenty-five percent of American children would live in poverty, 13% of U.S. students would leave school with less than a 5th grade reading ability. Public investments and hourly manufacturing wages would stagnate or drop (less than 2% public investment as percentage of GDP; and less than 1% grow in wages between 1979-1988).⁵

During his first year as President, Reagan had tried to do away with the federal Department of Education; even though he failed at closing them down, he succeeded in reducing its budget to financial ineffectiveness. He cut federal financial aid programs for college students, undermined federal funding for educational mandates; and thus precipitated city and state budget crises across the country as local governments struggled to meet their

⁵ All figures from military spending reports (1990-1994) produced by the National Priorities Project, Inc., Northampton, MA.

educational costs with their own tax reserves. Proposition 13 in California and Proposition 2 1/2 in Massachusetts were the legislative reactions of angry landowners who wanted their taxes capped and the schools forced to do more with less.

As Reagan's Secretary of Education, William Bennett "bragged" to the Heritage Foundation,

American conservatism now sets the terms of our debate, It does so because, without in the least abandoning its principles, it has succeeded in identifying itself with the quintessential American appetite for new challenges and new opportunities. (cited in Mills, 1990: p.14)

* * *

Adapting to New Times: The Participation Blues

Beginning in the early 1980s, the Center was forced to become more conservative - resource conservative not politically conservative. In terms of Center administration, conserving resources and preserving organizational structures and boundaries, had to take a forefront.

In 1982 the School of Education created a new concentration in Intercultural and Multicultural Education. This would drain away potential new students and result in a loss of FTEs for Center faculty when courses were redistributed (from 1/9/81 EXCOM meeting minutes). By creating this additional concentration, the School also undercut part of the Center's rationale for additional state funding for faculty.

By 1984 the Center was also forced to give up their office space on the first floor of Hills House South (3 rooms). To compensate they were given an additional room on the third floor. The faculty and primary administrative offices remained along the second floor corridor. Despite their pleas for keeping the first floor space for summer and other short-term program trainees, the School reassigned the Center offices to Special Education which was expanding.

A program concentration review was scheduled for 1985. The School of Education was pressuring the Center to either merge with another concentration or prove its uniqueness, its service to the Commonwealth, and long term need to stand as a separate entity. Programs in formal education were expanding, e.g. Special Education that took over the CIE first floor offices. Nonformal education was no longer a curriculum or funding priority. Course enrollments at the Center were low, some purposefully so; and fear of redundancy between the CIE and Multiculturalism was raised. The Center was forced to justify its space allocation, student to faculty ratios, and need for its own administrative staff, admissions criteria, and curricular freedom. As federal funds for education dried up, the state legislature was poised to slash the University budget. Relative to its size within the School, the CIE was

receiving a larger than average share of faculty time, space, equipment, overhead, and academic support.⁶

Adjusting Program Development

Shorter term training projects were becoming more common now. These language and technical skills programs provided administrative overhead funds for staff, assistantships, and did not otherwise drain their limited human resources in the way of a larger, overseas development or capacity building project. There were caveats regarding this shift in the funding opportunities. The 1983 newsletter opened with these apprehensions,

Many of us are apprehensive about this shift towards big business, high technology and formal schools. It remains to be seen what benefits will "trickle down" to the community level and how this will affect the quality of life of the world's impoverished majority -- certainly the Center must adopt [sic] to this circumstances to maintain its institutional viability, but we must not lose sight of its original goals and purposes. (By Frank Bialosiewicz, p. 1, Fall 1983 CIE Annual Newsletter)

Their shift in program development mirrored the shift in international development project funding toward larger multi-faceted "mega-million" dollar grants. The CIE was no longer a competitive bidder for these monies by itself, but had to bid as a sub-contractor with other insitutions.

⁶ Notwithstanding these funding issues, Dean Fantini allowed the CIE to administer a new School of Education van in November 1985. The faculty felt this was due return for the hundreds of thousands in administrative overhead the School had received through Center projects.

Program development slowly became more peripheral to the CIE curriculum. Between 1984 and 1990, the Center administered three USIA Teacher-Text-Technology projects: Tanzania, Somalia, and with the Ivory Coast. These were teacher training projects for Ministry and local teacher training college faculty to attend the CIE. Some CIE students and faculty traveled to Africa to conduct short, intensive workshops. These TTT projects brought in slightly over \$1 million. Three smaller teacher training projects were conducted with Guatemalan, other Tanzanian, and Indonesian educators.

Literacy became more meaningfully funded at the Center during the late 1980s with the establishment of the Literacy Support Initiative. In 1988 they began running a regular literacy summer institute with funding coming from eight different agencies and participants from all over the world. The Global Education Project also received its first funding from the Massachusetts Board of Regents.

The "farm was saved," however, by a \$4.5 million contract from USAID to strengthen four components of the Lesotho Ministry of Education: Central Headquarters, the National Teacher Training College, the National Curriculum Development Center, and the Rural Skills Training Centre. The CIE was part of an institutional consortium awarded this project. The Center's primary task was to initiate developments at the National Teacher Training College.

The Lesotho Basic and Nonformal Education Project (BANFES) was funded from 1985-1991. With this funding the Center was able to rehire a former staff member as a part-time secretary and create a half-time Financial Manager position⁷. Cookie Bourbeau was one of the five field staff hired. A full-time campus coordinator was hired, and 1-2 assistantships were available.

With the possibly exception of a few aspects of the BANFES project, the content areas and research opportunities offered by this international project were in teacher training and formal education systems management and evaluation. Pieces of the BANFES project offered experience in materials development, distance education, and rural educator training. These projects were primarily pursued for the funding and secondly for the increase in international community members. The TTT projects and BANFES brought annual cohorts of Somalis, Tanzanians, Ivorians, and Basotho to the Center.

In 1989, the BANFES campus coordinator wrote a prose poem for the in-house CIE newsletter that reflects the general ambiguity felt by Center members for projects at that time. The poem was titled, "BANFES, Pride of CIE," and reads,

Was BANFES a good idea? And, whose idea was it anyway? Was CIE able to make a contribution to Lesotho's efforts to improve the education system?

⁷ Barbara Gravin-Wilbur was hired in this position.

Did anyone learn anything? Is anybody still
reading this? Why am I asking so many questions?
Who has an enquiring mind?

Chill out,
it's just the four years down,
one to go
program closeout
bye-bye BANFES blues.

Why did we get involved in this project? Should we
stay involved if the project is extended into a
second phase? Will we be invited to participate in
a Phase II (Bride of BANFES) project? Do we have
anything else to say? Do we say anything they want
to hear? Have we said too much already? Do they
know us, hate us, love us, tolerate us?

Calm down,
you've got the four years down,
one to go
program closeout
bye-bye BANFES blues.

What do the Basotho think about this project? Did
anyone ask if they wanted us there? In the first
place, in the last place, at your place or at my
place is the CIE philosophy discernable in the
outcomes, effects or processes of this enterprise?
Why is it so hard? Where's the backstop, where's
the shortstop on this longshot?

Try this,
we've got the four years down
one to go
program closeout
bye-bye BANFES blues?
[CIE Publications Archives, 1989.]

Almost like a shadow organization the Center developed
a parallel management system: Center community/academic
management and Center project management. The Literacy and
the Global Education projects remained more closely linked
with the curriculum. New courses were developed out of these
projects. A masters program in literacy was put together;
soon both projects, the Literacy Support Initiative more so,

would be providing the major opportunities at the Center for both student employment and research applications.

A proactive program development effort began in earnest with a pre-empted student strike. Students once again were feeling compromised by the primary source of funding for the center being the U.S. government and the associated implications with foreign policy initiatives which many disagreed with. Re-defining project selection criteria had long been a topic of discussion and under constant revision. In 1988-89 a two new drafts for project criteria were submitted. One by the Program Development Committee, the other by a faculty/student group. The issues discussed in the EXCOM in November 1989 were:

1. Concern that these guidelines were not useful in light of the Center's dubious commitment to some of the content areas.
2. Concern about building a large bureaucracy which would impede the process of developing projects.
3. Questions of appropriate timing in applying these criteria.
4. Concern about emphasizing idealism at the expense of realism.

(excerpts from EXCOM minutes, 11/10/89)

The two drafts did not vary so much in criteria useful for selecting projects as they did in how projects could be rejected. Both included congruency with Center goals and priorities of "empowerment, diversity, social justice, theory and practice, etc.." Both use CIE capabilities, the need for collaborative relationships, professional opportunities for Center members, employment of local skills

local participation, and potential long term impact on CIE as criteria. But one draft proposed the initial step before submitting inquiries or developing a pre-proposal be a presentation to the Program Development Committee for approval and then a move to the EXCOM for their approval. The other allowed for individual actions up until the need for institutional backing.

A moderate compromise was reached after heated debate. So called "reactive" program development continued unhampered by time constrictions involved in seeking committee approval, i.e., reply to an RFP by anyone interested with the opportunity to go ahead if that person or person(s) could get enough support from other Center members, final approval from EXCOM when the "signatures" are needed. In reality, this type of program development, which the Center had long practiced, did not take place in a vacuum where the EXCOM or Center community would be startled when hearing about a new program development. The support, however, was often limited to a smaller number of interested students than a proactive program development effort would generate. The RFPs coming out of USIA and USAID were not usually relevant to the research interests of a majority of Center students in the 1980s.

Proactive program development would proceed along the committee route of approval, primarily because the planning required so much more involvement and "start from scratch"

work. As the Program Development Coordinator, Dan Coster, wrote in the 1988-89 Bricolage (the new name of the CIE Annual Alumni newsletter),

In the proactive mode [of program development], the Center becomes the 'center' of its programming efforts by first defining its own interests and direction and then identifying funding sources to accomplish its objective. This is not to say CIE will not continue responding to RFPs from USAID, USIA... It is only to insist that the Center not affix itself to requests from a few major funders for the whole of its program development strategy. (Bricolage, 1988-89, p.23)

Two major "proactive" initiatives were described. One involved a collaboration with the Women and Development Unit (WAND) at the University of the West Indies of which Center member, Peggy Antrobus, is the coordinator. The other project was a larger, long term participatory research project between the Center and the Department of Extra Mural Studies at the University of Sierra Leone. One Center member had already traveled to Freetown and met with representatives of the University. Makerere University and the Rural Development Institute in the Gambia had also expressed interest in a collaborative relationship with the Center. Proposals were submitted to foundations for the first of these two projects; no grants were awarded.

Adjusting Center Composition

By 1984 the number of doctoral candidates had dropped by 25%. The number of masters students had, by contrast, increased seven-fold. In 1978 there were 38 doctoral

students at the Center and three masters students. By 1983, the "doctoral-program-only" rule was clearly on the way out. There were 28 doctoral students and 21 masters students. The cultural and gender balance of the Center also shifted between 1978 and 1984: from 31% women in 1978 to 50% women in 1983; and, from 41% international students to 63% international students in 1983.

The Indonesian, TTT, and later the BANFES projects all brought in larger numbers of masters and master/doctoral students; the Admissions process in the past had informally discouraged U.S. students to apply for a terminal masters degree. With this imbalance, Admissions changed its practice. This shift in the community also had an impact on Center governance, program development, and curriculum. Higher turn-over in Center jobs with the faster graduation of masters students, a more transitory pool of consultants, need for adjustments in curriculum to address the interests of shorter term students, and a change in the level of participation in the Center governance were predictable. (For breakdown of numbers and more discussion, see "Trends in Center Composition," by Linda Abrams in the Fall 1983 CIE Annual Newsletter.)

Around the issue of differing academic needs and levels of participation, one doctoral student from the 1980s said,

You see it go up and down... different students come with different agendas. Students who are being funded had 'X' amount of time and they couldn't hang around forever. They had to come,

get their work done, and go home. (Interview 118, 6/93)

Some of these population trends shifted again by the end of the 1980s. In 1987 the ratio of doctoral students to masters was 40 to 17. The mix between North American and international students was 50:50. And, the percentage of women had dropped to 45%. The overall size of the student community had steadily grown from 41 in 1978 to 57 in 1987; the community would remain steady at 55-60 student members into the 1990s.

Continuing the Dialogue: Hopes and Fears

At the Fall 1985 Retreat seven issues or problems were identified. At a three hour follow-up meeting, seven task groups were created and set about defining these issues and making proposals for change.

At a Spring 1988 Retreat, the Community took itself through another problem-posing and solving process. They termed this process "Futuring" and carried the topics over into the Fall 1988 Retreat.

Another special community meeting was held in Fall 1988 after the Retreat. This meeting was structured as a problem-posing session where Center members were asked to express their hopes and fears for the organization. This proved to be more of a cathartic exercise and left many feeling overwhelmed by the Fears and disillusioned with the Hopes. One anonymous Center member's wrote on the flipcharts under

Fears: "Does it pay to be sincere?" (Charts were reprinted in Fall 1989, Center Periphery, pp.15-17)

In Spring of 1989, the students organized themselves again into several small groups to try and deal concretely with some of the issues that had been raised the previous year. One group jauntily called themselves the "CIE Student Strike Committee," this name was later tempered to the "Concerned Students Group." This group tacked a mini-manifesto of concerns on the CIE Publications Office door and asked members to sign their names in agreement. Twenty-eight Center students eventually signed. The student strike was aborted when many realized that they would be striking against themselves. The staff were not involved.

The issues and concerns over the years are summarized below in Table 5.

Table 5

Summary of Community Issues: 1985, 1988, 1989

Fall 1985	Spring 1988	Spring 1989
Insularity/ Networking	Networking & Linkages	Research and Field Involvement
Lack of Diversity	Need for Multicultural Community Building	
Recruitment	Admissions & Recruitment	Minority Recruitment and Retention
Academic Cohesion & Student Support	Advising & Courses/ Academics/ Professional Development	Academic Programming & Advising
Internal Politics & Philosophical Focus	Explicitly Stated Values & Politics	Decision-Making Practices
Democratic Governing	Resources/ Budget/ Accountability	Funding Sources for the Center
	Program Development, Community & Field Activities	

(Summaries from (1) memo to Center Members, from the Retreat Group, 10/22/85, (2) memo to the Futuring Retreat Committee, from Mary Jo Connelly, re Revision of Draft Delphi Questionnaires, 5/13/88, and (3) memo to the CIE Faculty, from CIE Student Body, re Structural Change at CIE, 3/8/89)

The Participation Blues

Patience is required with participation. The issues of academic development, increasing diversity, clarifying philosophical and educational positions, research and advising, vigilance on standards of participation and maintaining a democratic process, networking and linking better with the "field," came up generation after generation. More emphasis may be placed on U.S. minority recruitment at one point, and advising over curriculum review at another, but the issues kept being raised for debate.

One doctoral student who spent ten years at the Center put it this way,

...it's tiring to participate.... I stopped coming because the issues kept repeating themselves. I guess it's important for everybody to go through this process, that's part of being at CIE. Conscientize yourself, recognize the contradictions, recognize that you're helpless in face of the contradictions, then get your damn program in and get the fuck out. (Interview 120, 6/93)

The challenge the Center faced with each wave of community-wide distress or problem-solving was how to keep the process meaningful and vital. Lethargy, impatience, and disassociation can be destructive to any attempt at participatory learning and management. During the special community meeting in Fall 1989, a summary of what gave people hope about the Center was generated as "Our Proudest of Prouds." It read:

Diversity of Students
Space for Creativity
Spirit of Community Building
Participatory Nature of the Center
Creating Courses, Committees, Publications, Projects
Concern with International Social & Ethical Issues
(from Center Periphery, Fall 1989, p.11)

The essential structures of the Center were not under broad attack in the 1980s as they were in the late-1970s, or under critical scrutiny as in the planning years. The committee structure was seen as workable and positive; modifications, redefinitions of authority and role were often proposed, but not a serious dismantling. So, within this CIE structure actions were taken to address the concerns, complaints, and criticisms.

Measures Taken

Student Orientation

During the 1980s the CIE organizational committee structure became more formalized. The planning years were long past, the dramatic reorganizations of the 1970s were complete. The Center now had an institutional history, a reputation in program development, a pedagogical identity; these were preserved and perpetuated through its organizational structures.

New student orientation was streamlined with a one day orientation with a paid graduate student facilitator, a one credit introductory seminar, a peer advising buddy system, and continuation of a September welcoming reception at a

faculty member's home. Not just the opportunity, but the responsibility to participate was emphasized. Committee sign up sheets were posted. CIE program development, governance, regular meeting times (Tuesday Center Meeting and Friday EXCOM), courses, School of Education forms, the now regularly scheduled Fall Retreat, Winter Holiday Party, Spring Tag Sale, and Picnic were described.

A doctoral student who entered in 1985 remembers the Center then as a "worker bee hive, people trying to make CIE work, bridge contradictions, incorporate new people" (Interview 002, Spring 1993).

Reaching Out to the Field

After the 10th Year Seminar, a metaphorical "Stool" had been created at the Center as a place for graduates to come and rest for a few weeks or a few months as visiting scholars or practitioners. Visits ranged from a Center graduate working for the UN in Paris returning for a three month in-residence visit to an Iranian Center member spending January 1986 as a visiting scholar. Every year, several Center graduates would stop through Amherst and speak in classes or at Center meetings. Using the network for program development, emergency fund raising, student recruitment, as visiting scholars, adjunct faculty, and job opportunities became routinized. The international newsletter, as opposed to the new internal newsletter (the

Center Periphery, 1986-89), became more of a tool for including graduates in Center activities than merely an alumni connection with old friends. The opinions, not just the support, of graduates were regularly solicited. The international newsletter (officially named Bricolage in 1985) began to include articles and editorials by graduates about new issues and concerns in the field.

A bulletin board was maintained in CIE corridor where letters, cards, photographs and notes arriving weekly from the network are posted. New publications, book reviews, and newspaper/journal articles about Center members' professional activities are posted on the wall. Job announcements, consultant opportunities received from Center graduates are hung on a board next to it.

In addition to Center graduates returning, the number of other visiting scholars and practitioners increased. In 1984 an educator from an Indonesian non-governmental community development agency spent six week at the Center investigating "social marketing." The Extension Supervisor of the Botswana Renewable Energy Technology came in November to explore NFE theory and method. Other visitors included Nepal's Joint Minister of Education, Under-Secretary of Adult Education, and Literacy Curriculum Officer, the Director of the Educational Research Unit at the University of Papua New Guinea. A Brazilian educator came to discuss

liberation theology and social justice; and a Chinese scholar discussed the changing status of women in China.

In 1984 Paulo Freire also visited the Center. His one-month visit was the first of five planned residencies over the next five years. In 1985, Rajesh Tandon, Coordinator of the Society for Participatory Research in Asia, came for a three day conference on participatory research. Myles Horton, founder of the Highlander Center, also visited the Center in 1985.

Horton returned in 1987. He and Freire would meet later that year to participate in a public dialogue at the Highlander Center in Tennessee. Their conversation are now transcribed in a book on critical education. Two Center members, Mario Acevedo and former Highlander staff member, Sue Thrasher, participated in the process leading up to this book. Freire would return again to the Center. In 1988-89, other visitors included Orlando Fals Borda, Arlene Fingeret, and Majid Rahnema.

The tradition of inviting noted practitioners and scholars from the field gained a toe-hold at the Center in the 1980s. By co-sponsoring visits, like Freire's, with other departments⁸ or organizations, the Center was able to

⁸ Freire's visits were co-sponsored by the Department of Sociology and the School of Education as part of a participatory research and learning project housed in the School of Education.

subsidize travel expenses or pay honoraria. Projects also sponsored visitors regularly.

Diversity

The CIE usually recruited students through word-of-mouth and recommendations from the network. Applications dropped off during the early 1980s and caused some alarm. However, advertising was never used. When applications rose again and admission became quite competitive at times, the recruitment of minority students became a greater concern.

The percentage of U.S. minorities at the Center was always very low. One of the founding fellows of the Center was an African-American woman. Since her graduation, the number of U.S. minorities at the Center at any one time could always be counted on one hand. This side of the diversity issue was often obscured because the Center could claim a multicultural community with the high representation of "international" students.

In 1986 the under-representation of U.S. minorities was brought out as a "burning issue" by several Center members, including one of the two African-American students enrolled at that time. This was brought to the EXCOM and an assistantship for U.S. minority recruitment was requested. The position was funded in 1988 and new recruitment strategies were implemented, including an article in the newsletter which read in part,

In the 20 year history of the Center for International Education there has consistently been little representation of Americans of color (as opposed to international students of color). There have been no Asian-Americans, no Native Americans, few Hispanics, and only a few more African-Americans at CIE.... In light of our guiding values, beliefs and practices, a sustained and systemized process for recruiting U.S. minorities for the Center is in our best tradition and interest. The presence of U.S. minorities will contribute richly to our collective experience and continued learning as educators. (Bricolage, 1988-89, p.21)

The lack of diversity among the faculty was also rekindled into a burning issue in the mid-1980s. The need for additional faculty had always been discussed, the urgency in the 1980s, however, was exacerbated by faculty sabbaticals and by George Urch's appointment as Associate Dean for Academic Affairs in 1986. While Urch remained active in Center affairs and still taught, he could not participate fully. In 1987 Urch was appointed Acting Dean when Mario Fantini was required to resign for health reasons. His position in the Dean's Office was seen as a strategic advantage by some Center members, harking back to the free-wheeling days when Dwight Allen was an active supporter of the CIE.

Thus in 1986 the Center began a new campaign for a minority faculty member. In January three members of the EXCOM, including Urch, began developing an action plan. The initial long and short-term strategies included:

- The "formal" route
- Special Opportunity Grant (from the Provost's Office)

- Adjunct Professor
- Fulbright
- Use of returned sabbatical salaries
- Faculty exchange
- State Department/Other government agency
- Diplomat in-residence program
- Seeking foundation support, e.g. Ford Foundation

(attachment to EXCOM meeting minutes, 4/11/86)

In October 1986 the Academic Matters Committee applied for a new faculty position through the EPRA Division - the "formal" route. Another group of students started a plan to get Julius Nyerere invited by the University as a Scholar-in-Residence, using the Freire visit model. An advertisement and job description were drawn up looking for a woman from Asia or Latin America to submit as a candidate to one of the affirmative action faculty positions through the Provost's office. By 1987 a candidate had been selected from the pool of applicants and a name was submitted to Dean Fantini.

In March 1987, Chancellor Joseph Duffey sent a letter to Julius Nyerere inviting him to become a W.E.B. DuBois Distinguished Scholar at the University at his convenience; also telling him that he had been nominated to receive an Honorary Doctorate Degree from the University of Massachusetts. The Provost was also invited to visit the Center and discuss their request for a new faculty position. At the next EXCOM meeting on April 3, 1987, faculty members Kinsey and Urch announced that all the money available for the Special Opportunities Grant was gone and there was no chance for any more funds. They also reported that Dean

Fantini had met with the Provost and says that "our faculty position was dead" (cited in EXCOM minutes 4/3/87).

By the following Fall, the candidate for the Affirmative Action position still expressed an interest. Another faculty search committee contacted the Vice Chancellor for Affirmative Action. In November 1978, the EPRA Division Chair sent a memo to Urch as Acting Dean formally asking that the Center's request for additional faculty be reactivated. As Acting Dean, Urch wrote a follow-up letter to a phone conversation with the Vice Chancellor stating,

The Center's request for a faculty position has received the endorsement and highest priority of the Division. It has been forwarded to the Dean's Office where it ranks with the top faculty priorities in the other two divisions. Unfortunately, as you noted, money is not available to fill any of the three priority faculty positions. (from letter to Dr. Zaia Giraldo, UMass Vice Chancellor for Affirmative Action, from George Urch, Acting Dean, School of Education, 12/2/87)

While the search was conducted for a new Dean of the School of Education, faculty positions were frozen pending the new appointment. In 1988 Marilyn Haring-Hidore became the new Dean of the School of Education. Urch returned full-time to the Center after a transition period. The next Fall, the state legislature began slashing the University budget and all faculty raises and hiring were frozen indefinitely. The new Dean started a reorganization process and program review

for each concentration. The annual budget cuts would continue into the 1990s.

Other funding avenues for a Center faculty position were still under investigation, most hopeful were foundation funding and/or attracting a Fulbright Scholar-in-Residence. Neither would work out in the 1980s.

A Renaissance in Academic Matters

In 1983 Roberto Jarry, a faculty member of the Universidade Federal da Paraiba, Brazil, had been a scholar-in-residence for four months. While at the Center Jarry organized a weekly discussion group on critical theory and workshops on alternative research methods and new approaches to rural development. The following semester Peter Park in the Sociology Department offered a new course, "Critical Theory and Research." That Spring David Kinsey put together "Alternative Research: Participatory and/or Action Research Options." What followed was a revitalization of Center curriculum. Freire visited in Spring 1984 and a Center publication, "Dialogue is Not a Chaste Event: Comments by Paulo Freire on Problems of Participatory Research" came out of this encounter.

The WID course was revamped. Abrams added an advanced seminar on alternative training models, and Miltz put together with three graduate students, a course on health education and liberation theology. The following year the

Center sponsored a conference on participatory research and social action centered around Rajesh Tandon's visit.

In 1986-87 the "Education and Nation Building" was expanded into a development theories class and co-taught by Evans and two graduate students.

Student dissatisfaction with the curriculum had been brewing for several years. Requests were made for expansion of the content areas into alternative development theories, more rigors academic evaluation, prerequisites or co-requisites and more balance between theory and practice. Participatory research bridged these perceived gaps. Almost like the Fellow's discovery of Freire and NFE back in 1968-69, participatory research resonated within the hearts of Center members, striking loud chords with those searching for an alternative theoretical framework. Critical theory added zest.

As Park, soon to become an associated CIE faculty member, wrote in a 1989 draft of his article "What is Participatory Research?":

Participatory research provides a framework in which people seeking to overcome oppressive situations can come to understand the social forces in operation and to gain strength in collective action. Its functions are both cognitive and transformative; it produces knowledge and links it simultaneously and intimately to social action. (Park, 1989)

Like a brush fire, the sparks from this "new paradigm for emancipatory science" (Park, 1989) swept through the CIE curriculum. The Academic Matters Committee had begun working

on course evaluations and curriculum structure in 1984; in 1986 a systematic course and syllabus review was begun. A sub-committee convened and worked with the faculty, if they chose, to revise reading lists. More courses were co-taught; this helped facilitate course revisions in some instances when faculty were already too overburdened to bring new life and perspectives to courses.

Participatory research could not become a trade mark for the Center like NFE; the contradiction of university sponsored participatory research and the vagaries of its methodology were too wide to bridge. Nor did the Center catch the first wave of interest in participatory research or critical theory. But, when they did, participatory research gave them an intellectual high that widened the Center's academic horizons with new roads into other areas of qualitative research and alternative theoretical frameworks, such as feminist theories, liberation theology, critical theory, and popular education.

Center member, Patrick Fine, wrote in an article for the 20th CIE anniversary issue of *Bricolage*,

[W]hen I was at the Center in 1984 the emphasis was on education for liberation, critical thinking, ways of applying people-centered approaches to development and defining what development is, not on mastering technical skills.... what I got out of living [at the Center] was help to develop and legitimize an outlook on life. (Bricolage 1988-89, p.11)

CHAPTER X
1990-1993, ERA #6: REVISITING THE PAST,
REVISIONING THE FUTURE

"Using Our Faculties"¹

The Center celebrated its 20th anniversary in 1988 quietly. Talk had been spun around about doing "something," a conference, reunion, putting together a book. A survey was sent out to alumni. But, time, funds, and in the end, participation, never got to the level where a 20th anniversary celebration would take place. Instead, a special issue of Bricolage was put together with articles by staff, faculty, and graduates reflecting on their times at CIE. This "special" issue was dedicated to the Center faculty and staff, " [their] work, care and commitment."

The student "strike," issues around multiculturalism, and as always, funding debates, distracted the on-campus community. Then in 1988-89 the state legislature began cutting away at the University budget. Over the next three years \$61 million would be taken away from the Amherst campus, and 500 full-time faculty and staff positions would be lost. CIE faculty and students would load up cars and the Center van and drive to the State House on Beacon Hill to join in the protests.

¹ "Using Our Faculties" was a section published in the Center Periphery for a couple years in which a student would interview a Center faculty member about different issues.

The Center faculty have always been a critical piece in this historical mosaic. Their administrative and academic roles changed according to course rotations and project developments. But these were circumstantial changes or reactive changes based on necessity and desire. Their more enduring and proactive roles were as "caretakers" with the authority awarded by long term commitment to the Center.

A side to CIE not dealt with yet in this narrative is the tangled issue of role versus personality. The role of "director" had been supplanted by the Executive Committee in an effort to share power more equitably. However, because of their caretaking and endurance, the four faculty remained foci of power and authority. These were not faculty positions or roles that had been filled by many people; these were roles that grew more defined over time by the personalities and charisma of the four men who remained.

A dilemma faced by an organization which defines its roles of authority by the people who fill them is the question of outliving those leaders. Have the roles been so closely defined by the personalities of those in them that they are inseparable from the organization? This became an issue for the Center in the 1990s. Coupled with the annual state-wide budget cuts stripping away faculty and programs at the University, the question of survivability beyond faculty retirements acquired a sharper edge.

When the staff were reduced to half-time in 1990 due to University funding cuts and the completion of BANFES, the faculty and students contributed time and money to help keep the Center going. Students volunteered to cover the office; and faculty revived the consultancy tax to keep pink slips in abeyance. The experiential authority of staff and faculty with 10 to 20 years of commitment to the Center would not be casually dismissed.

Roles were reexamined and a new capabilities statement written. Exactly what could the Center offer to potential funders over time? What were its "proudest of prouds" in terms of service? As faculty member Bob Miltz wrote in a letter to the network asking them to write the Chancellor about the budget cuts,

Instead of throwing in the towel and going in separate ways, CIE has pulled closer together.... We are not going to delude ourselves into believing, however, that this will not be a very difficult year ahead... CIE believes strongly that you cannot have a world class University and ignore the rest of the world. We see as one of our goals to insure that the University in general and the School of Education in particular pay attention to the crucial needs of the entire globe. (Bricolage, 1990-91, p.27)

Though this may not have been Miltz's intent, in terms of addressing the "University in general" and the "we" referred to in the article, his voice holds authority as a faculty member speaking for those who will remain. At this point more than ever in the past, perhaps with the exception of the Planning Year, the Center faculty would be the

leading actors in the story. Not just by volition, but in the support they generated from the Center community on-campus and internationally.

An anonymous Center member, identified as the "Fringe Reporter," wrote in the Center Periphery in Fall 1989 after the Search Conference,

More than a conference, retreat, or third world woman faculty, the CIE needs something to capture our diversity without sentimentalizing or trivializing our discord. Something that will celebrate our eternal adolescence. Something that will take us to a grungy, bottomed out state and reveal to us endlessly that the place where nothing seems possible is right next to the place where everything seems possible. We need a poet. (Center Periphery, Fall 1989, Vol. 4, No. 1, p.3)

Possibly the Center already had a poet, a number of them.

Starting a New Era

The memories Center members have of their time at CIE are rich, emotional, often passionate. Retrospective interviewing sometimes turned out to be like squeezing an almost finished tube of toothpaste. First, the memories were slow to come, but soon or later the paste would amass and then out would erupt the hallway encounters, parties, picnics, poetry readings, late night and classroom conversations, Center meetings, debates and old personality quirks.

Then, an open door would be closed, or I would be asked to step outdoors to talk, or to shut off the tape recorder. I was naively unprepared for tears, anger, rebukes and

solicitations, personal mementoes and the sheer pleasure many felt in remembering. In relistening to the interviews, I learned more. I heard without seeing their faces.

* * *

When memories are only a few years old, this epiphany-esque break through does not occur. I equate history with the past, even knowing this is like equating knowledge to a diploma. But as I grow older my present gets larger. "Just yesterday" could be two years ago. So the retrospection I sought for this "historical era" of the CIE is illusionary. This is a "critical era" for the Center that is not over. It ends with the present, and I cannot keep up with the present. This is a chapter that can not be finished in this narrative.

* * *

ReVisiting, ReVisioning

In September 1989 the students at the Center organized a "Search Conference." The goals of this conference were,

- To bring together as many member as possible of the CIE's community and together focus on the future.
- To map the networks of people and external pressures that influence the CIE.
- To draw out the CIE's history, the constraints on change, and the values to be carried forward.
- To work together to develop preferred visions of our educational roles in development work.
- To do action planning to implement the values and visions chosen paying attention to

questions of technical and social
feasibility.
(from draft of "Search Conference 89, September
15-16, 1989, distributed to Center community)

One of the conference organizers, James Cumming, wrote
in an article published as a chapter in a book on "Future
Search Conferences,"

... we are an international group of people
located in the USA environment. Trying to get that
out and discuss what it all means for us as an
organization may be asking people to do too much
during the conference. Another reason why the
external environment mapping may have failed is
because of the role the faculty played in this
event.

The major part of the first day of the
conference was spent "Looking at the Past." The
last session of the day was when all the sub
groups came back together and we tried to discuss
what all this data means for the CIE. It was then
we noticed that none of the four faculty members
were present. We discussed what their absence
meant and during that discussion the energy of the
group dropped significantly. (from Weisbrod, 1991,
Chapter 31)

This conference did not work for the CIE. Structured models
for communication and problem-solving were not the antidote
the Center required in 1989. A "Vision Statement" was
generated out of the conference. This statement began,

The Center for International Education is an
academic and research institution dedicated to the
pursuit of justice and global survival. The
primary aim of our education effort is to prepare
scholars and practitioners who are committed to
understanding and ultimately eliminating all forms
of oppression and its attendant exploitation of
the earth [sic] and its people. (CIE Vision
Statement, Revised Draft, 10/23/89)

Like so many petitions and student manifestos, this document never lived beyond its rhetoric. Without faculty investment in this process, the "vision" would have little meaning.

In the early 1990s, the Center went through another funding crisis; the issues that remained burning were cultural and racial discrimination (particularly around hiring graduate students), equity and respect, proactive versus reactive funding, and making clear the Center's political and philosophical stance. Visitors continued to come to the Center; the Literacy Support Institute arranged a visiting faculty position for Gail Weinstein-Shr.

The last vestiges of the 1968-69 "New School of Education" were erased. The School of Education reorganized again, this time into academic departments. Pass/fail was abolished by the faculty of the School of Education; course and area specialization requirements were instigated for graduate students. A faculty member, Bailey Jackson, was appointed the new Dean.

Center faculty member, David Evans, wrote an historical overview of the CIE for the June 1993, 25th Anniversary Issue of Bricolage. In it he says,

At this point in time, the Center is at an historical moment in which both the social and political world context and the "new" theoretical understandings that have arisen in the social sciences demand we change.

The idea of participation which the Center has adhered to for the last 25 years as a way of achieving the goal of development with social justice, equity and individual freedom is not sufficient to address the complexities of reality.

Our challenge is now to educate "deep" practitioners who can participate in a development that is sustainable... (Bricolage, 1993, p.26)

Thick Alternatives

In 1992 the planning for the CIE 25th anniversary was in its incubating stage. One of the "25th Reunion Committee" organizers put together a "thick" proposal for agendas and rationale. This report began,

Since the Alternative Research and Critical Theory course began in 1985, the shape of our questions have evolved: not so much "how is the alternative different from the conventional?" but rather, how do we really "do" the alternative, what happens when we do, how do we develop both the technical skills needed to do it and the "conscientising" confidence to act & reflect out of a consistently "transformational" perspective (when doing)?.... To find the answers to these "next question" questions, we need to educate ourselves differently. (memo from Deborah Fredo, to Academic Matters Committee, 11/5/92)

In Fall 1992 a Reunion Committee began organizing this event. Surveys were sent out to the network. Suggested topics fell under the general groups of Development, Adult Education, NGOs, Popular Education/NFE, Research, Knowledge Transfer, and Schooling (K-12).

Weekly day and evening meetings ensued. Telephone calls and faxes across the country and continents followed. Refinement of topics took weeks after receiving feedback and titles of papers for presentation from the alumni. Because of cost and facilities available, Amherst College was chosen over the University of Massachusetts conference facilities.

Daycare, airport transportation, accommodations for those arriving early and those staying beyond the conference were arranged. Everything from conference packets, new CIE t-shirts and baseball caps, a videographer, a system for recording and transcribing panel and workshops sessions, to the arrangement for the new Chancellor to speak at the Plenary Session were arranged.

The final themes highlighted in the conference brochure were:

- I. Action in the Context of Social Disintegration
- II. Outsiders, Insiders and the Locus of Control
- III. Participation & Hierarchies in Formal Education
- IV. Rethinking Education of Development Practitioners
- V. Market Ideology, NGOs & Education for Social Change
- VI. Multiculturalism for Accommodation or Transformation?

(from CIE 25th Reunion/Conference Seminar, June 1993)

The goal of the reunion/conference was

...to gather our own people together to share ideas, reflect on the ethical and practical dilemmas we have faced and then to set new visions for the future." (from 1993 Bricolage, p.2)

In 1993, June 17-20, 165 Center members from all over the world meet for three days in Amherst for the CIE 25th Reunion/Conference: "International Education & Development - ReVisiting the Past, ReVisioning the Future."

Epilogue

This narrative began at the CIE 25th conference/reunion when I first sat down with Center members from the past and started asking questions. In 1993, the Center network included over 400 people; nearly 300 students had been or were enrolled at the Center. Over its twenty-five years, 153 doctoral students and 117 masters students graduated from the Center. The Center had completed 45 development projects world-wide and produced 72 publications.

Every generation of Center students and staff were represented at this reunion/conference. Ten of the Founding Fellows, all but one of the 1968 Planning Doctoral Students attended. The on-campus community babysat, shuttled people back and forth from campus to conference, airport to Amherst. A video was made of the reunion; two students put together an impromptu photo collage for the reunion. Each panel and workshop was recorded and transcribed. Two Center members spent three months writing up a final report on the conference.

After the reunion/conference, a 5-Year Planning Task Force was organized to take the ideas and proposals generated by the conference and incorporate them into Center curriculum and program development (research opportunities). The Fall 1993 Retreat was devoted to continuing this process and in Fall 1994 an initial draft of a 5-year plan was

submitted to the community by the Academic Matters Committee.

I am not sure today, January 1995, what the "burning" issues are at the Center. For the past year I have gone the way of past Center members, finishing my doctoral program, writing this history. But, I think I could come up with a pretty accurate list of issues and challenges that the Center is facing today.

In her closing remarks and conference summation at the 25th reunion/conference, Center member Peggy Antrobus, tutor/coordinator of WAND, said,

I am grateful to the organizers for understanding that a sense of history is an essential prelude to revisioing the future.... People often forget the tremendous energy it takes to create the human body and the human mind. (cited in 1993 Bricolage, pp.2-3)

PART III: ANALYSIS AND CONCLUSION

CHAPTER XI
ANALYSIS OF THE STUDY

Reflecting on the Process

While writing the history of the CIE, I grappled with tension between my own creative urges and the sometimes contradictory interpretations rising from the events and historical actors themselves. Yet, I could not surrender the research to pure description or let the historical events and actors simply speak for themselves.

Had I not read closely enough between the lines of the historians and critical organizational theorists? No, I had understood their theories, but these had not really meant anything to me. I did not know yet how to make meaning of these theories in practice. The critical organizational historians I had read two years ago were correct; the narrative must be allowed to grow on its own and create its own framework and analysis (see Literature Review and Methodology). But, the subjective lenses and voice of the narrator must also be unfettered.

At times, only the empathy that I shared with the CIE bolstered my perseverance. It was this emphatic insight on which I hinged the validity of my observations and presentation of the data (see Barrett and Srivastva, 1991; Simmons, 1985 in Chapter II). Still, the anxiety roused by

this empathy often chased me away from my writing on desperate quests for creative inspiration and consolation.

Simmons (1985) had warned of this "epistemological paranoia;" but I underestimated her warning that "this anxiety about interpretation is one of the most demanding methodological tasks (302)." So, sitting down to write a conclusion to this study feels like the beginning of a new inquiry. And I realize that I must move beyond narration and storytelling to understanding and dealing with my own epistemological paranoia.

* * *

Now that the historical narrative of the CIE has reached the present, what can it tell us about the future? What has it told us about the past? Has all the "ferment, endless talk, and frenetic activities produced a new set of assumptions and operating techniques that can be generalized and institutionalized?" Can any meaning be made from this history?

To answer these questions, I will peel away the layers of the historical narrative to reveal the recurring, dialogical themes of this organizational community and draw out from these themes the underlying operating hypotheses of the Center for International Education. The lessons to be learned, any new set of assumptions or innovation in

operating techniques, lie hidden beneath the stories and events of the Center itself.

The Dialogical Themes

From the onset, I kept running across themes in the CIE history which now can reveal deeper layers of understanding. The themes which are the warp threads to the narrative were clearly evident to me when I started sorting the materials two years ago. This was perhaps a sort of pre-cognitive intuition due to my participation over the years as a Center member. Nevertheless, I soon came to realize that the themes represent what people were and are talking about at the CIE. These themes capture the organizational discourse and different organizational structures.

One way to put the themes into perspective is to return to critical organizational theory. Using Habermas's concept of "communicative action," Forester (1983) proposed that an analysis of the intersubjective experiences of actors in an organization allows better understanding of the moral, political, and social contexts shaping organizational life. He refers to this as studying the "structures of communicative interaction (1983: 234)." Forester writes that the study of the structures of communicative interactions of an organization offers an approach to,

... investigate the process by which a particular mode of organization shapes, offers, encourages, blocks, or makes credible criticism and learning (possible forms of discourse) regarding the

fundamental communicative claims (truth, rightness, sincerity, clarity of meaning) that constitute its very identity. (Forester, 1983: 240)

Teasing out dialogical themes exposes a deeper identity to (and understanding of) the CIE. Over the course of constructing the narrative and discussing my work with Center members, the themes were fleshed out. They are neither distinct from one another, nor illustrative of clean, clear-cut topics. They are messy and embody the messiness of CIE debates, dialogue, certain actions, and organizational discourse.

The five themes discussed in this chapter are:

Theme #1: Meeting the needs of the individual without sacrificing the needs of the organization.

Theme #2: Defining the balance between academic rigor and practical relevance (linking theory with practice).

Theme #3: Resisting cooptation while working within the "system."

Theme #4: Prescribing cultural diversity.

Theme #5: Promoting participatory management in a non-participatory environment.

The CIE's Operating Hypotheses

The hypotheses drawn from the historical themes are the "innovative flows"¹ that course through this organization's existence and illustrate the lessons learned by the CIE over

¹ This term comes from CIE faculty member David Kinsey.

25 years. These hypotheses represent a collective praxis evolved over time that can inform other organizational communities struggling with like issues.

By unraveling past events and making meaning from past dialogues, others can see how the CIE has tested these hypotheses and struggled to realize the values undergirding their organizational life. Failures, successes, and future strategies can be assessed. Here can be found the stepping off points for organizations like the CIE to engage in a critical analysis of their past and future.

In one sense, these hypotheses represent the new set of assumptions and operating techniques that have emerged from this historical narrative. In order for an organization to move from understanding to emancipation as a way of knowing, or move from emotive-expressive to critical action as a way of deciding and acting, their often unspoken organizational assumptions must be teased out and stated as hypotheses for testing and retesting.

Thus, these hypotheses can also be cast as anti-structures: Ways of knowing, doing and acting that constantly evolve and are redefined by the people who make them up and live within them.

The four hypotheses discussed in this chapter are:

Hypothesis #1: An organization can define its own social reality and construct a viable alternative body of knowledge.

Hypothesis #2: By valuing process over product an organization can elicit greater commitment from its members and facilitate co-learning.

Hypothesis #3: An organization can engage in radical/critical dialogue that can lead to paradigm shifts.

Hypothesis #4: Collaborative (or co-dependent) organizational relationships can increase survivability for non-traditional organizations.

Framing an Analysis

The value of historical inquiry is rarely disputed. The rationale for devoting intellectual or organizational resources to organizational history is more problematic. As stated in the Introduction (Chapter I), institutional memory is often an underrated resource for organizational analysis, especially in narrative form. Why venture into deeper waters when the ship is barely keeping afloat? Formal evaluations, capability statements and other routinely generated documentation often suffice as an organization's historical log.

Even within the field of organizational research, the tendency to be "ahistorical, aprocessual, and acontextual" prevails (Pettigrew, 1990: 269). This lack is acknowledged among many organizational researchers; more contextual, qualitative, and interdisciplinary approaches for organizational research exist, particularly among those referred to as revisionist or "critical organizational theorist." And, many critical organizational theorists argue

for an historical mode of inquiry into organizational development (for example, Heydebrand, 1983; Foster, 1986; Simmons, 1985, and Gillette, 1985; see Review of the Literature, Chapter II).

For an organization like the CIE that struggles with linking theory and practice and overcoming its rhetoric, having their own history in a handy package provides them with a mirror. In this metaphorical mirror, new and old members can see the faces and hear the voices of their predecessors. The history becomes a reflection of their present. With this mirror, they can trace threads of dialogues that seem unending or messy in their current time back into the past. And then themes appear.

Historical narrative can also present a map to organizations like the CIE that decide to travel down the paths of non-traditional or alternative management practices. This metaphorical map, like the mirror, can be a source for collective reflection. Organizations that venture in this direction are often chartless and tend to meander without clear sense of direction. By mapping their past, a range of operating techniques, mechanisms and activities employed successfully, or discarded over time, come to light. How the map is configured, what is not included, and what is most evident, reveals strategies and road blocks for future action. And out of these arise the organization's operating hypotheses.

On a larger level, an historical narrative can facilitate organizational research in moving from an interpretive mode to a critical mode of analysis. If we accept as a basic premise that our reality is socially constructed and with it knowledge, then study of organizational processes over time -- the ebb and flow of patterns -- helps us question our assumptions and learn more about the connection between theory and practice.

Three general models can be proposed to illustrate dominant frameworks for organizational analysis: the Rational Model, the Interpretive Model, and the Critical Model (see Table 6 below).

Table 6

Three Models of Organizational Analysis and Three
Organizational Processes

	Rational Mode	Interpretive Mode	Critical Mode
Ways of Knowing	Positive social science	Interpretive theory, phenomenology	Critical social theory
	Control	Understanding	Emancipation
Ways of Deciding	Rational decision- making	Emotive- Intuitive	Value- Critical
Ways of Acting	Instrumental action	Expressive action	Educative action (praxis)

From Denhardt (1984), p.184.

By framing the dialogical themes and operating hypotheses within this framework (Table 6), I aim to make new meaning of the CIE's organizational history. Table 7 (on the following page) places the dialogical themes and operating hypotheses gleaned from the Center's 25 year into Denhardt's Interpretive and Critical Modes of Analysis. Over these I have placed the three organizational processes -- ways of knowing, deciding, and acting -- to show the possibilities for better understanding the CIE's present organizational discourse, behavior, and opportunities for future developments.

Table 7

An Analytical Framework for the Center for International Education

	Interpretive Mode: Dialogical Themes	Critical Mode: Praxis Expressed as Hypotheses
Ways of Knowing	<p>Theme #1: Meeting the needs of the individual without sacrificing the needs of the organization.</p> <p>Understanding</p>	<p>Hypothesis #1: An organization can define its own social reality and construct a viable alternative body of knowledge.</p> <p>Emancipation</p>
Ways of Deciding	<p>Theme #2: Defining the balance between academic rigor and practical relevance (linking theory with practice).</p> <p>Emotive-Intuitive</p>	<p>Hypothesis #2: By valuing process over product an organization can elicit greater commitment from its members and facilitate co-learning.</p> <p>Value-Critical</p>
Ways of Acting	<p>Theme #3: Resisting cooptation while working within the "system."</p> <p>Theme #4: Prescribing cultural diversity.</p> <p>Theme #5: Promoting participatory management in a non-participatory environment.</p> <p>Expressive action</p>	<p>Hypothesis #3: An organization can engage in radical/critical dialogue that can lead to a paradigm shift.</p> <p>Hypothesis #4: Collaborative (or co-dependent) organizational relationships can increase survivability for non-traditional organizations.</p> <p>Educative action</p>

Ways of Knowing: From Organizational Understanding to Emancipation

Organizational ways of knowing are those processes used to make sense of actions, interactions, and gather new information. In the Interpretive Mode, organizational knowledge is recognized as socially constructed and the processes employed seek to understand the meaning individuals bring to the organization. In the Critical Mode, an organizational community seeks to "uncover those patterns of belief or ideology that inhibit our fullest development (Denhardt, 1984: 184-85)."

Throughout the history of the CIE, an organizational "way of knowing" has been embraced by:

Theme #1: Meeting the needs of the individual without sacrificing the needs of the organization.

This theme embodies institutionalizing community building and collective identity; acknowledging the need for and debating gender, class, and cultural representation in all aspects of the CIE community/organization. These dialogues bring to light the strong sense within the Center community of taking the "personal" seriously and making it political.

This theme also captures the cycles of student rebellion/dissent and faculty frustrations. Whether their practices are called nonformal education or something else today, the Center community holds dear the concepts of learner-centered education, education for empowerment and social change. To do this they try to "practice what they

preached," which often meant deep self-reflection and self-critique resulting in community fractures and eruptions.

In terms of the "individual time" or development of Center members, if I were to characterize a typical Center member, he/she would be at a mid-level professional, looking to develop specific skills pertaining to that career, accustomed to making organizational decisions, and working independently. Because of the CIE admissions process, he/she would have at least 2-5 years of international or community development experience, and believe that education, increased community participation and cross-cultural understanding can change society for the better. Thus, the participatory, learner-centered, experiential approach expounded by the CIE draws them in. This has not changed over time.

To continue this caricature, I would place this mythical Center member on the tail end of a number of schemes for self-development, for example, between the growth and loss of the interpersonal self and the institutional self (Kegan, 1982). Kegan draws parallels between his scheme and other developmentalists; thus, the Center caricature would fall at Piaget's level of "full formal operational," straddling Maslow's orientations of "love, affection, belongingness" and "esteem and self-esteem," and McClelland and Murray's stages of "affiliation" and "achievement" (for review see, Kegan, 1982). Kegan

describes this evolutionary process of growth and loss, this balance between the interpersonal-self and the institutional-self, by writing,

Like every evolution, it can be expected to bring into being a whole new way of organizing inner experience and outer behavior. And often enough before doing so, it can be expected to resist mightily and mourn grievously the loss of a way of making meaning that the self has come to know as itself. (1982: 225)

Kegan suggests that this theory can also be applied to organizations, and the development of an organization which nurtures this psychological development would feature "open, inter-personal process[es], with disclosure, support, and confrontation on value-stylistic-emotional issues (1982: 244)." These are some of the general principles underlying an NFE, participatory, or learner-centered environment. These are also underlying assumptions for management at the CIE, keeping the individual's needs as centrally important as the organizational needs. This is something the Center has struggled with constantly.

What these issues mean to individual development is that learning through crisis prevails at the Center. The CIE's orientation and socializing structures encourage what Kegan referred to as "open, inter-personal process[es]." These processes include the annual Fall Retreats, picnics and receptions, the weekly community meetings and reliance (often depicted as a mandate) on the participation in the committee system (as well as the informal social gatherings

that keep Center members "on the dance floor"). In this way, individual development often spirals through personal and organizational confrontations on a range of emotional and ideological issues.

Student rebellion or episodes of dissent and cynicism occur throughout the CIE history as these personal expectations continually fall short and confrontations escalate. There is nothing explicitly wrong with this; however, not everyone thrives under these circumstances. That the CIE weathers these periods, and allows for organizational decision-making to be highly personalized, might further contribute to the strong sense of community among the Center members, old and new. But constant upheaval caused by frustration at unmet personal expectations also hampers the efficiency of an organization, allows for wasted time and resources, and can eventually erode the quality of participation the Center requires for its successful operations. These occurrences also hamper their efforts to move their curriculum and pedagogy to a deeper level of practitioner "training" and realize a fully participatory learning organization.

Intervention might be considered at the Executive Committee level by changing its directives and degree of authority over all decisions, particularly Academic Matters; as well, the Admissions process and criteria could be another point of intervention. Current discussion is even

taking place at the CIE or redesigning the entire committee system. Nevertheless, looking at past individual's development through participation or dis-association over time, illustrates powerful episodes for organizational learning. Asking members of an organization to reflect on their personal development can shed new light on old problems, particularly for an educational organization. As one Center student said,

I knew something was happening to me... the Center became a surrogate family. You get your emotional needs met there, and when the Center doesn't act like a human being and love you right back all the time, well, you get enraged. 'How dare you treat me like that? That's not what you said in the brochure.' Cutting the umbilical cord helped me realize that this is just a room I am passing through and not to expect an institution to come up with answers in my life. (Side 8, CIE Tenth Year Seminar, archive tapes)

Stepping back from this theme and drawing out a lesson learned, I came to the following hypothesis:

Hypothesis #1: An organization can define its own social reality and construct a viable alternative body of knowledge.

This hypothesis, derived from the first theme as a means of organizational understanding (knowing), begins to address the question of whether the CIE's experience has produced a new set of assumptions and operating techniques for education.

Threaded through the narrative are a number of social and pedagogical values. Through its community interactions and organizational behavior, the CIE recasts these values

and recreates its internal community reality by allowing individual needs to hold equal importance with organizational needs.

The techniques they use are not new: the committee system for administration, community governance through democratic processes, collective decision-making on different levels, resource sharing, maintenance of cultural diversity, self-selecting membership based on participation instead of association or material needs, retreats, regular community building activities.

But their willingness to reconfigure how these techniques help them better live out and test their values (assumptions) is unique. In this way the CIE continually redefines its social reality, and allows organizational knowledge to emerge from its community. This anti-structure borders on institutional anarchy; yet this constant fluidity and redefinition of terms and purposes, teaches us how organizational operations can be based upon the individual skills, needs, interests, and passion of a culturally diverse, ever-changing community. But by doing this, they have become an organization that may never achieve secure permanence because the Center ultimately exists and operates at its finest through the lives of its members.

Ways of Deciding: Linking Theory with Practice

All organizations make decisions in a variety of ways, some more easily than others. The Interpretive Mode approaches decision-making on the basis of emotions and intuition. The Critical Mode provides a more integrated approach that incorporates Rational and Interpretive approaches. But, central to the Critical Mode [of deciding] is a critique of values and the need to move toward educative action. In the case of the CIE, "educative action" is embodied in their curriculum and pedagogical innovation.

As stated earlier, these themes are messy and not cleanly untangled from one another. The CIE's way of deciding is equally messy, but threading through whatever process they employ is the following imperative:

Theme #2: Defining the balance between academic rigor and practical relevance (the need to link theory with practice).

This theme includes debate around curriculum, academic evaluation, Center philosophy and goals; the community's obsession with an elusive "cutting edge" and clamor for new courses (alternative research, critical theory, women in development); efforts at academic peer advising and regional groups for co-learning; constant creation of ad hoc committees as a way for collaborative decision-making and better communication; their sensitivity to different learning styles and needs, and emphasis on individualized programs.

This also includes dialogue around building organizational capabilities and maintaining control over their admissions process; persistent concern and reference to keeping on the "cutting edge" beyond a pedagogical concern; the recurring introspection on program development and linking it with research/student opportunities; addressing graduate student professional goals, needs, and preparation.

Finally, this is illustrated by their efforts to create learning alternatives and opportunities for students both in and outside of CIE as a way of cultivating praxis.

When the Center jumped on the band wagon of nonformal education, the learner-centered, nonformal and participatory approaches to education were incorporated as topics into the curriculum and practiced to an extent in their development/research projects. It soon became evident that this is different than implementing a learner-centered curriculum. Implementation would require, among other things, complete curriculum change and course revisions every few years when the student community turns over and learner interests change. A mechanism for offering specific courses was developed, however, through allocation of a Special Topics seminar course number. These are usually developed by and conducted by students. Yet, the expectations of new students to find a comprehensive, learner-centered program remains.

There is a strong sense of "practice what you preach" that echoes through the Center. The CIE has yet to figure out how to incorporate participation and collaborative learning as processes in its pedagogical structures as effectively as it has into its management. But, unlike the institution in which it is located, the CIE does continue to struggle with linking its theory with practice.

The "revolution" of 1978 when the position of Director was dissolved and the five committee structure given new authority was based on this goal. In the 1978 "A Proposal for Change" used for discussion at the 10th Year Reunion/Seminar, phrases were included like "begin at home" and "practice what we preach." Ten years later when the Student Strike Committee tacked its manifesto up in the CIE hallways, again these epitaphs surfaced.

Threaded throughout almost every organizational decision or action is their yearning to live their emancipatory theories of education and social change. Whether they fail more often than not is another issue, because the steps they take to realize their passion is less than enough.

From this theme I inferred the following:

Hypothesis #2: By valuing process over product an organization can elicit greater commitment from its members and facilitate co-learning.

The CIE has invoked unusually high levels of emotional commitment and loyalty for both the organization and the

principles which the CIE espouses. By not viewing itself as a static, single entity, but a fluctuating, inclusive collection of different voices, the organization elicits personal ownership from its members. Membership is defined by participation in the organizational processes, not merely admission and name association. This is also connected with the first theme: meeting individual needs and linking theory with practice as defined by those involved.

Thus a lesson for other organizations is that opportunities for a wide range of participation in organizational operating systems generates greater commitment and loyalty from members. This includes organizational decision-making, planning, outreach, program development, research, and evaluation.

The danger here is paternalism which can occur if honest and real dialogue succumbs to listening without understanding, or token acknowledgement without active incorporation of other views. This is a tension and a problem the CIE has grappled with.

And when insincerity is discovered, the Center has lost members and community participation teeters along the precipice between tokenism and hypocrisy. But, by having in place the community building structures, a relatively ideologically homogenous community, and the operating assumptions that values the process of dissent, the Center has weathered these periods of recrimination and criticism.

More specific to its location within the University, is then an off-shoot of this hypothesis and one of the CIE's other operating assumptions; namely that it defines itself as a learning organization as opposed to a teaching organization. The personal experience and growth of the individual holds equal importance with, and is intertwined with, organizational development.

Ways of Acting: Moving to Praxis

A good example of an Interpretive way of acting is entering into the process of constructing a critical organizational history, somewhat like this study, except that it was not a collective, community endeavor. Interpretive ways of acting are expressive actions that reveal normative patterns (themes). A Critical way of acting means that,

...individuals bring together autonomy and responsibility, communication and consensus, theory and practice, into a mode of enlightened action through which they will educate themselves and one another. (Denhardt, 1984: 185)

Perhaps because the CIE is an organization straddling the organizational breach between an Interpretive Mode and a Critical Mode, three themes emerged regarding ways of acting:

Theme #3: Resisting cooptation while working within the "system."

This is the discourse of the relationship between the CIE, the School of Education and the University. This theme

illustrates the continual dialogue and debate around "proactive" vs. "reactive" program development; and, the recurring discussions around ethical issues in practicing international development.

This theme symbolizes the Center's search for an alternative paradigm and struggle with a CIE philosophy. This struggle can be traced back to the Dwight Allen years of reform through traumatic upheaval. The Center community remains engaged in a debate over whether change can come from reform within the "system" or a series of assaults from the fringe.

Reconsidering "organizational time" is valuable here. According to Gillette (1985), organizational time refers to the expansion, policy development, changes in autonomy and/or realization of goals and how they relate to the structural configuration of the organization (paraphrased, p.310). Organizations are sometimes looked at as maturing, almost organic, entities with life cycles (see Kimberly and Miles, 1980, for an overview of organizational life cycles). An analysis of organizational time does not necessarily imply looking at the life cycle of an organization, but, according to Gillette, it does imply developmental stages, and this resounds with life cycle analogies.

Considering the CIE along this level of analysis is problematic because in many ways it is a 25+ year old organization that is continually redefining itself, always

in a formative stage. As the individuals learn, so the organization learns; thus their administrative style often smacks of "crisis management," regardless of their location within a larger, relatively stable, institution.

This is due to their sense of organizational time being defined by, and often indistinguishable from, the collective individual time(s) at any given point in history. When faced with dramatic shifts in external affairs, such as a reorganization of the School of Education, or in the face of a new, imposing contract award, the CIE bubbles with creativity and action. These "crises" offer accelerated (and more exciting) learning opportunities for the individuals involved at that time who must deal with the situation based on their own personal experiences and not those of an organization. This situation has led members to frequently decry the Center as simply a reactive organization, floating like a leaf in the breeze. However, if they would look beyond their own experience, proactive development, has occurred at the Center. Three proactive developments occurred in the Center history that had an impact on the structural configuration of the organization:

1. The Planning Year of 1968-69.
2. The 211(d) grant and the creation of the NFE Center.
3. The restructuring in 1978 with the formalization of the five committees.²

² And, though it is too soon to determine, possibly a fourth: The 25th Reunion/Conference and subsequent 5-year planning task force.

While there have been other proactive activities, such as the creation of the Literacy Support Initiative, only these three had structural implications for the CIE: (1) the creation of the Center; (2) the formalization of project administration procedures by the NFE Center that carry over as a parallel administrative structure for future contracts; and, (3) the operational systems of the committee structure versus the earlier authority in the position of Director. The other events described throughout this history in relation to CIE organizational time are generally reactive to some sort of dilemma or specific event, such as a grant awarded because someone read a Request for Proposal and wrote a proposal, or the creation of a new committee to deal with specific issues like the Multi-Cultural Action Team (MCAT) in the late 1980s. And these, with their rapid realization of immediate goals, are often seen more clearly than incremental changes spurred by proactive development.

Thus a tendency toward redundancy of effort exists at the CIE; but it is also a result of allowing participation and encouraging involvement with each new group of students. (Redundancy may also be a covert strategy to resist complete assimilation (cooptation) into the larger institutional system of the University.)

With their acknowledged value of participation comes the dilemma of allowing new members to "own" organizational decisions, therefore, new decisions around the same issues

must be made anew every few years when the community turns over. In effect, this means the Center has developed anti-structures: policy development and organizational planning that are highly contextual, defined and interpreted subjectively by the immediate actors involved, and almost devoid of historical, incremental development.

A second theme falling within "ways of acting" is:

Theme #4: Prescribing cultural diversity.

The discourse of this theme tended to be highly personalized and full of conflicts and dissension among new and old, North American and "international" students, faculty and students. This is a very emotional issue at the CIE; my choice of "prescribe" is deliberate because of the never-ending sense among the Center community that cultural diversity has not been achieved at the Center, particularly among the faculty.

This theme also includes dialogue on the issues of funding and RA/TA support for students; issues of equal opportunity and U.S. minority recruitment; the strengths and uniqueness of the CIE Network/Community; and strategies for keeping the network alive and functioning.

Debate also centers around international development policies and political implications for admissions, recruitment, project development that involves international student admissions (e.g., South African admissions) and attracting funding from U.S. governmental agencies.

But, the history also illustrates that these debates around diversity often danced around the issues of racism and cultural sensitivity. Early concerns over rushing into "internationalizing" the community focussed on resource sharing and financial limitations at the time of this proposed expansion. The early Fellows were less concerned with the contradictions and cross-cultural clashes that might arise when a non-Western Fellow was expected to fully participate in their "mutual exploitation" and highly, individualized, "do your own thing" system. From this I draw the conclusion that they assumed that since all of the Fellows had "international," cross-cultural living and working experience, racism was not a deep problem. They held absolute the assumption that this was simply an inter-personal issue based on ignorance.

Later in the CIE history when the voices and concerns of "international" students were more resounding, the issue of cultural diversity was addressed more directly, for example in the aftermath of the 10th Year Seminar with the Third World Student Assembly. They did succeed in creating an international organizational community which was more embracing of varying cultural backgrounds to an extent greater than many other organizations. However, the historical narrative also illustrates a narrow definition by the CIE of what diversity means. This could be for any

number of reasons, more obviously organizational adaptability and needs.

Their struggles with racism and cultural sensitivity grew increasingly painful and personal, as many tended to center on individuals rather than the system. Nevertheless, ideological diversity, class diversity, North American racial and cultural diversity, physical ability and sexual orientation rarely entered into their community wide efforts.

Ideological diversity may be the most obviously manipulated; for the stability of the organization as well as the happiness of the individual, a certain degree of ideological homogeneity is maintained. Just as a mathematician would not be fully satisfied with the curriculum at the CIE, a politically conservative, evangelical missionary would probably be equally unhappy in this community.

But this points out more layers surrounding the CIE's prescribing diversity for its community. If an organization places diversity high on its list of priorities, what are the broader issues that they must face? How can the space be made in their organizational community if they start from a homogenous base? Are they willing to make the commitment to struggle? And, what are the historical, cultural, political and social structures in which they must operate? We seek

diversity to displace racism on an interpersonal level, but racism is perpetuated at the systemic level.

Finally, in terms of organizational action, a very messy, but prominent theme must be discussed:

Theme #5: Promoting participatory management in a non-participatory environment.

The discourse of this theme includes issues of workplace democracy, particularly concerning authority and power relations among students, faculty-staff, faculty-students (e.g., abolishing the position of Director). This theme also comes to play in the CIE relations with the School of Education and funders in meeting requirements (and regulations).

This theme embraces the Center's continual struggle to reach consensus; their issues of cross-cultural sensitivity in defining how "participation" works when mandated and/or defined ambiguously; and their collective urges for social equity. Over twenty-five years, the Center has not let go of their ideal of becoming a fully participatory and collaborative learning community.

Looking at the CIE, while it is part of a larger educational institution and the expectations of its participants is that of students in a degree granting program, over and over again I heard the expectation of a participatory or collaborative, learner-centered, experiential organization as why individuals elected to

study at CIE (as mentioned earlier under "ways of knowing" with Theme #1):

I had always said that I didn't want to go through all those courses, all the rigamorole. (Interview 113, 6/93)

... up to that point in my life, education had been jumping hurdles, not really taking responsibility for it. (Interview 114, 6/93)

This points out an obvious contradiction: encouragement of participation within a traditionally non-participatory environment. Over time, numerous episodes arose out of this widening contradiction between the Center and the University.

The decision to develop academic centers based on the expressed interests of both students and faculty was explicit during the Planning Year (1968-69). The "Do Your Own Thing" attitude was enforced. The Special Doctoral Program and the aborted Portfolio System lingered through the years into a no requirements, no grades, student self-designed program of study. This attracts a certain type of student (and faculty) and promotes a high level of individualism. Not until the 1990s was this system abandoned with concentration requirements, some specific course requirements, and grades reinstated. During the early years, many, if not all, of the "centers" were engaged in some sort of collective decision-making process and experimentation with participatory management of at least the curriculum. In 1995, the CIE stands alone in its insistence on active

student participation in administration and curriculum development.

In terms of management, this NFE, participatory learning approach was manifest as a student-run, committee structure with an attitude that all points of view must be embraced. But again, several problems arise out of this manifestation: (1) Student-run is not the same as learner-centered, nor does it inherently imply sharing of power or participatory decision-making. Over the years, the mere existence of a committee structure has become equated with participatory management without the quality of shared or collective authority. (2) The "do your own thing" attitude remains alive in many ways at the Center: the decision made 25 years ago to promote two levels of operation, the personal and the programmatic, still stymies their ability to make decisions as a group. Coupled with the attitude to not exclude any points of view, means the CIE philosophy and mission remain vague and open-ended. Thus, participation remains both a goal and an ideal.

From these three themes regarding ways of acting, I developed two hypotheses:

Hypothesis #3: An organization can engage in radical/critical dialogue that can lead to a paradigm shift.

This hypothesis is based upon the CIE's deliberate efforts to create a work environment defined by dialogical relationships. Namely, they demand that each member strive

for co-learning through critical dialogue, and question their ideological assumptions and values. As an intellectual community they have remained acutely aware of the need for practical relevance linked with theoretical innovation. By having a highly transient community and building strong links with Center members in the field, they have been able to recheck and redefine their ideological assumptions about international development education with the field. This reflection-action-reflection cycle represents an underlying principle of nonformal and emancipatory education. They understand that their organizational reality is socially constructed, and as such is always changing. This is a difficult task and perhaps only achievable when a large percentage of staff are educators and researchers by training.

This search for new paradigms is most clearly manifest in the CIE curriculum as it evolves over time; by allowing for collective control and assessment over courses and research projects, they make room for the tensions between obsolescence and innovation to bubble to the surface and demand attention. By further choosing to allow dissent, they create the space for critical dialogue around emerging issues. By promoting the contradiction of participation within a non-participatory environment and continuing to prescribe diversity, the Center fosters critical analysis.

This requires great organizational resilience and patience. For other organizations seeking this kind of intellectual or ideological spin, the community building practices of the Center have many lessons. Since the beginning of this organization, community building has always been a priority with allocated time and resources. Most obvious is their tradition of "retreating." While many organizations use a retreat to solve a specific problem or start a specific planning process, the Center retreats for community reflection, regardless of whether a problem exists. Thus, debate rises for the occasion.

Other community building activities aimed at more social needs allow for development of respect and trust among community members. This trust and respect keeps heated and passionate debates around ideological issues from becoming threatening; individual dissent does not necessarily lead to disillusionment or disassociation.

In living this hypothesis, the Center shows others the value of placing greater importance and resources into organizational processes than simply their products. At the CIE, process, versus content or outcome alone, is seen as a vital part of individual, organizational, and pedagogical growth.

And lastly,

Hypothesis #4: Collaborative (or co-dependent) organizational relationships can increase survivability for non-traditional organizations.

One of the major contributing factors to the CIE's survival for 25 years has been its location within a university. This situation has also created many of their organizational crises, especially around the issue of ideological and practical autonomy. However, this location has enabled them a high degree of financial security and stability; this location is also their principle attraction for recruiting a diverse community. Without the stable fiscal and administrative base of the University, the CIE would have been limited very early in the types and amounts of funding it went after as well as new community members it attracted. The University provided a degree of credibility and accountability for the CIE that independent, community development organizations constantly struggle to insure.

In addition, having the security of their four core staff members salaries guaranteed (the faculty), and not having to worry about the telephone being shut off, has allowed the Center to devote energy toward building a participatory, multi-cultural community. Even when pink slips had to be handed out to staff, the Center never faced extinction: with the faculty present and students still coming in for degrees, the existence of a basic community was never threatened.

However, while the financial and other resources provided by the University are enriching, the Center's relationship with the School has become increasingly

problematic. Thus there are caveats attached to this hypothesis. For a small, non-profit organization to develop a relationship with a traditional, large institution like a university, very clear boundaries must be drawn, particularly around the issues of shared benefits and ideological compatibility.

As the ideological gap between the CIE's operating and pedagogical values and the School's position has widened, boundaries have become blurred. Their relationship is no longer one of mutual or agreed upon benefit. The School is now demanding to know what the rationale is for supporting this association. Their pedagogical focus has narrowed to more formal systems of education. While the CIE continues to experiment with alternative, nonformal education practice and theory.

The extent of their organizational drift away from the School is being minimalized in some ways as the Center attempts to simply justify itself from a defensive point of view (in 1995). An alternative tact the CIE might consider is to redraw their locational boundaries, and redefine what is mutually beneficial to both organizations without cooptation. If the School cannot accept the mutual benefit of nonformal and innovative educational practice and research without diffusing its meaning, then perhaps the CIE must relocate itself.

This points to another caveat for other organizations: long-term association with a larger, traditional institution requires constant vigilance to avoid exploitation or abuse. This vigilance means continual renegotiation, deliberate trust building, and real dialogue between organizations. Public relations and politicking do not suffice; and putting up an external facade of acquiescence only exacerbates distrust when boundaries are blurred. But when dialogue fails, a safety net for sudden escape should be in place, if only to prevent ideological suicide.

Another important caveat is that the smaller, more dependent organization must always remain in control of the selection and orientation process of new members, in the case of the CIE -- Admissions. Without this, the smaller organization risks the danger of losing its essence.

Closure

As an organization evolves, deliberately or in reaction to external challenges, it acquires greater capacity to learn or to fail. By studying these fluctuations, organizational researchers may be better able to understand organizational development and assess organizational success; and move beyond an interpretive mode of organizational analysis to a critical mode.

However insightful for researchers, this meta-level of analysis may seem much too abstract and ephemeral at a

particular moment of crisis for individuals involved in an organization. As a friend of mine once said, "I'm tired of learning through adversity."³ The sequences of events leading up to the reorganization of the CIE in 1978-80 show an emphasis on organizational learning after the fact, as do other events, assessing decisions already made and directions already taken. Accusations of racism, sexism, ethnocentrism, and political cooptation grew from "whispering in the hall"⁴ to statements flung like daggers across the L-Shaped room every Tuesday morning. These are powerful episodes in the history of the CIE that present and future community members can learn much from. It is important to remember that the actual event, the words spoken, are just as valuable as the meta-analysis.

As I alluded to in the Research Methodology (Chapter III) part of my intent was to seek out and play with alternative levels of analysis as would result in, for example, the development of "anti-organizational" theory. Instead of examining a specific facet, or the traditionally analyzed aspects of an organization such as the effectiveness of leadership or efficiency of channels of

³ Quote from Jane Benbow, CIE 1994 Ed.D., while recounting one of her many personal stories.

⁴ From an interview with a North American, woman doctoral student who replied when asked how the reorganization of the CIE happened, replied, "...some of it was behind the scenes, whispering in the hall, you know." (Interview 118, 6/93)

communication, I chose to employ a multi-dimensional, or inter-connected mode of analysis and develop hypotheses that might inform other organizations.

In the beginning, two assumptions underscored this study; (1) organizational histories are interwoven with the personal histories of the people who make them up; and, (2) by revisiting the past we can learn as much about the present as about the future. Now that I am at the end, I have uncovered another assumption: that the ultimate analysis, and test of value, of this study is in the meaning that the members of the CIE community make of it and the action it may spawn in the future.

CHAPTER XII

CONCLUSION

The Narrator Awakes

After sitting down to reflect on the past two years of research and writing of this historical narrative, I realized that between these covers are really two "books" embedded in one: an historical narrative of the CIE and a dissertation. While immersed in the historical narrative I lost sight of the original thesis and theoretical underpinnings proposed for the dissertation. This was good. But, in order to make sense of both the research process and the presentation of the data (the historical narrative), I had to look at these as separate but symbiotic creatures; and, try to understand both "books" as a whole.

The "understanding" in this case refers not so much to the Center for International Education, as to the way we make sense of any organization. But also part of the "understanding" is a level of awareness that emerged during the process of writing an historical narrative about an organization in which I am also a member: the relationship of the narrator to the people whose life stories are being told. Both of these levels of understanding are fluid and constantly evolving. It would have been much easier to hang this organizational history on a single, static analytical framework for display/analysis; but, then the original goal

of letting a narrative emerge from the data and stories told would have failed.

Making Sense of an Organization

The historical narrative can stand by itself. It captures a life of an organization. The dissertation, as its pieces are now constructed, cannot stand by itself without the historical narrative. However, the actual process of writing the historical narrative could have been left out of the dissertation. A thesis proposing historical narrative as an alternative method of organizational research and analysis could have been defended on a theoretical level without the actual inclusion of a narrative as evidence. Many times during the writing of the narrative, I wanted to stop a seemingly unending task. I had gleaned enough information from my experience as a researcher to continue with the discussion of historical narrative as a tool for critical organizational analysis. However, by originally proposing a 25 year span of research and starting at a that 25 year reunion/reflection point with my informants, I could not stop until I had brought the CIE back to 1993. Now with this starting point two years in the past, and having witnessed continuing stories of the CIE, I see more clearly the irony of ever summarily completing an historical analysis: The present colors our understanding and explanation of the past in rapidly and dramatically changing

ways -- with every new year we advance into the future, so our interpretation of our past changes. And, in an organizational community where organizational history may not be widely known, this pursuit of common understanding can turn into misunderstanding and distort pursuit of shared interpretation of present events.

The Relationship between the Narrator and the Organization

Ultimately, this is a history of an organization that is defined and redefined by the people who make the personal commitment to participate in, learn from, and contribute to its livelihood over time. This is an organizational study that looks at how members of an organization respond to various challenges at different points in its history.

Now, there is a history to this research itself. The original purpose of this study was to develop a thematic history of a nontraditional organization based on archival materials and retrospective interviews of past and present members. My motive for embarking on this arose from an active personal interest in this organization, the possibility of applying a critical theoretical framework to organizational analysis, and a personal investment in the completion of my doctorate.

A unique research opportunity provided by a 25th reunion of this organization fueled my interest. This interest was further sparked by concurrent planning efforts

of the reunion organizers who saw the reunion as an opportunity to embark on a five-year organizational visioning/planning process. While the reunion organizers were asking reunion participants how the organization should move into the future, I was asking questions about how this organization got to where it is today.

Only after collecting all the data for this study, did I realize the complementarity of these two "research projects" and the irony "old" Center members must have felt as they tried to learn about the present CIE while current members inquired about the past and others projected into the future. Now that I am about to graduate and become an "old" member, I see another level of irony: The double edge of the Center as a vehicle for this study as well as for my for my own education.

In May 1995 I was asked to present my "historical findings" at a Tuesday CIE Community Meeting, since the Summer departure times for many were approaching and they were curious about what had come out of this study. The September before, one of the largest new groups of Center members was admitted (17) in recent history. So, the institutional memory of the CIE in the room was relatively short.

After explaining that I would not be evaluating the organization, but that my presentation would be restricted to the historical research, I spoke for an hour on various

events that I thought profound in the CIE's organizational development. The first question asked after the presentation was about how the CIE past can help the community deal with their present situation. This situation involves yet another restructuring of the School of Education proposed by the new Dean in which the CIE effectively no longer exists. I did not answer the question, but explained how my "present" at the CIE was still somewhere in 1993. During this question/answer period, I also found myself referring to the Center community as "them" or "they" and not with "our" or "we" as I had always in the past.

This question, asked in earnest, illustrates my naivete two years ago in thinking that organizational history can be an end to itself. After talking with both current and past CIE members, I have realized that this historical narrative has less value as an historical collage or "time capsule," than as a starting point for different reflection and dialogue around future directions for the organization.

"Expression" as a Path of Inquiry: A Next Step

Determining how or whether these dialogues will occur is beyond the scope of this study. Moreover, after completing the historical narrative, I had distributed copies to ten CIE members. I asked for them to identify factual error or glaring omissions, as well as for their

reactions to the document as a tool for organizational analysis.

One reader simply said that it made her cry, "that old emotional attachment thing (Reader 201, 3/95)." Another said, "everyone who was a member can hear their own voice in it (Reader 202, 5/95)." Others pointed out errors in dates or names, and a few made suggestions about specific events or issues for analysis they wished to be included. But beyond a general sense of appreciation for the effort and a joy at reminiscing by old members or pleasant curiosity by new members, the reactions I anticipated about the usefulness of this narrative as a tool for analysis did not arise.

Only after listening to the group reactions and questions during the Center meeting presentation did I even realize what had happened. The narrative itself is not an end to itself. Now this historical narrative is a source of data woven together by a narrator who is another source of data.

A good chunk of the usefulness of historical narrative for organizational analysis lies simply in the process itself. The process of eliciting "critical moments," teasing out themes and letting others bubble to the surface, then weaving the stories together into a narrative -- this is a path to making new meaning out of organizational development.

Reason and Hawkins (1988) propose "story-telling" as a new "methodology of meaning-making as part of human inquiry (p. 82)." They write that social science inquiry can be viewed as having two paths: explanation and expression. Explanation is the dominant mode researchers use for reflecting and processing experience. Expression, which "requires the inquirer to partake deeply of experience, rather than stand back in order to analyze (Reason and Hawkins, 1988: 80)," has almost been ignored, but is no less valuable. They summarize,

To make meaning manifest through expression requires the use of a creative medium through which the meaning can take form. This is not to be confused with a conceptual grid which divides up experience, it is rather the creation of 'empty space', ... which becomes a vessel in which meaning can take shape. (1988: 81)

The dialogues that may arise out of discussions by future readers of this narrative will, hopefully, start the storytelling process anew, and create the "empty space" for future planning at the CIE. Each reader will make unique meaning of the CIE's past and apply it in different ways to his/her own experience. And this, according to Reason and Hawkins, is how,

... science can learn to tell good stories, and then explanation and expression become married, and the progeny are theories born of story, and stories born of theory.... 'and [then] there is no end to the stories which are told.' (1988: 101)

These never-ending stories, I leave to future Center members to tell as a community.

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