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**The Role of Space and Place in Enabling Resistance at a Global Scale:
The Case of Pearson College**

Alette Willis, B.A.

A Thesis Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research as Partial Fulfilment
of the degree of

Master of Arts

Department of Geography

Carleton University
Ottawa, Ontario
May 16, 1997

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“The Role of Space and Place in Enabling Resistance at a Global Scale:
The Case of Pearson College”
submitted by Alette Willis, B.A.
in partial fulfilment of the requirements for
the degree of Master of Arts

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June, 23, 1997

Abstract

Through a case study of Lester B. Pearson United World College, this thesis explores possibilities for a politics of place. Through the spatial strategies at Pearson College students come to see themselves as international citizens and are enabled to resist nationalist and other exclusionary discourses. To examine how space is used to produce such students, a discourse analysis of College promotional materials was done as well as a survey of, and interviews with graduates. This case study allowed for an examination of theoretical approaches such as: Foucault's disciplinary power, Smith's interpellation, Lefebvre's production of space, and Massey's progressive sense of place. Through the empirical and theoretical work, it is argued that places are produced through intervening in the flows of space. An effective politics of place should involve producing places containing the conceptual resources to challenge discourses which have large scale hegemonies. Pearson College is such a place.

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Chapter 1 - Politics of Space

1.1 Spaces for Politics

"'Change life!'" 'Change society!' These precepts mean nothing without the production of an appropriate space." (Lefebvre, 1991: 59)

Is an appropriate space a necessary pre-condition to social change? What role does space play in limiting and enabling social change? With the intention of contributing towards the development of a politics of place, this thesis explores these issues with a particular focus on the role of space in enabling or constraining resistance on the level of individuals. The main question that this thesis addresses is: how do space and place enable people to resist some discourses and accept others?

Merrifield argues that "[a]ny emancipatory politics presupposes a dialectics of space, a particular set of theoretically informed spatial practices aimed at overcoming separation and dissociation between the global 'whole' and the 'local' everyday " (1993: 526). In order to explore the possibilities of such a politics of place I critically examine the experiences of the graduates of an international school, Lester B. Pearson United World College of the Pacific, where almost every aspect of the everyday is informed by the global. This school aims to help bring about global social change, and to contribute towards peace and international understanding by bringing students from around the world together to one place, a place which serves to represent the world as it could be. It is hoped that their experiences at the College will change them so that after graduating they will return to their respective countries and work to promote peace and international

understanding. In a sense then, Pearson College seeks to produce graduates, who will be 'leaders for a changing world'¹.

I came to look at the politics of place of Pearson College through my own experiences as a student there. From the impressionable age of seventeen until I was nearly nineteen I lived, learned and worked at Pearson College amongst people from almost every part of the globe. Part of who I am was shaped by those experiences and yet some of the students with whom I shared these experiences, have done very different things in life than I. This institution did not produce a series of clones. Rather, it produced individuals with widely divergent values and life paths.

Through changing students' beliefs, Pearson College attempts to enable students to resist certain discourses when they return to their home countries. Because Pearson College takes very spatial strategies in attempting to facilitate these changes, it provides a useful case study of a politics of place. By studying Pearson College, I hope to gain some insight into how people come to have certain assumptions; how they come to believe in and value the things that they do. It is these beliefs, values and identities that both enable and constrain people's behaviour. It is the role that space and place play in the negotiation of identity which I believe should be at the heart of any politics of place.

1.2 Culture Meets Politics

Some of the most promising work on the interrelations and interstices of space, the individual and society is found in the recent growth in studies on the 'subject' in the new cultural geography (e.g., the collections of articles found in Duncan, 1996; Pile and Thrift, 1995a; Bell and Valentine, 1995a). New cultural geography, like critical cultural studies from which it in part draws, has been a specifically political project (Turner,

¹This quotation is taken from the Pearson College letterhead.

1992). It has aimed to study the geography of culture in order to illuminate the ways in which culture functions to maintain power relations and how power relations shape culture.

In one of the central texts of the new cultural geography, Maps of Meaning (1989), Peter Jackson outlines the roots of the new cultural geography in,

"the current rapprochement [sic] between social and cultural geography. It suggests that cultural geography must be contemporary as well as historical; theoretically informed yet grounded in empirical work: sympathetic to other conceptions of human geography rather than focused exclusively on landscape; and concerned with a range of cultures and with the cultural politics that this implies...As a serious intervention in the culture of modernity, the 'new' cultural geography has an insistent critical, political edge." (Jackson, 1989: 8)

New cultural geography emerged out of earlier criticisms that social geographers had of the Berkeley school of cultural geography's approach to culture (Ley, 1981). One of the earliest appearances of the term 'new cultural geography' in the academic literature was in a 'progress report' on *social* geography, by Peter Jackson in 1983. Jackson has since become one of the key figures in this area of research.

In the initial institutionalisation of the new cultural geography it was "presented as explicitly theory-informed (but not necessarily theory-driven), political and attentive to the problematic of power relations and social structures" (Rowntree, 1988: 579). One of the main legacies British Cultural Studies gave to cultural geography is the infusion of politics into the study of culture (Jackson, 1989: 2-8) although it must be acknowledged that concern with the political was already present in some Sauerian cultural geographical work (Duncan, 1994: 361). Moreover, the subject matter that new cultural geography deals with, landscape and place, have been dealt with by cultural geographers for decades, (Rowntree, 1988: 582). Indeed, it could be argued that the significance of the 'new' cultural geography is not found in any breaking with earlier work, but in the way in

which it weaves together what have traditionally been viewed as unrelated fields and objects of study (Matless, 1995a: 380)

One obvious field of study for new cultural geography is 'culture'. New cultural geography grew in part out of a criticism of the superorganic theory of culture lying at the heart of Berkeley cultural geography (Cosgrove, 1990: 562). The superorganic theory of culture was replaced by a notion of culture as contested (Jackson, 1989: xi), and as a "signification system within an arena of social struggle," (Cosgrove, 1992: 274). Although new cultural geographers have focused on deconstructing many of the categories by which people are categorised and differentiated (such as race, gender and sexuality), it is only very recently that some have turned to an examination of how the concept of culture itself has been reified (see Matless, 1996; Mitchell, 1995 and 1996; Jackson, 1996; Cosgrove, 1996 and Duncan and Duncan, 1996).

Cosgrove argues that the cultural turn in geography should be applauded because it signals a move away from the post-war bias towards economics as the primary means of explaining human conduct (Cosgrove, 1989: 566). Cosgrove frames the importance of studying culture within the context of a 'new world' which is determined, to "reinscribe ethnic and cultural difference onto the world map based in large measure on attachment to land" (1992: 272). It is precisely this conceptualisation of cultures as ontologically real entities which can be mapped exclusively onto territories which is often used in the contemporary world to justify conflicts such as the war in the Balkans. For this reason, social scientists interested in studying culture should use the concept cautiously so as not to contribute to its' reification. For example, in her study of patriarchy, race and nationalism, Penrose is careful to point out that race and culture are artificial categories socially and politically constructed (1990: 427). Like race, culture is only one, arbitrary way of differentiating between people.

With their general consensus that culture is a site of contestation (Jackson, 1989), new cultural geographers for the most part do not reify culture. For example, in a reply to criticisms made by Mitchell (1995), Jackson does not define culture, he merely delimits it:

"We [Jackson and Mitchell] agree that 'culture' is not causative and cannot be used as an explanation for social differences in the material world. We agree that 'culture' is socially constructed and often bitterly contested. We agree that 'culture' is an ideology that has historically been wielded by the powerful." (Jackson, 1996:573)

James and Nancy Duncan agree with Mitchell (1995), that culture is not causative, that it cannot be 'employed as an explanatory variable (1996: 577). However, they still believe that culture can be specified in some way,

"culture is a fluid process without internal coherence or boundaries...Culture may seem a chaotic concept but it merely reflects fragmented, highly contested, often hybrid and always fluid signifying systems." (Duncan and Duncan, 1996: 577)

In light of these ongoing debates about culture, for the purposes of this thesis I will define culture as an ever-changing set of signifying systems which are themselves ever-changing and are often in conflict with one another but which are coherent or contiguous with one another in some way.

By extension, then, individuals are positioned within many different signifying systems through which they derive meaning for the world around them. These sets of signifying systems may be understood as discourses. In this thesis, discourses are defined as being comprised of language, practices and subject-positions (roles which individuals may identify with). A discourse is "the use of socially organised linguistic and semiotic constructions to mobilise meanings in the service of power" (Dalby, 1990: 4). Although culture cannot be understood as having any causative power, discourses do have such

powers because they "describe, define and delimit what it is possible to say and not to say" (6).

This thesis focuses more specifically on discourses rather than on culture. Although I agree with Cosgrove (1992:272), that it is important to study culture, I would argue that it is not culture itself which is the causative power behind phenomena (for culture can have no ontological reality). Rather, it is the signifying systems which make up cultures which have the power to enable or to constrain resistance. Indeed, the theorists that I draw upon in this thesis, tend to examine social relations through discourses without themselves, explicitly theorising culture.

Besides links with cultural geography, this thesis also has something in common with research in political geography. Because Pearson College seeks to intervene in international relations, albeit at a personal sub-governmental level, this study is also relevant to work in critical geopolitics. Arguably, the most successful aspect of Pearson College is that it enables students to transcend the stereotypes of foreign 'others' which they may have acquired in their home countries. Stereotypes are not benign misinterpretations. By contrast they are one of the most important weapons in the legitimisation arsenals of governments world wide. Stereotypes can be used to justify everything from trade policies, to weapon build ups, to wars themselves. One area of work in critical geopolitics focuses on analysing the way in which certain dominant Western security discourses have served to create threatening 'Others' (stereotypes) whether they be Soviets (Dalby 1990; Sharp, 1993; O'Tuathail and Agnew, 1992) or people of the Middle East (O'Tuathail, 1993; Sidaway, 1994). Rather than deconstructing such discourses, this study will examine ways in which they can be challenged through spatial practices. It will do this through studying the politics of place of an institution which is attempting to provide a context in which the stereotypical construction of foreign 'Others' can be challenged. Although this research has much in common with

some work in critical geopolitics, its' focus is primarily cultural geographical. For this reason, then, tracing the evolution of political geographical thought is beyond the scope of this thesis.

Figure 1.1 - Map Showing the Location of Lester B. Pearson College of the Pacific in British Columbia

(Based on DeLorme, 1994)

1.3 Pearson College as a Politics of Place

Lester B. Pearson College of the Pacific is a place which seeks to embody global space in order to effect social change. By bringing two hundred students together from over seventy different countries to live, study and work together, the College hopes to contribute towards world peace and international understanding. The official goals of the College are:

"1. To provide an education in the total sense, which will produce involved, active, educated citizens whose attitudes of understanding and service will be a force against bigotry and hatred between peoples.

2. To provide a practical demonstration that international education works and that it can build bridges of understanding between peoples." (Lester B. Pearson College, 1991a: 3)

The unofficial College motto is a quote from Lester B. Pearson's 1957 Nobel Peace Prize acceptance speech:

"How can there be peace without people understanding each other and how can this be if they don't know each other?" (quoted in Lester B. Pearson College, 1994: 50)

Pearson College seems to have been founded on the premise that spatial proximity is necessary for people to know and to understand one another.

Lester B. Pearson College emerged out of a NATO movement that began in opposition to the bigotry of Hitler's Germany and the growing hostilities of the Cold War era². In 1975, Lester B. Pearson College, the second of ten United World Colleges, opened on the west coast of Canada (see Figure 1.1). The first United World College, Atlantic College, opened in 1960 in Wales. Atlantic College was the inspiration of Kurt Hahn, who had come to England as a refugee from Hitler's Germany. Hahn wanted to

²The information on the history of Pearson College has been taken from Matthews, ?.

found a school that would counter the growing hostility of the Cold War through providing an internationally oriented education. Hahn is also the founder of the Salem School in Germany, Gordonstoun School in Scotland and the world-wide Outward Bound Schools movement. He was also involved in setting up the Allies' commando training program during the second World War. Atlantic College was meant to be the first of eight Colleges, one in each NATO country. However when Lord Mountbatten became the president of the movement in 1967 he pushed to give it a world rather than a NATO focus, and named it the United World Colleges movement.

The history of Pearson College represents a history typical of enlightenment endeavours. It is a history of 'great' and 'powerful men', in both the political and corporate spheres. In 1968, Lester and his wife Maryon visited Atlantic College. Through the persuasion of Lord Mountbatten and Maryon, Lester B. Pearson agreed to become the Honorary Chairman of the Canadian United World College National Committee and in order to provide the leadership to establish a College in North America. Jack Matthews, who had been a teacher at Gordonstoun School with Kurt Hahn and who had been involved in the United World College movement since his son had attended Atlantic College in 1967, was appointed the first headmaster of the Canadian College. The list of the people involved in setting up the Canadian College is too long to be included here (see Appendix A). Suffice to say that included amongst their numbers there were Senators, Colonels, Generals and Chief Executive Officers, all of whom, with the exception of the secretary Mrs. Olive Rolls, were men. Due most likely to the initial involvement of Lester B. Pearson, a former Liberal Prime Minister of Canada, many of the people involved in the College have been affiliated with the Liberal Party of Canada.

Because the initial Board of Trustees was a working board, they were very much involved in setting up the College, devising original policies and raising start-up funds. It can therefore be assumed that their experience as 'great men' and 'Liberals' had some

influence upon the discourse and the space that they were creating. One of the key policies they instated was that all students would attend on full scholarship in an attempt to ensure that individuals were selected on merit not financial means. Now that the College is well established the Board no longer takes such an active role. However, the College is still dependent upon the involvement of corporate and political elites for the raising of funds to keep the College operational and to maintain the College's scholarship policy. A great deal of capital is therefore tied up in Pearson College.

Lester B. Pearson died in 1972 before seeing the College site. It was named after him as a memorial. The College is located in a forested area of Pedder Bay, on the West Coast of Vancouver Island, a forty-five minute drive from Victoria. A great deal of time and effort went into finding the perfect site for the College (Matthews, n.d.a: 3). The choice of the site (Matthews, n.d.b) and the design of the campus (Matthews, n.d.a: 10) were deliberate strategies to facilitate the creation of bonds between people of different nations and to instil a sense of global identity in students.

The College admitted its' first one hundred students in the Fall of 1975. Today the two hundred members of the student body encompass over seventy different states³. By policy, however, approximately one quarter of the students are Canadian. Each country has a selection committee that is responsible for choosing candidates. According to College guidelines, suitable candidates should be between the ages of sixteen and twenty years and they must have completed at least the equivalent of ten years of North American schooling. Although selection is not by academic merit alone, a high level of academic capability is required. In addition to academic achievement, prospective students must also have demonstrated some type of commitment to their communities and have "what the noted educator Kurt Hahn called a 'grand passion' (i.e. any pursuit -

³The following information is taken from Lester B. Pearson College, 1991a.

music, dance, social issues, the arts, cultural beliefs, etc.)" (Lester B. Pearson College, 1994: 5). Although English is not an entrance requirement, most classes and extra-curricular activities are offered only in English.

Students attend Pearson College for two years and follow the International Baccalaureate curriculum, recognised by most universities. The International Baccalaureate (IB) was devised in the 1960s with the assistance of Atlantic College and Kurt Hahn. Students are required to participate in activities called services which contribute to both their own community and to the community beyond the College. Similar to Outward Bound programs, many of the 'College Services', such as Land Rescue or Diving Service, involve an element of physical challenge and even potential danger. The creative arts are also emphasised and students are encouraged to share their various cultures with the College community in the form of cultural performances.

The education (or production) of a Pearson College student does not merely happen in the classrooms or during services, folk-dancing, or choir. Rather, it takes place throughout the everyday practices in which s/he engages. The entire Pearson College experience shapes the minds of students. Through living, working and studying together at Pearson College, teenagers from around the world become Pearson College students and go on to become Pearson College graduates. The conception of what a Pearson College graduate should be like and ideas of how to produce such a graduate emerged from the Anglo-Western world within the international relations context of World War Two and the Cold War. Although there have been ongoing changes at Pearson College, its' policies and aims have remained fairly constant over the twenty years of its' existence and there has been no systematic review of the College and its' policies. Such a review is scheduled to take place in the summer of 1997.

Pearson College is a place which has been designed to instil a global identity in a group of young people. It seeks to contribute towards global social change through

producing individuals who will challenge ignorance, prejudice and bigotry when they return to their respective countries. In this light, then, what are the spatial strategies that the College employs? What impact does the College actually have on students? Does the College experience enable graduates to resist bigoted discourses when they return to their home countries? In an effort to learn more about how space and place enable resistance these are the empirical questions which this thesis will examine .

1.4 Studying a Politics of Place

In order to contribute to an understanding of resistance and of a politics of place, this thesis will analyse the spatial politics embodied in Pearson College as it is played out on the level of individual graduates of the College. This chapter has outlined the historical and geographical contexts of Lester B. Pearson College as well as outlining briefly aspects of the academic literature relevant to this thesis. The second chapter involves a more in depth examination of the academic literature in both geography and related disciplines. It focuses on work that has been done on the role of space and place in instilling an identity in people. Having set the historical, geographical and theoretical contexts of this research. Chapter Three summarises the empirical research strategies used to examine these theories.

The remainder of the work, chapters Four, Five, Six and Seven, details the findings of the empirical research. Chapter four provides an excavation of the dominant discourse of Pearson College. Chapter Five describes the changes that graduates perceive were facilitated by their Pearson College experiences. The following chapter assesses how these changes were enabled by aspects of Pearson College. In Chapter Seven I return to the theoretical questions raised in Chapter Two, discussing the implications of my empirical research findings to an understanding of resistance and the politics of place.

Chapter 2 - Enabling a Politics of Place

2.1 Introduction

Recent writings in the area of social theory suggest many different ways of understanding resistance. Within the framework of this thesis only a few selected theoretical perspectives will be examined. A key argument of this thesis is that resistance is produced as much as compliance is, and that the production of space plays an important role in the production of resistance. In order to develop a place based politics accounting for the idea that social space is relational and that many of these relations are global in their reach it is necessary to understand of how resistance is possible. Specifically, can the empirical evidence that people resist dominant discourses be accommodated by social theory without recourse to a theory of the individual as an autonomous actor? In Discipline and Punish, one of the ways Foucault proposes that resistance is possible is because the micro-physics of disciplinary power can be appropriated by anyone to achieve any goals (1995: 26-27). As I want to argue here, however, resistance is much more complicated.

The resolution of these issues, I believe, lies in exploding social space and place with the insertion of a theory of the individual which locates resistance in the contradictions between his/her history of multiple subject-positions. As Doreen Massey asserts: "if it is now recognised that people have multiple identities, then the same point can be made in relation to places" (1993: 65). Drawing on Paul Smith's (1988) theory of multiple interpellations which places agency in the contradictions between the multiple subject-positions within an individual, I propose a rewriting of Lefebvre's theory of the

social production of space (1991). As individuals are interpellated into subject-positions in places, I argue that the possibilities for a politics of space lie in the *contradictions* between the many spaces which make up social space.

Although the interpretation of social space that I develop acknowledges that everyone has some power to influence space and shape place, each individual by no means has the same degree of power. If space is defined as the flows of goods and information (Merrifield 1993), there are two options available to people in controlling space. Individuals either attempt to erect boundaries to restrict certain flows or they attempt to cross already constructed boundaries. Although everyone is able to intervene in the flows of space, following Massey (1993) I argue that different people have different degrees of control over movement; that is they have access to or are confined to different spatial scales. I argue that this is a form of power, a spatial power, consisting in the paired tactics of preventing some flows from reaching places while enabling others to penetrate more places. It is this power which allows people to shape space and thereby influence others through controlling which conceptual resources are available to them in which places.

Although micro-physics of disciplinary power make use of space and may be used in attempts to control space in order to produce resistance, I will argue that disciplinary power is neither necessary nor sufficient to a politics of place which is resistant to 'modernist' discourses. To lay the groundwork for this argument I now turn to a brief examination of Foucault's disciplinary power and the uses that some geographers have made of his analyses.

2.2 Geographies of Subjectivity

2.2.1 Disciplined Bodies

Although he does not write specifically on culture, Foucault's analyses have much to offer new cultural geography, particularly through his understandings of power/knowledge and the constitution of subjects. To the extent that Foucault does insist on being context specific in his histories, both in terms of time and place, he can be understood as making an effort to be culturally specific. However, the focus of his research is on discourses, that which, I have argued earlier, make up culture.

Dillon (1995) provides a good synthesis of Foucault's ideas about power. He emphasises that power operates through knowledge in the form of discourse (324) and that power is not negative but enabling. This power/knowledge constitutes "individuals as empowered subjects by specifying the norms and standards which they should subscribe as subjects, in such a way that they discipline themselves by internalising and seeking to live according to these criteria" (Dillon, 1995:325). The "paradox of power/knowledge is...that it is that very subjectification to power that is empowering" (324). A particular power/knowledge produces a subject which "is simultaneously both a body that is empowered to act and one that is also subject to power" (324). For my purposes, the weaknesses in Foucauldian approaches to understanding the power/knowledge of discourses lies in the assumptions made as to how discourses are internalised and the way in which resistance is postulated.

Although Foucault frames his analyses as being histories of the present, it should be stressed that his writings are concerned with the past. For these reasons, Foucault's work on disciplinary power has been useful to new cultural geographers interested in the history of Western culture. Examples of such work include examinations of institutions

like Victorian madhouses (Philo, 1994), and reformatories (Ploszajska, 1994) as well as discourses surrounding outdoor recreation (Matless, 1995b) and Victorian cities (Driver, 1988). The work on institutions has demonstrated that they manipulate spaces to discipline people into prevailing moral discourses of the time.

One of the main attractions of Foucault to geographers lies in the importance he ascribes to the role of spatial relationships (the distribution and arrangement of people, ideas, activities, institutions and buildings in space) to history (Philo, 1994:276). Particularly through his work Discipline and Punish (1995), Foucault has examined how space is used to discipline specific behaviours onto people. However, as Foucault has been concerned with historical studies, his analyses should be applied to contemporary social phenomena only with caution.

In drawing on Foucault, geographers have focused particularly on disciplinary power because of how such power makes use of space. Disciplinary power derives from hierarchical observation and normative judgement (Foucault, 1995: 170), both of which operate, in part, through the manipulation of space. To give some idea of Foucault's disciplinary power, I will outline briefly aspects of his concept of micro-physics⁴. The first micro-physic of discipline which Foucault describes is that which encloses a place which is heterogeneous to other places and closed in on itself, such as a prison (141). Discipline also works through analytical space which is the assignment of each person to a place and to each place an individual (144). For example, the idea that 'very bad' criminals belong in high security prisons while juvenile delinquents belong in reform schools illustrates the concept of analytical space. To facilitate discipline through surveillance, each task is given a place, this strategy is called the micro-physic of functional space (145). An example of using space for surveillance would include

⁴For a more detailed accounting of the micro-physics of disciplinary power see Foucault, 1995: 141-169.

assembly lines in Fordist factories. Based on systems of ranking, people and objects are also assigned places in relation to other things (146). For example, in some schools students might be placed in seats based on their performance in class. Other disciplinary techniques include drawing up classification tables, prescribing movements, imposing exercises and arranging tactics⁵ which are the strategic combination of micro-practices of disciplinary power (167). The object of disciplinary power is to produce docile bodies: bodies which are able to perform a particular practice better and are more dominated by the discourse of which that practice is a part (138). Disciplinary institutions, especially schools and prisons, have as their goal the instilling of a certain set of moral beliefs (the dominant morality of the society) upon their inmates through disciplining bodies (125).

Ploszajska's study of Victorian reformatories (1994) is a particularly good example of how geographers have used Foucault's work on disciplinary power. The spaces of reformatories were manipulated in two ways: first through the location of the institution relative to other spaces of society and, second, through the layout of the institution itself. Institutional design functioned as a mechanism of moral discipline (413) or micro-physics of power (Foucault, 1995: 26). Such designs allowed for surveillance of inmates, accommodated segregation of certain individuals so as to prevent 'moral contagion', and facilitated some sort of peer pressure, or self discipline (Ploszajska, 1994: 422-425). These reform schools, then, were spatial solutions to moral degeneracy which Victorians perceived to be in part a spatial problem (416). The Victorians believed that certain environments, such as inner-cities, produced anti-social behaviour while, by

⁵"Tactics, the art of constructing, with located bodies, coded activities and trained aptitudes, mechanisms in which the product of the various forces is increased by their calculated combination are no doubt the highest form of disciplinary practice. " (Foucault, 1995:167).

contrast, other environments, such as rural areas, were conducive to the development of moral uprightness.

Pearson College has much in common with Victorian reform schools. It too seeks to instil a certain morality in students through the manipulation of space. Pearson College was designed to promote a certain world view and aspects of location and layout were chosen specifically to meet these goals. While there are disciplinary practices discernible at Pearson College, the approach and success of the College cannot be explained through recourse to micro-physics of disciplinary power alone.

The intent of both the reformatories (Ploszajska, 1994: 418) and Pearson College is to produce psychological change. However, how psychological change emerges out of discipline is not theorised in these Foucauldian geographies. Indeed, Foucault himself rather simplistically sees the soul (that which is not the body) as the result of the disciplining of the body. As he writes: "[r]ather than seeing this soul as the reactivated remnants of an ideology, one would see it as the present correlative of a certain technology of power over the body." (1995:29) To be fair, Foucault sees the effect of disciplinary power on people's souls as partial. He argues that disciplinary power works on "the soul, too, but in so far as it is the seat of habits " (128). In his study of disciplinary power Foucault focuses only on the power of practice, one aspect of discourse. As Dillon has indicated, though, the power of discourse lies in the prescription of behaviour. Disciplinary power may force people into behaving in a certain way but people will not necessarily believe in the world view behind such behaviours. Convincing people to believe in a discourse can have as much, if not more, effect on a person's behaviour than disciplining their body. Focusing on the body, Foucault leaves belief and the psyche largely untheorised.

Although the Foucauldian approach indicates how individuals come to be literally placed into discourses in an often physical and constraining manner, it cannot

account for how people come to identify with (be interpellated into) the subjectivities into which their bodies have been placed. By focusing on the spaces and on the main discourse that shapes these spaces and their use, these Foucauldian inspired geographies foreclose effectively the possibility of resistance (Sibley, 1995: 82). In their interpretations of Foucault, geographers have tended to focus on unified spaces in which only one discourse appears to be present; a discourse postulated to dominate society in general.

In part, the foreclosure on resistance is a product of the research agenda of geographies in the Foucauldian tradition. Such writers have focused on how a particular status quo is maintained, not on how social change is enabled. Their work has focused on how people are disciplined into modernist subjects through spatial micro-physics of modern power. The College differs significantly from institutions of discipline because it seeks to create leaders who are critical thinkers and who are, therefore, not docile bodies. Furthermore, the morality which Pearson College represents is also in many ways different from the morality dominant in the home societies of most students.

In Discipline and Punish, the way in which Foucault seems to envisage the possibility of resistance, is that the micro-techniques of disciplinary power can be used by anyone to achieve any aims (1995: 26-27). However, disciplinary power is associated with a modernist power/knowledge system and cannot, therefore, be used independently to produce subjects who are able to resist such a world view. My examination of Pearson College will show that micro-physics of disciplinary power are not the only tactics of power used. In order to understand how Pearson College produces subjects who are capable of thinking critically and yet committed to the College ideals more attention must be paid to how people come to believe in the discourses to which they are exposed and subjected.

Essential to an understanding of how people come to identify with a discourse is to assume, as Matless (1995b) does, that there is a multiplicity of discourses in the world. His paper on the Preservationist movement in England in the 1920s and 1930s (1995b) is more open to an understanding of resistance than most other geographical work drawing on Foucault's ideas, for Matless acknowledges that there are competing discourses on the English countryside. Although the Preservationists did own some of their own spaces, (e.g. youth hostels) the space that they used primarily to promote nationalism was the extant British rural landscape (99). Matless asserts that the existence of other discourses about that space, such as those of the political left (98) or hedonistic discourses, threatened the discourse and discipline of Preservationists (114).

Like Matless' use of Foucault, Dillon's paper on governmentality and international relations (1995) is also useful in understanding power and resistance because he acknowledges the presence of different discourses. However, Dillon goes farther by discussing two other forms of power: sovereign power and governmentality (335). Indeed, it would seem that Foucault's work points to each power/knowledge system as having its' own micro-physics of power with one system being irreducible to another. Dillon is particularly interested in how modern states make use of power/knowledge in the form of governmentality which refers to that aspect of state power that attempts to control and order citizens through philosophical, rather than legal means (330). Identity is also central to this order for as Dillon comments:

"Furthermore, because there has also been a question of order [in governmentality and sovereignty] there has also been a question of identity; because, if the ideal of modern times has been self-government (for democrats as well as for totalitarians, in the peculiar way in which the latter elevate the collective over the individual) , the issue of self-government necessarily raises the question not only of the identity but also of the very constitution of the self to be governed." (Dillon, 1995: 349)

To achieve this order, modern states employ discourses of inclusion and exclusion which delineate friends from enemies (328). These are the official and popular discourses of national security.

In looking at resistance to such discourses, Dillon focuses on knowledge and world view rather than on disciplinary power. He asserts that these discourses are challenged by the movement of people because this movement enables resistance to discourses by throwing knowledge into doubt and "knowledge in doubt radically problematises the exercise of power, because the one is the principal medium of the other" (346). The movement of people problematises boundaries, and notions of political belonging and identity through bringing people into contact with difference that they may be unable to account for within their frameworks of understanding. Dillon comments on the result of bringing people into contact with different Others, "being off the scale is, therefore, precisely what calls into question not simply the measures that the community takes in respect to the stranger, but the very measure by which the community constitutes and takes stock of itself: its own scales, the justice of its laws and its regimes of governance." (359) Pearson College functions by orchestrating movements of people such that individuals come into direct contact with strangers whose behaviours and world views are beyond those of their previous experience. Pearson College pursues this strategy with the intention of breaking down those discourses of governmentality which divide the world into 'friends' and 'enemies'.

2.2.2 Performing Subjects

Foucauldian geographies have not been the only ones to focus on the behaviours of bodies. Those, predominantly feminist geographies which draw on Butler's theory of performativity (e.g. Cream, 1995; Bell and Valentine, 1995b; Valentine, 1996) also emphasise what bodies do. Because geographies of performativity deal explicitly with

the consciousness of their subjects, they better illustrate the limitations of theories which emphasise what bodies do rather than what minds believe. Geographies of performativity show, more clearly than those that focus on discipline, that people do not necessarily believe in the identities implied by their actions.

The geographical literature of performativity deals mostly with the social (performative) production of gender and/or sexuality. As Butler asserts:

"'performativity is neither free play or theatrical self-presentation'. Gender is not a style, or a game that can be played. It is the forced reiteration of norms, the repetition of 'regulatory fictions' that constitute the subject" (Butler quoted and paraphrased in Cream, 1995: 159).

Despite the claim that performance constitutes subjects, the geographical literature about performativity is haunted by a figure behind the 'masks', someone who chooses to do the performing. It is this performer who is absent from Foucault's work.

Here, I only focus on one use of performativity by geographers; an article by Bell and Valentine (1995b). I have chosen this paper not because it is necessarily representative of all the literature, but because it most clearly illustrates the pitfalls of the theory of performativity. Bell and Valentine admit that implicit in their use of social theory is a sense of individuals as manipulative and of behaviour as a disguise (148). One of the three 'sexual agents' that they choose to highlight in their study of identity performance and space is the passing lesbian. Given that there is a 'regulatory regime' within society which seeks to control sexuality through stigmatisation, discrimination and violence, lesbians often choose to pretend to be straight in certain situations and spaces (146). That lesbians perform heterosexual identities in some spaces to avoid 'regulatory punishments' (146), demonstrates that individuals do not necessarily always identify with the identities that they perform. We may, therefore, conclude that not all performances constitute subjects. 'Regulatory punishments' may be equated with micro-physics of

disciplinary power. People who are forced to behave in a certain way are not necessarily psychically constituted by that behaviour.

Instead of examining why some performances produce subjects while others do not, Bell and Valentine slip into an almost essentialised sense of the individual. They cite research showing that lesbians who pass in public as straight women consider their lesbian identity to be their 'real self' [sic] (148). The quotation marks would seem to indicate that Bell and Valentine do not believe in a real self. However, soon thereafter they also classify women who have lesbian relationships but do not consider themselves to be lesbians as 'non-reflective' in contrast to those women in lesbian relationships who do identify as lesbians. There is, in their classification, an implication that the women who do not identify with a lesbian identity are in denial of the 'truth'. I would argue that the women who perform lesbian 'identities' in private but do not identify with that 'identity' are neither more nor less reflective than women who perform heterosexual 'identities' in public and do not identify with that 'identity'.

One possible reason for the condemnation of women who do not identify with being lesbian is that Bell and Valentine have reduced the multiplicity of discourses which abound in a culture to a dichotomy of two: those which oppress and those which resist,

"Within the tense arena of sexual politics, the performative choices available to those with non- or counter-hegemonic sexualities are in part an embodiment of the regulatory regimes which operate to constrain the possibilities of performance, and in part a claiming of the sexed self as a site of resistance precisely to those regulatory regimes. *The tension between these discourses of regulation and resistance*, as they are enacted through the sexed body performing in space, are articulated in different ways at different times and in different places." (emphasis added, Bell and Valentine, 1995b: 143)

I would argue that the relations between the discourses which make up a culture are usually much more complicated than Bell and Valentine imply. Although I have earlier defined culture as a set of signifying systems which are often in conflict with one

another, I do not believe that there can be either an essentially regulatory discourse or an essentially resistant discourse. Regulation and resistance are relative concepts and form part of every discourse in terms of how it may be related to other discourses within a culture. An analysis of Bell and Valentine's paper suggests that every discourse is regulatory in some way, offering punishments such as stigmatisation (e.g. 'non-reflective') to those who resist a particular discourse, as well as providing a position from which to then resist other discourses.

Despite the problems with Bell and Valentine's use of performativity to understand the production of individual identities, their work does contribute to an understanding of the production of spaces. As they point out, performances create spaces (149). The repetition of heterosexual performances therefore creates a heterosexual space in which other sexualities are perceived as deviant or even non-existent.

I agree with Bell and Valentine that through performing the subjectivities of discourses resistant to the discourse dominant in a space, individuals can be agents of resistance. However, I disagree with their assertion that the 'passing-lesbian' is an agent of resistance because she is able to infiltrate straight space unnoticed (156). Rather, I argue that there is no act of resistance until the lesbian identity is performed in that space at some future point, revealing that a woman is capable of performing both identities, and challenging thereby the 'purity' of the heterosexual space and the naturalisation of the heterosexual subject within it. In this hypothetical moment another discourse will be manifested in that space: a discourse in which it is 'natural' to be a lesbian. The performance of a lesbian subject-position in that space would then challenge the normalising disciplinary power of the discourse of heterosexuality.

Discourses are enacted and brought into spaces through performances by individuals. Performers, however, do not necessarily believe in what they are performing. The theory of performativity cannot explain why people internalise only

some of the subjectivities that they perform and not others. The main contribution of the theory of performativity to an understanding of the politics of place is the idea that performances create spaces and that people, therefore, have the power to change spaces through performing contradictory subjectivities.

2.2.3 Multiple Subjects

Parr and Philo (1995) term the discourses manifested in a space, such as the lesbian and heterosexual ones outlined above, 'conceptual resources' (209). In an article examining 'madness' in contemporary England, they focus on how individuals negotiate their identities as they move through different places (200) and come into contact with various conceptual resources. Specifically, they examine how the paths that de-institutionalised mentally distressed people take through the city shape their sense of themselves. "It is across and through this mish-mash of sites...that mentally distressed people encounter a proliferation of discourses (and also concrete practices) which influence their identities in different ways, if only partially and if on occasion only because individuals react *against* what they are hearing and experiencing" (211). The ways in which these people acknowledge their 'mad' identity, explain it to themselves and to others, and manage and resist that identity is associated, according to Parr and Philo, with the conceptual resources 'contained' within the spaces through which the individual moves (210).

Most importantly, for the purposes of my research, Parr and Philo do not assume that individuals automatically adopt the identity that the place they are in ascribes to them. They see places as intervening in the negotiation of identity through providing the stimulus or context (the conceptual resources) in which an individual must choose to accept or to resist the identity being ascribed to them (200). Parr and Philo's account of the relationship between space, place and identity also accounts for the 'flux' of the

individual as s/he moves through different spaces. For the most part, their account of the relationship between space and identity is attained through assuming that conceptual resources are fixed in place and that space itself is unchanging.⁶ There is also no clear articulation in Parr and Philo's paper as to how the actual negotiation of identity occurs.

Gibson-Graham (1995) also conceive of an individual's identity as being made up of multiple subjectivities. They examine the political possibilities of these multiple subjectivities through comparing the political actions of miners' wives in two Australian mining towns. In both places, mining companies proposed to change the shifts that miners would be required to work. However, in each place the wives reacted differently to this proposal. Gibson-Graham argue that analyses of this discrepancy which focus on just a single plane of identity, such as class or gender, fail to explain the difference in the responses by women in the two communities. They conclude that the reactions of these women resulted from the set of multiple subjectivities that comprise their identity; subjectivities that emerge from a variety of discourses and narratives (182).

"Women catch a transitory glimpse of themselves as individuals with power in many different ways. Different discourses and narratives offer women different roles as political agents and the momentary performative fixing of any of these roles by or upon an individual subject is itself a constitution of power. In this way, political subjectivity is continually made and remade." (Gibson-Graham, 1995: 182)

It is not merely the change of schedule which the women were resisting but the discourse of the company that placed them in the subjectivity of being nothing more than wives of miners and therefore able (and willing) to accommodate any change in their

⁶However, Philo and Parr do assert that non-institutional spaces offer an opportunity for these individuals to construct their own "spaces of self-identification" (1995: 219) through the lack of stigma associated with these places and because of the lack of regulation of these places by mental health officials (218).

husbands' work schedule. They were therefore resisting being interpellated into a subjectivity which saw them as passive and a-political.

In this analysis, Gibson-Graham do not explicitly investigate the role of space in constituting the multiple subjectivities of the miners' wives. However, the different locations of the two towns clearly contributed to the women having different subjectivities. For example, one community was an isolated company town in which there were few opportunities for women to work outside of the home (180). The second community was well-established and less isolated and many of the women living there were engaged in paid work (181). As employed mothers they opposed the work schedule proposed by the company because it would interfere with the time management schemes they had arranged with their husbands (181). Gibson-Graham's work demonstrates how multiple subjectivities operate as resources to individuals in taking action and how space and place offer opportunities (conceptual resources) that enable individuals to acquire these identities. In this way, Pearson College can be understood as offering students conceptual resources, discourses and subjectivities, which if adopted will then enable them to resist the discourses of bigotry and hatred that they may encounter after they leave the College.

While Gibson-Graham's study illustrates how some subjectivities, such as employed mother or Pearson College student, may provide a basis of resistance to the imposition of other ones, the question remains: how does this resistance happen? Although the geographical literature on the 'subject', space and place, examined above provides some insights into the role of space in exposing individuals to different subjectivities, it is largely unsatisfying when it comes to understanding why people come to believe in some of the discourses they encounter and not others. People are understood to adopt subjectivities variously because their bodies are disciplined into them, because they choose to perform them, or because an opportunity presents itself.

What is clear, though, is that space is implicated in identity and that both individuals and space should be considered to be multi-faceted and informed by a myriad of discourses. In order to develop a more comprehensive theory of the role of space in the negotiation of identity I have looked beyond geography to examine the work of Paul Smith (1988) and Henri Lefebvre (1991).

2.3 Agency for A Politics of Space

2.3.1 Agency in Contradiction

Paul Smith is a literary theorist. In Discerning the Subject (1988), he seeks to abolish the humanist notion of a unified unique human being (a cerned subject) without precluding resistance. Smith disagrees with what he calls the "common or garden poststructuralist" (1988: 39) understanding of resistance. In this understanding, resistance is simply enabled by the creation of new discursive positions so that theoreticians should undertake "the project of re-speaking both our own subjectivity and the symbolic order" (Kaja Silverman quoted in Smith, 1988: 39). In contrast, Smith outlines what he considers to be the appropriate task for theorists:

"Rather, I would suggest, the theoretical task might better be cast in terms of coming to an understanding of how the ideological force of interpellation can fail (and often) to produce a compliant 'subject' for a discourse, and of asking what contestatory use can be made of that failure." (Smith, 1988: 39)

In pursuing the above task, Smith 'salvages' two aspects of Althusser's work. He retains Althusser's basic thesis that "subjectivity is constructed through ideological intervention and that 'subjects' are interpellated, called into position by specific social discourses" (17). Smith also adopts Althusser's conception of ideology as "the device which guarantees the cohesion of social formations of any sort." (15) However, he takes issue with the way that Althusser uses the 'subject' and the individual interchangeably.

Such a conflation makes both the 'subject' and the individual into the product of ideology. Instead, Smith asserts that the subject should be conceived of as a moment in an individual's life (37).

According to Smith and Althusser, social existence is of necessity ideological. They believe that there can be no resistance to ideology outside of ideology because there is no social existence beyond ideology. This conception of ideology neatly by-passes the whole question of false-consciousness. As knowledge is necessarily social and the social is necessarily ideological, there can be no absolute false-consciousness because there is no absolute truth. Resistance can only take place within a social context; within a realm already filled with ideologies. Therefore, "resistance must be regarded as the by-product of contradictions in and among subject-positions" (25). Interpellation, rather than being the unproblematic construction of a subject, is open to failure and herein lies the possibility of 'agency' (37). 'Agency', in Smith's conception, is not dichotomous to structure but is rather a relative term, enabled through a diversity of discourses. 'Agency' lies in the history of what Smith calls the subject/individual⁷.

"The subject-position that might be demanded by an interpellation is not necessarily the one which is effected: each interpellation has to encounter, accommodate, and be accommodated by a whole history of remembered and colligated subject-positions. Thus it is perfectly possible that interpellation should be resisted - that it should fail, simply. What produces such a failure is history itself, embodied in the person who lives it and who makes it beyond as it were the immediate and direct call of ideology...each of us necessarily negotiates the power of specific ideologies by means of our own personal history." (Smith, 1988: 37)

Although Smith writes of ideology, I do not believe that his conception of ideology suffers from the problems Foucault outlines. Foucault objects to the concept of

⁷I like Smith's term subject/individual because it emphasizes that people are both separate organisms (individuals) and inextricably part of society (subjects) gaining their understanding of the world through the discourses of which they are part.

ideology as false consciousness; as being the opposite of 'truth' (1977b, 118). However, Smith's use of the term ideology assumes that there is no social reality outside of ideologies and that it is, therefore, irrelevant to talk about a truth outside of ideology or about false consciousness. The other main objection that Foucault has to the concept of ideology is that it is seen as secondary to material, economic infrastructure (1977b: 118). Again, nowhere in Smith's theory of the discerned subject is there a sense that ideology is determined by economics. Indeed, Smith's use of the term ideology is very close to Foucault's conception of power/knowledge. Smith sees ideologies as being constructed out of the symbolic realm of language, social formations and the process whereby people are fit into language and society (1988: 25). Although Smith writes a great deal about ideology, he nevertheless refers to 'social discourses' as signification systems that hail⁸ subject/individuals (17).

Here I use Smith's theory without the concept of ideology because, in the end, Smith places interpellation in the hands of discourse not ideology (see 34). However, there are two problems with Smith's formulation. If people are comprised of a history of heterogeneous subject-positions what challenges might those subject-positions pose to a newly encountered subject-position? What accommodations would have to be made? By what criteria would the new subject-position be resisted? As the new subject-position is by definition different, it cannot be resisted simply because it is different from the other subject-positions in the individual's history. Otherwise, all new subject-positions would be resisted.

The second problem is why would anyone be hailed by a discourse in the first place? Is it simply that every time a subject/individual encounters a discourse some internal reflex tests the new subject-position against the past subject-positions? I would

⁸To be 'hailed' is another Althusserian term referring to the moment when an individual is 'asked' by a text to identify with a subject-position of a discourse of which the text is part.

suggest that people are attracted to being interpellated into a new discourse because being subjected to that discourse will enable them to do something that they wish to do (see discussion of Dillon in 2.1.2 above). In turn, the desires which drive interpellations may come from the history of subject-positions comprising the subject-individual. In this way, a person's history of subject-positions not only affects whether or not an individual becomes interpellated into a discourse, but it also affects whether that person will even be hailed by that discourse.

Smith labels his project the "discerning of the subject". This phrase is a play on two English verbs, to cern and to cerne (1988: xxx). To cern means to inherit. The humanities inheritance of the humanist unified subject is what Smith is referring to with his use of 'to cern'. The second verb, 'to cerne' means to encircle or to enclose. Smith uses it "to indicate the way in which theoretical discourse limits the definition of the human agent in order to be able to call him/her the 'subject'" (xxx). However this sort of cern(e)ing is not limited to academic disciplines. We are all guilty of cern(e)ing ourselves to the extent that "[n]one of us lives without a reference to an imaginary [cerned] singularity which we call our 'self'" (6).

To cerne is of course a spatial metaphor and as geographers, Smith and Katz remind us: "Spatial metaphors are problematic in so far as they presume that space is not" (1993: 75). The unproblematic use of the verb to cerne is indicative of what Smith ignores, the role of space in the interpellation of subject/individuals into subject-positions.

The term subject-position is also a spatial metaphor and is therefore somewhat problematic in that it presupposes a fixed conception of space. Bondi (1993) indicates that if we merely substitute essential notions of identity with a theory of identity, which refers to an essentialised space, little has been achieved. However, Bondi also points out

that the metaphor of subject-position is enabling theorists to think about identity in new and useful ways:

"these metaphors appear to be encouraging a concern with the relationships between different kinds of identities and therefore with the development of a politics grounded in affinities and coalitions, rather than some pristine, coherent consciousness." (Bondi, 1993: 98)

Here, identity is used broadly to refer to peoples' sense of themselves. In light of Smith's theory, a subject/individual's identity would refer to their history of subject-positions rather than to any one subject-position. For the purposes of this thesis, then, the term 'subject-position' is a useful metaphor since it implies that there are many different positions an individual can occupy from which to view a particular event or idea. It also implies that a subject-position can be occupied by more than one person. A subject-position is a position or role that someone occupies (or that is offered for occupation) in a discourse or power/knowledge system. Depending upon their sense of themselves (which is derived from their history), people either identify with a subject-position and are interpellated into it and its' discourse, or they do not identify with it and they resist that discourse. To identify with a subject-position is to come to recognize oneself in that subject-position; to be interpellated into that subject-position. Bondi also advocates keeping the concept of subject-position because it is a useful way of conceptualizing how people negotiate identity. However, she maintains that this concept must be complemented with an understanding of space as produced (99).

2.3.2 Social Space

"(Social)space is a (social) product" (Lefebvre, 1991: 26)

As discussed above (see 2.2.3), Parr and Philo's (1995) examination of the negotiation of 'madness' postulated that space plays a role in the negotiation of identity through the conceptual resources which individuals encounter as they move through

space. While there is much value in this formulation, it is limited by the static conception of space implied therein.

Although there is a long history linking geography to the study of space (Unwin, 1992: 74) and the relations between human society and space (Unwin: 92-5; 102; 120-2; 138; Massey, 1994: 254) one of the more influential recent books⁹ considering space and society comes from outside of the discipline. This book is Henri Lefebvre's 1974 The Production of Space (translated into English in 1991) which is a sweeping material history of the development of social space. The bulk of this work, however, focuses on the contemporary era, which Lefebvre sees as dominated by global capitalism, and in a related sense, abstract space. I cannot rehearse here the many arguments and insights contained in The Production of Space, (1991). Rather, I will highlight those aspects that are directly relevant to my thesis questions.

Lefebvre's most significant contribution to geography in particular and social theory in general, is in providing a comprehensive theory of social space. Lefebvre's theories are important to this thesis because of the links they make between social relations, social change and (social) space. In my view, the major limitation of his work, is that he focuses too much on capitalist abstract space. Because of this focus, his unitary theory of social space becomes elided with the unitary theory of capitalist abstract space thereby reducing social space to abstract space making it difficult to conceive of how resistance to that space can be enabled. By working through some of the limitations of Lefebvre's work, I will arrive at a rewriting of his theoretical triad of lived-conceived-perceived space (33) which allows me to examine how the production of space at Pearson College enables social change.

⁹For example, The Production of Space has been influential to such geographers as Pile (1996) and Merrifield (1993).

According to Lefebvre, social space is both a field of action and a basis of action (191). Because space is a product (it is material), it continues to affect later social relations (229). Space is socially constructed; it is 'secreted' by what Lefebvre calls spatial practices (lived space)(38). These practices are affected by and in turn influence the two other components of social space: representations of space (conceived space) and representational spaces (perceived space). Briefly, in Lefebvre's theory, representations of space are the conceptions of space held by those individuals and groups who have the power to influence the large-scale material production of space: for example planners, architects, and the corporate elite. Representations of space tend "towards a system of verbal (and therefore intellectually worked out) signs." (39) In Lefebvre's view, the representations of the Pearson College space would include the location criteria of the College set out by founders, the architectural blueprints, and the way that the College is represented in promotional material.

By contrast, Lefebvre defines representational spaces as the perceptions that people have of space shaped by their everyday lives and practices (39). The representational spaces of Pearson College are the ways in which the College space is experienced by students, staff and visitors. According to Lefebvre, the relations between representations of space and representational spaces are mediated by power; one oppresses the other just as individuals are oppressed by the bourgeoisie and the state that works on their behalf. In his own view: "[representational space is] the dominated - and hence passively experienced - space which the imagination seeks to change and appropriate" (39).

Furthermore, in Lefebvre's theory, the space of representations is abstract space (47-48) and abstract space is global capitalist space (282-288). This concept can again be illustrated through the example of Pearson College. The College depends upon a great deal of capital to function. The representations of the College in promotional material are

directed in part towards potential donors. Likewise, the initial construction of the College space required capital. Buildings in turn affect what spatial practices are possible at the College and how the College may be experienced.

According to Lefebvre, abstract space¹⁰ reduces everything to two-dimensional Euclidean space, (285) the visual and the readable (313). Such space is homogenous in appearance but it is also fragmented and hierarchical. Lefebvre sees this abstract space as the product of violence and war, and of the brutality of political power, the police, the army and bureaucracy (285).

Lefebvre seeks to oppose the domination of capitalism and abstract space (Harvey, 1991). However, it is not entirely clear how resistance is possible within Lefebvre's theory as he maintains that everyday space is dominated by the space of the bourgeoisie. Lefebvre insists that social change cannot be effected without a concomitant change of space (59). Where, then, might this change of space come from?

For my purposes, none of Lefebvre's ideas as to how spatial change will come about are entirely satisfactory. His ideas, though, point towards an understanding of resistance residing in multiplicity. Lefebvre's first claim is that the rationality of the state provokes opposition (23). In other words, that violence begets violence. His second hypothesis is that although difference may be defeated by the homogenising drive of abstract space, it will somehow live on submerged in order to be a force of opposition at a later time (23; 63). This second hypothesis begs the question of how difference can exist within a homogenised space. What will provoke difference to emerge again? The answers to these questions might lie in Lefebvre's next proposal, concerning contradictions embedded in social space (306). Advocating a politics of space that works with these contradictions (64), Lefebvre asserts that they can be revealed through analysis

¹⁰A relatively concise summary of Lefebvre's concept of abstract space is to be found on pages 285-291 of The Production of Space (1991).

(306) that seeks to reconstruct a language, a 'spatial code', common to both theory and practice (64). This code would be set up in opposition to the understanding of space as abstract, and it would provide an alternative conception of space.

In The Production of Space (1991) Lefebvre attempts to develop an oppositional conception of space. However, he acknowledges that theory alone will accomplish little. He feels that only class struggle¹¹ is able to create 'differences' which contradict economic growth and therefore challenge abstract space (55).

A limitation of Lefebvre's work is that he emphasises the power that the bourgeoisie have to produce space, thereby downplaying the role of other groups in society. If working class and minority groups are going to spearhead the politics of space, they too must have the ability to produce space. I contend that within Lefebvre's theory are the seeds of an understanding of spatial agency akin to Paul Smith's idea of agency. These seeds are made more visible in Merrifield's interpretation of Lefebvre (1993). Merrifield, building on Lefebvre, argues that since there are contradictions in society and *society* produces space, those contradictions will be present in place (521-2).

I argue that this idea should be taken one step further. I assert that all groups and individuals in society have a certain amount of power to (re)create space, through their abilities to perform discourses in that space and to leave physical traces in that space such as graffiti. Because groups in society are often in conflict with one another and they all have the power to produce space, albeit to different degrees, the contradictions between them will be manifested in place. I therefore advocate a re-reading of Lefebvre in light of Paul Smith's theory of resistance through and to interpellation. Smith, I believe, provides a useful way to theorise how subject/individuals who passively experience a space can also actively appropriate it.

¹¹ In Lefebvre's world view minority struggles are subsumed within class struggle (1991: 55).

Smith is interested in the role of language in producing resistance, while Lefebvre is concerned with the role of space. Despite some misgivings about using theories of linguistics to study of the production of space (Pile, 1996: 156), Lefebvre does theorise the relations between space and language. He asserts that language and discourse circulate concurrently with material goods; that material and language are distinct but not separate (1991: 100).

"Every language is located in a space. Every discourse says something about a space (places or sets of places); and every discourse is emitted from a space. Distinctions must be drawn between discourse in space, discourse about space and the discourse of space." (Lefebvre, 1991: 132)

Part of Lefebvre's ambivalence to language stems from his refusal to completely rescind the notion of ideology as false consciousness. In Lefebvre's work, there is a sense that he believes in a '*truth*' of space' hidden by the use of language, and that the material realm will reveal these '*true*' social contradictions (e.g. 1991: 9; 44; 45; 93; 298). However, in other parts of The Production of Space, Lefebvre seems to agree with Smith in that there can be no knowledge, no social life outside of ideology (see above), by writing of ideologies in the plural.

Whereas Smith's theory allows for an understanding of how individual resistance is enabled through a plurality of ideologies, Lefebvre's theory allows us to make important links between (social) space and ideology. These relations are important for "[w]hat is an ideology without a space to which it refers, a space which it describes, whose vocabulary and links it makes use of, and whose code it embodies?" (Lefebvre, 1991: 44). For example, Pearson College can be seen as the embodiment of a particular set of ideas on how people from different backgrounds should interact.

Once again, however, Lefebvre shies away from the implications of multiple ideologies and returns to a more restrictive understanding of space, asserting that the

relations of production produce social space not ideologies (210). While the forces and relations of production do produce some spaces, I do not believe that they produce all spaces nor that they are the only forces which produce space. Ideologies permeate discourses which are comprised of symbolic systems and practices. Many practices are spatial practices in that they create social spaces. Even Lefebvre concedes that ideologies can appropriate (create) space through gestures (spatial practices).

"Every space is already in place before the appearance in it of actors; these actors are collective as well as individual subjects inasmuch as the individuals are always members of groups or classes seeking to appropriate the space in question. This pre-existence of space conditions the subject's presence, action and discourse, his [sic] competence and performance; yet the subject's presence, action and discourse, at the same time as they presuppose this space, they also negate it." (Lefebvre, 1991: 57)

Besides linking ideology and discourses to space, Lefebvre's theory also explicitly links subjects to space, "Man [sic] does not live by words alone; all 'subjects' are situated in a space in which they must either recognise themselves or lose themselves," (Lefebvre, 1991: 35) Individuals are hailed in space. Moreover, the histories of individuals and groups are brought to bear on representational spaces (41). Again, bringing Smith into the discussion, it is to be assumed that the subject/individual's history will provide him/her with some conceptions of spaces. These conceptions will influence how that person perceives space, will affect how the individual recognises him/herself, which will then affect how they behave in spaces. In short, it is through space that individuals come to recognise themselves as the subjects of various discourses and it is in space that individuals perform the subject-positions of these discourses. Within the individual, space and discourse are inextricably interconnected,

"the practical 'I', which is inseparably individual and social, is in a space where it must either recognize itself or lose itself. This unconsidered leap from the mental to the social and back again effectively transfers the properties of space proper

onto the level of discourse - and particularly onto the level of discourse upon space." (Lefebvre, 1991: 61)

The above discussion has assumed that there are multiple discourses in space, an assumption which Lefebvre shares. However, by concentrating almost exclusively on capitalist relations, Lefebvre ends up with a cerned or unitary vision of space which is unable to clearly account for the source of the contradictions that he acknowledges are found in social space. My reading of Lefebvre's work on the production of space points to a multitude of co-existing spaces which are, nevertheless, overdetermined by the effects of a capitalist abstract space which stretches over most of the globe.

Merrifield does much to reconcile global space with local place and local politics (1993). Merrifield applies Marx's assertion that "commodities, like other phenomena, are *processes* which appear in the *form* of things" (520, emphasis his own) to the concept of the production of space. Merrifield asserts that as social space is a product, it too must be seen as both process and thing or flow and place (521). Social space is made up of flows of commodities, money, capital and information (521). These flows of space take on material form in place. In other words, place is the physical form of one moment of the flows of social space (521). For example, "capital fixity must, of necessity, take place somewhere, and hence place can be taken as a specific *form* emergent from an apparent stopping of, or as one specific *moment* in, the dynamics of capitalist social space" (521, emphasis his own). Information is another important flow of space¹². Discourses (information) are flows that take on material form in the practices they inform. Practices which, of necessity take 'place' in place. Furthermore, according to Merrifield, space and place are also inextricably linked because space takes on meaning from places and each place, through interconnections with other places, engenders the whole, space (520).

¹²It should be acknowledged that capital is actually, merely one form of information.

Like Lefebvre, Merrifield's project is explicitly political. As he writes: "[a]ny emancipatory politics presupposes a dialectics of space, a particular set of theoretically informed spatial practices aimed at overcoming separation and dissociation between the global 'whole' and the 'local' everyday (Merrifield, 1993, 526, emphasis his own). He posits that as space must materialise in place, that is where it is vulnerable. "Place, therefore, has the resources and capacity to transform space, but it cannot do so from the vantage point of place alone: political [spatial] practices must thus be organised around place *in form* yet extend *in substance* to embrace space." (527, emphasis his own).

Pearson College provides a good case study for studying the politics of place because, in trying to effect social change, Pearson College is organised around a particular place while representing that place as international. However, unlike the politics of place envisioned by Merrifield and Lefebvre, Pearson College does not challenge capitalist space.

2.3.3 Multiple Faces, Multiple Spaces

Doreen Massey points out that contrary to what some well known contemporary theorists¹³ appear to believe, capitalism is not the only discourse that determines how individuals understand and experience space (1993: 60). In order to develop an understanding of the potential for a politics of place it must be acknowledged that there is more than one space, even if most of these spaces are overdetermined by capitalist space. Because there are more flows to space than those of capital and commodities, it can also be assumed that an emancipatory politics of place will not always be concerned with overthrowing capitalist abstract space. There may be other spaces, such as those of exclusion (e.g. Sibley, 1996), nationalist spaces (Penrose, 1990), or Realist international

¹³Massey's criticisms are aimed at Frederic Jameson and David Harvey.

relations (e.g. Dalby, 1990; O'Tuathail, 1993; Sharp, 1993; Sidaway, 1994; O'Tuathail and Agnew, 1992) which are resisted.

To some extent, I agree with Merrifield's proposition that social space is a material process which "represents the rootless, fluid reality of material flows of commodities, money, capital and information which can be transferred and shifted across the globe." (521). Yet the last clause of the preceding quotation limits the possibilities for a politics of space because it puts space exclusively in the domain of global capitalism. Social space must be understood as being a material process consisting of the flows of commodities, money, capital and information, at different *scales*. In this regard, Doreen Massey's proposed progressive sense of place (1993) makes an important addition to Merrifield's dialectic of space and place.

"In this interpretation, what gives a place its specificity is not some long internalized history but the fact that it is constructed out of a particular constellation of relations, articulated together at a particular locus...The uniqueness of a place, or a locality, in other words is constructed out of particular interactions and mutual articulations of social relations, social processes, experiences and understandings, in a situation of co-presence, but *where a large proportion* of those relations, experiences and understandings [discourses] are actually constructed on a far larger scale than what we happen to define for that moment as the place itself," (Massey, 1993: 66-67, emphasis added)

Pearson College represents a unique constellation of flows. One of the College's achievements is in extending the reach of some flows, in particular, some discourses. The students, with their histories of subject-positions, bring a multitude of discourses to the international setting of the College. Many of these discourses would otherwise remain localised within students own nations. The discourses which students carry with them are brought into the place of Pearson College through the spatial practices of students and, as discussed in Chapters 4 and 5, through their habits and conversations.

Although places are unique they do not have a single unitary identity as they are imbued with internal differences and conflicts (Massey, 1993: 67). These discerned places have a great deal in common with Paul Smith's subject/individuals. Thus, I propose pluralizing social space, in the way indicated by Massey's progressive sense of place so that Lefebvre's triad, as discussed above, (1991: 38-39) is rewritten as follows:

Spatial Practices: are the manifestations of discourses in place. They secrete the space of a discourse through the performance of a subject-position. The spatial practice of one discourse is necessarily constrained by other discourses. Other discourses constrain spatial practices through the presence of their spatial practices and through the physical products (such as buildings or roads) that past spatial practices have produced in that place. The act of communication, in so far as it produces a space, is an important spatial practice.

Representations of Space: are the images (conceptions) people hold of space. They are the discourses on space. Included within this category would be images that people have of different places, conceptions that people have of the connections between places (space) and conceptions of the concept of social space such as this thesis. As Lefebvre asserts, every discourse says something about a space (132), so each subject/individual, being interpellated into many different discourses will also have many different conceptions of space and of places.

Representational Spaces: are the experiences that people have of places. Contrary to Lefebvre, a representational space is not necessarily a dominated, passively experienced sub-jected space. It is only passively experienced in the sense that representational spaces are the recipients of spatial practices.

A representational space is the interface between the place and the subject/individual. It is within representational space that subject/individuals come into contact with discourses and are hailed by them. Since every hailing calls up a whole history of subject-positions within a subject/individual, the subject/individual's past experiences do effect his/her experience of representational space.

Representational spaces are contradictory (see Massey, 1993) as more than one discourse is usually manifested in that place. These contradictions between multiple discourses and subject-positions are then 'conceptual resources' for the subject/individual in negotiating interpellations.

Finally, there is also an affective element to representational space. Some elements of representational spaces (e.g. olfactory, tactile and non-verbal sounds) are experienced both physically and affectively. Affective elements of representational spaces may be quite influential in terms of their impact on the interpellation of subject/individuals into subject-positions. However, discussion of their role is beyond the scope of this thesis.

The above three elements of space are very much intertwined. The ways that one experiences a place (representational space) will necessarily influence the images that one has of that place (representation of space). Thus, both the conception of the place that a subject/individual has and the experiences a subject/individual has of that space will influence what s/he does in that space (spatial practice).

These multiple spaces are all mediated through the multiple subjectivities of subject/individuals and vice versa. Discourses enter spaces through electronic means, on sound waves, light waves, and microwaves but they are also brought into places by subject/individuals who have been interpellated into many different discourses. Not all the discourses that a subject/individual is interpellated into can be said to be in place.

Only those discourses which the subject/individual performs in a place can be said to be manifested there. Because it is within representational space that people may be exposed to behaviours which their understandings of the world are unable to account for (see section on Dillon above), discourses, like other flows of space, are vulnerable in place.

People have varying abilities to control the flows of space. Almost every individual is able to control some portion of space, a 'self' identified with the boundary of the body, the skin. Resistance is the prevention of the 'internalisation' of an identity; the blocking of an interpellation into the subject-position of a discourse. However, power over space consists not only in being able to erect, maintain and patrol boundaries but also in penetrating boundaries, thereby enabling flows to be manifested in places. Through erecting and penetrating boundaries, people, groups and institutions can influence spatial practices, representational spaces and representations of space. These are the strategies available to a politics of place. My empirical work on Pearson College examines the particular strategies which that institution uses in order to influence the spatial practices, representations of space and representational spaces of its' students.

2.3.4 Power, Scale and Boundaries

Scale is central to Merrifield's conception of a politics of place. Since he only discusses two scales, the global and the local, a further examination of the role of scale in enabling and constraining resistance is necessary.

"space is already flow *and* place - it is *simultaneously* a process and a thing. It is only by identifying this feature theoretically, as we shall see later, that a prospective 'place-bound' radical political practice can emerge, since flows do take on a thing form in place and hence are always vulnerable in that place. The problem for this practice is that the processes that embody this fixity are diffusive insofar as they are operative over varying spatial scales." (Merrifield, 1993: 521, emphasis in original)

Scale is the key to examining how people control the flows of space and therefore the shape of places. In "Power-geometry and a progressive sense of place" Massey (1993) attacks the notion that time-space compression, those contemporary flows and interrelations of social space, are experienced in the same way by all people. "Different social groups have distinct relationships to this anyway-differentiated mobility: some are more in charge of it than others; some initiate flows and movement, others don't; some are more on the receiving end of it than others; some are effectively imprisoned by it." (61) Massey's time-space compression is Lefebvre's abstract space of capitalism. Although there are many spaces, almost all of them are overdetermined by capitalist abstract space because the discourses of that space reach across the greatest distances, manifesting themselves in the most places.

It was no accident that capitalism achieved hegemony at a global scale. The discourses and spatial practices of Western colonialism, "these intertwined histories of conquest - enslavement, robbery, denial of property ownership, disenfranchisement - sought to contain incipient social struggles at a lower geographical scale, as struggles over the body or over nationalism for example, while asserting the global claims of capitalism" (Smith, 1993: 112). The struggle for and of power is a struggle to prevent some flows from entering or leaving spaces while seeking to enhance the ability that other flows have to penetrate spaces. As Massey states, "it does seem that mobility and control over mobility both reflect and reinforce power." (1993: 62)

Neil Smith claims that "[i]t is not just that the rich express their freedom by their ability to overcome space while the poor are more likely to be trapped in space; differential access to space leads to differential power in constructing the spatial scale of daily, weekly and seasonal life." (1993: 106). The struggle over identity is implicated in the struggle over scale. As Smith states "It is geographical scale that defines the

boundaries and bounds the identities around which control is exerted and contested" (101).

According to Smith, at the most basic scale, homelessness constitutes a loss of power over the way identity is constructed because the home is what shields the individual from the public gaze (105). His arguments about homelessness are relevant to Pearson College because the lack of private space there also reduces students' control over the negotiation of their identity. For Neil Smith, scale is not only about the ability to maintain boundaries and the ability to cross boundaries, it is also about power. "By setting boundaries, scale can be constructed as a means of constraint and exclusion, a means of imposing identity, but a politics of scale can also become a weapon of expansion and inclusion, a means of enlarging identities" (114). I would argue that the reason why scale is implicated in identity is that some of the flows crossing boundaries or being blocked by boundaries are discourses which contain subject-positions. By having some control over what discourses are manifested in which places, people and groups control what 'conceptual resources' are available to people for the negotiation of their identities.

The state is another scale at which boundaries are drawn, maintained and patrolled. State 'security' is as much about maintaining a purified unity within, a 'national culture' with its' concomitant 'national identity', as it is about stopping other states from penetrating it (Walker, 1993). The creation of a 'national culture' by a state is a good example of how the power to control scale and boundaries enables individuals and groups to wield a certain amount of influence over identity. As cultures are sets of discourses, those that are associated with places (such as 'national ones') can be influenced through space because the manifestation of discourses in places can be controlled. First, there are boundaries around a state's territory (the international borders) by which the state attempts to regulate what flows of materials and information (including discourses) are

allowed in. Within the state there are laws which discipline what spatial practices are manifested in that space, thereby controlling what commodities and discourses can enter the places of the state. There are also the discourses which emanate from the space of the country which assert what the identity of that country (representation of space) and its' citizens (subject-position) consists of. According to Dillon these are discourses of governmentality (see above).

Pearson College is concerned with these exclusionary discourses. It tries to overcome the popular discourses of security of the states of this world through removing the boundaries of distance and politics which lie between their citizens. Pearson College facilitates the movement of some people and enables interactions to take place between them with the objective of challenging some discourses and interpellating students into others. To a certain extent it achieves its' goals through erecting and patrolling boundaries.

2.4 Conclusion

To state that Pearson College has boundaries which are patrolled is not to condemn it anymore than it would be a condemnation to accuse someone of identifying with a 'self'. Pearson College seeks to contribute to global social change and may therefore be expected to provide some lessons useful to Merrifield's proposed politics of place. I would argue that any politics of place has two strategies available to it. It can either attempt to extend or to block the reach of certain spatial flows of material or information. The outcome of a particular politics of place will depend upon what strategies are employed to bar or to extend flows, how successful these strategies are and which flows are targeted.

An important part of a politics of place is a struggle over identity. Within identity (subject-position), and in particular within the contradictions between different subject-positions, lies the possibility for resistance and for a politics of place. Subject-positions are an element of discourses, one of the flows of space. Subject/individuals encounter discourses and are interpellated into subject-positions in space. However, subject/individuals are not always interpellated into the subject-positions they encounter. Subject-positions inform people's spatial practices which in turn shape social space. As part of a politics of space, discourses can be blocked or their reach can be extended through spatial practices.

Pearson College attempts to promote 'Peace and International Understanding' by bringing students from around the world together to live, learn and work side by side in one place. It seeks to change individual students from citizens of separate states into members of the global village. It therefore attempts to change the identity of students by interpellating them into what can be labelled the Pearson College subject-position. These students, it is hoped, will then return to their home countries to promote the ideals of peace and international understanding that they learned to perform while at the College. In other words, they will bring the discourse of Pearson College with them when they leave the College, and they will manifest this discourse in other places through their spatial practices which are informed by their subject-position as Pearson College ex-students¹⁴.

¹⁴While I have, for the most part referred to individuals who have attended Pearson College in the past as graduates, that is not how those people refer to themselves. They refer to themselves as 'ex-students'. One reason as to why this term is used is that students do not have a graduation ceremony. In fact, they do not find out if they have passed the academic program until several months after they have left the College. Another possible reason ex-student is used is to down-play the academic portion of the College and to show that it is more than another academic institution.

The remainder of this thesis will examine how effective Pearson College has been in interpellating students into a particular subject-position and how that subject-position has manifested itself in the lives of graduates. Central to this investigation will be a critical examination of the different spatial strategies used by the College and by students to both interpellate and resist being interpellated into the Pearson College subject-position and, ultimately, discourses encountered after graduation.

In order to enable resistance to a discourse, a politics of place must somehow create and use a space in such a way that it encourages people to be interpellated into a contradictory discourse. While Foucauldian geographies have examined the use of micro-physics of disciplinary power to subject bodies to dominant discourses of modernity, these micro-physics are not sufficient to interpellate subject/individuals into discourses which are resistant to these dominant discourses. As will be seen in the case of Pearson College, tactics of power which operate to enable or prevent certain flows of space from entering a place are influential in interpellating subject/individuals into discourses. One of the reasons that Foucauldian geographies are often limited to disciplinary power is that they focus on the intentions of the institutions rather than on the experiences of the inmates.

In order to avoid these problems I have used the modified Lefebvrian triad of social space (outlined above) to explore the politics of place embodied by Pearson College. Through this framework I examine both the official representation of Pearson College in the promotional material for the College and the representational spaces that the graduates of Pearson College hold of the place. I also examine both the prescribed and actual spatial practices of the College. Through the empirical research, I uncover mechanisms through which a politics of place can be brought about in practice.

Chapter 3 - Researching a Politics of Place

3.1 Introduction

Jackson argues that the new cultural geography must be 'theoretically informed yet grounded in empirical work" (1989: 8). Whereas Chapter 2 sketched out the theory which informs this research, this chapter will outline the ways in which the empirical aspect of this work was conducted.

The context in which any piece of research is done is multi-dimensional. The geographical, historical and cultural contexts of any social science study as well as the chosen theoretical framework and empirical research strategy are all integral to that study. The mode by which the researcher interacts with the empirical world in arriving at his/her ideas is an influential aspect of the research process.

Whereas Chapter 1 sketched the historical and geographical context of Pearson College and Chapter 2 presented the theoretical context, this chapter outlines both the personal and empirical contexts of this thesis. The following outline of the research context is essential for an understanding of the empirical analysis which makes up the remainder of the work. However, the theoretical and the empirical contexts of my research cannot be clearly divided from each other or from my own life-history. The theoretical discussion in the previous chapter was informed by, and in turn informed the empirical research which I undertook at Lester B. Pearson United World College. As well, both the

theoretical framework and the formal research strategy were influenced by my own personal experience as a Pearson College student.

3.2 The I in the Research

My experience at Pearson College influenced my research in two ways. First, since two years of my life history took place at Pearson College, I came to believe in the goals and values of the College. The dominant discourse of Pearson College as well as some of the other discourses I encountered at the College have, in part, been incorporated into the narrative of my life history. My experiences at Pearson College gave me a text (my life-history) with which to compare the texts produced through my formal research techniques (Clifford, 1988: 39).

My insider status was also an advantage in terms of giving me access to research subjects. Because I 'belonged', the College administration and graduates were more trusting of me than they would have been of someone who had not attended the College. Having experienced the College myself also helped me to focus my research queries.

As a graduate of Pearson College I share certain experiences with other graduates. Yet, other graduates are also different from me, and have had very different experiences. By design, Pearson College students come from a variety of nations and cultural backgrounds. The differences between students are central to the project of the College and to my research. However, my research does not examine intensively the cultural backgrounds of Pearson College graduates. Nor is cultural background the only subjectivity that divides me from my interviewees and survey respondents. Amongst other things, we are

also differentially placed along the planes of race, class, gender and sexuality. It is not the details of difference that I am interested in. It is the fact of difference itself. Indeed, it is this difference, between and within people that is key to understanding and enabling resistance and therefore is also key to a politics of place.

3.3 Methodology

A politics of place seeks to intervene in the global through actions taken at the local level. Therefore, for research to contribute to such a project it must examine both how macro flows manifest themselves on a micro level and how micro level practices can affect macro flows. In the context of politics of place, it must be assumed that there are macro level forces (the flows of space) which cannot be extrapolated from laws derived through micro level observations. Therefore, these macro flows must, in part, be understood through the application of social theory. However, because it is in places that these flows of space manifest, albeit in different combinations (see discussion of Massey in Chapter 2), they must also be explored at the micro level. Indeed, as these forces can only be apprehended in place, empirical research into their nature must focus on the micro scale, on local, place-based studies.

Methodology is the link between technique (methods) and theory (Burawoy, 1991c: 271). The methodology that best fits the needs of a politics of place is what Burawoy calls extended case methodology¹⁵ (1991a, 1991b,

¹⁵Although Burawoy clearly outlines the difference between method and methodology (1991c: 271), he nonetheless terms his methodological approach extended case *method*. To better distinguish between my methodology and the methods I use, I have changed the term to extended case *methodology*.

1991c). Burawoy writes that extended case method seeks to explicate the link between the macro and the micro; to constitute social situations in terms of the particular external forces that shape them (1991c: 274). Using this methodology, then, generalisations are sought through the reconstruction of existing theories (279) rather than through inductively arriving at generalisations from sample cases. The methodology of the extended case approach involves the constant interplay of empirical research, analysis and existing social theory.

Extended case methodology is a revision of Strauss' (1987) grounded theory approach to social science research that accommodates critical research. Grounded theory asserts that social theory should be derived inductively from empirical research and analysis of case studies. It prioritises the common-sense understandings of the research subjects and marginalizes the study of macro forces. In grounded theory style research techniques and research questions are developed in reaction to the ongoing empirical work and analysis. By contrast Burawoy's methodology seeks explicitly to illuminate the ways that systemic forces create and maintain domination at the micro scale, with the particular aim of helping to build social movements (1991c: 283). Examples of the use of extended case methodology include the study of how larger forces in society affect the daily functioning of a co-operatively run bakery (Ferguson, 1991) and how the strategies of the AIDS activist group ACT UP reflect changes in civil society (Schiffman, 1991). Although neither of these examples specifically examine space and place in their case studies, they easily could have. Indeed, extended case methodology, because of its focus on the micro, is extremely amenable to geographical research.

My use of extended case methodology combines human geography's long-standing interest in localities with the theoretically informed empirical

research prevalent in some new cultural geography. In the introduction for a book on qualitative research for new cultural geography, Eyles (1988: 3) calls for a resurgence of the study of places . He differentiates this new empirical research from what has gone before writing: "[New cultural geographers] put forward the desire for specific descriptions from theoretically-informed positions, a strategy differing from the grand theorising of the conceptualizers, the wide-ranging generalisations of the quantifiers, and the abstracted descriptions of the idiographers" (3).¹⁶

Methodologically, in the particular extended case study that comprises this thesis, the micro level of the conceptions, perceptions and the actions taken by the administration and graduates of Pearson College needed to be explored. These three aspects of the space of Pearson College were examined both in terms of how they are affected by macro level forces, such as the flow of information and, how they affect the macro level, such as the challenges certain spatial practices pose to discourses of governmentality. In order to examine these empirical questions three different research methods were employed.

3.4 Discourse Analysis

In order to explore the dominant representation of Pearson College, a discourse analysis of Pearson College promotional materials, (Pearson College "Fact Book 1991", Pearson College Video, 1991 and the 1994 Annual Report) was undertaken. These texts were analysed in order to examine critically the dominant discourse of the College and the Pearson College student subject-position implied by that discourse. The texts were also examined in order to

¹⁶This quotation is taken from the introduction to a collection of articles which are all examples of qualitative research in new cultural geography (Eyles and Smith, 1988).

learn by what means the College believes it succeeds in interpellating students into a dominant discourse. Although these texts revealed the representation of Pearson College held by the administration, two other texts were also analysed in order to further elucidate the spatial strategies employed. These texts were the transcribed recollections of Jack Matthews, the founding director of Pearson College and a document used by the initial Board of Trustees of Pearson College in selecting the College site.

The images, dialogue and written text in these documents were analysed at both micro and macro levels, using the techniques of discourse analysis outlined by Fairclough (1992) and Williamson (1978). Microanalysis, involving a close examination of specific words, and aspects of sentence syntax (e.g. the passive or active construction of clauses) was used on some key portions of the texts. On a larger level, the texts were also analysed in terms of concepts governing their construction and layout and for intertextuality, the links between these texts and other discourses.

My discourse analysis is similar to studies done by other geographers (e.g. Philo, 1994; Ploszajska, 1994; Driver, 1988; Matless, 1995b). However, studies which focus solely on discourse analysis, such as some of the Foucauldian geographies discussed in Chapter 2, are often problematic. Johnson (1986a: 299) argues that researchers cannot assume that "these tendencies [in the texts] are held to be realised in the subjectivities of the readers as a simple inference from the textual forms and the critic's own reading". A textual analysis alone cannot answer the question "Why do some forms acquire a popular force, constituting subjectivities, providing principles of living, becoming 'life'?" (307). A discourse analysis of promotional texts can reveal the representation of space which dominates the representational spaces of students

(see discussion of Lefebvre in Chapter 2). However, in order to understand the lived aspects of the space of Pearson College (students' representational spaces and the actual, rather than prescribed, spatial practices) inter-subjective research methods were required. Inter-subjective methods were also needed to explore the affect of representational spaces on the identities of Pearson College students. Since my study is a contemporary one, I have access not only to the texts of the dominant discourse of the institution, but also to the perceptions of the inhabitants of that institution. Thus, I was able to go beyond a discourse analysis to learn about graduates' experiences.

3.5 Questionnaire

The experiences of graduates were examined through a survey and interviews. Pearson College graduates have been surveyed before. An M.A. thesis on the impact of international education was based, in part, on a survey of Pearson College students¹⁷ (Bowden, 1984). A survey of graduates from all of the United World Colleges (see Appendix B) was completed by Nielson (1991).¹⁸ An ongoing survey (see Appendix C) of graduates and graduating students is also being conducted by two Pearson College faculty members (Dombrowsky and Spray, 1995 and 1996).¹⁹ The results of the survey of Years

¹⁷I was unable to obtain a copy of the questionnaire used for Bowden's research (1984).

¹⁸This survey was sent out to graduates of all of the United World College. However, results were tabulated for specific Colleges.

¹⁹Dombrowsky and Spray have administered a questionnaire to Pearson College students in years 18, 19, 20 and 21 prior to their departure from Pearson College, and to graduates of Years 7 and 8 and Years 11 and 12 at their respective reunions. This questionnaire does not ask factual questions about the respondents' background which makes interpretation of the results difficult. Nevertheless, responses to their survey provide some indication of the opinions graduates hold about their experience at the College.

11 and 12²⁰ were of particular relevance to my thesis as those are the same Years that I interviewed.

In June 1996, I distributed a survey (see Appendix D) to the approximately 2100 graduates of Pearson College. It was sent as an enclosure of the bi-annual graduate publication, *Pearson Connections*. Questionnaire prototypes had earlier been pilot tested on university students and selected Pearson College graduates. In October 1996 I circulated an electronic version of the questionnaire to graduates on the Pearson College Listserver (approximately 500).

The survey questions emerged from my experiences as a Pearson College graduate, from the discourse analysis outlined above, and from some early engagement with Smith's (1988) theory of resistance through interpellation. While I had intended to use an initial analysis of the questionnaires to guide aspects of the interviews, I had not received any responses to my survey prior to conducting the interviews.

Theoretically, the questionnaire was designed to ascertain whether Pearson College graduates had been interpellated into the Pearson College subject-position and, if so, the impact of such an interpellation on their subsequent lives. For these reasons, the survey questions pertained to the graduate's pre-Pearson background, their College experience, and their present lives. I also asked respondents to outline how they feel that Pearson College has affected their lives and career paths. Finally, they were asked to describe what

²⁰Each graduating year at Pearson College is assigned a number referring to how many years of graduates precede them. The interviews were done with graduates from Years 11 and 12. 'Year 11' refers to graduates who finished the College program in 1986 while 'Year 12' refers to those who left in 1987.

they perceived to be the goals of the College and to evaluate to what degree they and the College fulfil those goals.

To the extent that graduates share a Pearson College experience and knowledge of the dominant discourse of the College, questions specific to their time at the College posed less of a problem than those pertaining to their experiences before or after College life. In particular it was difficult to develop questions applicable to every society and culture which would allow me to determine whether or not a student came from an elite background. Through consulting the literature on elite studies (e.g. Moyser et al., 1987), I arrived at two questions to indicate elite background (#17 and #19 in Appendix D). Unfortunately, though, this question was frequently misconstrued, so I could not use responses to it in my analyses.

In analysing the surveys, the open-ended questions were analysed qualitatively first, using Strauss' (1987) analytic techniques.²¹ Once qualitative analysis of the surveys had highlighted key ('core') categories and subcategories (14), they were re-coded for quantitative analysis. The frequencies of responses to questions were then calculated (see Chapters 5 and 6 and Appendix E). The questionnaires were the only part of the research strategy which were analysed quantitatively. Although the empirical research conducted for this case study was predominantly interpretative and therefore involved mainly qualitative techniques and analysis, Eyles maintains that quantitative techniques make useful additions to qualitative research (1988: 5). In my own study and although only 110 completed surveys were returned (a response rate of 6%) the quantitative analysis of the surveys provided a broader picture of graduates

²¹Strauss developed analytic techniques as part of this research style of grounded theory. Burawoy (1991a) also advocates using these techniques in doing extended case studies.

attitudes, beliefs and experiences than the interviews alone would have given. However, the substantial data source was the long semi-structured interviews.

3.6 Long Semi-structured Interviews

Whereas the survey provided the case study with breadth, the interviews gave meaning to the patterns highlighted. As Cottle (quoted in Eyles, 1988: 8) writes: “without allowing people to speak freely we will never know what their real intentions are, and what the true meaning of their words might be.” The use of in-depth interviews enabled me to obtain a better understanding of the beliefs and values underlying the graduates’ words (McCracken, 1988: 9) and the meaning of Pearson College in their lives.

At a reunion held in June 1996, I conducted twenty-seven semi-structured long-interviews with graduates from Years 11 and 12. These graduates were from a variety of backgrounds and were currently living on almost every continent in the world²². Interviewees for long semi-structured interviews were selected for their diversity rather than for their representativeness. And, I also interviewed a graduate from Years 11 and 12 who had not attended the reunion.

Via these interviews, I wanted to find out how the interviewees’ lives had been affected by one set of life-experiences, the experiences they had at

²²For a summary of the characteristics of the interviewees such as their region of origin, their career choices and their opinions on the College see appendix H. In the interests of anonymity, and when quoting from interview transcripts in this thesis, I have used pseudonyms and modified any identifying characteristics. All interviewees signed a consent form in compliance with Carleton University’s ethics regulations.

Pearson College. In particular, I wanted to explore the graduates' representational spaces of Pearson College and how those representational spaces had affected their identities. To meet these objectives in the limited time available, I combined semi-structured single issue interviewing methods (Slim et al., 1995: 67) with the oral history method, conducting what is perhaps best categorised as a focused oral history, which is a hybrid of the former two methods.

The "structured" element of my "semi-structured" interviews consisted of what Weiss calls an 'interview guide' (1994: 48). My interview guide (see Appendix F) included seven topics which were essentially embellishments of the topics covered by the questionnaire. In order to make the most efficient use of time, a modified questionnaire (see Appendix G) was used to provide information about the interviewee's background.

Following Weiss, I treated the interview as a collaboration between myself and the interviewee (1994: 61) and so I began by outlining briefly the goals of my research and interview topics. I asked the interviewees to give me concrete examples whenever possible (Weiss, 1994: 66). I also began each interview with a question about the present to ease the interviewee into more difficult and temporally removed topics (Weiss, 1994: 62). My first question was "what does it feel like to be back at Pearson College, at this reunion?" and often the interviewee moved from their present to their past experience with minimal prompting.

In order to minimise the emotional risks which an interview may present to the interviewee (McCracken, 1988:27), I closed each interview by asking the interviewee if they had anything that they wanted to add. This

question returned control of the situation to the interviewee, allowing him/her to close the discussion as they chose.

The interviews were taped. Upon returning from the field I transcribed and analysed them using Strauss' coding techniques (1987).²³ The interview transcripts and the survey responses were analysed in tandem, allowing the emerging results of one to inform the ongoing analysis of the other. The objective of extended case method as outlined by Burawoy (1991a) is to revise existing social theory through the findings of local studies. Therefore, in using Burawoy's extended case method approach, the analysis of the surveys and interviews also informed and were informed by the development of a theoretical framework. In particular, in analysing both the surveys and the interview transcripts, I worked through the revisions of Lefebvre's (1991) triad of conceived, perceived and lived space (representations of space, representational spaces and spatial practices respectively) outlined in Chapter 2. At the same time, the division of social space into this triad provided a useful framework for the empirical analysis in Chapters 4, 5 and 6.

3.7 Conclusion

Social theory should be grounded in empirical studies of social 'reality'. Because this thesis contributes to the larger project of a politics of place, it is important that the theories postulated to be of relevance to such a

²³Strauss' techniques of analysis are too detailed to outline here. For those interested in knowing more about his way of analyzing qualitative data please see Strauss 1987 or, alternatively the software, ATLAS/ti (Muhr, 1994) which is based on these coding techniques and which I used in doing this research.

project be critically examined through empirical work. In this way, Burawoy's (1991a) extended case methodology is a useful one to use.

A discourse analysis, a survey and interviews were used in order to gain insight into the dominant representations of the space of Pearson College, the representational spaces that the graduates hold of the College, and the spatial practices that the dominant discourse prescribed and that the students actually engaged in. In the remainder of the thesis these three aspects of the space of Pearson College and their interactions are examined in order to gain insight into a particular example of a politics of place.

Chapter 4 - Dominant Discourse

4.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the dominant discourse of Pearson College. By dominant discourse, I mean the world view which informed the founding, building and initial structuring of the College and which continues to inform Pearson College practices. It is the discourse which dictates the formal structures and policies of the College while also influencing informal College practices. In Lefebvre's framework, the dominant discourse would be both a discourse *on* the space of Pearson College and a discourse *of* that space.

Pearson College was designed with particular goals in mind and particular ideas about how those goals could be accomplished. Like the disciplinary institutions examined through the work of Foucault (see Chapter 2), Pearson College seeks to propagate a certain world view in its students. Unlike these institutions, though, the dominant discourse of Pearson College does not emphasise the use of disciplinary power in achieving its' goals.

There are two reasons for examining the dominant discourse of Pearson College. First, I want to assess the official representation of the space of Pearson College. It is also important to excavate the Pearson College student subject-position in the dominant discourse in order to consider, later, whether the College has succeeded in interpellating students into it.

In the texts of the dominant discourse, the representation of Pearson College is of the World as it could be. The hope is that by experiencing this World, in which people

of all nations live together in harmony, students will be inspired to work towards actualising such a world when they return to their home country. By being interpellated into the subject-position of being a citizen of the World, as it is represented by Pearson College, the student will be enabled to resist discourses of bigotry and hatred which act against such a World.

However, Pearson College does not enable resistance to all discourses which dominate international relations. For Merrifield (1993), a politics of place must enable resistance to the flows of global capitalism, and Pearson College does not. To operate Pearson College requires a great deal of capital. Therefore, as with most places in the world today, the space of Pearson College is overdetermined by capitalist abstract space.

The texts examined in this chapter are produced by the College, in part, to attract donors. Both Pearson College and graduates are products sold to the public and potential donors via public relations texts. In this regard, the texts can be analysed as advertisements. In order to sell Pearson College, the promotional texts offer prospective donors an attractive subject-position which reconciles two other subject-positions: that of a successful businessperson and of someone who contributes to world peace. In this way, Pearson College does not challenge global capitalist space but reinforces it. Furthermore, although the subject-position offered to donors is separate from that of Pearson College students, one does, inevitably, inform the other.

4.2 Pearson College as a Representation of the World

"The Pearson College community is both a country in miniature and a world in miniature and hopefully, on both counts, Pearson College can create a less divided society through our united efforts." (James L. McLellan, Director²⁴ of Pearson College, quoted in "Annual Report"²⁵, 1994: 15)

Pearson College is a politics of place in that it attempts to effect global social change through the creation of a particular place. As the text of the "Annual Report" states: "[l]ife at Pearson College is always experienced in a global context." (6). The place of Pearson College is thus a metonym²⁶ for the global 'village'. It seeks to intervene in the global arena through bringing the global context to life. Because it is comprised of individuals from all over the world, the Pearson College community, represents the World. Its' ability to represent the World is key to interpellating students into its' international subject-position. It is not, however, a metonym for the World as it is but rather for the World as it could be; "a [sic] image of the world without war" (Arlinda a student from Albania quoted in the Pearson College Video). Moreover, as each residence room has one Canadian student whose "roommates will usually come from three different countries and continents" (6), they also represent the world at peace.

²⁴The term 'Director' refers to the head administrator of Pearson College, the position which is traditionally termed 'headmaster' [sic] at boarding schools.

²⁵Because the analysis on which this chapter is based involves looking in depth at three documents all of which were produced by Lester B. Pearson College of the Pacific, it is easier to differentiate between documents when they are identified to by title rather than by author. The "Annual Report", the Pearson College Video and the "Fact Book 1991" are all listed in the bibliography under Lester B. Pearson United World College of the Pacific.

²⁶A metonym is a figure of speech which uses part of an object to refer to the whole object.

That Pearson College should be a metonym for the global village is intentional. The representation of Pearson College held by College founders is revealed in Jack Matthews' recollections of why the architects for the campus were selected. Matthews recalls that Ron Thom was chosen to design the College because he had proven his ability to design a 'small community' in his work on Trent University. West Coast architect, Barrie Downs, was chosen to work with him "mainly because of his sensitivity to nature and his quick understanding of the village atmosphere we wanted in the College." (Matthews, a: 10). The representation that founders had of Pearson College was of a village in harmony with itself and the natural landscape.

In the Annual Report, the photos of Pearson College are in full colour. The theme of these photos is one of harmony, both between people of different races and between humans and the surrounding environment. Of the fifty-three photos in this series, twenty-four depict people of different races or, if they have captions, of explicitly different nations working, eating, studying and playing together. The reader infers that the students in the uncaptioned photos are from different countries because the text of the "Annual Report" has informed him/her that there are two hundred students at the College from over seventy different countries.

No matter what they are doing, the students in the photos of the "Annual Report" and in the frames of the video are always smiling at each other or at the camera. Moreover, there is obvious affection and connection between students. They are sprawled over each other outside the cafeteria. They have their arms wrapped around each other's shoulders in a posed shot. They are smiling at each other in the classroom. As depicted in these photos, this world is one in which young people of different races and nations care about each other.

Through the captions or inference the reader knows that students in these photos are from different countries. However, in most photos, the people depicted could

easily be from the same Western culture. The predominance of Western style clothing is an indication of both the level of Westernization of successful candidates and the dominance of Western culture at the College. In this representation of Pearson College, Western culture is undoubtedly dominant and other cultures have been reduced to formal performances. However, the reduction of culture to performance can also be seen as part of Pearson College's efforts to "transcend nationalism" ("Annual Report": 4).

In the representation of the College depicted in the "Annual Report", cultural diversity is detached from race and nationality. Except when doing explicitly 'C'ultural activities such as dancing or singing, all of the students are dressed in Western style clothing. Even in the photos of students in costume, the costumes are not necessarily signifiers of the students' cultural background. The caption of the photo of the Ukrainian dance troupe, dressed in traditional Ukrainian dress, notes that the College will be receiving its first Ukrainian student in the following year (51). In this discourse, then, there is a sense that anyone can perform a particular culture.

However, cultural performances such as Ukrainian dancing and choir, both shown in the video, also demonstrate that the people of the world can work together towards common goals, whether that be a folkloric performance or something more profound. The Pearson College choir self-consciously represents the voices of the world united in one voice. That it represents the many people of the world is signified by the students wearing national costumes. In the video their voices are raised to sing *Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrica* a song associated with the struggle to end apartheid in South Africa²⁷. This song is featured at the end of the video and provides a background to Lester B. Pearson's comment (noted in Chapter 1), that links an end to prejudice with peace and international understanding.

²⁷This song has since become the anthem of the post-Apartheid state of South Africa.

4.3 The Greening of Pearson College

Students in the world of Pearson College are also depicted working together to accomplish other goals. For example, five photos in the "Annual Report" depict students engaging in adventurous activities in the natural environment around Pearson College. As part of the larger discourse of the UWCs first articulated by Kurt Hahn Pearson College endeavours to produce 'better' people through wilderness experience and challenges.

Hahn's approach to education, especially the role of landscapes in forming moral character, has much in common with the Preservationist movement prevalent at that time in England and, in a similar form, in Germany (Matless, 1995b). The Preservationists believed that through the 'right use' of the British countryside people would be disciplined into being morally upstanding citizens (Matless, 1995b: 102). The premise of the outdoor program at Pearson College seems to be that the 'right' use of the wilderness can also discipline bodies into global citizens. In the words of Jack Matthews: "the main purpose of the United World Colleges is to promote international understanding. This is accomplished ... particularly through a challenging diversified extra-curricular programme." (Matthews, b: 1) The primary criterion used in selecting a site for the College was the availability of resources which would enable such a programme and in which "services are genuinely needed" (Matthews, b: 1). These services include sea rescue, land rescue and scuba diving. That this discourse considers the wilderness to be part of the classroom is clearly illustrated in the video by a shot of the library and rows of books superimposed upon a photo of trees.

However, the natural environment is not merely depicted as a stage upon which students can work together in potentially dangerous situations. The texts also

depict the global village as a community in harmony with nature. The magnificent landscape of Pearson College features prominently in both the video and Annual Report. Designed to blend into the forest setting, the College buildings are low to the ground and made primarily of cedar and glass.

The second site selection criteria identified by the founders was that the land and the buildings must have character and that the place itself must be interesting and memorable (Matthews, b: 3-4). Matthews and the site committee were looking for "large trees, rolling hills, long beaches or rocky cliffs; something other than flat uninteresting property." (Matthews, b: 4). Only one site of the fifty-seven potential sites met all of their criteria. As the photos and video testify, it is a spectacularly beautiful site, with the reds and greens of the cedar, pines and arbutus offset by the deep turquoise of Pedder Bay. In relation to site character, Matthews insisted that "Pacific College [Pearson College] must have a heart as well." (Matthews, b: 4). Not only is the physical environment seen as a resource for shaping global citizens, it is also seen, in this discourse, to play an important affective role in the lives of students and graduates. In their appeal to prospective donors and students, both the "Annual Report" and the video emphasise the beauty of the site.

The natural environment of Pearson College is seen to have a role in interpellating students through disciplining them and through facilitating a bond between the student and the place. But how can landscapes which belong to a *particular state* be used to discipline bodies into being *global* citizens, and how can an attachment to the landscape of a particular *nation* facilitate the development of a *global* sentiment? Although it may be a unique landscape, the landscape of Pearson College is also very much a Canadian one; more specifically a western Canadian one.

The problem of the location of the landscape is in part overcome because it is occupied by a global community and will, it is hoped, therefore be experienced in a

'global context'. Through the use of symbolism traditionally employed by states, the College takes pains to reinforce the global element of the representational spaces of Pearson College. As visitors approach the College by water they are greeted not by a Canadian flag, but with the United World College Flag, a white flag depicting a blue map of the world enclosed by two interlocked circles. The College letterhead has the painting of a fictitious postage stamp from Pearson College emblazoned upon it, symbolically making the College into an independent, albeit, village state. In the video, the location of the College is shown relative to Vancouver Island and the mainland of the west coast of Canada and the United States on a physical map. However, this map lacks political borders, roads, cities or other signs of human settlement apart from the College. Thus symbolically it places the College on uncharted territory.

In addition to its' perceived role in interpellating students into the Pearson College subject-position, many of the references to the natural environment do, of course, also refer to the environmental discourse now prevalent in Western society today. Environmentalism is a new addition to the dominant discourse as there is no reference to it in the College archival documents I consulted. Although the "Annual Report" and video do engage with environmental discourse, they do so selectively. The environmental discourse that they engage in is that of nature as resource. One of the objectives outlined in "the common goals" is "the promotion, through education, of respect for the planet and all its *resources* and inhabitants" (The Honourable John Nichol, O.C., Founding Chairman [sic] quoted in , "Annual Report", inside front cover, emphasis added). In "Fact Book 1991", the environment is listed, for the first time, as one of the elements that students must incorporate into their service program. These textual images show nature as enriching students by providing a backdrop and a resource for their studies. In return students are depicted engaging in conservation and environmental enhancement projects such as 'forestry management' and 'salmonid enhancement'.

Within the discourse of Pearson College, the College and its' community are a representation of the World. This representation, coupled with the Pearson College subject-position, will inspire particular spatial practices in those people who are interpellated into that discourse. Within the Pearson College dominant discourse, it is hoped that these spatial practices will, in turn, affect space and hopefully bring global space closer to matching the representation of the World as a peaceful community. Insofar as Pearson College uses place, the College campus, in an attempt to intervene at the level of global relations, can be seen as an example of a spatial politics. But what practices are portrayed as bringing about world peace in this particular world view?

4.4 A Representation of the World Without Structures

To understand how the official representation of Pearson College proposes that this peaceful World be achieved, the assumptions and the links it makes to other discourses (other flows of space) must be examined. The second photo in the report, following a bird's eye photo of the College campus, is a large black and white portrait of Lester B. Pearson. He is depicted in mid-speech, the content of which is on the facing page. It is a speech about the value of international education. The same portrait, in miniature, is the final portrait in the report and is accompanied by the following text:

"Young People learn a great deal at Pearson College; about math and science, language and literature, art and music, just like any other school. The difference at Pearson College is that a dream is being fulfilled. It is a dream Lester B. Pearson had, that young people from all races would come together, experience each other and the community around them and leave with an attitude of understanding and service that would be a force against hatred, bigotry and injustice" ("Annual Report": 50)

Pearson's dream was for world peace through education. In "Some common thoughts that stand behind the United World College Movement" the Honourable John Nichol O.C., Founding Chairman of Lester B. Pearson College declares:

"We believe that education, in its broadest sense, and in all of its forms, is the ultimate weapon in the battle against ignorance, bigotry, and prejudice, and their offspring, conflict, violence and war...Education is the ultimate weapon for peace - both within nations and between nations. Our objective is to promote these ideas wherever we can, with whatever methods we can devise, so as to have the most powerful impact on events." ("Annual Report": inside front cover).

Education, then, is one of the practices presumed within this discourse to contribute to world peace. However, there are other presuppositions in the above quotation which need to be examined critically. According to Fairclough, "[m]anipulative presuppositions also postulate interpreting subjects with particular prior textual experiences and assumptions, and in so doing they contribute to the ideological constitution of subjects." (1992: 121). In other words, presuppositions create 'common sense' understandings. In the above quotation, it is presupposed that conflict, violence and war are caused by ignorance, bigotry and prejudice. Within the discourse of Pearson College, these three causes are, in turn, linked to a lack of communication and the lack of a service ethic.

In terms of conflict, there is a noticeable silence in the texts I examined. Economic exploitation and poverty are not included in the list of conditions opposite to peace²⁸. Nor are structural causes of conflict such as colonialism included in this world view. Indeed a top down approach to achieving peace in the world, which could even make use of structural inequalities, seems to be advocated by the phrase "most powerful impact on events".

²⁸In contrast, John Galtung of the International Peace Research Institute, advocated in 1969 that the states opposite to peace be expanded to include structural violence, the unequal distribution of power which prevents people from achieving their potential.

Neither is militarism ruled out as a means to peace. The use of metaphors of weaponry in the context of achieving peace, while not being novel, do render militarization compatible with world peace. This last point can better be understood within the discourse surrounding Lester B. Pearson, to which the College makes implicit reference by referring repeatedly to the 1957 Nobel Peace Prize he received for initiating the UN peacekeeping forces. It is partly through its association with Pearson, a Nobel Peace Laureate, that the College gains its legitimacy as an important institution in the pursuit of world peace. The quotation central to the world view of Pearson College (which almost every student can repeat verbatim) is: "[h]ow can there be peace without people understanding each other and how can this be if they don't know each other" ("Annual Report": 50). This quotation comes from Pearson's Nobel Peace prize lecture. The two projects, Pearson College and the peacekeeping forces are further linked linguistically by the common reference in all three of these texts to graduates of Pearson College and their attitudes being "a *force* against hatred, bigotry and injustice" (50, emphasis added,). The term "force" links the College project to the Nobel prize winning project of peacekeeping forces which attempt to achieve peace through military means.

To summarise, the presuppositions within the "dream" of Pearson College are that peace is a lack of war, conflict and violence. The dominant discourse of Pearson College is differentiated from some other discourses on peace because it does not appear to include poverty and exploitation. Within the Pearson College discourse, violence is caused by ignorance, bigotry and prejudice. Such forces can be overcome through an education that promotes understanding between peoples of different "colour, race, creed or history" and that promotes an "ethic of service of one human being to another, and of responsibility of one human being for another" ("Annual Report": inside cover). The absence of any discussion of unequal economic relations and the use of metaphors of

militarization imply that these two factors are not in themselves implicated in war and conflict.

Although economic relations as causes or forms of conflict are excluded from this discourse, the College does make a great effort to mitigate the effects of economic inequality on the lives of students. Part of the discourse of Pearson College is the scholarship policy whereby students attend exclusively on merit with no regard for financial means. However, even concessions to economic inequality marginalise the impact and the causes of that inequality. The assumption that merit, as measured by Pearson College, can be separated from economic factors is problematic. Because everyone who attends the College is there on full scholarship, no one is prevented from admission because they cannot pay the \$19 000.00 per annum for tuition, room and board. However, a successful candidate for Pearson College must have completed the equivalent of eleven years of North American schooling, preferably be between the ages of sixteen and seventeen, "have achieved first class standing in over half of [their] subjects" and have "[a] working knowledge of English" ("Fact Book 1991": 13). In many countries these criteria rule out large numbers of people, not because they could not achieve these things but because they did not have such an opportunity to due to the financial situation of their families.

In the dominant discourse of Pearson College merit is separated from economics:

"Nobody will be refused the entrance because they don't have the money to pay and that's really interesting for us because we know everyone here is here on merit *not because of their parents who have lots of money* and you don't feel bad because of that because money is not an issue here." (Marie-Eve, a Canadian student, quoted in The Pearson College Video, emphasis added)

Even within Western nations there have been ample studies showing a relationship between poverty and low school achievement. In short, merit cannot be dissociated from

economics. Through the perpetuation of the myth that the scholarship policy overcomes economic inequalities, the dominant discourse at Pearson College marginalises the consideration of structural inequalities.

In failing to examine economic issues and in terms of admission requirements, the dominant discourse at Pearson College might be seen as being compatible with contemporary forms of imperialism:

"The form of domination is new; imperialist domination now proceeds through such economic processes as 'internalization' incorporating local bourgeoisies into a worldwide production system dominated by multinationals; through institutions such as the IMF, World Bank, etc.; and through indirect forms of political dominance (e.g., police and military training policies). Only very rarely does it occur through direct military intervention and almost never in the form of the imposition of directly ruled colonial states." (Patankar and Omvedt, 1980: 32)

Because of both the entrance requirements and the career aspirations that the College appears to have for graduates, it is possible to construe Pearson College as an institution which facilitates internalisation or "the incorporation of the local bourgeoisie within the transnational corporate framework (i.e., within the economic structure dominated by multinational corporations)" (Patankar and Omvedt, 1980: 29). In the "Annual Report", the reader is told that at least one of the graduates is a Senior Vice-President of a large corporation and that "[g]raduates of Pearson College are accepted at the world's leading universities." (9). In "Fact Book 1991" we learn that "graduates are working in many different *professions* and *careers*, in every corner of the world." (3, emphasis added). More blatantly, the "Annual Report" places Pearson College as an answer to the "demand in the world's major business and diplomatic centres for international educational institutions which will help people adjust to unusual environments and prepare them for further education at home" (8). This statement implies a career for Pearson College graduates in multinational business or foreign service.

The College can also be seen as an institution of neo-colonialism because, despite efforts to provide an international context, Pearson College is still strongly influenced by Western culture. The students are depicted in Western clothing, a signifier for the global, Western dominated market. The curriculum outlined in "Fact Book 1991" is also predominantly Western. While in their first year, students of history study contemporary world history, in the second year those specialising in history must follow a course in modern European History (17). Almost half of the philosophy course is devoted to the study of major philosophical texts written by Western philosophers. Finally, the individuals interviewed in the video have different levels of English proficiency (the language of international business and trade), ranging from the new student, whose comments are subtitled, to the graduates who demonstrate fluency in English. While the United World Colleges have acquired two new co-chairs, Queen Noor of Jordan and Nelson Mandela of South Africa, it remains to be seen what difference, if any, their presence will make to the organisation. By bringing the symbolic power over the organisation out of the West however, their presence may challenge the Western bias of the future United World College discourse.

I have raised issues concerning the dominant discourse of Pearson College and economics because these silences indicate that the College is not a politics of place as envisioned by Merrifield (1993). Both Merrifield (1993) and Lefebvre (1991) assume that space is dominated by capitalist relations and that capitalist abstract space dominates other spaces. Merrifield explicitly asks for a politics of place which works to effect social change through place while keeping in mind the global flows of space. The particular flows that Merrifield is most interested in are those of capital and of commodities. Although the dominant discourse of Pearson College tries to provide an international context for the lives of students so that they keep in mind some of the global flows of space while living their lives in place, it ignores flows of capital and commodities.

Economic flows are mentioned once in the video and it is in a context which appears to confirm the hypothesis that Pearson College is an institute of internalisation.

"And if you're unskilled you're going to be competing for a job with about 3.2 billion people. Increasingly whether you physically stay in your own country or not will matter less and less. You're going to be in a global marketplace and I don't mean that in just the economic sense you'll have to think globally in the career sense." (John Wynne-Hughes, Director of Studies and economics teacher, speaking to a group of new students in The Pearson College Video)

Via an international student body, Pearson College provides students with access to a global scale of interaction, and thereby gives them greater power to shape the scale of their daily lives (see Smith, 1993). What the students do with that power remains to be seen. As Neil Smith says, capitalism gained global dominance through relegating resistance to it to a lower scale (1993: 112). Does Pearson College propagate capitalism through relegating conflict to the scale of ignorance and nationalism? These questions cannot be answered through an analysis of texts alone. Rather, the representational spaces of Pearson College students must be examined as well as the practices they went on to perform after graduating. These issues are examined in Chapter 5.

Regardless of the answers to the above questions, Pearson College is nevertheless a politics of place. As both Massey (1993: 60) and Cosgrove (1992: 273) have asserted, economic relations and economic logic are not the only ways of understanding space and spatial practices. Indeed, Pearson College is a politics of place which would seem to fit in Cosgrove's agenda for new cultural geography. Cosgrove advocates a move away from economistic explanations of human action because,

"It is apparent that the senses of human solidarity and human difference, of attachment to blood, language, locality, or territory, and of divine authority - in short, of culture - insist upon their own power against the claims of secular reason and often economic logic" (Cosgrove, 1992: 273)

It is these spatial factors in which the politics of place of Pearson College seeks to intervene. In order to carry out a particular strategy for intervening in discourses of bigotry and hatred, the College must, to a certain extent, appeal to those who have a fair amount of capital.

4.5 Selling Peace of Mind

Two separate texts unfold simultaneously throughout the Annual Report. The first is the representation of Pearson College and consists of text and colour photos depicting Pearson College and the year's events. At the top of some of pages, linked by a strip of blue, is a series of black and white photos of the Board of Trustees with their names, credentials and place of residence. These photos comprise the second text. The photos of the Trustees echo the black and white portraits of Lester B. Pearson which begin and end the document. Through the layout of the Annual Report, the Board of Trustees are equated with Lester B. Pearson as the guardians of his dream. Two other individuals are also linked, in format, to this dream: the then Governor General Ray Hnatyshyn and the director of the College, James L. McLellan.

Two letters are reproduced within the Annual Report, one from the Governor General and one from the Director of the College. These letters which are addressed to the supporters of Pearson College, because they are exactly replicated, also seem to be addressed to the reader of the Annual Report, further linking the reader to the signifier-people. The reader of the "Annual Report" is hailed as one of the important, successful people who are the overseers of the dream of Pearson College. The Board of Trustees are the black and white behind the scenes of a vibrant colourful product, Pearson College. They are the signifier-people (Williamson, 1991: 175), for via a donation to Pearson College it is their success that is bought. These people are members of Canada's elite. Of

the thirty-five trustees, fourteen are executives of major, often multinational, corporations including Mr. Galen Weston, President of George Weston Ltd., Mr. Ronald L. Cliff, Chairman (sic) of BC Gas Inc., and Mr. George Kitching, Senior Vice-President of Rothschild Canada Inc. (and graduate of another United World College). Moreover, these peoples' success is signified by the letters behind their names and includes: four Orders of Canada, one Order of the British Empire and one Knight. Part of this text is a comprehensive, twenty-two page list of donors. As the reader your name could be listed as a College donor and you would then share with these prominent individuals in the continuing task of Pearson's dream.

The main subject-position created by the "Annual Report" is one which can accommodate both the subject-position of a successful (or aspiring) business person and the subject-position of an individual who wishes to contribute to world peace. The connection between peace and business is even reinforced metaphorically in a quotation from L.B. Pearson on education. As he commented in a speech reproduced in the "Annual Report": "...to be able to participate with intelligence and tolerance in that most important of all forms of *free enterprise*, the exchange of ideas on every subject under the sun with a minimum of every restriction, personal, social and political" (3). In this quotation education, already associated with peace, is also equated with free-enterprise. Significantly, there is no mention of minimising the restrictions of economics upon participation in this exchange of ideas. Furthermore, the "Annual Report" connects business interests with the values of education, understanding, world peace, and service, through also linking both of these sets of values to the signifier-people.

Service is one of the key concepts of the Pearson College discourse. Besides receiving a rigorous academic education, students are also expected to do a certain amount of service while they are at the College. According to the "Annual Report", "The United World College ideal of service both during the students' stay at the College and

throughout their life is fundamental to the whole program." (7). The word "service" is used in the context of helping the "very needy in the neighbouring community - the lonely, the disadvantaged and the elderly." (7) as well as in fulfilling some of the needs of the College community. The photo that accompanies this text is of an elderly woman in a wheelchair with a young student of South Asian heritage. As with the signifier 'peace', there is no mention of structural causes of being 'disadvantaged' or 'needy'. In the discourse represented by the "Annual Report", it is a moral imperative to contribute both to one's own community of peers and to those outside of one's community who are less fortunate. Service is one of the ideals of Pearson College and it is part of Pearson's dream. Along with 'international understanding', service will bring peace to the world.

The goal of the "Annual Report" is to recruit and retain donors. I would argue that the main subject-position offered by this text, the one that readers are asked to identify with, is that of someone who is in a powerful position and who shares the values of the College. For such an individual, donating to Pearson College is a practice which fulfils the obligation of service. As there are three graduates on the Board of Trustees (the signifier-people) individuals can contribute to their prospective peers within the student body through their College donations. The donor is also doing service to those less fortunate in that some students come from the 'developing world'. Furthermore, donors are helping students to provide services to disadvantaged people within Canadian society. The "Annual Report" is an advertisement and, as such, it constructs the reader as belonging to a particular group of people (Williamson, 1991: 47), who share a particular set of assumptions (Fairclough, 1992: 121), and who believe in service (amongst other things). It then provides these people with the opportunity to fulfil their obligation of service through donating to Pearson College. Through this performance people can confirm their membership in that group.

Although the main subject-position of the promotional texts is aimed at donors and prospective donors rather than students (especially in the "Annual Report"), it does have some influence on the student subject-position. Both subject-positions are part of the same discourse; the performance of either subject-position could legitimately be seen as an enactment of that discourse. Moreover, those individuals in the black and white photos who represent the donor subject-position, are members of the Board of Trustees of Pearson College. They make final decisions about College policy. Their actions will thus necessarily reflect of their vision of themselves, the World and Pearson College.

4.6 The Pearson College Student Subject-Position

Through the above investigation of the dominant College discourse, the Pearson College student subject position has already begun to emerge . I have already noted that Pearson College students are selected on merit to attend on full scholarship and that the academic entrance requirements mean that most eligible candidates are from middle to upper classes families. Prospective students must also have demonstrated an interest in global issues, a commitment to promoting understanding between peoples, and have a "grand passion" for music, art, or social issues ("Annual Report": 5). However, this is merely the candidate who arrives at the College. What is it that the College seeks to instil in these candidates? What is the Pearson College student subject-position as revealed in the promotional material?

First of all, once at the College everyone is equal. Despite the different backgrounds and experiences which students bring to the College, everyone there is given an equal amount of space to live in, and identical furnishings to use. Heat, food and healthcare are provided to all and there is even a fund to provide disadvantaged students with spending money ("Annual Report" :52). In short, although the College seems to

want to shift all discussion of the causes of conflict away from economic structures to a lack of communication and understanding, the very policies it has for the care of students once they are at the College contradicts this view.

Centred as they are around the quote from Lester B. Pearson, all the College's promotional materials emphasise peace through international understanding. Since these students are to be a 'force' for peace it can be assumed that a characteristic that the College will attempt to develop in them, is that of international understanding. In the video 'understanding' also seems to be the recognition that:

"[Students] are the same age as me and they come from different backgrounds but *we have a lot more in common then we have not in common.*" (Pamela, a student, quoted in the Pearson College Video)

The promotional video focuses more on individual students than either the "Annual Report" or the Fact Book. As in the "Annual Report" and "Fact Book 1991", though, the students in the video are constructed passively. Although the video is in part meant to recruit applicants to the College, the only reference as to how someone could become a student is that "National Committees in each country reach deep into their school systems to find students like Yenina..." (the narrator of the Pearson College Video).

Although it too seems to be aimed at potential donors, the strategy of the video is different from that of the "Annual Report". There are no signifier-people (powerful business people) in this "advertisement", nor even any mention of Lester. B. Pearson or the history of the College. Rather, the subject-position which the viewer is hailed into is that of an observer. The questions asked of people interviewed are edited out of the video, leaving the spectator in the position of interviewer.

The video is set up in a traditional documentary form with voice-of-God narration²⁹. It resembles those documentaries which follow the manufacture of a product through all of its stages as it circulates through a factory. The video opens with Yenina from Paraguay (the raw material) being transported to the College. Although her English is understandable if imperfect, the makers of the video have chosen to subtitle her words. The next step in the process of creating the Pearson College student is "breaking down barriers" (The Pearson College Video) between new students which, we are told, begins in the orientation week

John Wynne-Hughes (then Director of Studies) describes this process for the viewer by saying: "this place internationalises them [the students]". The term "internationalise" is linked in the video to an ability to participate in the global marketplace. That one of the roles of Pearson College is to produce graduates who have the skills required by employers is part of the discourse gaining hegemony amongst educational institutions throughout Canada; the idea that the role of education is to provide people with skills valuable to the marketplace. A further, more detailed, comment on what the Pearson College product is meant to be is given by one of the faculty members. As she puts it,

"Our graduates are a human product if you like. We aim for people who are more compassionate and concerned who think more critically, who don't just accept what's told them but think it through, question, interrogate and we hope they bring to whatever they do some kind of international perspective." (Eileen Dombrosky, faculty member, quoted in the Pearson College Video)

Through depicting students in the midst of various activities, the video outlines the program of academics, services and College life in general. More students, at

²⁹"Voice-of-god" narration style is the form of narration traditionally used in documentary films. It consists of a disembodied male voice accompanying the viewer throughout the entire movie.

different stages of their College experience are interviewed (all have very good English skills) and clips of College life are shown. In so doing, the processes for the formation of the human product are illustrated. At the end of the video we meet two graduates, Ruse, whom we are informed is now a teacher at the College, and Joao. Near the end of the video, Joao testifies as to the power of the College to shape peoples' lives,

"I think all of us live on our dreams, we have these dreams and then we follow, we try to go through with our dreams, and my dreams were made in this place, most of them were made here and so it was certainly important." (The Pearson College Video)

The video then ends with Ruse, interacting with a whole new set of students engaged in what we already know to be orientation week activities. Thus the process of producing a Pearson College student begins again.

These texts convey the idea that Pearson College students are produced by Pearson College and depicts the practices they are required to perform there. In light of the discussion of Foucault in chapter 2, the College can be understood as wanting to produce subjects which are docile and useful to its' own discourse. Paradoxically, in order to be docile and useful to the Pearson College discourse, the Pearson College student must be critical and resistant to other discourses. The Pearson College student is someone who is a 'leader', who has an 'understanding' of people from different backgrounds, achieves well academically, is compassionate, has a strong service ethic, thinks critically, is internationalised and who is successful in his/her career path. How then does the dominant discourse conceive that this subject-position should be performed at the College?

4.7 Performing the Pearson College Student Subject-Position

Within the dominant discourse of the College presented by the texts analysed in this study, it seems to be assumed that that students will become Pearson College students through performing the subject-position. However, unlike those institutions studied through Foucault's theory of discipline (e.g. Philo, 1994; Ploszajska, 1994; Driver, 1988; Matless, 1995b) or Butler's theory of performativity (e.g. Cream, 1995; Bell and Valentine, 1995; Valentine, 1996) it appears that Pearson College students are interpellated into the student subject position through opportunities the practices afford them to interact with others rather than through the physical repetition of the subject-position. Indeed, these texts downplay the role of micro-tactics of discipline in achieving the College goals.

Throughout the video in particular, the performance of the Pearson College student subject-position is linked with testimonies of the students, which demonstrate their interpellation into that subject-position. The video outlines precisely what the students should be performing.

"Students arriving here do ask the question what are our priorities? I always explain to them that they really have to balance their lives here between first learning about each other, living together, finding out about the other individuals in this community, that is a remarkable experience for them. Secondly, to learn about themselves through contributing to those who are less fortunate and thirdly, and this always amuses them that I place this third, is the academic program..." (Tony Macoun, Director of Pearson College, quoted in the Pearson College Video)

Of course these three activities are clearly intertwined and they all contribute to interpellating students. For example, the academic program draws from a particular tradition in Western culture; a critical tradition. Within the academic program itself, the Pearson College subject-position must be performed, especially the critical thinking

component of that subject-position. The goal of the Theory of Knowledge course, the only course compulsory for all students, is that "students must be aware that most of their 'convictions' are based on opinions, usually lacking proof, and on personal and/or collective emotions and prejudices which are often the source of conflicts." ("Fact Book 1991": 17). The Theory of Knowledge course seeks to teach students to think critically. In light of this goal (and contrary to uses of disciplinary power), there is no ranking of students in this course. Students merely receive a pass or fail on the course.

Just as students learn to be critical thinkers in the Theory of Knowledge course, to a certain extent the promotional texts give the impression that students will develop their service ethic through performing required acts of service. In this regard the service program at Pearson College can be seen as a micro-technique of disciplinary power. However, as she describes the social service program in the video, Cecilia presents a different dynamic:

"Maybe some people don't have that many, haven't dealt with disabled people very much and you get to see them and the mentally challenged and see what their lives are like and it gives you more respect I think for them and for what they go through and what they have to deal with." (The Pearson College Video)

It is not through repetition of the behaviour of service that Cecilia has come to believe in the importance of helping those less fortunate, or through being ranked and rewarded according to her devotion to others. Rather, Cecilia has come to believe in the importance of service because she has had the opportunity, through performing service, of getting to know and coming to an understanding of 'Others'. It is not so much the performance of service that is presented as being influential but the opportunity that this performance offers for the student to come into contact with different conceptual resources from those with which s/he is perhaps accustomed. Services are depicted as

providing the opportunity for students to develop an understanding of and respect for someone whose life is very different from their own.

Perhaps the most important practice at Pearson College is communication. In the video, communication is presented within the context of students getting to know each other. In the words of Tony Macoun, communication should be a priority for Pearson College students,

"We talk about just about anything and everything and endlessly, and this is very important. We have to communicate, we have to share, we have to get to know each other, we have to care about each other and communicating is - is fundamental." (Tony Macoun, the Director, addressing a group of students in the Pearson College Video)

In this discourse, communication is to be practiced for a few, inter-related reasons. First, so that students come to care about one another. Throughout the video, students speak about the importance of the friendships they have made. Within this discourse, caring and communication are also implicated in developing an understanding for another student's opinions and experiences. For example, Cecilia is obviously very moved when she speaks of talking to someone at the College who is from a "country like that [Yugoslavia] that's falling apart where you don't even know how to address a letter anymore to your family, you don't even know what your country is being called, you don't even know when you'll be able to go back." Through this interaction, Cecilia has identified with an individual from a home torn apart by civil war; she has been interpellated, in part, into that subject-position. She has adopted that experience as her own. She has come to *understand* that other individual a little better. In order to learn about foreign others, students must communicate,

"The most important thing about PC is not necessarily did I pass that math test, did I get a seven did I get a six. It's staying up till four in the morning talking about the Holocaust, their view, my view, or what I was taught, what they learnt.

It's talking to them about their country..." (Cecilia, a Canadian student, quoted in the Pearson College Video)

As the context of the school is international, by developing an understanding of each other the students are practicing 'international understanding', one of the College goals. Other than making students live in close proximity to each other, disciplinary power does not seem to be used by the College faculty or administration to force students into communicating. Students are not formally ranked according to their performance of communication or isolated for not communicating.

Beyond the development of caring and understanding, the Pearson College world view stresses discussion as the appropriate way to resolve differences. This approach is perhaps best illustrated by the survey questions that Pearson College has developed for students and graduates to complete (see Appendix C). In this survey two sets of opinion questions relate to problems experienced at the College. The second set of questions asks students and graduates to rate various potential problems in terms of how serious the respondent perceived them to be while s/he was at the College. The first question is meant to assess how well Pearson College has dealt with some of these problems. The question reads: "How much do you feel the following issues have been *discussed* during your two years at Pearson College?" (emphasis added). The assumption being made with this question is that conflicts can be resolved and differences can be overcome through discussion. Through this question, students and graduates are forced to assess their experience of Pearson College through the power/knowledge system that dominates Pearson College.

The practice of communication as a form of conflict resolution was presented as something which would bring about the more peaceful world which Pearson College represents. This assumed relation is demonstrated in the segment of the video focused on

an Israeli student and a Palestinian student who are shown rock climbing together, the Palestinian placing his life in the hands of the Israeli as he rappels back down the cliff.

"when you're here you meet all these people from places you would never meet, I mean me, as an Israeli, meeting guys from Jordan or Palestine, ... and *being able to actually freely talk to them* not feeling threatened with me being with them or them being with me at the same time. You get a sense of what people actually think, what their emotions and views and ways of seeing life are" (Oren, an Israeli student quoted in the Pearson College Video)

"I've never been able to talk to an Israeli before in my life. I've never wanted to. When I come I just, Oh he's an Israeli. So it's like what am I going to do now? So I talked like, when I came I talked to my parents and I said there's this Israeli guy here what I'm going to do? So *my parents said to me 'ignore him, don't talk to him.'* In the end it became my decision. This place is not about politics, it's not about economics. It's about feelings and we are quite close to each other, as much as we can." (Jalal, Palestinian student, quoted in the Pearson College Video, emphasis added)

If the video depicts any places as exercising micro-physics of disciplinary power, it is the state of Israel and the nation of Palestine. Rather than implying that Pearson College forces people from different nations to communicate, the video portrays the College as counteracting the disciplinary tactics of states. International communication is portrayed as something that students want to do, and so Pearson College merely provides them with the opportunities to do so. Jalal's parents are still trying to patrol the border between Israel and Palestine through encouraging their son to ignore the presence of the Israeli, thereby wiping him out of Jalal's representational space. It is to be assumed that the interpellation of Jalal into the Pearson College subject-position enabled him to overcome the barrier between himself and Oren, a barrier created by discourses of governmentality (see discussion of Dillon in Chapter 2). By talking to someone who would be an enemy in the context of nationalism, Jalal is performing the Pearson College subject-position. Because Jalal says that it became *his decision* to talk to Oren, this segment of the video also gives the impression that he is performing the Pearson College subject-position

because he has come to believe in the Pearson College world view, not because he has been disciplined into it.

In these texts, Pearson College is portrayed as enabling students to perform practices from which they were constrained in their home nations. Discipline is not emphasised in the dominant discourse of Pearson College. Academics, the area in which the disciplinary techniques of ranking and examining could most easily be performed, are of low priority within the dominant discourse. In fact, the International Baccalaureate system which students follow at the College downplays discipline. Because the IB is administered externally to Pearson College, exams are set and marked anonymously through the IB head office in Geneva. Thus, examinations and ranking have little place within the College classrooms. Most, if not all, of the mark a student receives on his/her IB comes from the final exam which is written at the end of his/her stay at Pearson College. In this sense, Pearson College teachers become assistants to the intellectual development of students rather than judges and therefore administrators of discipline. Pearson College's approach to academic learning emphasises enabling students to learn rather than disciplining them into a hierarchy of achievement.

Although disciplinary techniques do not appear to be prevalent at Pearson College, the knowledge/power system of the dominant discourse still makes use of space. The spatial barriers between people are overcome by Pearson College, in part, through bringing students from around the world together to one place. However, boundaries between peoples and places function through the internalisation of national beliefs and prejudices. In order to break down these barriers, Pearson College has spatial practices. As noted above, the video even refers to Orientation week as "an opportunity for students to begin breaking down barriers". This assertion is demonstrated through a clip of students playing a co-operative game in which a group of students attempt to untangle themselves while holding hands. In general in this discourse, the overcoming the

breaking down of the barriers between nations at the level of the individual is associated with constant interaction between students. The space of Pearson College was designed to enable this interaction.

"An important aspect of education at Pearson College is the constant intellectual and social interaction between students and staff of totally different cultural backgrounds. The five student residences and other facilities are designed to create a comfortable environment where students can share their varied international experiences." ("Fact Book 1991", 15)

It would also seem that the separation of students from home is an important Pearson College spatial practice, enabling students, like Jalal to make their 'own' decisions without the influence of their parents or home culture.

In these texts, the precise location of Pearson College is vague. Aside from the address on the back of the Annual Report, there is no reference to the relative location of the College other than that it is in Canada. Indeed, only the video includes a map and while, the opening photo in the "Annual Report" is an aerial photo of the College, all that can be seen are the College buildings, forest and water. All of these images, as well as the 'national' symbolism which the College uses, imply that the College is isolated from Canadian society. Again, this isolation is an intentional part of the representation of Pearson College as conceived by College founders. When the criteria for the College site were drawn up, it was decided that "a few hundred acres for protection would be wise" (Matthews, b: 4) and it was also felt that the College should be located far enough in the countryside so that students would not be constantly visiting the city (5).

International understanding is portrayed as enabling world peace through the representation of Pearson College as the world in miniature. The dominant discourse of Pearson College conceives that students come to accept the Pearson College student subject-position through the opportunities which it provides to them, rather than because they are forced to repetitively perform that subject-position. Most importantly, within the

dominant discourse, Pearson College provides students with the opportunity to interact with people who are different from themselves.

4.8 Conclusion

The manipulation of space is an essential part of how the dominant discourse of Pearson College seeks to interpellate students into the College's subject-position. These manipulations of space can be understood only partially as micro-techniques of discipline. Although Pearson College, like Victorian institutions of discipline, attempts to instil a certain set of moral beliefs in students, it cannot be considered a reform school. In the dominant discourse, the Pearson College student subject-position is one which is non-bigoted, non-prejudiced, internationally understanding and critically thinking. Such a subject is significantly different from the docile useful bodies which Foucault proposes that modern disciplinary power seeks to produce.

Within the representation of Pearson College in the College promotional material it appears that through the opportunities it provides for students to interact with each other, the natural environment and needy others in the surrounding community, and through operating as a metonym for the world as it could be, the College produces internationalised critical thinkers. Pearson College does not portray itself as an institution which uses micro-physics of disciplinary power. Rather, it presents itself as providing students with a particular set of conceptual resources. Communication is portrayed as essential to the development of international understanding and to maintaining a harmonious community which is itself a representation of the world as it could be.

The documents themselves are conceptual resources to Pearson College students and graduates in negotiating their identity. One interviewee testified that she had read the Pearson College Fact Book before her arrival at the College and had noted

that the aims of the College were to promote peace and international understanding. She arrived on campus before her roommates so decided, in order to promote international understanding, to get students already on campus to write welcome in their language on a poster board which she then stuck onto the door of her room to greet her roommates.

Because this study examines a contemporary institution, it is not limited to documentary analysis. I will turn now to the words of the graduates themselves in order to explore further how it is that Pearson College makes use of space in order to produce Pearson College students.

Chapter 5 - Representational Spaces

5.1 Introduction

The previous chapter outlined the representation of Pearson College in the dominant discourse. It is the representations of space which Lefebvre assumes dominate the representational spaces of the inhabitants and users of that space (1991: 39). The next two chapters explore the representational spaces of the graduates of Pearson College and the spatial practices which they performed there. Chapters 5 and 6 therefore examine how the official representation of Pearson College and the formal practices of the College affected students representational spaces. And finally, they consider how those representational spaces affected the identities of students.

Most of my survey respondents and interviewees felt that they had been changed by their experiences at Pearson College. In this chapter I examine what changes graduates believe were facilitated by their Pearson College experience. Through considering what the graduates perceive to be the goals of Pearson College, and the ways in which they believe that they are fulfilling those goals, I outline the Pearson College student subject-position from the perspective of the graduates. In order to begin to explore how the graduates perceive their commitment to these goals developed, the subject of Chapter 6, I outline the representational spaces that graduates hold of Pearson College. As described in Chapter 2, representational spaces are the interface between people and place and therefore between subject/individuals and discourses. Representational spaces provide clues as to how students were interpellated into the Pearson College discourse.

In all the aspects of Pearson College examined in these next two chapters, communication emerges as a central theme. Most interviewees thought that one of the goals of the College was to improve the communication skills of students. Through their College experience they felt that the way that they communicated with people had changed for the better. Indeed the changes in how they communicate with other people, and what they choose to discuss were one of the biggest changes that graduates perceived the College had on their subsequent lives.

Communication was also an important part of graduates' recollections of Pearson College; of their representational spaces of Pearson College. The discussions that interviewees had with other students during their two years at the College were recalled by most of them as one of the highlights of their experience. On the other hand, when communication between students had been impeded, graduates described representational spaces of Pearson College as negative.

5.2 The Goals of Pearson College

Although most people inevitably had some bad experiences at the College, the vast majority of respondents (80%) to the mail-out survey nevertheless believed that Pearson College fulfils its' aims more than on average (see Figure 5.1). Indeed not a single respondent thought that the College completely failed to fulfil its' aims. Even more significant for the purposes of this thesis, 94% of respondents felt that they were fulfilling the aims of the College in their post-College lives. That they perceive themselves to be fulfilling the aims of the College demonstrates that they agree with the aims of the College and, I believe, indicates that they have been interpellated into the Pearson College student subject-position.

Most (70%) of the respondents who attempted to define the aims of the College, felt that it sought to promote understanding and tolerance of diversity, whether diversity of background, of culture or an understanding between nations (see Table 5.1). The promotion of peace was the second most referred to aim, cited by 30% of respondents. Other aims which were mentioned included the promotion of some form of ethical life, and promotion of the unity of the World's peoples. Seven people (7%) felt that the aim of Pearson College was merely to provide a well-rounded education. All of these aims are presented in the texts of the dominant discourse of Pearson College with more-or-less the same emphasis. As was shown in the previous chapter, international understanding is the focus of the dominant discourse of Pearson College. Within that discourse, international understanding is seen as contributing to world peace. Other elements that respondents listed (e.g. the service ethic, the harmonious world and the well rounded education) also appear in the promotional texts as means to achieving international understanding.

The responses to the Pearson College survey conducted by Dombrowsky and Spray (1995 and 1996) converge even more closely with the goals highlighted in the Pearson College promotional texts. This similarity is mostly due to the format Dombrowsky and Spray chose for this particular question (see Appendix C). Rather than using an open-ended question, Dombrowsky and Spray provide a list of eight sets of potential goals for the College which the respondents are asked to rate in importance out of ten. Given these choices, Years 11 and 12³⁰ rated "International Understanding: Global perspective, respect for diversity, etc." highest at an average of 9.15. Second was "Ethical Qualities: Courage of conviction, commitment, compassion, consideration, well-roundedness" which received an average rating of 8.81. The third ranked goal was

³⁰My interviewees were from Pearson College Years 11 and 12.

Figure 5.1 - Perception of How Well Pearson College Fulfills Its' Aims

	Aims of College	Percentage of Respondents
Aims to Achieve	Understanding / Tolerance	70%
	Peace	30%
	Living According to Ethics	18%
	Global Unity	14%
	Good Academics	7%
	Seeing that People are People	7%
Through	Spatial Aspects	25%
	Influence of Graduates	14%
	Friendship	6%
	Elitism	3%

Table 5.1 - Perceived Aims of Pearson College

"Intellectual Qualities: Open-mindedness, clarity of thought, knowledge, challenging assumptions" at 8.57. These same three sets of goals were rated the highest on average across all the other years that this particular survey was carried out. Despite the problems of such closed questions, these findings are comparable to the results of my own survey using an open-ended question.

The graduates who responded to my survey felt that Pearson College succeeds in achieving particular goals primarily through changing students. When respondents were asked on the survey why they believed Pearson College fulfilled its aims, the most common response (34%)³¹ was that people are changed by their experience (see Table 5.2). In some of the survey responses, as well as interviews, there was a clear sense that Pearson College affected students on the level of 'identity'. As one survey respondent wrote:

[The aims of the College are to p]rovide an integral education to young adults from around the world, thereby participating in adding a global identity and strengthening whatever other identities students first arrived with.

The United World Colleges survey of graduates from all of the Colleges who had graduated before 1985 (Nielson, 1991; see Appendix B) found that graduates perceived that their experience had affected them in all three of the 'fields' which the survey listed: private life/interests, education/studies, career/work. Of the five United World Colleges operational before 1985, Pearson College affected the decisions of the largest proportion of graduates in all three fields. The Pearson College experience affected the most graduates (75%) in the field of private life/interests. The field of education/studies was second at 57% of graduates and career/work was last with 42% of graduates indicating that this aspect of their life had changed through their Pearson College experience.

³¹Although most people rated the extent to which they thought Pearson College fulfilled its' aims, few people offered an explanation as to how it did or did not achieve its' aims.

	How the Aims are Fulfilled	Percentage of Respondents
	People Are Changed by It	34%
	Through the Space of the College	33%
	Through Interactions at the College	31%
	Through the Formal Programs	16%
	Through the Norms of the College	6%

Table 5.2 - Perceptions of How the Aims of Pearson College are Fulfilled

	How Respondents Fulfil Aims	Percentage of Respondents
Through	Career or Social Service	49%
	Being Open-minded	32%
	Having a Service Ethic	32%
	Actively Challenging Other Discourses	32%
	International/Multi-cultural Attitudes and Activities	30%
	Not Fulfilling them Enough	4%

Table 5.3 - Ways in Which Respondents Feel That They Are Fulfilling the Aims of Pearson College

Career Fields of Graduates

Figure 5.2- Career Choices of Graduates

Despite the lower rating of Pearson College in terms of its' influence on career choice in the UWC survey, in my own survey, forty-six respondents (49% of those who answered the question) felt that they were fulfilling the aims of the College through their careers or through their voluntary philanthropic work (see Table 5.3). Other frequently mentioned ways in which graduates felt they were fulfilling the aims of Pearson College included, having a sense of obligation to be of service to others (32%) and through being open-minded at all times (32%). The sense of obligation that some students have to the ideals of Pearson College was demonstrated by a few respondents (4%) who indicated that they were not doing as much as they felt they should be to fulfil the aims of the College.

It can be assumed that those students who feel that they are fulfilling the aims of the College have been interpellated into the Pearson College graduate subject-position. That there were a variety of responses to what graduates feel the aims of the College are, and a range of ways in which they have chosen to fulfil those aims, indicates that this subject-position changes from graduate to graduate. However, the difference in responses appears to be only one of focus as each version of the goals could be supported through reference to the promotional texts produced by Pearson College.

The long semi-structured interviews³² shed more light on the discrepancies in the perception of the goals of the College and the appropriate means to achieve those goals. Perhaps the biggest difference between the ways interviewees felt they were fulfilling the goals of Pearson College was between those who felt that changes should be brought about from the top down, and those who felt that grass-roots activism is what is prescribed by Pearson College. Often those of one group felt that the others were not

³²For a profile of the interviewees and some of their responses to the survey please see Appendix H.

really fulfilling the aims of Pearson College as is shown in a comment from Victor, a man from Southern Europe:

It was a bit disappointing to me coming here [to the reunion] and find out how many people who were doing more kind of hippie life like 1960s style-life (sigh). You don't have to become a vice president of [a multi-national corporation]. I don't think I would but anyway... but at least, I don't know do something that is more ... I don't know how to explain (slap on the table), more a serious job (laugh)....I mean be in a position that is not trying to change things from the bottom, but you try and go up the ladder and change things from the top, and that is much more efficient, you know it's much easier, that's what I think at least.

Likewise, some interviewees, active in grass-roots politics did not feel that their colleagues now in the corporate world were behaving as Pearson College graduates should. However, both sets of graduates did feel that they were fulfilling the aims of the College and a majority of graduates do feel that they were changed through their Pearson College experience. I turn now to a closer examination of the range of changes that ex-students attributed to their time at Pearson College.

5.3 Perceived Changes

My mail-out survey focused on career choice, the field that the UWC survey found was influenced the least by the Pearson College experience (Nielson, 1991). Despite this focus, some respondents chose to write unsolicited comments about the College's impact in other fields. For example, as one person noted:

I don't see the College experience as being directly responsible for my choices over the last eight years but it had a powerful influence on who I am today.

Nevertheless, sixteen of the respondents to my own survey (16%) felt that their experiences at Pearson College had been very influential to their subsequent career choice (see Figure 5.2 for a breakdown of career goals). When asked to rate the influence of Pearson College on their career choice most respondents thought it was of slightly 'more

than average' influence (3.5 out of a possible 5). The mean rating of the helpfulness of Pearson College to pursuing career goals was only slightly higher at 3.6.

The ratings of the perceived influence of Pearson College on career choice were cross-tabulated with a series of other variables but no obvious patterns emerged. The perception that respondents had of the influence of Pearson College on their choice of career did not seem to be affected by where students were from, where they live now, their gender or what their career goals may be. The one exception to this pattern was that none of those graduates pursuing careers in finance or business rated Pearson College as 'very influential' and none of those who were in social science research and policy rated it below 'average'.

A few of the graduates interviewed traced their career choices to an aspect of their Pearson College experience. For example, one ex-student had become a naturalist after spending a week, organised through Pearson College, at a British Columbia provincial park. Another student felt that after her College experience, the only career that made sense to her was one in international development. A few students even felt that Pearson College expected them to pursue certain careers. As Rob, a Western graduate of Pearson College, observed:

One of the things I found very interesting about this whole experience was that lots of the people that I was talking to on the way over here [to the reunion] ... they really left the College feeling like they had to go out there and do something really altruistic and fabulous. I never left the College with that feeling. You know I never, I've never put that on myself which, thank god!, that would've just been another thing that I would have had to deal with (laugh). But they really seemed to have left with this idea that they had to ... I don't know make some major contribution, and they were gonna come back and be judged. People were gonna ... say "You have failed."

That few of the graduates whom I interviewed mentioned this sense of obligation may, in part, be because Angus Matthews, Director of Development at Pearson College,

addressed this concern on the second day of the reunion. In a meeting with the graduates he explained that the College did not expect everyone to go out and become diplomats or heads of state, and that it was the little things they did that were important. Mr. Matthews gave this speech because he felt that graduates were putting too much pressure on themselves and that those simply were not the goals of the College. In Matthews' interpretation of the dominant discourse, then, the impact of the College on the rest of the world was to come from the day-to-day interactions graduates engaged in, not from producing Prime Ministers and diplomats. Nevertheless, this interpretation does appear to contradict some elements of the dominant discourse of Pearson College as discussed in Chapter 4, which emphasise leadership, a top-down approach to change, international business and the foreign service. However, Angus Matthews' speech did have the desired effect in putting some graduates' fears to rest. In the words of Jacynthe, a Canadian graduate,

I felt that the College had great expectations. I was not sure I had fulfilled them so ... I don't know why, so I had all those kind of thoughts. And after the meeting we had with Angus it sort of settled things down.

In terms of the influence of Pearson College on other 'fields' of life, the interviews support the findings of the United World College survey (Nielson, 1991). Most interviewees felt that Pearson College had not influenced their larger career decisions but rather had changed them at a more fundamental, yet subtle level. In Dombrowsky and Spray's survey (1996) of Years 11 and 12, respondents were asked to rate how much change Pearson College had stimulated in various areas. In this survey, on average, respondents felt that they had experienced "significant positive change" in the areas of "Tolerance for and understanding of other cultures, political and value systems" and "Level of confidence in capacity to face challenges, overcome obstacles, show courage and initiative." Another area in which many graduates felt they had changed

significantly was, "Unwillingness to accept conventional thought, but to question assumptions, challenge premises and think clearly before conclusions." (which received on average a rating of 3.8 out of 5). Once again the closed question format forces answers into the categories of the dominant discourse and prevents a full range of responses. Nevertheless, Dombrowsky and Spray's survey does provide some indication that graduates feel they were changed in the ways that the College wanted them to change (1995 and 1996).

The interviews provided a forum in which graduates could discuss Pearson College influences without the constraint of closed-questions. In analysing the interview transcripts, it became apparent that changes in the ways that graduates communicated were a strong legacy of the College. Changes in communicating were part of the field of the everyday, as illustrated by this quote from Emilio, a Latin American graduate:

I learned a lot of things in terms of ways of communicating and listening, which is part of communicating, and thinking....In everything that I do you know- if I'm making dinner I do it a certain way because I had experience here - planning my wedding you know this is like this ceremony- it was just I communicate with people I communicate in a certain way I - You know that's probably all I can say. I mean I can't think of anything earth-shattering. It's just the way I am, the way I conduct myself, the way I behave, the things I do, they're just very much rooted in this place.

In terms of communication, there were two ways that interviewees felt they had changed. First, graduates thought that they had acquired good communication skills (including the tolerance and open-mindedness to practice good listening skills) at the College. Second, they felt that they talked about different topics or about topics from a different, often more critical, point of view than they would have had they not attended Pearson College. Overall, the graduates interviewed felt that they had become better listeners and that they were less judgmental and more open-minded in their interactions with people. As Anne, an Asian student, remarked:

I think it made me more open-minded to things- more flexible to other ideas and even in the small-scale level, even if I didn't agree with whatever that person was saying, I would make a conscious effort to listen and see where they're coming from. I think I learned that skill a lot because we really needed that here.

As discussed in Chapter 4, open-minded, critical communication is emphasised as an important practice through the dominant discourse of Pearson College. Whereas graduates did not seem able to reach a consensus as to what professions fellow graduates should be pursuing, or even at what level of society graduates should concentrate their efforts, most seemed to agree that open-minded tolerant communication should be practised. Alfred, a graduate in management in a multinational company, explained:

I like to listen to people now... Again, points of view that are not mine, I try to understand why I have this opinion on this matter and the other person has the other. I take this into my into my work. Okay, I am the highest on the scale, on my scale. I would only need to say to the people "let's do this", "let's do the other". I mean "Do this! Do that!" okay, I can do it. But if somebody comes up to me and say "why do I have to do this?" I'm not the guy who is going to say "Do it because I told you so!" and I could do it. I mean I have power to do it even ... I may be doing something else apparently more important, I try to explain. I do my really best to make my - to make the person I'm talking to understand why this ... or that thing should be done in the way I requested. Because it is not because [I] requested this, but it is because the aim of our job, the goal of our job, is to provide a service and the service could be better provided in the way that I have said. , needless to say if somebody comes with a different idea, better idea I don't have ... any problem in saying "I was wrong. I am sorry, I was wrong." Now it is not easy to say "I'm sorry". It is not to say- it is not easy to say "I'm wrong" this is ... a basic concept.

The interviewees, like the respondents to Dombrowsky and Spray's (1995 and 1996) survey, felt that their Pearson College experience had made them more tolerant. Although respondents and interviewees spoke of becoming more tolerant of difference in general, or difference in opinion or of difference in values, they did often talk specifically about becoming more tolerant of different cultures. There are probably as many different understandings of culture as there are graduates of Pearson College. However, the

general trend in the interviews was to conceive of cultures as different from one another and as fundamental to a person's identity. Yet, there was also the sense in a number of interviews that there were fundamental similarities between different cultures. As Troy discusses:

I think ... there is such a thing as ... universal values: just be nice, help. And I think those are the biggest values, to be nice, to help, to be considerate. And I think in most cultures, I think those values are really, really, important- there's a lot of other values that I- that shape who I am, that could be perceived as western values. Those aren't the values that I think the College has ...worked on more. I think the real ones are the ones that I've just mentioned, the very basic.

Troy feels that Pearson College is not dominated by Western culture but Christopher (and many other graduates) disagree:

I think now there's more concern around issues like, is the treatment of women simply a cultural thing? ...You know so the fact that men and women have different roles in different cultures, is this something we're supposed to accept or tolerate or is that something that we should actively seek to change. Cause I would say the model when I was here definitely was that publicly we accept and tolerate difference and privately we sort of persuade people of the superiority of the Western model.

However, Christopher and Troy both have a sense that there are universal values and that practices cannot be justified simply by saying that they are cultural practices. In general, the Pearson College graduates whom I interviewed valued difference and felt that it was important to be open-minded and tolerant of difference unless that culture or opinion was an intolerant one and should be challenged. Interestingly, most of the values that were cited or implied as being universal, were those of the dominant discourse of Pearson College. Most of the interviewees also felt that they had become more open-minded towards people of different cultures.

Not only did many graduates indicate that they had changed their opinions on issues, but many interviewees and respondents to my own survey indicated that they now

challenge people who express intolerant opinions. For example, when Corrina, a graduate from a developing country was asked how Pearson College had changed her, she replied:

I think on a smaller everyday social interaction level, yeah. Not particularly in terms of career or work, but on the everyday level: interacting with people, the kinds of things you talk about, ... the kinds of friends you have.....People make assumptions about other peoples cultures and say things that now I think they're inappropriate and I challenge them on these things.

Becoming more open-minded as well as being willing to stand up for their opinions was perhaps most significant in the lives of graduates from regions of the world in which there is some intra-national or international tension. These interviewees were able to contrast their attitudes to local conflicts with the attitudes of their friends. Maria, a graduate from a politically tense region of Southern Europe, responded to my query about how her Pearson College experience had changed her:

In the [neighbouring country] issue you know when we talk with friends I think I can be more tolerant than others. I'm able to [put] you know ... the other view in into perspective as in the case of [the minority ethnic group within the state] as well. I think that's important. When I was saying there has to be many questions, so many questions to be asked, I'm trying to ask those questions to friends that I'm discussing it that way you know. Having had a Pearson experience helps me to justify some of the tolerance, some of the ideas, I've presented that you know friendly discussion we have between friends. You know it's much easier for me to tell the differences at the same time as similarities between the [neighbouring people] and [us], between [us] and [the members of the ethnic minority] and because once you've got to know sixty different countries, you know let's say sixty different people from different backgrounds, you don't have to know all of them at the same time, you just have the idea- you just have the openness and the tolerance.... You can academically and logically think that this should be the case, if you've not personally experienced it doesn't make so much sense, *you don't believe in it.*

Pearson College also appears to ease tensions at home in Canada, for as Stephanie attested:

Before I came here I was very separatist and nationalistic about my country. It was Quebec, you know Quebec, then you come away and you have (clap) you know like is it such a big deal compared to what other problems people have and people starving and just right now in Africa all these civil wars and do we want to see that happen in Quebec? I don't think ever people will think that's the answer to our problem. We're not such in a bad shape [but] I think that we're spending all that amount of money to fight over this. That's something I realized when I came here.

Besides seeing conflicts near home in a different light, a number of graduates mentioned that the world as a whole and world affairs in general had become more personalised and relevant because they now know, and even care deeply about people in many different countries. Judging from the interviews and the responses to my survey, graduates, for the most part, appear to stay in regular contact with graduates in other parts of the world. In my survey, 81% of the respondents who thought that Pearson College fulfils its aims mostly or completely are in regular contact with at least one graduate who lives in a different country from themselves.

It was not always necessary for the graduates to be in contact with other graduates in order for the World to seem more personalised. Several of the interviewees said that although they had not kept in touch with many people, they remembered students with whom they had been at Pearson College when events brought their countries to world attention. Graduates such as Antonio, from Southern Europe, felt that the personalisation of conflicts in other parts of the world was an important contribution of their Pearson College experience:

I think it's really really important when you look at- when you read the paper, to give you an example from my year, if you read, "Palestinian terrorist group attacking Israeli's village" or vice versa, ... if you think Iman and Ayelet, you know one of them was a Palestinian, the other one Israeli, it makes a lot of difference because you know that person. You think is she there now? Is she injured? You know ... what's going on?

Jacynthe, a Canadian graduate clearly linked the personalisation of the world to international understanding, the goal emphasised in the promotional texts produced by the College:

I say peace through international understanding. This international understanding has a face now, so I feel concerned. ...When I was here, Yugoslavia used to be a country (laugh) and I remember every time I watched the news I think about [a student from Yugoslavia]. I don't know if he's still alive, I think so, he didn't come but his Second Year is here and said he has changed. So it's very special, it has a face now not like- well whatever goes on in Somalia, I don't know it's far away, it has a face, it has a name, things like that.

The personalisation of the world was associated strongly with caring about people in countries other than their own as Alfred, a Southern European graduate explained:

I have a tremendous feeling of closeness with one person from New Zealand and vice versa. We were extremely extremely friends. I never - one of the other things which I never considered as being true, is true and simple friendship between two persons of different sexes. Well I've learned that it is possible. You know New Zealand is not the opposite, is not a place opposite, on the opposite side of the world. ... New Zealand is a sense of closeness that I will always keep with me.

Although they emphasised changes on the daily level, most graduates placed the changes that they had undergone at Pearson College within a larger context. Fifteen respondents to my survey (14%) specifically mentioned that the idea of graduates effecting change in the world through everyday interactions with others, is one of the primary College aims. One survey respondent even replied that he was fulfilling the goals simply by being himself. Angus Matthews' speech, thereby, reinforced this sense that daily interactions between graduates and others could make a positive impact on the world. Juan felt that he can already see the difference that he and his spouse (also from Pearson College) have made in the wider world;

I think the College- my College experience and my relationship with [my wife] has helped our family to develop a different kind of family relationship. It was hard but they- we don't relate to each other- my family- my parents never been to Pearson College and we don't relate to each other anymore the same way just because we've been challenged with other family values.

This commitment to Pearson College ideals suggests that the graduates with whom I spoke or who responded to my survey were interpellated into the subject-position of the Pearson College student. The above section has outlined how graduates perceive that subject-position. According to graduates, a Pearson College graduate is someone who is a skilled communicator, who is open-minded and tolerant but critical, who challenges intolerant opinions and who cares about people in other parts of the world. This conception of the Pearson College student is very similar to the Pearson College student represented in the promotional texts analysed in the previous chapter. Before turning, in Chapter 6, to the means by which the graduates perceive that they were interpellated into the Pearson College world view I outline first graduates' representational spaces of Pearson College, both positive and negative.

5.4 Positive Representational Spaces

As defined in Chapter 2, representational spaces are the interface between subject-individuals and discourses. They are also hypothesised, by Lefebvre (1991: 39) to be dominated by representations of space. An analysis of how graduates recollected the representational spaces of Pearson College from their student years will give some indication of the conceptual resources available at Pearson College for the negotiation of identity. The means by which Pearson College manipulates space in order to provide a particular set of conceptual resources will be analysed further in the following chapter.

Communication via formal and informal discussions was a central component of students' representational spaces of Pearson College. When asked about good

moments of their College experience many graduates mentioned conversations with other students. Both communal and 'private' spaces were remembered in terms of conversations. As Anika, a graduate from Northern Europe demonstrates,

Great discussions late at night in a bathroom for example. Bathroom was wonderful for that. You know you would go brush your teeth and then two hours later you were still standing there discussing things with each other...Just visiting people in their rooms and other people being there and just discussing things and talking about things and yeah that's what I- when that happened once this [reunion] week I thought, yeah that was wonderful, that's something that I remember.

Graduates seem to have enjoyed these conversations because, as Tamara, from Northern Europe recalled, they were "deep and meaningful"). Some graduates pointed out that the quality of the conversations was derived from the quality of the people brought to the College. Because students were selected for their abilities and interests, they were capable of and interested in having in-depth conversations on a number of topics. These informal discussions were also pleasurable to students because of the diversity of opinion and experience brought to them. However they were most valued because the students felt they shared common goals. As Juan put it:

that's an incredible thing in a very restricted environment and ... I think that adds to a lot of the good of the experience because ... you'll meet some interesting people in your life, one's there and one's there, but having ... them all at the same place at the same time and heat up on ... that discussion or that issue ... and concentrate on a common goal is extraordinary.

Again, within the context of the promotional texts analysed in the previous chapter, the sharing of goals was presented as an important part of the Pearson College experience. Tamara challenged the idea that these types of conversations were unique to Pearson College. Ultimately, rather than inspiring her, the conversations became tiresome:

Certainly the two years of sitting and talking deep and meaningful stuff, as was the craze ... and looking at hugely important global issues and ... hugely important philosophical issues and doing that for two years, meant that when I did go back

over and start university I was feeling tired of these kinds of things or I was less inclined to leap into those conversations with kids who were from school and I mean they were only two years younger than me which is not a big deal.

However, what perhaps sets Pearson College apart from most university experiences is the permanent social interaction that it enables amongst a small and isolated group of people. The small size of the campus and the student body itself facilitated informal discussions amongst students. Both the design and spatial practices (performances which create or appropriate spaces and thereby connect representations of space with representational spaces) of the College are an important part in the creation of a space which enables informal conversations between students. Spatial practices of Pearson College include the absence of a curfew and the lack of locks on doors. Both of these factors allow for the unrestricted movement of students around all parts of campus at all times of day. This free movement, and the abundance of communal space on campus, allowed students to have access to each other whenever they needed or wanted to. This aspect of the College experience was valued by Susan, a Canadian student. As she said:

But I have liked (sigh) ... to be not sure about something and then know that I could go out onto the path and walk along with someone and say "gee I have this problem what do you think?" and they'll say "oh I think this" and I'll say "okay, that's good I'll do that." Being able to just have that access to people instantly and that isn't the case in that broader world.

Being with a small number of students from a diversity of backgrounds in an isolated area also enabled students to have conversations with people they might not have gotten to know in a larger heterogeneous population. In the words of Rachel from a western country:

I did do Tai Chi and that was amazing ... it was amazing for two reasons. One, that I really liked it ...and I also got to know this other woman that I hadn't really known. You know ... she wasn't like in the circle of people that I hung out mostly with here ... she was just sort of this quiet kind of intense person, and we used to

just have these intense conversations, and it was just nice cause it was a different kind of friendship from the ones I had with other people.

A few interviewees contrasted the discussions they were able to have at Pearson College with the types of discussions they perceive to predominate in the outside world. In particular, discussions about what moral values are important and how one should live a moral life were seen as being unique to Pearson College. Those graduates who raised issues about morality felt that those discussions were important and had been influential in shaping the way they live their lives today.

Conversations with peers were also the main source of support for many students at Pearson College. Having access to people with whom they could discuss personal problems and issues was essential to their mental well-being. Through these discussions they formed and used support networks, and developed caring relationships with other students. A supportive conversation transformed a bad experience into a good one for Anne, an Asian student:

...so great moments were- I remember one time in an English class we were supposed to summarize a passage and I- it was short one page saying like a little poem or I can't remember what it was. And then I used dictionaries or all sorts of books, but I didn't understand it and ... we were supposed to summarize it. So I kind of produced something, turned it in and [the teacher] wrote back saying, "obviously you didn't understand what the author was trying to say" or something like that and .. it was really hurtful to me that I'd put in so much effort and then it was such a short passage. You know we had ... twenty million books to read for. ... various subjects, so I was crying and here comes my Second Year Canadian roommate and she was like "Oh, what happened?" ... "well [the teacher] wrote this" and she goes "you know your English is good I can understand what you're ... saying". So I really remember it as- I was very touched...So I guess that's- you can see as one of the great little moments.

Although there are many formal, organised discussions at the College, such as house meetings, village meetings and classroom discussions, none of these were mentioned as highlights of the interviewees' College experiences. Informal discussions, which were

almost universally enjoyed, could happen anywhere and at any time, even during formally organised College activities such as ceramics. Troy said:

Ceramics was not about mud, it was about interacting, and discussions- oh, absolutely. More than one afternoon in the pottery shed with [the ceramics instructor], I didn't throw a single pot, I didn't make a single piece of anything but came out fully enthused about- or charged about what we'd discussed.

Both the design of Pearson College, and the spatial practices of the College are essential in facilitating communication. Discussions with peers and, informally, with faculty members, was enjoyed by the students for the pleasure of exploring challenging ideas with interesting people, and because of the feeling of having a shared goal. Discussions were also an important source of support for Pearson College students.

5.5 Negative Representational Spaces of Pearson College

Without good communication, support structures did not function well, which in turn endangered students' mental health. Communication breakdowns were most often at the root of what the interviewees described as the bad moments or elements of their Pearson College experience. Given the nature of the space of the College, certain barriers to communication are unavoidable. Other barriers are necessary for the College to achieve its' objectives. However, a number of barriers to communication at the College are both avoidable and counterproductive to the achievement of international understanding.

In any international setting, one major impediment to communication is language. For a large proportion of Pearson College students, English is not their first language. Within this group of students there is a large range in English proficiency. A number of students have some difficulty with spoken and written English. Most of the graduates interviewed who were not native English speakers felt that their lack of

proficiency in English had been a barrier to them at Pearson College. Problems with English prevented them both from achieving their potential academically, and from participating fully in College life. Because communication is such an essential part of the College, being unable to participate in a discussion was invariably experienced negatively. Anne explained:

Bad moments to me were any kind of like a group discussions where people were saying things and I wasn't really able to contribute, or I was kind of wanting to say something but I didn't quite know how to put them in words, so that was frustrating.

As was asserted in Chapter 4, there is a dominant discourse at the College, not only a dominant language. Although difference is an essential ingredient within the Pearson College strategy, College life is always experienced within the context of the dominant discourse. This discourse shapes informal interactions through its' norms of tolerance and consideration dictating thereby how difference is to be understood and dealt with. The norms of the College are influential for as Anika reported:

it's the norm for one, so people expect - and ... it's also easiest - I mean it's not accepted if you say if - I don't know if you're a racist or, it's not accepted, so - And I think you know you realize when you're here that a lot of things don't matter, like race and background and class. So I mean it's yeah, it is accomplished here because you do have that that's what I think is good ... (Anika)

There are also more subtle expectations which the dominant discourse has of Pearson College students, such as being extroverted. The latter is illustrated by the following incident in which Christopher attempted to prevent his roommate from being expelled,

I was like the nice Canadian in the room and the Second Year. I was usually sort of covering for my two First Years, who were always in trouble, and negotiating with the powers-that-be here in the College. And I can remember talking to sort of the head master of the College, whatever, the Director...and he was saying, "well you know , [your roommate] doesn't have any friends." This is obviously a crime at Pearson College (laugh). And I was like, "What do you mean he doesn't

have any friends? (laugh) He has a number of close friends, and a number of people who would gladly jump off a bridge for him (laugh)." But he [didn't] have *a lot* of friends, and he wasn't sort of social in a sort of outgoing sense, and he scared some people cause he was sort of very intense.

This incident left Christopher feeling cynical about the level of tolerance actually practised by the College. When faculty attempted to discipline students into behaving according to the norms of the dominant discourse, they appeared to do more harm than good because they contradicted the representation of the College as a place which values tolerance and open-mindedness.

Many students felt that the dominant discourse was a product of Western culture. One, western interviewee pointed out that conflict resolution through large discussions was a western way of dealing with problems, and a way that not all members of the College community felt comfortable with. A few interviewees from non-western countries commented that Village meetings, in which the rules governing the College were decided, tended to be dominated by students from the West; those students who were more comfortable talking in front of large groups and who had better English skills.

The College seeks to produce graduates who are, amongst other things, critical thinkers. The Western emphasis on critical thinking is important in promoting the larger aims of the College (which are also Western), most notably open-mindedness and tolerance. Most of the academic courses at the College, which are shaped in part by the dominant discourse, emphasise critical thinking. The Theory of Knowledge, the only course which all students are required to take, is entirely devoted to critical thinking (see Chapter 4). At least one graduate traced the development of his critical thinking skills to his Pearson College experience. In Emilio's words:

I learned critical thinking here. And I remember [the Theory of Knowledge Teacher] talking about this. I think she talks about it in the little video that - and I don't know how she says it, but she says it very very well, that people that come

to this place learn - and I don't know why we learn that, and it must be because just the circumstances, it's sort of formed this experiment basically, this sort of community that people- we don't take anything for granted, we - it's like the half of '8', nobody out there thinks of that. Some people do, people that are on drugs or something, you know people who are- don't have regular- ... It came out on the news that the police was cutting the budget to help with you know whatever cuts, blah blah blah. So they were not paying for ... the police officers' laundry anymore. You know they sort of- they had cut that off. And it's like I thought, what about that... guy that owns that laundry place? ... Probably that's all he did was just do police laundry. That's like the big business, like just going out of business. So like you don't think like - We're taught to look at every angle and see things from a different perspective and you know get up on a chair and look you know, get up on the floor and look, and I think we learned that here.

Critical thinking was also practised outside of the classroom, in the informal conversations that graduates enjoyed having.

While critical thinking might be part of the discourse of Pearson College that most of the graduates had accepted as a good practice, the Western bias of the College was nevertheless rated, on average, as one of the biggest problems by all of the years of graduates whom Dombrowsky and Spray surveyed (1995 and 1996). The College takes a Western model of communication as the norm. One interviewee characterised this model of communication as emphasising verbal expression to the detriment of more subtle forms of communication such as tone, body language and facial expressions. He felt that if something was not said, it was not taken into account. To paraphrase one, self-professed 'quiet' student from Asia, the domination of Village Meetings and other formal discussions by one group of students meant that the diversity of opinion and experience represented in the student body was never allowed full expression, thus detracting from the potential of the Pearson College experience.

Difference at the College is mostly understood as difference in state citizenship and culture. During orientation week students wear tags with displaying name and country of origin (or province in the case of Canadians). There is also what one

interviewee referred to as the 'country count' when, each year, Pearson College announces how many countries are represented in its student body and congratulates itself on every addition. At the time interviewees attended Pearson College, there were students from over sixty countries represented. Cultural diversity tends to be elided with state diversity so that interviewees almost invariably referred to people's state of origin when referring to cultural differences, thereby making the State into the 'natural' level of culture and implying that States are homogeneous and that cultures differ from State to State. That said, there was also a sense that there was a Western culture which dominated at the College. All of these points were summarised by Simon, a Northern European student:

I guess the main goal of the College is really the education of young people to cope with social problems and to be aware. So the first step is to raise awareness about difference and ... here it's done mainly through difference in culture and race and religion less so in some of the value structure. It's a very Western college and when I was here we didn't talk about sexual orientation, feminism what people talk about now, which is unfortunate because I think that's crucial but it does on a general- the goal was to raise awareness about difference.

This passage raises several other issues too. As discussed in Chapter 4, some planes of difference are emphasised and discussed at the College and others are ignored. Simon lists religion as one of the differences that the College does deal with, a difference that many other interviewees and even some survey respondents felt was given no place at the College. It is perhaps because Simon does not come from a religious background that he felt religious concerns were accommodated adequately at the College. Simon also separates values from culture, reflecting the tendency of Pearson College to relegate differences in culture to differences in habit and folklore.

Unlike Simon, many interviewees found that there was no room for religious belief in the Western Humanist discourse which dominates Pearson College. Because of the emphasis on critical thinking and logic, students arriving on campus with strong religious beliefs felt that their faith was attacked both implicitly and explicitly. They

experienced the College as a place in which religion was not acceptable. In Juan's experience,

It was sort of a shock when I came here, you know being challenged on that ground, I did not expect that. I was not expecting that. I felt a sort of aggressiveness in the philosophy class; there was religion and faith was not rational, so you know it was aggressive. And the general cynicism, it sort was implied by rational thought. I disliked that, and I tried to, without rejecting reason, trying to solve the issue you know. But it did start at the College I ... didn't have that before.

In their informal discussions, students also perpetuated this dominant discourse. For students like Juan, who identified strongly with particular religious beliefs, the constant critique of religion could be experienced as a crisis of identity. As he said:

It was not explicitly stated but it was implicitly- it was implied by you know jokes or ... religious naiveté or ... the church's or religion's involvement on wars and on all that Pearson was fighting against. So a lot of that was ... (snapping fingers) tacked onto religion and therefore religion- i.e. religion not ... good. And that bothered me and I wanted to sort of make ... an assessment by myself because I was critical so ... I could understand the point that was being made, but at the same time I was not ... ready to reject my faith ... because of that. So how to deal with it, how to situate myself?

For students who arrive at the College with religious beliefs, the conceptual resources at the College force them to renegotiate their identities. This renegotiation of identity can be explained using Smith's theory of interpellation (1988). In this particular situation, Juan's subject-position as a Christian appears unable to accommodate the subject-position of a Pearson College student into which he is being constantly hailed. The contradictions between the two subject-positions and the conceptual resources available at the College lead Juan to a crisis of identity. Moreover, as Jacynthe pointed out, being religious is part of her culture.

I come from very, I would say, conservative Catholic family and then here at the College there was fortunately [the faculty who ran the Christian Fellowship] were

there at that time ... it was nice because you could go take some perspective and talk about it in a very, how you say, irreligious, well pretend to be irreligious, school system which is very funny because you cannot be irreligious if you're culturally involved anyway.

For the Christians on campus, a semi-formal support structure, The Christian Fellowship, was set up by two Christian faculty-members. Through this structure students were able to receive validation of their Christianity. The Christian Fellowship provided Christian students with conceptual resources which were supportive of a Christian subject-position. Nevertheless, at least one student still found some disjunction between being a Christian and being a Pearson College student. As Juan explained:

Faith sharing ... we'd go to mass, that stuff, pray together. And, on the other ... side I would go and have rational arguments about things with other people. But it was not integrated, that's for sure. It was like two different groups within the College right, and the religious group's a minority, clear minority.

Religion was not the only aspect of culture that graduates thought was marginalized by the dominant discourse of Pearson College. As discussed in Chapter 4, by reducing culture to folkloric performance, cultures become easily acquired and modern, Western, culture becomes the non-culture or the norm. Christopher testified that the College actively strove to keep culture sanitised and ghettoised:

I remember one day [my Japanese roommate] did a ... demonstration of Kendo but he didn't do it in a sort of like ... song and dance routine. He treated it very seriously. He borrowed a ... proper Samurai sword, he came in the full regalia, he didn't tell anyone he was going to do it, he wasn't on the agenda, he just walked in and did it and one person actually fainted when he did his Kaia (laugh), his scream (laugh). And it wasn't sort of done in a sort of like, "I'm sharing my culture with you." It was done very much in a like "This is my culture, here!" (laugh) And that wasn't the way you were supposed to do it. It wasn't sort of folkloric ... and so he was nearly sent home.

Nevertheless, when talking about cultural diversity, many interviewees referred to 'National Days' or 'One World', both of which are showcases of folkloric culture at the Pearson College, reinforcing the understanding of culture in the dominant discourse. For

example, Margaret, an Asian student talked about what aspects of the College she enjoyed:

And I really enjoy like the fact that we have these National Days, and this One World. Yeah, that was great because I got to participate in like dances and also ... things ... from different cultures ... beautiful.

Perhaps the most marginalized plane of difference at Pearson College, though, was sexual orientation.³³ Many interviewees felt that the dominant discourse of the College was a homophobic one and that the space of Pearson College was determinedly heterosexual. Some interviewees reported incidents that demonstrated homophobic attitudes on the part of the College administration, faculty and students. For example, during Years 11 and 12, the College administration discovered an audio tape kept by a male student 'proving' which men on campus were practising homosexual acts. The way that the information on the tape was used was traumatic for those whose names appeared on it. As Rob recalled:

I got called into [the director's] office and told you know, "your name appeared on the tape and we're not suggesting that this means anything, but you know we're really concerned that you could have Hepatitis B so we're sending you off to get tested. And you know we'd rather just test everybody that was on the tape and you know no questions asked". And so I was like (laugh) totally gob-smacked. I thought "fuck!" and firstly I thought "this is just ridiculous. I mean I don't for one minute think that he [the boy who made the tape] has got Hepatitis B. This total prejudice on your part that you think that someone who is gay will necessarily have some diseases you know." I mean of course it came back negative. You know I wasn't at all surprised that it did. And that was just, I mean- that was devastating.

Much like the denigration of religious faith, the active exclusion of homosexuality prevented gay students from entering freely into College discussions. In other words, it prevented them from expressing their homosexual subject-position. As

³³As one interviewee pointed out, disability is also marginalized at Pearson College, to the extent that only one student in the past twenty years has had a physical disability.

was argued in the review of performativity literature in Chapter 2, performances create spaces. Discourses remain excluded from those places where they are not performed making the space of Pearson College is a heterosexual space. Because of language difficulties, the Western bias of the dominant discourse, and its' distaste for religion and homosexuality, the full diversity of opinion and experience represented by the student body was prevented from manifesting at Pearson College. In this sense, the College did not make the most of available resources and, therefore, it did not teach as much tolerance, nor challenge as many assumptions as it could have.

More serious problems, though, may arise from these sorts of exclusions. The barriers to communication which these exclusions posed prevented some students from getting the support they needed. Forming a healthy support network was especially difficult for the gay students, and unlike the Christian students they, at that time, had no faculty members to help them. Because Rob was unable to express what he was going through to most of the other students or to the faculty, he was unable to get the type of support he needed. He feels that the problems that he faced, alone, as a gay student at Pearson College, led to an emotional breakdown a few years later. As he explained:

then [my boyfriend] kind of went really weird and rejected me basically at the end of the first term and I had no support. Like I mean I told one other person apart from him and there was no- obviously there was no faculty I could tell. And I was completely devastated you know because I had this kind of totally ... utopian visions of falling in love and you know it would all be rosy and we'd just be together forever and- I really did I was sixteen it was the kind of age, but that's what I thought you know. And I didn't have my mother and father around to say, "maybe you've fallen in love and you know sometimes it doesn't work out." And of course I couldn't talk to them anyway because they didn't know I was gayMy house fellows were:..."This house does not have an alcohol problem! Nobody has sex in our house!" I mean that'd be last thing I was going to tell [my house fellow] I was gay, he would've kicked me out, So- I mean there was no support there either.

Since that time the College has taken steps to address some of the prejudices in its discourse. The ongoing survey being conducted by Dombrowsky and Spray (1995 and 1996) is in part meant to assess what issues need to be dealt with by the College. However, as discussed above, the reliance on closed questions in this survey imposes the dominant discourse on the responses to the questionnaire. Bearing this issue in mind, in the College survey of the graduates of Years 11 and 12, 'sexual promiscuity'³⁴ got the highest average rating as a problem followed closely by homophobia and then by Western bias. Since Year 12, speakers and discussions have been organised around issues such as homosexuality. After Year 18, the rating of homophobia as a problem dropped considerably. However, amongst the most recent graduates (Year 21) three Second Year students out of sixty-two indicated that for them homophobia on campus had been an 'extreme problem'.

Secularism, on the other hand, was not rated very highly as a problem by Years 11 and 12 in the Pearson College survey (Dombrowsky and Spray 1996). Three interviewees, however, noted that it had significantly negatively impacted on their Pearson College experience. When it comes to such problems, it is perhaps more relevant to determine if there are *any* students who experience these elements as extreme problems rather than simply comparing average ratings.

The College's approach to dealing with these issues has been to discuss them, in keeping with the dominant discourse of communication as the best way to resolve conflict, and to overcome the barriers between people. That graduates also believe that

³⁴Interestingly, 'sexual promiscuity' was not brought up as a problem by any of the graduates whom I interviewed although other issues related to sexual/romantic relationships was. I am not sure why this was the case. Perhaps this discrepancy was due to people's inhibitions in talking to someone, as opposed to rating it anonymously. The discrepancy could also be that respondents were actually concerned about issues related to 'sexual promiscuity' for which there was no survey category.

these discussions are important is demonstrated in the responses they gave to the Pearson College survey (Dombrowsky and Spray 1995 and 1996). In all the years surveyed, except for Year 20, the students felt that the majority of issues had not been discussed 'enough' (1995). In Years 11 and 12 the only issue that graduates felt had been discussed 'enough' was current affairs (1996).

One of the issues which was consistently rated on the Pearson College survey (Dombrowsky and Spray 1995 and 1996) as not being discussed enough was 'stress management'. The lack of discussion of stress management may be a contributing factor to the feeling expressed by some interviewees, that those unable to cope with Pearson College life would be failures. Graduates such as Rob perceived that according to the dominant discourse of Pearson College, students should be able to cope with everything. He explained:

There was a whole culture of, at this place, about if you weren't coping it was a failing on your part. I'm sure you (laugh) had that feeling as well you know, and you used to take it on board. You used to think "oh my god, you know I'm such a loser because I... can't do all these things and I don't feel good about myself!" ... And it's just not true. And it took me a long time to get to the point where I realized that it wasn't that I was a failure, it was that the system failed me.

The national selection committees, which are usually at least partially comprised of ex-students, are aware of the strains that Pearson College can place on people. Thus they try to choose students who will be able to cope with these challenges. However, as most students are aware that they have been selected, in part, because someone believes they have good coping skills, they may be reluctant to admit when they need help for fear of being a disappointment. The selection process contributes to the 'culture of coping' that Rob referred to above.

The impression that students were expected to cope with College life on their own was yet another barrier to them asking for help. When students were unable to ask for help, extreme problems could arise. As Anne put it:

What are the other bad moments? Oh, I found out that one of our classmates tried to commit a suicide and when I heard about it that was a bad moment. Just ...thinking that you know someone could be hurting so much and that ... I didn't realize it. Even though I can't save the whole world (laugh), I can't save the whole person. But yeah that was really sad.

Besides attempted suicides, many students experienced clinical depressions at or after leaving Pearson College, and others developed eating disorders. Another component of the dominant discourse of Pearson College that could prevent students from asking for help when they needed it, was the emphasis on being considerate of the needs of others. Emilio illustrated how conceptions of appropriate behaviour could affect the representational space of Pearson College so that although people might be physically in the place, they were not necessarily accessible to others.

You know I used to wander around- and I was not not-popular, like I was Mr. Centre-of- Attention and I still am, except I'm more comfortable now in not being, but before I had to be (laugh). And I'd wander around campus for two or three hours looking for somebody to talk to. And I couldn't... find people. And it's not as if people weren't there. You know you'd come here and so-and-so she's with her boyfriend so you don't want to bother them, and so-and-so is just writing an essay so you don't want to bother them, and so-and-so you know. So you end up wandering for two hours and then you go, "I might as well just go to sleep".

Students are almost entirely dependent upon each other for support because they are effectively cut off from home and from the larger Victoria community. Some students, such as Victor from Southern Europe, found that being cut off from home was a negative aspect of the representational spaces of Pearson College.

But bad moments I think is when I came here first, cause it was tough to leave home. And also when I came back here after the ... first year. During the first year I went back home for Christmas holidays and ... coming back from that was

even tougher... because ... after three months coming back here to stay another six months after I had excellent three weeks home, it was ... kind of sad because I always... liked to ... live ... in my home. So those were bad moments, really tough moments.

It is not merely distance that cuts students off from their former support systems. Even when students came to Pearson College from nearby, the spatial practices of the College effectively prevented them from maintaining contact with their old friends. As Tamara explained:

The first thing, you have no other support structures. You are completely divorced from some friends, and even students who come from Victoria. For example, in my time I remember that they were not encouraged to keep up their friends in Victoria because there's no time for that. It would be unacceptable if they were to disappear off two nights a week to go in and visit their friends, and even if they're on the phone to their friend- and I just remember you know on a couple of times, just because it's so unusual you know, "How can you spend an hour on the phone talking to your good friend down the road when we're all just rushing out and spending ten minutes, once a month?" you know I mean it's expensive, you know, long distance phone calls. So I get the impression for the students who do have support structures nearby, it is not encouraged that they rely on them.

The spatial practices of Pearson College also prevented students from having access to formal support structures in nearby Victoria. As Rob pointed out,

I think actually gay people, whether they go to a College or whether they go anywhere, it tends to have that problem [homophobia]. The difference is perhaps that I couldn't go to a- you know there wasn't a youth group. I couldn't have said "oh look I'm just actually gonna go to the Victoria gay youth group" which I could've done if I lived ...at home. I could've gone to the gay youth group or I could've - you know, whatever, there would have been more options open to me.

Victoria is only a half hour drive from the College. In the representational spaces of the College held by most graduates, however, Victoria is perceived as remote and as a place from which they were very much isolated.

It is not only the aforementioned barriers to communication which were experienced negatively, but also the difficulty students had in keeping things secret, in

controlling the flows of information. As there is basically no student private space, individual students have very little control over space at the College. As was seen in the discussion of scale in Chapter 2, without some control over space it is difficult for people to control what they are exposed to and what they reveal about themselves. For Mick, a graduate from Asia, the lack of private space and the concomitant lack of control over what he and others saw, was very traumatic:

Everything was intensified at Pearson. I mean every experience was just cranked up a few notches higher. Heart breaks, I had a couple of heart breaks... but it was just so incredibly intense: first of all there was this, this sadness of "oh my God, I'm alone now", and then there would be- so there was that- and then there was the shame, the public- it was like everybody- What had happened was that this woman and I were seeing each other but then she moved on to go out with another guy. So, there was the shame of having been dumped. And it was so public because everybody knows everything that's happening around here. And this guy lived like two doors down from me, or something like that, and the stigma you know of seeing them walking to the room together and come out early morning together you know-It's the confinement- that's what makes this place- oh Gees, oh gees!

A desire to prevent private matters from becoming known also prevented students from accessing formal on-campus support structures. Many of the interviewees, such as Juan, felt that they would have experienced fewer problems had there been a counsellor available to students who was not part of the College community.

I've seen people suffering here and I said, "well this is unnecessary". I mean it it can be dealt with, you just need some sort of advisor that is not a member of the staff (guffaw) that is not member ... of the teaching thing. You know advisors were a very nice concept, but that doesn't work when it's from within ... I thought of it later, I said "How come this wild thing doesn't have any counselors? How come there's nobody from the outside that can be of help to people that have lost- have left their families, their countries, their cultures, and that forced them into a very intense experience?"

Being cut off from the outside world in general and from home in particular coupled with being forced to share all aspects of your life with other people, are integral

components of the Pearson College experience. These spatial practices are part of the representation of Pearson College held by the College founders and administrators. These spatial practices were designed to maximise the interaction between students of diverse backgrounds. Yet many graduates felt that stresses caused by the isolation and lack of private space could have been reduced, and that a greater range of experience and opinion could have been expressed, if measures were taken to better enable communication between students, and between students and staff.

One incident that graduates perceived as illustrative of a significant breakdown in communication between staff and students involved the expulsion of some students. When interviewees were asked about any negative experiences during their College years, this incident was recalled by the majority. Although this incident is specific to Years 11 and 12, similar incidents happened in other years. The power to discipline and expel students gives the College ultimate authority in determining what behaviour is allowed in that space and therefore what discourses can be manifested there. Essential to the interpellation of students into the dominant discourse of Pearson College, though, is the official representation of the College as a place where there are no rules and where decisions affecting the community are made by the community as a whole at Village Meetings. The expulsion of students contradicted this representation. Christopher, a Canadian graduate, no longer believes in the official representation of the College as collectively managed space. He remembered:

that was never a collective decision. Any sort of like disciplinary problems with individual students were never taken to Village Meetings. They were presented as fait accompli afterwards. So for instance when the students were sent home, the decision was made, they had to pack immediately, leave campus like within half an hour and there was a Village Meeting called for the next day to present sort of like, this is done. They weren't even allowed to go to say good-bye to people because that's when sort of like people would have demanded a meeting about it

and some input on it and this was not something to which students are actually having input.

Susan also spoke about this incident and described the effects on the student body of the contradiction that the expulsion represented.

There was a whole issue in my year, which I don't know if you heard about, but people being expelled ... So that caused a huge rift in our year. A lot of disillusionment and confusion because it was a fairly heavy-handed - it was the autocracy moved in, this was happening. So the community was fairly illusory, that there wasn't necessarily the spirit of tolerance, cause when somebody crossed whatever the invisible line was we didn't hear about it, we didn't get to make a decision, we were ... told....[The headmaster] came in and said "this is what's happened and that's all. We don't want to discuss it." And he was about to leave and somebody said " you know we're a part of a community, why don't you stay and talk about this". So there was some people who really got a chance to say you know, "I thought we had some values, and this is a joke, this is a farce if you don't- we're not allowed to make this decision or know any of the details."

This incident shattered the official representation of Pearson College for large numbers of students, just as Christopher had this image shattered by his discussion with the Headmaster about the introversion of his roommate (see above). The College functions in part as a metonym for a united peaceful World in which decisions are made by consensus. By barring students from having any input into decisions about student expulsions, that metonym was shattered, leading many students to become cynical about the project that Pearson College purports to represent. The contradiction that resulted from the handling of the expulsion lead to a doubting of the knowledge represented by the dominant College discourse. That doubt in turn detracted from the power that the College held over students who were no longer predisposed to believe that Pearson College practised the tolerance it preached. Moreover, by denying students the opportunity to say good-bye to their peers, the College incurred more anger and threatened students' sense of security in their support networks. In this final example it can clearly be seen how representational spaces (perceived space) affect representations

of space (conceived space). Conceptions of space can be challenged by contradictory experiences of that space.

5.6 Conclusion

The way that a place is experienced affects the conceptions that people hold of it. As discussed in Chapter 4, Pearson College functions in part by acting as a metonym for the world as it could be. In order for students to conceive of the College as a metonym for a better world, and therefore to be motivated to work to achieve such a world, they must experience Pearson College as a utopian setting. Authoritarian practices, such as expulsion, contradict such a metonym.

Graduates appear to perceive the aims of Pearson College in the same way as the dominant discourse considered in Chapter 4. Most graduates who responded to my study feel that they are fulfilling the aims of the College, albeit in different ways, indicating that they have been interpellated into the Pearson College student subject-position. The changes which Pearson College graduates feel were brought about through their time at the College outline a Pearson College subject-position which conforms to the subject-position presented in the texts produced by the dominant College discourse. That there is a correspondence between the influence that graduates reported the College had on their behaviour and attitudes, and the subject-position in the dominant Pearson College discourse, supports the assumption that the graduates had been successfully interpellated into that discourse.

Interpellation is achieved, in part, through a person's experiences in space and of space. Representational spaces are the interface between the subject/individual and the material and informational flows of space. It is in representational space that subject/individuals come into contact with conceptual resources which they use to

negotiate their sense of identity. In order to begin to understand how space was implicated in interpellating students into the dominant discourse of the College, this chapter has examined how graduates recalled the representational spaces of the College. From this basis, the following chapter examines in detail the means by which Pearson College interpellates students into its' discourse.

Chapter 6 - Interacting With Difference

6.1 Introduction

The previous chapter illustrated that most respondents to my survey felt that Pearson College achieves its' aims of contributing to peace and international understanding through changing the people who attend the College. The issue that this chapter addresses is how Pearson College facilitates these changes. While Chapter 5 outlined the ways in which graduates felt that they had been changed through their Pearson College experience, and their perceptions of the space of Pearson College, this chapter investigates how that place and space are implicated in the interpellation of students into the dominant College discourse.

The representational spaces of the students of Pearson College are of a place in which they are constantly interacting with people of different countries and cultures. As discussed in Chapters 4 and 5, the practice of communication is a core category in both the official representations of Pearson College and graduates' representational spaces of that place. The graduates interviewed indicated that communication was central to both their Pearson College experience and the effects of that experience on their later lives. This finding supports Bowden's (1984) conclusions that 'people contact' contributed the most to developing international understanding at Pearson College. She found that the actual College programs contributed the least, seeming to reflect the priorities given to these various elements in the video. Although Bowden included 'the College itself' in the category of College programs, my research shows that the place of Pearson College plays an essential role in shaping the contact that people there have with each other. Spatial

elements of the College are influential in enabling some forms of communication while impeding others.

Through the manipulation of space, the College controls the conceptual resources available to students for the negotiation of their identities. It is through these conceptual resources that students come to understand themselves as, among other things, Pearson College students. This chapter also explores what effects being cut off from the place, Pearson College have upon graduates and to what extent graduates are able to continue to perform the Pearson College student subject-position after leaving the College.

One of the perceived goals of the College is to dismantle nationalist and cultural stereotypes through exposing students to diverse discourses. Through the constant interaction with foreign 'others' facilitated by the space of Pearson College, students were able to overcome stereotypes they had arrived with. In the words of the Pearson College video, barriers between students were broken down.

This interaction between students of different backgrounds is facilitated through a number of spatial strategies. Spatial strategies are also used to isolate students from other influences. Through these strategies the College maintains control over what conceptual resources are available to students and thereby facilitates changes in people who attend Pearson College.

Upon graduating from the College, students are once again dispersed around the World. Many students found this separation traumatic. The distance separating graduates from one another makes it difficult for them to maintain contact. The reunion was thus experienced by many students as a time to 'recharge' their Pearson College selves, as they were once again enabled to interact with people of different backgrounds within the context of a shared place.

	Impact of Other Students	Percentage of Respondents
Changes	Open-eyes / Enlightened / Understanding / Insight	68%
	Support/Love	29%
	Increased Confidence	16%
	Made World More Personal	11%
	Strengthened Goals and Values	10%
	Helped in Some Practical Manner	6%
	Are Married To	5%
Through	Friendship	49%
	Diversity / Metonym for World	46%
	Ongoing Interaction	21%
	Communication	11%
	Bad Experiences	8%

Table 6.1 - The Perceived Impact of Other Students Upon Survey Respondents

6.2 The Difference That Difference Makes

As discussed in Chapter 5, my survey concentrated on the 'field' of career rather than on the influence that the College had on graduates' daily lives. Even in this 'field' it was the interactions with people which were the single most influential element of the Pearson College experience. The most frequently cited reasons as to why Pearson College had been influential to the respondents career choices were that the people (faculty and students) had been inspirational (40%) or that the diversity of people had been influential (37%).

Further insight into the influences that people at the College had on the graduates were gleaned from the responses to the question: "Can you describe the ways in which the other students whom you met at Pearson College affected your life?" However, most respondents concentrated on the 'field' of daily life in answering this question. Six respondents (5%) replied that they had been influenced in so many ways that they could not begin to answer. For example one wrote "No, I'd need a few hundred pages to do that." Of those who managed to reply to the question, 68% said that they had had their eyes opened by other students (see Table 6.1), and 29% replied that they valued other students for the love and support that they had been given. Communication was noted explicitly by seven respondents (11%) as a mechanism through which other students had affected them.

The two areas of 'support and friendship' and 'eye-opening and diversity' work together to effect change. Students are constantly forced to rely on each other, especially in elements of the program designed to place students in situations where they must co-operate (e.g. cultural performances and the outdoor services). However,

perhaps more influential is the dependence that students are forced to have on each other for emotional support.

As described in Chapter 5, there are many reasons why Pearson College is a stressful environment. Not least, the academic program is demanding and, in addition, students are required to do a weekly social service, a weekly College service, one or two arts activities and occasional special events. Although stress should probably be dealt with more effectively than it currently is, a certain amount of stress is an important catalyst in interpellating students into the Pearson College student subject-position. Alfred demonstrated how students are forced to modify their behaviour in order to form the supportive relationships with others that they need in order to survive the stressful College experience:

I mean I was the kind of person that if I have a point of view, mine is absolutely, it's for sure, better than yours. "How can you dare ...to oppose me? You know you are wrong, you are absolutely wrong." Well do this in an environment like this, on an international scale (laugh), you know ... it's a dumb thing to do because people start to look at you like you know "okay you are out of the question ... I cannot talk to you, ... I mean, I don't want to talk to you." And more or less this was ... more or less at the very beginning of College....If you don't understand the world, you don't know what to do, you are lost, you're not going to smile much. I mean you are on your own, you know, you're pretty cross at everything. And then I said "well, well this can't be. *You have to ... change* ... how they say, "if the mountain doesn't come to Mohammed, Mohammed has to go to the mountain so let's say okay let's go to the mountain." Which for me meant a lot, because as I said before I'm spoiled and in my family I just need to (clap) you know ask for things and somebody would ... give me anything that I wanted Me and my friends that I had back home, as we are similar, we used to behave in the same way, we used to like the same things, we didn't have problem in trying to understand.... Here it didn't work ... like this so I said, "okay, let's see what we can do with this problem, how we can tackle this problem, let's go and try and you know try to smile." And something happened....I began to notice that if you are gentle to people you have a good chance of ... having a gentle response, a gentle answer. I said "wow it works, okay let's see if I can find out my way around here." So I began to talk with the little English I had, gesticulating a lot, trying to

even draw things on ... a piece of paper. Everything just you know "Please try-spend a little time in trying to understand me because I'm lost okay."

It is important to note that the process of being confronted with different ideas, different behaviours, different world views and thereby undergoing changes in one's own conception of the world was a very difficult and stressful experience for most graduates. Alfred found the changes he experienced in himself at Pearson to be disconcerting on the level of his sense of identity.

I was extremely intolerant so the first thing that I discovered was the power of smiling, okay, then it was tolerance then it was then you come to respect then you know all this all these things that were not common, I mean it wasn't me, it wasn't my past Alfred but I suddenly realized, like it came like that, that "gee I'm listening to you." certain times I was you know scared cause I said "that that's not me. Should I allow this to happen?"

Being constantly exposed to practices that they were unused to was especially difficult for students because they often found themselves without many of the conceptual resources with which they were accustomed to defining their selves in their home countries. As Simon, a Northern European graduate pointed out,

I think ... probably one of the biggest problems here, which I'm not sure that it is dealt with accurately, is the enormous pressure that the place puts on people on a very personal level....It's very hard to deal with, but people who come from- are removed from their family, and from what they're used to, and are confronted with behavior and with issues that are anything from offensive, to challenging, to painful, to wonderful and then - ...For many people it's very hard to cope with that. (Simon)

In order to cope with all of these stresses, students form strong friendships. In order to form these friendships students need to change their attitudes and behaviours, which in turn is a stressful process. Not only did students make close friends at the College, but many formed intense emotional and sexual relationships, quite often with people from different countries and cultures. Some students found being intimately involved with someone very different from themselves quite influential. Again, as

Anika pointed out, the intensity of the relationships resulted from students need to form support systems.

You are here on your own, all your support systems are gone so people- ... I think that's why people really looked for ... relationships, romantic relationships, because that was one person they could really count on. And they were very intense on different levels, very intense relationships, ridiculously intense if you look at the age and if you compare it with any other culture or country or community, it's ridiculous.

These intense relationships were just as influential, if not more, than the friendships which students formed at the College. As Simon, a Northern European graduate testified:

I went out with a with a girl from China for a year. I spent a lot of time with ... her and with her friends who were mainly from the Asian countries and so I learnt a lot there that's certainly one of the big experiences.

Conversations with friends, lovers and roommates were often mentioned as being influential. In these conversations, simply being exposed to a perspective completely different than their own, can inspire students to question the verity of their own opinions as Susan related,

Coming to a room and just saying, "what are we gonna do about nuclear disarmament?" to a guy from Kenya who said, "well that's not my issue I'm more concerned about poverty." "Oh," so that you know ... there's a deeply different perspective.

The discourses in which students situated themselves at home were thrown into doubt, never to be available to the subject/individual again. Although some graduates found it stressful to have their assumptions challenged, others, such as Simon, found it liberating to be presented with so many alternative ways to see the world.

I came out a much more confident person, ... one thing you learn to differentiate is when you ... go into this College you're very- I mean I was [of a nationality] and this sort of- that was my frame of reference, and ... certain things that I probably wasn't that much at ease with. But when you come in here you lose- I mean you're still [of a nationality] but you lose that as your frame of reference and you

just become Simon ... Not because there's 'international understanding', but just because there are so many different ways of thinking and doing things that ... suddenly you're just yourself and you're trying to figure out, "who am I?" "what am I doing?" And again you can potentially gain a lot of confidence from that. And that's the one thing that I ... sort of brought out with me from the College, is that I'm probably happier about myself than I was before, and more relaxed about my talents and my limitations than I was before.

These discourses of national identity, in which subject/individuals situate themselves in contrast to 'Others', are one conceptual resource which the dominant discourse of Pearson College seeks explicitly to challenge. Alfred explains one basic way in which these discourses were challenged through the interactions enabled at the College:

you know although this is the information era we live with many stereotypes. For example a classic [Southern European] stereotype is ...the Nordic woman, tall blonde (laugh) you know. And the other one, it was from Brazil, and it was all the people from Brazil are you know ... good soccer players. You know all these bunch of just disgusting stereotypes then were my only knowledge. So you know, I had the rather superficial and stupid vision of the matter which unfortunately was my ... background. When I came here and I discovered that things were rather different, of course I had to adapt to the new things.

In 'the information age' more discourses reach into more spaces than ever before and yet, as Alfred points out, stereotypes persist. However, something about Pearson College challenges these stereotypes. Does the persistence of stereotypes in the wider world result from the ability people there have to isolate themselves thereby having more control over which discourses reach them? Antonio believes that the impact of Pearson College lies in the policy that its' students have to live together, therefore, they are exposed not just to descriptions of world views but to the practices which go along with them.

Once you start living together, with different backgrounds and experiences, you have to interact. So more interaction there is more learning ... In that interaction you realize someone's ... beliefs, their religion- you know talking rationally is one thing but living it ... sensing it, is different. I think there is more learning in that

process. You can tell [me] that you believe in that, but the way you tell me, or the way you act ... may say some other things, and I may sense that. I value that a lot. ...Some other things, the language behind that rational thinking, that language behind that stuff is very important. If you live outside and just came here for classes you couldn't feel that language.

This section has emphasised that the most influential aspect of the Pearson College experience is the interactions that students have with people who are very different from themselves. Although the students often enjoy these interactions, being constantly confronted with and challenged by ideas and values very different from their own can be stressful. Indeed, interactions between students are experienced within the context of an environment which is generally challenging and stressful. Because of the stressful environment, students need to form support networks with each other. These interactions all also occur within the space of Pearson College. The space of Pearson College is therefore very important in shaping the interactions which take place within it.

6.3 Placing Change

The ways in which the space of Pearson College affects the renegotiation of identity that students go through is best summarised by Christopher, a Canadian graduate,

Overall the campus is *isolated*, you don't go out much- like ... on the way in we're saying "you know I don't remember this." like I don't remember what Victoria looks like and you think yeah we never spent any time in Victoria (snort) , whereas now I can't imagine living- like even if I lived someplace like here, even if I didn't have a car I'd get my mountain bike into town every once in a while. But then it was like- *it wasn't part of what one did* and that was sort an accepted norm. And the fact that you've got *four people in a room from four different* - usually different continents...but *it's designed so that you actually can't be out of eyesight of the other people when you're in the room*. Like there's no way to sort of close off an area. , and sort of things like the fact that you're put in a room and you have to learn to get along with people because *you're not allowed to change rooms*. And so even when people are literally driving each other crazy they still have to stay in the same room and the whole sort of weird norms around "there are *no rules* and the *students really run the place* but you're supposed to be

considerate" and sort of like forms of *self-regulation* that go along with that start like trying to- rather than sort of having an external policing force which is what you're used to in high school you're sort of trying to police yourself and other people and it's an interesting learning experience but it is designed to be very intense and it's your whole life. Like you know now I think about- I didn't watch television for two years and you know like talking to people and they'd say "well what would you guys do?" and you're like "well you like- you were always with people cause *there's almost no way to be alone* you go up the deep woods trail (laugh) and there's someone else up there"... you know there's sort of like this permanent sort of social interaction in *a very small space with a limited number of people* and frankly and they're usually very interesting people like- it's not like a random group of two hundred people it's like it's sort of all these keener and so you can like have conversations into the wee hours of the morning every night if you want to about sort of any range of topics you want either to be talking about art or existential questions or you know team Canada in the hockey tournament that year or- although you're not probably watching the hockey game (laugh). Yeah so that's what I mean by sort of *the whole place is designed*. (emphasis added)

Pearson College was designed to achieve a set of goals which have to do with changing the minds of a group of young people through enabling them to interact with one another within the context of a dominant discourse. In this section I will outline the spatial elements of the Pearson College experience highlighted by Christopher, and examine how they contribute to shaping Pearson College students.

The most important spatial practice is the bringing together of a carefully selected group of students from different backgrounds to one place. The distance students travel also effectively cuts them off from their home environments and the support networks and conceptual resources (including discourses of governmentality) there. Being cut off from former support networks forces students to rely on each other for support while minimising the influence that these people might have. As Susan, a white graduate, explained:

Falling in-love with people from different cultures and then having somebody from North America say "Gee, you know what do you think your mother would say about you being in love with Black with two Black men." "Oh, I didn't even

think about that. Didn't even cross my mind that they were Black and that my family probably would have a problem with it."

Having brought students to the one place, the institution of Pearson College must ensure that they interact with each other as much as possible. College norms dictate that students stay on campus. During the school year, students rarely leave campus except to do service work which is usually done in the company of other Pearson students. Antonio felt that the confinement of the College was an essential factor in forcing students to interact with each other:

Because we live together for two years, you know academically, socially, you know whatever, anything related to living here, you know economics of different countries, traditions of different countries, religions, the beliefs I mean ... all that. Not academics, the academics was just one part and academics are very important but I think building a person has much more to do than academics. ... I think people have to live together, they had to be in the same room, in the same place, to achieve that. If we all lived with host families, came here for classes, went back at night, I don't think we would be able to achieve - ask those questions.

The isolation and confinement of Pearson College are complemented by a lack of private-space on campus. Christopher describes the lack of private-space as follows:

The way your like day to day living is, it's like readily shaped for you. Like in the way the social spaces you set up- It's very much social space here, there's no private space, ... the incredible impact that it is going have on your life. Whereas, you know, to me it was like "oh there's a room and there's two bunk beds, okay", and you all got three roommates and I could be in my room, or I could be in the common room, which is the 'common' room, (laugh) and you eat all your meals together So those types of things ... I wasn't necessarily aware of when I was here and you start figuring them out a few years later and you're like, "That wasn't accidental was it?"

In many ways, the residence rooms are miniatures of the College as a whole. There are four students in each room, usually from four different continents. There is no private space within the room and students, in a certain sense, are confined to their room. Although there is no curfew and students are free to enter and leave their rooms whenever

they choose to on a daily level, no one can change rooms. Abandoning a room is not an acceptable spatial practice at the College where being able to get along with everyone is valued highly. As Mick explained:

What is central to the Pearson experience, I think, for me was confinement. You know, you're stuck four of you in this room, two hundred of you in this place, away from everything, deal with it. The pressure cooker confinement, that's what's central. And you know it's going to be day after day after day after day after day. That's what makes this a unique, in quotations, spot.

Within their room, students are intimately exposed to diverse discourses in terms of the discussions which take place, as Susan recalled:

There's been mind blowing experiences about living with a Palestinian roommate and talking about Israeli politics.

Students are also exposed to diverse discourses in the form of practices which are performed in the room. As Emilio explained:

We're so different, and we're so used to the things that we do at home, and if [one] needs to pray then that effects me, and if [another] needs to listen to his music till midnight that effects me, and if [the third] has to sleep with his girlfriend, that effects me, and if I need to you know do whatever it is ... it effects people and ... you can't be isolated here and that's a great thing.

Although, the room is not a private-space in the sense that it is shared between four people who can never be out of sight of each other, it is also a private-space in that those four people alone control it. The experience of negotiating how the shared space of the room will be used is one of the most influential College experiences. In order to negotiate use of the room, students have to come to an understanding of each other and they must show consideration and tolerance for each other's needs and behaviours. In short, they must perform the dominant Pearson College discourse. The room situation provides a working example of the efficacy of the values that the dominant discourse promotes. As Antonio illustrated:

Someone bringing a friend in the room or someone's trying to study while the other one's trying to sleep ... Another one, I don't know, he wants to do something else, the difference... I think each ... room has to decide on it's own what to do or not to ... So I don't think someone should impose that on the others because that's one of the best experiences....going through. You know you have to share certain things, but at the same time you have to be careful that you're not effecting another person badly, and you have to respect the other person. This is your room, okay, but it's also someone else's room. So if you want to listen to the radio and the other person wants to sleep then there has to be some kind of agreement and I think that tolerance level and that agreement has to be decided within the within the people ... I think that's a great experience.

In theory, on a larger scale, all inhabitants of Pearson College share control over College space through Village Meetings. As with the shared control of the residence rooms, many graduates felt that the lack of rules at the College, and the sense that decisions affecting the community were decided on by the community as a whole, were an important part of their College experience. Christopher expressed a pervasive view:

The fact that you weren't given a bunch of rules, that you were expected to sort of work them out. The way Village Meetings worked when we'd talk about things ad nauseam and sort of try and generate a consensus. It was very much sort of the staff perhaps steering the thing and helping setting the agenda, which can be quite influential, but still [it] was very much sort of like students had a feeling that they had some control, had some influence and power, and it wasn't entirely an illusion, like it was very much- you could actually- And sometimes policies would be set on the grounds of safety or whatever where it was just sort of something was handed down, but if [it] seemed reasonable that would usually be accepted.

No one I interviewed gave examples of what was decided through Village Meetings. However, while I was a student there, several things that were decided upon by the 'Village' as a whole were to provide twenty-four hour, anonymous access to condoms, to have a quiet-time guideline after 11:00 pm rather than an enforced curfew, and to include environmental activities as a compulsory component of the service program. Last year (1995-1996), students decided to make the campus alcohol-free. All of these decisions affect the use of Pearson College's space and, therefore, affect the space of Pearson College itself.

Sharing control of the space of the room, and the space of the College as a whole, requires many conversations to negotiate the use of that space. These conversations are important in achieving the goals of the College because they force students to express their own beliefs, values and world views while also accommodating the opinions and needs of people who are different from themselves. Thus, the space of Pearson College works to force a heterogeneous group of people to interact with each other in considerate and accommodating ways. What however, happens to students once they leave this environment?

6.4 Post-PC Trauma

My research indicated that leaving Pearson College was somewhat traumatic for most graduates. Just as some graduates described a Pearson College 'culture', leaving the College for the 'real world' was experienced by some as culture shock. The elements of what was often referred to as 'Post-PC' syndrome included a desire to be back in the Pearson College environment, a feeling of having little in common with non-Pearson College people, and of missing College friends. Spatial factors play a large role in 'Post-PC' syndrome. Since Pearson College changes students in part through isolating them from the 'real world', many graduates, like Alfred, found themselves ill-prepared to deal with that 'real world' upon leaving the College.

When I left the College ... I experienced what they called Post-PC syndrome. ...The real world, of course, is not what ... you think it is going to be once you leave this place after two years. ...It could be even because we are isolated okay. We are ... a closed community. ...Okay we go out for services and activities and stuff but for example in Duino in Italy the Adriatic [United World] College is on the real world. It is not such a beautiful spot in the forest and ... with the bay ...no you are... located in a town so...there is not a campus. The fact that we are an isolated campus sometimes may make you think that the outside world does not exist. I mean we are the world, we are here to achieve international understanding and ... nobody else really counts. Moreover we are here to have two year training

to go out and be the leaders of the world after we have finished and you know they make you grow expectations, over-expectations, and when you go out of College all this castle crumbles.

Because they have changed substantially, graduates have a difficult time re-assimilating into the cultures to which they return. This separation from outside influences is part of what enables students to change into people who are more tolerant and open-minded. However, many students become less tolerant of the societies from which they have come and people who do not share their open-mindedness. Deborah explained:

I just cut from all my friends- I mean I wrote- I tried to write to them but I just- they just looked so pale in comparison to the vivid people here. And I had no time anyway for anything. I mean I hardly wrote to my parents- my mother and my sister, so home just was this weird place where these weird people lived and I went back and it was like "god it's awful here, small town, small minded, small concerns."

Ultimately this intolerance is desirable because the goal of the College is to send people out into the world who will challenge stereotypes (such as those contained in discourses of governmentality); people who will help to open other people's minds to difference. Ironically it is necessary to be intolerant of intolerance to promote tolerance. Anne, an Asian graduate explained:

I got an impression that they wanted to produce you know leaders to the world who have- who had some concept of being a member of an international community. And leader I don't mean that people who would become prime ministers or the head of the UN, I think like not political or financial powers. Now that is good too, and I know a lot ... the graduates are in that in that kind of position, but also leader meaning you know in a smaller level too. In ... at your ... home or ... amongst your group, that just being there and presenting your views that could be some somewhat, I wouldn't say enlightening, but something new to them.

Anne is one of the graduates who did not return home after leaving Pearson College. One of the spatial practices advocated by the dominant discourse is that

students will return to the country which selected them and, in many cases, also paid for them to attend the College. Many students, though, do not return home. Forty-three percent of my survey respondents did not live in the place that had sent them to Pearson College, and of these graduates just under half were not planning on returning home. By far the most common reasons why graduates were not planning to return to the country that sent them to Pearson College were because of their careers or for financial reasons (40%) or because of family ties to the place they live now (35%). Four people (20%) said that they would not return to their home country because of a political situation there.

Most graduates, however, felt that they were different from the people around them, whom they perceived to be relatively homogeneous. Moreover, many graduates found the outside world to be a place in which their norms of tolerance and consideration did not predominate. Anne, for example, at first felt excluded from the American University she attended after Pearson College. She did, however, feel that Pearson College had sent her out into the 'real world' with a mission. Having the sense of being on a mission helped to sustain her through the difficulties of being different in an homogenous environment.

In some ways, it is easier for the graduates who do not return to their home countries, as they have no expectation of fitting in. Those who do return to their home country after graduating may feel betrayed by that society when they attempt to live out their Pearson College ideals. States also have the means of excluding certain discourses. As a survey respondent wrote:

Because I stood up for the values I had learnt at Pearson College and was condemned to seven months prison, I have consequently left the country until 2002...I refused Military service in Switzerland because I didn't believe that was

the way to prevent a war. I offered to accomplish a civil service, but was condemned to seven months in prison.³⁵

When they left Pearson College, some interviewees had difficulty not because of their strength of conviction, but because their College experience had led them to such fundamental questioning that they no longer had a sense of what their convictions were. However, many graduates favourably contrasted this state of confusion to an original certainty based on having no choices. According to Jacynthe, the confusion, although difficult, was better than a certainty imposed upon her by parents and society.

I had the wrong feeling that I really knew who I was before coming here, but I think it was wrong. Like it was sort of more of my parents, who they wanted me to be, than who I was really. And the College sort of shaken me so much that when I went out that I didn't have those kind of really clear answers to who I was, what I wanted to do, what I wanted to be. ...The College for me was more an opportunity to ask questions than to ... find answers. I found answers afterwards. It was too intense at the moment. Like am I really a Christian? Do I want to stay a Christian ... Do I want to live in Quebec? ... I was like completely lost and my parents were not too happy about that when I came back.

Besides the trauma of not fitting into the societies in which graduates found themselves, there was also the trauma of leaving a community to which they felt they belonged. Many graduates felt that the friendships they made at the College were stronger and more intense than any they had made before or after the College. It was difficult for graduates like Alfred to leave these friends.

I carried Pearson College with me up to 1989 and ... I really felt ... a loss about it. It was a strong, extremely strong .. feeling ... of belonging, do you know ... what I mean? You know for me College did not finish okay. ... I wanted to be back during Christmas time- I mean I left in '86, I wanted to be back in Christmas '86....It is finished in a certain sense (clap clap) slap your face, wake up. Okay...

³⁵This graduate's interpretation of the dominant discourse of Pearson College is at odds with my reading of its' reification of the use of military force (see Chapter 4). Because everyone has a different history of subject-positions, the subject-position of a discourse into which they are interpellated will be altered to accommodate that history. In other words, everyone will have a slightly different interpretation of the discourse.

find your place in the world. Try to find out what you want to do and what you want to be. You do not have a campus anymore. You don't have anymore these nice people. You don't spend nights in the common room talking about you know a whole bunch of philosophical things ... No tomorrow morning you have to ... go to work. You have to be ready by seven o'clock so wake up, the College is over okay, you have the experience, you have your IB, you have whatever you want to, but wake up. ... This is a thing that it's really frustrating at times because your mind is here.

On their last day at Pearson College, the world ends in a sense for the students. They can never return to the small world that was their home for two years. It was hard for many graduates to realise that nothing would ever be like it was at Pearson College. As Deborah recalled:

Those first two years after I came back from the College I was just distraught (laugh). I mean not all the time, kind of constantly, but I was just really dislocated. I couldn't cope with things ... I didn't want to be in [my home country], I wanted to be with my friends here, and nothing was the same, and I would never meet anybody like the people here, and all that stuff.

Whereas these students had desired to attend Pearson College, after two years they had no choice but to leave the College. Many graduates, like Rachel, did not want to leave Pearson College and therefore found it difficult to integrate themselves into the 'outside world'.

Well part of it was when I came to Pearson I was ... ready to leave high school. I was ready to invest in other people, so I did. ... The first while here was hard but nobody knew anybody, it was a new place for everyone ... so people wanted to make friends and stuff. And when I went to [an Ivy-League University] I was not ready to invest in any place. I thought all the people in residence were juvenile, and so I didn't really- wasn't really looking for things to do with them, and so I just- I didn't develop that social support.

For the few graduates who found themselves living in proximity to other Pearson College graduates, the trauma of leaving the College was somewhat eased. For example, neither of the interviewees who had gone to Trent University, where there was an active network of Pearson College graduates, mentioned any trauma in leaving the

College setting. Graduates such as Troy spoke specifically of the role that other graduates had played in helping them to cope with life after Pearson College.

I found my Second Year from New Brunswick in the university studying the same program. ... He had actually gone through some hard times. His leaving Pearson was a little bit more traumatic ... than most I think. He had given a lot to the College, and I think he missed that, he missed it very much. So it was good to see him and I think we helped each other out in terms of dealing with the problems of leaving this environment.

Corresponding with other graduates was also an important source of support in the transition from Pearson College to the 'real world'. However, there is a noticeable decrease in the frequency of correspondence with time away from the College. The most frequently that those who graduated between 1990 and 1995 correspond with a graduate in another country is once a week. Those who graduated between 1976 and 1979, however, corresponded with a graduate in another country at most once every two months.

The number of people with whom graduates correspond does not seem to follow such a clear pattern. One respondent to my survey who left the College twenty years ago is still in regular contact with more than seven graduates living in different countries than himself. Cross-tabulations of correspondence data and other variables did not reveal any significant patterns. Indeed, four people who rated the College as either of 'a lot of influence' or 'very influential' are not in touch with any graduates who live in a different country.

Although some graduates continue to rely on other graduates for support, other graduates are happy just knowing that their friends from Pearson College are somewhere in the world. One of the interviewees who had lost touch with all of her Pearson College friends maintained that they were still important in her life because

they were often "on her mind". Many graduates found it comforting to know that there were people all over the world whom they had known and cared about.

Given the goals of the College, the traumas associated with leaving Pearson College are impossible to avoid. Yet, they could perhaps be eased through offering some sort of closure at the end of the two years. Over the years of the Pearson College survey (Dombrowsky and Spray 1995 and 1996), "orientation to life after Pearson College" has frequently been established as an issue that was not talked about enough at the College. In my own survey, amongst the few respondents who commented on why Pearson College does not fulfil its aims, 18% thought that it did not because the real world is too difficult a place for the ideals of the College to be accomplished. Another (13%) thought that the College's lack of success was because there was not enough follow-up done with graduates once they had left the College.

Some graduates feel that they were 'kicked out' of the place where they had spent the last two years before they had even left the space of the College campus because the spatial practices changed during the exam period. Jacynthe lamented:

Well the IB exams that was (laugh) not too great. The campus sort of changed. You know it used to be a wild place and people were laughing and having fun and everything and from one week to the other then you saw all those you know signs, "Silence please exams", and you could not talk anymore, ... and it's too bad because like the year ended like that and then we went away. It was like- god it would have been nice to have another orientation week after (laugh) that, I don't know something to finish the matter. And that was sad- leaving the College, it was just like- I remember I think I finished like my exam the Thursday and on Saturday morning we were sort of kicked out because that was really it. You have time to pack and then boom, you were out and that was- there was no time to sort of finish it and you know talk and discuss about- reflecting upon these two years and you know like... I think it ended too quickly.

As Jacynthe implies, the space of Pearson College is very much dependent upon the students who are there and the practices they perform. Consequently, graduates cannot return to anything resembling the space that they left until their ten year reunion when

once again most people with whom they attended the College are assembled in that place.

6.5 Recharging

The one follow-up program that Pearson College successfully administers for graduates is the ten year reunion. Although I did not ask about the reunion on my survey, one of the respondents listed the reunion as the 'other' category, rating it as 'very helpful' to her in pursuing her career goals. The reunion was a time for graduates to reflect on their Pearson College experience and on their life subsequent to it. It offered a closure on their youthful Pearson College experience and a time to become involved in the Pearson College community as adults. One graduate compared the reunion meeting on fund-raising to a conversation with her parents in-law about their financial difficulties. Both conversations empowered her, because she felt like an adult equal at last.

The reunion was also an opportunity for graduates to renew their commitment to the goals of the College. As Anne explained:

We'll talk about you know "have I been a failure or have I been a success?". We were talking about that in ...one of the dayroom discussions, like a smaller group discussion [at the reunion]. So those things- I never- I hardly- I seldom have a chance to discuss those personal issues too much because mostly we [my friends outside of Pearson College] would talk about the weather, talk about movies and kind of being superficial and that's about it.....[The goal of Pearson College] which is to promote ... an understanding among people from different backgrounds. It could be from- people from the same country I mean it doesn't have to be people from you know Europe and people from Fiji or (laugh) China. So and I would like to continue at home with that and even though there were bad times and difficult times, as I was talking to you earlier, at Pearson, I just take it as a good overall process for me to become a sort of like a global citizen. So I'm ... very energized now even though I'm very tired (laugh). Like emotionally and mentally ... I feel like I'm recharged and refreshed although sort of my body's saying "you're not eighteen years old anymore, you need some sleep."

Being back on campus and talking to people who had shared their College experiences and who shared, to a certain extent, their values and goals, not only renewed their commitment to those goals but also renewed graduates' friendships with their peers. Graduates were almost surprised by how much they still had in common with the people with whom they had attended Pearson College ten years ago and many interviewees commented that fundamentally, no one had changed since leaving the College. Anika expressed the sentiment of most of the people at the reunion:

I really hope that I'll stay in touch with more people because I had forgotten how wonderful a lot of people were. And just you know just seeing them again, I thought, yeah, yeah that's a great person to me, you know, I remember her and him.

Survey respondents from those years who had recently had reunions did not correspond with more people than those who graduated in other years. However, the periodic reunions may account for why there is no drop in the number of people graduates are in contact with. As Jacynthe testified, the intention to stay in contact is certainly there:

I think maybe I will now that I've sort of rekindled you know the flame, I might sort of write some more especially with the people you really love cause a lot of people that I think about all the time and I wish I knew where they were so I could write them and let them know that I'm thinking about them and so now I'll know where they are because they're actually- some of them are here. But I'm sure I'll go back to not writing. Writing you know once a year or whatever or phoning every once in a while.

Even though many of their Pearson College friends were no longer a part of their everyday lives, for some people, the reunion provided both a nice break from the 'real world' and an important sense of support. Troy commented:

So that's why this reunion is really good- nice break- and it's allowed me to find a certain amount of energy and confidence to say well, you know whatever things will work out, you know, will be okay. And I'm not the only one going through this type of ... situation. Others are saying similar things, maybe not in

the same- they are not doing the same work, but they're seeing similar situations all over the place and they're having to work through similar problems. So it seems that my old buddies from Pearson ... are having to deal with the same kinds of problems and they still maintain- they still have enthusiasm and energy and I think that's a really good thing. So this has actually kind of recharged my batteries, so I feel when I go back it won't get me down. I think like it was getting me down before I came here.

As the founders had hoped, the natural environment of Pearson College was also an important part of graduates re-connecting with the Pearson College experience. Simply by being back in the place where certain events had occurred memories were evoked. Stephanie said:

When I came here on Saturday the real thing I wanted to do was just to breathe deeply. As soon as you come to this place just sort of smell it. It smells so good, sort of quiet and calm and yeah I really have good memories.

Physically returning to the place, Pearson College, while being an element of the recharging process for graduates who had a positive College experience, defused the effect of the College for those graduates whose experience had been negative. Being back at the College enabled them to see it with a new perspective. An earlier visit to the College that Rob had made freed him, in part, from bad College experiences.

I came back and walked around and thought, "this is just a little place you know it's just- it's just a little collection of buildings on a side of a pretty inlet," and there was some of the students here as well and I met a couple of them and....it was just something about it took all its power away, you know, it took all of the kind of symbolic power that the place had away, and it was just a collection of buildings with some little children running around in it.

Mick, whose experience of Pearson College was much more positive than Rob's, also found it somewhat therapeutic to return.

I've been back a couple of times now- like I came back ... the year after I left and I came back here about two or three years ago, I had a conference. And I think that took a little... of the edge off the intensity. So as I was coming in, for instance,

there was sort of unpacking memories, there was less of that driving in last night. But I came and went to the old spots that I used to hang out at.

In many ways, the place Pearson College changes more noticeably over time that other places do because it is very much affected by the students who are there. Once they have graduated, that place, containing that particular combination of people, only comes into being for one week every ten years when the reunion for those particular years is held. However, the Pearson College of the reunion is never completely the same as the Pearson College that graduates remember. For some of the students, who had a positive experience at the College, the discrepancy between Pearson College as they remember it and Pearson College as they experience it during the reunion was disorienting. That disorientation was exacerbated for some graduates who almost seemed to experience Pearson College with double vision as memories were evoked by smells and sounds.

Anika was one of these graduates:

It's very different because ... there was only this internal- I mean there was only the College, and now everybody comes from another world. Everybody's living in their own world and they sort of come together for, really it's more a visit ... but at the same time you're in the place that you were really living so that brings back a lot of memories. I mean, I was talking to people- like the smells from the bathrooms and or ... just the smelling of the hallway, and the sound of the ... door opening and all this ... you know strange things that do bring back a lot of memories. So you're in ... the place with the people that you have all these experiences and everything, but at the same time it's not like that at all, it's very different.

Some graduates were more prepared psychologically for their return to Pearson College than others. Those who saw the reunion as an opportunity for both renewal and closure seemed to be the least disoriented. Paradoxically, it was by seeing the reunion as separate from, yet complementary to the formative two years they had spent at Pearson College, that some graduates, such as Tamara, were able to continue that experience in a meaningful way.

The important and the interesting thing about this kind of reunion, because if you're coming back expecting there to be this kind of bond I think you're going to have trouble, but if you come back knowing that these bonds ... were only relevant to those place and time, and that now is the time to look at people on a more individual level and say good-bye to some old friendships and ... perhaps get to know other people a little bit better.

Getting to know new people is a practice that the dominant discourse of Pearson College encourages students to perform. Graduates appear to unwittingly perpetuate this practice during the reunion. As Jacynthe said, in describing her reunion experience:

It's really good to see people again and to renew friendships that have faded. And to discover new friendships as well; discover people I hadn't had a chance or the opportunity to before... And I still feel that the openness of this place is around in that it's very easy to meet people here, even people that I didn't feel I knew at all, so it's really good.

Most my interviewees had been planning to attend the ten year reunion for years, often since they left the College. After the reunion, I spoke with one graduate who had not attended. She too had been planning to go for years but, in the end, was unable to go because of personal circumstances. Her sentiments reflect those expressed by other graduates.

All of the interviewees enjoyed the reunion. No one who came appeared to regret coming. Just as leaving the College was experienced as 'culture shock' and exile, returning to the College felt like returning home. As Jacynthe described it:

It's a bit like someone, I guess, who's from a country and has been out for ten years and hasn't eaten the food he used to eat, and hasn't spoken the language he used to, and then you go back to your country and you feel probably more related to the people of this country than when you live abroad. That's how it feels, and it's a ... physical thing for me too, I have to experience it again to really feel in contact with it.

The importance of the reunion in the lives of the graduates, and in the project of Pearson College, appears to lie in bringing the graduates back to the place. When students leave Pearson College, they leave behind most of the conceptual resources which

enabled them to be interpellated into the Pearson College Student Subject-position. During the ten years away from the College, the graduates Pearson 'selves' get rusty. While only a week long, the reunion once again supplies those conceptual resources to graduates which enables them to re-affirm their sense of themselves as part of the Pearson College community.

6.7 Concluding With Space

Chapters 4, 5 and 6 have shown that the ultimate goal of Pearson College is to produce graduates who are open-minded and tolerant, thereby enabling them to challenge discourses which are intolerant. To this end, Pearson College has been designed to expose students at an impressionable age to a diverse group of people and discourses, within the context of a dominant discourse which emphasises tolerance, respect and communication. These discourses are the conceptual resources available to students in negotiating their identity.

The space of Pearson College shapes the conceptual resources available to students and graduates through enabling some forms of interaction and restricting others. In order to maximise the interaction between heterogeneous people, students are brought together from many different states and backgrounds to a place which is isolated and which is lacking in private-space. Because students are placed in a stressful situation and are cut off from former support structures, they are forced to rely on each other for emotional support. This dependence upon a heterogeneous population forces students to become more open-minded and tolerant.

Students are also forced to understand and to accommodate each other's needs and points of view because they share control over the use of space. On a larger scale, the rules governing the use of the College space as a whole are decided in Village Meetings.

On a smaller, more intimate, and therefore more influential scale, students must negotiate with their roommates to determine what spatial practices will be allowed in the room they share.

Some barriers to communication (such as that between students and their parents), although stressful, are essential to Pearson College's project of challenging the discourses of governmentality and interpellating students into the dominant discourse of understanding, tolerance and consideration. Other barriers to communication (such as homophobia, the Western bias of the College, the criticism of religion, and English-language difficulties³⁶) are not necessary and actually reduce the diversity of experiences and opinions to which the students have access. Moreover, some of these barriers to communication may cause severe emotional problems for graduates.

Most graduates feel that they are fulfilling the aims of the College in their later lives. Most of them do not feel that the College influenced major decisions, such as what career path to follow. Instead the College changed them in more fundamental ways. Most graduates felt that they had become more tolerant and open-minded and had developed more confidence to stand up for their values through their Pearson College experience. They also felt that both their approach to communication and their communication skills had changed for the better.

The transition that graduates had to make back to the 'outside world' was perhaps more difficult than it needed to be. Graduates felt the pain of separation from the place and from the people with whom they had bonded. However, on the positive side, many

³⁶ I am not advocating that students who have English problems be excluded from the College, rather that more measures need to be put in place to help those with English problems overcome communication barriers. For example, having more small group discussions leading up to Village meetings would provide a better opportunity for English B students to express themselves.

remarked that now that their friends were scattered around the world, they felt more personally attached to that world.

Everyone I interviewed was happy that they had returned to the College for the reunion. Whether that return had meant closure or a renewal of their Pearson College experience, all felt that it had been worthwhile to revisit that experience. Through returning to Pearson College and to the conceptual resources available in that place, people were able to renew their sense of themselves as Pearson College Graduates.

In the end, discourse is more than talking, for discourses also involve practices. In an age of increased international communication, the unique and important contribution which Pearson College makes to international understanding is not in allowing the exchange of words but in enabling a deeper interaction between people of different backgrounds. The representational spaces of Pearson College held by graduates consisted of it being a place in which they saw and experienced, not just heard, what the implications of different world views are. Only by sharing space is it possible to experience the practice side of discourses.

Chapter 7 - Political Spaces/Places for Politics

7.1 Introduction

The revision of Lefebvre's (1991) triad of social space (representations of space, representational spaces and spatial practices) has facilitated the multifaceted analysis of the space of Pearson College developed in Chapters 4, 5 and 6. The purpose of this extended case study was to gain insight into social theories which could be useful to a politics of place as called for by Lefebvre (1991) and Merrifield (1993). This chapter outlines the implications that the investigations of the conceptions, perceptions and use of space which make up the Pearson College experience have for the theoretical perspectives outlined in Chapter 2.

By looking not just at the representations of space held by the dominant discourse of the College but also at the representational spaces of the graduates, this thesis was able to go beyond some of the limitations of Foucauldian geographies which too easily assume that the results which institutions predict will come out of their strategies. While Foucault has become popular with geographers because he has written on the importance of spatial tactics in creating subjects to disciplinary power, and although the College makes use of some micro-physics of disciplinary power, these are not the only, nor even the most effective strategies it employs.

Pearson College manipulates space, in part through disciplining bodies, in order to expose students to a specific set of conceptual resources. It is these conceptual resources which are central to interpellating students into the dominant discourse of Pearson College. People encounter conceptual resources in representational spaces.

Many of the conceptual resources which students come into contact with at the College challenge the validity of discourses with which students were accustomed to defining their identity at home. Deprived of these discourses, students are forced to look for new ways in which to understand their place in the world.

Through the manipulation of space, Pearson College students are not only forced to interact with foreign 'Others' but they are forced to depend upon these 'Others' in co-operating towards shared goals, in determining the use of space and for emotional support. Pearson College is quite successful at interpellating students into a discourse which enables them to resist discourses of bigotry and hatred. And, because Pearson College is an institution which explicitly aims to enable people to resist certain discourses through the use of space, it is an example of a politics of place. It is testimony to Lefebvre's (1991: 59) call for an appropriate space for social change.

7.2 Beyond Discipline

Pearson College attempts to instil a certain set of morals into students. As such, it is comparable to the reform schools examined by Ploszajska (1994). However, unlike reform schools, the College seeks to produce individuals who are resistant to dominant discourses in the outside world. Although Pearson College does use some tactics of disciplinary power, it does not use these tactics as extensively as it would if it took a 'reform school' approach to instilling morality in students. However, Foucault (1995) writes about schools in general being institutions of discipline through their use of ranking, examination and repetitive exercises. Pearson College uses these micro-tactics of discipline to a lesser extent than the average Canadian public school. Moreover, disciplinary power is exercised even less in those areas of College life which are most

relevant to the dominant discourse: services, the Theory of Knowledge course and interactions between students.

On a macro-scale, the Pearson College experience does use the disciplinary tactic of placing people according to rank. Being invited to the place of Pearson College represents a great achievement and may contribute to graduates' sense that they had to go on to achieve great things after leaving Pearson College. Despite this macro level tactic, though, once students are at the College efforts are made to minimise ranking. Thus, as was outlined in Chapter 4, the importance of examinations to life at the College is minimal. Nonetheless, as most Pearson College graduates do go on to university, and as most universities require referee letters and predicted grades, some examination and ranking is implicit in the Pearson academic program.

Although the dominant discourse of Pearson College permeates the academic program, it is only really 'testable material' in the Theory of Knowledge course within which disciplinary power has perhaps the smallest role to play of all Pearson College's courses. This course avoids the disciplinary tactics of examination and ranking altogether. Moreover, students are not examined or ranked on their performance of social services; activities which are closer to the heart of the dominant discourse than are academic ones.

Besides examination and ranking, Foucault (1995: 152-153) highlights the performance of repetitive exercises as micro-tactics of disciplinary power. While the academic program involves repetitive exercises, it is during some of the College services that they are foremost. In diving, sea rescue, land rescue, first aid and, to a lesser extent, forestry service, repetitive exercises enable bodies to perform essential tasks. These services, particularly the potentially dangerous ones, are an essential part of the Pearson College experience in that they force people from different states and cultures to co-

operate and entrust their lives to each other. To a certain extent, then, the College services can be said to discipline students into repeatedly co-operating with one another.

Most parts of students' lives are regimented by a full timetable of activities. Furthermore, meals are provided in the cafeteria at set times. Foucault (1995: 149-151) argues that forcing people to follow timetables is another micro-tactic of disciplinary power. While a busy schedule may discipline students into being busy active people, it is not the structured time which graduates reported as being the most influential part of their experience. Contrary to Foucault's analysis of disciplinary power, then, graduates indicated that their unstructured time was the most influential time as that was when they were able to interact freely with one another.

The general lack of rules is an important part of the representation of Pearson College and of the Pearson College experience. However, some interviewees felt that the representation of the College as a place with no rules was not born out in experience because there were in fact prescribed rules of behaviour. These hidden rules were not used effectively to discipline the student body as a whole because they were never outlined publicly. Nevertheless, they may have disciplined the behaviours of students such as Rob, to whom it was made clear that homosexuality was not welcome at the College, and of Christopher's Japanese roommate who was not judged to be sufficiently extroverted. The disciplinary tactics of punishment or threatened punishment (a Hepatitis B test and threatened expulsion respectively) may have altered how these students behaved in public.

The use of discipline as a tactic, though, did the College goals more harm than good. Through their exposure to the disciplinary side of the College's strategies, Christopher and Rob both became cynical of the College's project. Discipline may be effective in changing behaviour but, contrary to Foucault (1995: 29), in certain situations

the exercise of disciplinary power can actually have a negative impact on the 'subjectification' of peoples' psyches to a particular discourse.

Although officially there are only two rules at the College (no narcotic use and no sex in the residence rooms), there are definitely many more behavioural norms. It is these norms that the College administration has, in the past, arbitrarily changed into rules. In particular, the norms of tolerance, consideration and open-mindedness were emphasised both in promotional material and by the graduates surveyed and interviewed. Besides pressure from the administration to comply with these norms, students were also subjected to peer pressure. As Ploszajska (1994) outlines in her work on reform schools, peer pressure is a useful tool for disciplinary institutions. At the reform schools Ploszajska (1994) studied, peer pressure was brought about through threatening to punish the bodies of all of the inmates if one student committed a misdemeanour. Students at Pearson College do not need to be threatened or cajoled into exerting pressure on their peers to conform to the norms of tolerance and consideration. Having to live with people who are very different from themselves was often enough to pressure students into being open-minded and considerate. However, as Pearson College sets up this situation, it can be said to encourage peer pressure.

The biggest factor in promoting peer pressure at Pearson College, and probably the greatest area of similarity between the College and disciplinary institutions, is the practice of confinement. As with disciplinary institutions like reform schools, students at Pearson College are more or less enclosed in the space of the institution and isolated from the outside world and their former support networks. Moreover, students are confined to their residence rooms in that they are not allowed to change rooms and must therefore learn to live with the three other people assigned to that room.

The lack of private-space also contributes to the peer pressure which students exert on each other for students are essentially forced to 'surveille' each other constantly.

As some interviewees lamented, nothing can be kept secret at Pearson College and everything is public. In this way, then, students are pressured into always being on their best behaviour, and those students who felt that they did not fit the mold of the 'perfect' student, such as the gay students, felt compelled to constantly perform subject-positions they did not identify with.

Through both direct disciplinary tactics such as threatened expulsion and through peer pressure, the College controls which discourses are manifested on campus. Both peer pressure and threatened discipline by condoning certain behaviours and punishing others, enables the performance of some subject-positions while preventing the performance of others.

Beyond rules and norms, behaviour can be ultimately excluded from the place, Pearson College, through expulsion. The use of expulsion at Pearson College can be likened to the use of the solitary confinement of trouble-making inmates in the reform schools that Ploszajska (1994) examined. Solitary confinement and expulsion are not entirely comparable, however, the difference in strategies arises from the different roles that Pearson College and a reform school play. People are sent to reform schools for behaving contrary to society's laws. Attending Pearson College is a reward for succeeding within society. While it would not make sense to expel someone from a reform school for behaving badly, to be expelled from Pearson College is to be denied a privilege. In reform schools, solitary confinement is not usually enforced permanently. After an allotted time, inmates are allowed to return to the general, incarcerated population. The threat that they could be isolated again helps to discipline their subsequent behaviour. Because expulsion from Pearson College is a permanent condition it can have no disciplinary power over the behaviour of the individual expelled at the place of Pearson College for the simple reason that, once expelled, they are no longer in that place.

At Pearson College, expulsion is used as a disciplinary threat with regards to the two rules the College does officially have. In the case of the expulsions in Years 11 and 12 discussed in earlier chapters, it was never made clear why the students were expelled and so their expulsion could not be used as a threat to discipline the behaviour of other students. Moreover, by not clarifying why these students were expelled, and by not involving the community in the decision to expel, the administration undercut the official representation of the College as a place where students share joint control over what is allowed. If, as I believe, the motivation behind these expulsions was not to discipline behaviour but to prevent the exposure of other inhabitants to 'bad influences', it would seem that disciplinary power is not the only strategy used by Pearson College to interpellate students into the dominant discourse. The containment and isolation of students at Pearson College, as well as the expulsion of those who behave contrary to College ideals, are influential, not because they restrict the movement of bodies, but primarily because they allow the College to control the flow of discourses into the space of Pearson College.

In Discipline and Punish, Foucault (1995: 26-27) postulated that micro-physics of disciplinary power could be used by groups for different purposes, ranging from domination to resistance. Without question micro-physics of disciplinary power are used at Pearson College. However, these practices are not sufficient to interpellate people into the Pearson College student subject-position. Indeed, in the past the use of disciplinary power at Pearson College has sometimes backfired, causing students to doubt the politics of the place. Whereas Foucault (1995) and some geographers (e.g. Ploszajska, 1994; Matless, 1995b; Philo, 1994; Driver 1988) have argued that disciplinary power is an integral part of the production of the 'modern' Western subject, I would suggest that disciplinary power is not sufficient or appropriate to producing all forms of resistance to that subject. Discourses are comprised of systems of signs, practices and subject-

positions and micro-physics of discipline are particular practices which are not commensurable with every discourse. The inappropriate performance of such practices can throw a discourse (a power/knowledge system) into doubt and therefore enable resistance to that discourse.

7.3 Bounding Conceptual Resources

Theories of disciplinary power focus on prescribed spatial practices or the behaviours that bodies are forced to perform in specific places. Because geographical uses of Foucault's excavation of disciplinary power usually focus on past institutions, and therefore rely upon archival materials for their empirical work, research into the use of space to discipline bodies into performing certain spatial practices is often limited to analysing the dominant representations of that space. In such historical studies, it is almost impossible to gain access to the representational spaces of the subject/individuals who occupied those spaces and the spatial practices which occurred there. Because Pearson College is a contemporary institution I was able to interview individuals who had experienced the place of Pearson College and thereby gain access to people's representational spaces. Representational spaces are the interface between subject/individuals and places (see Chapter 2). It is in representational space that subject/individuals are hailed by discourses. Therefore, it is in representational space that subject/individuals must negotiate their identities in relation to conceptual resources.

Conceptual resources were defined by Parr and Philo (1995: 210-11) as the discourses which people encounter as they travel through space, and which they use to negotiate their sense of themselves whether that be through identifying themselves with those discourses or reacting against them. Comparable to the results of Parr and Philo's study, and considering the extent to which Pearson College students are disciplined into

practices and places, it is not so much the performance of the practice which is influential but rather the conceptual resources that performance brings the student into contact with. However, whereas Parr and Philo focus on how individuals negotiate their identities as they *move through* places which are conceived of as static, this thesis has examined how people's identities are affected through the production of space. Pearson College works by controlling the conceptual resources which students have access to in negotiating their identities. However, micro-physics of disciplinary power are implicated in regulating the flows of space in terms of what conceptual resources are made available to students. Pearson College functions by allowing some discourses to enter place while also restricting others. In this way, then, Pearson College has some control over students' representational spaces (see Chapter 2).

Rather than seeking to produce bodies which are docile to the discourse dominant in students' home cultures, as a reform school would, Pearson College aims to produce individuals who are critically thinking leaders. Pearson College students must therefore be enabled to resist certain dominant discourses when they return to their home societies. Paradoxically, in order to produce resisting individuals, Pearson College must produce people who comply with the dominant College discourse. As I have suggested, though, that this production of resistance has more to do with the conceptual resources present at Pearson College than with micro-physics of disciplinary power. Following Smith (1988), resistance must be understood as a relative rather than an absolute concept. The experiences of Pearson College graduates provide an example of Smith's postulation that interpellation into one discourse can enable a subject/individual to resist interpellation into other discourses. That there are different interpretations of what Pearson College graduates should be doing supports Smith's assumption that subject-positions are modified to accommodate other subject-positions in people's life-histories.

The one conceptual resource to which all Pearson College students are constantly exposed is the dominant discourse and its associated student subject-position. As with disciplinary institutions, Pearson College physically places subject/individuals into a subject-position. In other words, they are Pearson College students because they are at Pearson College. Correspondingly, there are certain beliefs and behaviours which accompany the Pearson College student subject-position. Once students have been brought to the place of Pearson College, the task then becomes to interpellate them into the dominant discourse of the College, thereby convincing them to behave as Pearson College students ought to behave. If students are interpellated into the dominant discourse and therefore come to believe in its' values and practices, they will continue to perform those practices once they have left the College. However, if they have merely been forced to perform these practices through micro-physics of disciplinary power and have not come to believe in that set of values, once they have been removed from the reach of those micro-physics they will no longer perform that subject-position. It is thus more effective for students to be convinced of the values of Pearson College than to be disciplined into behaving according to those values.

The dominant discourse is not the only conceptual resource at Pearson College which is essential to Pearson College's project of interpellating students. The other conceptual resource is the diverse student body and the assortment of discourses that they bring to the College. While students are asked to identify with the dominant discourse's open-minded, tolerant, critical, considerate, 'internationalised' student subject-position, the international student body provides the necessary resources for them to practice those values. In order to practice being open-minded and tolerant, students need to be exposed to people who have different views, values, and cultures. Students, therefore, define themselves in relation to the conceptual resources represented by members of their peer group who are different from themselves. These other discourses may also reinforce a

sense of national identity through providing students with something to define themselves as different from. Specifically, students define themselves both as different from these other students and as able to get along with different others.

Conceptual resources do not refer only to discourses. The diverse student body also helps to interpellate students into the dominant discourse through challenging the belief systems with which students arrive on campus. Going beyond Smith's theory of resistance (1988) and drawing on Dillon (1995), this thesis has shown that the interpellation of a subject/individual into a discourse can be challenged by throwing the knowledge (and therefore the power) of that discourse into doubt.

Dillon's discussion about the global movement of people challenging discourses of governmentality can be understood in terms of conceptual resources. He writes about strangers challenging discourses of governmentality because they cannot be accommodated within these power/knowledge systems (1995: 359). These strangers can be considered to be conceptual resources, then, forcing people interpellated into the discourses of governmentality to re-negotiate their identities in light of the challenges they pose. However, in praising the large-scale movement of people around the world, Dillon (1995: 352) fails to take into account the power that people have over smaller scales. As Neil Smith (1993) points out, different people control different scales in an effort to control their identities. Because people are able to isolate themselves from discourses and challenges to discourses through the control that they have over their homes or neighbourhoods, the potential impact of the global movement of people to the identities of 'Others' is reduced.

Pearson College, on the other hand, manipulates space in such a way that people are forced to interact with strangers on an ongoing and intimate level. My case study of Pearson College demonstrates the influence over identity that is enabled through having control over different scales and thereby over the conceptual resources which

people are brought into contact with. On the global scale, Pearson College brings students together from around the world and from different cultural backgrounds to a single place. The diverse student body is one of the main conceptual resources which the dominant discourse makes use of. On the local scale, the campus of Pearson College is relatively isolated from outside influences and students are more or less confined to that place. On the micro-scale, students have no private space so it is virtually impossible for them isolate themselves from the strangers comprising the student body. By controlling all three scales, then, Pearson College effectively brings together the conceptual resources which support its' subject-position and undermine those of governmentality, and prevents students from avoiding these conceptual resources.

Upon leaving Pearson College, these conceptual resources are no longer available to graduates and many graduates in consequence experience a crisis of identity. The feeling of recharging and of coming home that graduates reported having while attending the reunion is testimony to the importance of the conceptual resources present at Pearson College in validating the Pearson College subject-position. However, that graduates, for the most part, remain committed to the goals of Pearson College after living for many years in places which do not have conceptual resources supportive of the Pearson College subject-position, also testifies to the College's power in interpellating students into the dominant College discourse.

7.4 The Third Culture

Once exposed to the conceptual resources at Pearson College what incentive do people have to be interpellated into the dominant discourse? My empirical research has shown that disciplinary micro-physics and simple performances are not enough to

interpellate individuals into the dominant discourse of Pearson College. How then might Pearson College's success in interpellating people be explained?

In Dillon's (1995) interpretation of Foucault's analysis of power/knowledge, he suggests that people become subjects to discourses because the discourse enables them to do things. Students at Pearson College need discourses which will enable them to interact profitably with 'Others' and which are able to accommodate the differences of which students have become aware. Exclusionary discourses (such as those of governmentality) which many students arrive at the College interpellated into, prove to be unsuitable in the new, international situation that students find themselves in. The dominant discourse, unlike the discourses that students arrive interpellated into, enables students to interact with one another, so that they can share control of the spaces of the College, accomplish the goals set out for them in the formal practices of the College, and form bonds with other students. By offering students an 'international' identity, the Pearson College discourse is available to everyone. And, by offering students spatial practices which facilitate life with the 'other', the dominant discourse of Pearson College is able to accommodate differences in a way that the discourses of governmentality cannot. By being common to everyone, the dominant discourse of Pearson College enables students from different backgrounds to come to an understanding of each other, to work towards common goals, to share a common space and to form supportive friendships. Pearson College, then, interpellates students into this dominant discourse through creating a situation in which students need or are required to do certain things and then providing them with the means to so.

By looking at Pearson College as the site of a 'culture', we can examine these postulations in greater depth. The dominant discourse is the discourse which has hegemony over the unique set of discourses which intersect at Pearson College. Because of the overlap of the Years of students at Pearson College, each new student arrives into a

culture that is more or less already formed and has been dominated by the institution's own discourse. In Chapter 1, I defined culture as a set of signifying systems which are in some ways coherent. The dominant discourse of the College gives a coherence to the diverse discourses assembled there. In this way, it can be said that there is a Pearson College culture. Indeed many graduates, including Canadians, experience culture shock when they return to their homes after finishing their International Baccalaureate. Likewise, many interviewees described returning to Pearson College for the reunion as someone might describe returning to a country and a culture that they had left behind.

In the different, although related situation of ethnography, Calhoun (1992) has written about the impossibility of cross-cultural understanding. Calhoun (257) believes that the incommensurable practices of one culture cannot be understood by someone from another culture. Instead, when an informant and an ethnographer are attempting to communicate, to *understand* one another, they must change into people who can understand each other (256). People "achieve the understanding precisely because they change into people who can understand each other, not because one translates the static fully formed knowledge of the other into a form which he or she can appropriate without becoming a significantly different person." (256) According to Calhoun, the informant and the ethnographer change into people who can understand each other by creating a third culture. This culture is made up of and accommodates the cultures within which the ethnographer and the informant are situated. As an amalgamation of these cultures, the third culture represents an entirely new set of signifying systems.

Pearson College contains such a composite culture. Therefore, unlike Calhoun's participants in ethnographic research, the students at Pearson College do not need to form a new culture in order to accommodate their differences when they are attempting to communicate with each other. The dominant discourse of Pearson College is the bridging discourse that they already have at their disposal. Pearson College interpellates

students into its' dominant discourse because that discourse is able to accommodate their past history of subject-positions while also enabling them to fulfil their new needs and desires. These needs and desires are partly the product of the particular spatial relations at Pearson College.

7.5 The Politics of Place at Pearson College

By enabling the interpellation of subject/individuals into a discourse which is resistant to other discourses with hegemony over many places in the world, Pearson College is an example of a politics of place called for by Lefebvre (1991) and Merrifield (1993) and described in Chapters 1 and 2. Specifically, Pearson College intervenes in the flows of space thereby creating a place which is conceived of and perceived as a global place.

Lefebvre's book, The Production of Space, (1991) makes some interesting connections between social space and social relations. However, in my view, it focuses too much on the relations of production and capitalist abstract space to account clearly for how resistance, and therefore social change, is possible. This case study of Pearson College has shown the important role that an appropriate space can play in social change. Through an engagement with other social theories and with empirical research, this thesis has contributed to the development of a more applied understanding of Lefebvre's (1991: 59) assertion that an appropriate space is necessary for social change. By applying Lefebvre's theories to an empirical analysis of a place, I worked through some of the ambivalences and contradictions of his writings. One of the main ambivalences in Lefebvre's theories relates to connections between discourse and space. This case study of Pearson College has offered an understanding of how discourse is implicated in the production of space. Whereas Lefebvre focused on the 'concrete constraints' of space on

social change (1991: 59) and, in particular on the domination of capitalist abstract space, this case study has shown that the discursive constraints of space can also be powerful. As Massey (1993: 6) and Cosgrove (1989: 566) have indicated, there is more to social life than economic relations.

In my revision of Lefebvre's (1991) triad of space, I have attempted to discern social space in an effort to conceptualise the role of space in enabling social change. Rather than following Lefebvre (23; 63) and conceiving of difference as being able to survive, subsumed under a homogenising, all-dominating abstract capitalist space, my case study suggests that difference lives on in spaces in which these counter-hegemonic discourses have hegemony. This finding would imply that a politics of place for a particular discourse should seek to create or appropriate spaces in which that discourse can dominate and from where that discourse can be disseminated.

My discerned rewriting of Lefebvre's triad has been useful in examining Pearson College because this particular framework has allowed me to go beyond Foucauldian geographies to examine the influential role played by representational spaces in subject/individuals' negotiation of their identities. People take action based on their beliefs about the nature of the world and their place within that world. Because places have the ability to affect peoples' beliefs through the conceptual resources that they offer to those who pass through them, they also have the ability to enable or constrain behaviours. However, representations of space can be influential elements of social space.

In the culture and place of Pearson College, the dominant discourse and its' representation of Pearson College have hegemony. It is this hegemonic representation of space which informed the founding and the building of the College. Lefebvre (1991) would see this official representation as the only representation of the College. However, the representations that students hold of the College are also important in that they shape

the way in which students will perceive and how they will behave in that space. For the most part, the representations of Pearson College held by students are comparable to the ones in the promotional materials. In part, this similarity reflects the influence that representations of space have over representational spaces on the level of the psyche, rather than on a material level. All students are sent the Fact Book before they arrive on campus and the representation of Pearson College which they glean from this text, produced by the dominant discourse, will inform most students' first perceptions and first actions at the College. In turn, these perceptions and actions will affect subsequent conceptions and perceptions of that space as well as the spatial practices performed there.

7.6 Conclusion

In the promotional material, and the responses to my survey and interviews, one of the main representations of Pearson College was that of a metonym for the world at peace. The dominant discourse of Pearson College created the place of Pearson College to demonstrate to the world in general, and to students in particular, the effectiveness of a particular approach to resolving international tensions. Through creating an international community on a small scale, Pearson College for the most part succeeds in convincing students that the practices of tolerance, consideration and open-mindedness will bring about a peaceful global community. Interactions between students while at the College are conducted within the context of this model world. Students therefore adopt Pearson College's goal of promoting peace and international understanding. It is also possible that the desire to return to the place of Pearson College could later inspire graduates to work to try and create that type of atmosphere wherever they find themselves, thus perpetuating, in another way, the College goals.

My empirical research on Pearson College supports Lefebvre's (1991: 59) assertion that an appropriate space is a necessary precondition to social change, and that space is socially produced. However, the empirical research does point to a slightly different understanding of how space is socially produced than that outlined in The Production of Space. In order to understand how resistance is possible and following Massey (1993), social space, like people, must be understood as being multi-faceted. Moreover, the discursive flows of space must be seen as being as important as the flows of commodities and capital in terms of the production of space and the consequent constraint and enablement of social change. A politics of place which works on the level of individual identity attempts to control the conceptual resources contained in a place by preventing some of the flows of space from entering that place and enabling others to reach further. While micro-physics of discipline may be used to facilitate the regulation of the flows of space, they are neither sufficient nor even necessary for a politics of place such as that represented by the case of Pearson College.

Chapter 8 - A Return to a Politics of Place

"Q1) What do you believe are the purposes of a UWC education?

A1) To learn how to live with people who are different from yourself, to learn how to work with them. To learn tolerance and acceptance.

Q2) How does PC fulfil this function and how can this be improved?

A2) Faculty and students should be more tolerant of people who have different priorities from those of the perfect student....This *place* pressures people to conform unlike any other *place* I've been."

(Change of Pace Day Questionnaire)

I wrote the above answers to a questionnaire administered by Pearson College in the Spring of 1990 as I finished my two years as a student there. I did not read my answers again until after I had finished writing the bulk of this thesis. I was struck by how similar the findings of my empirical research on Pearson College are to the answers I gave seven years ago to a simple one page questionnaire. This extended case study of Pearson College has allowed me to explore in greater depth and detail some of the questions and issues that concerned me as a student at Pearson College. Specifically, it has enabled me to examine how Pearson College manages to "pressure people to conform".

Not only has this thesis allowed me to examine one of the formative experiences of my life, but it has also permitted me to continue to perform my Pearson College subject-position. If I had answered the questionnaire which I sent to graduates, I would have said that I am fulfilling the goals of the College through my M.A. work. Exploring academically how space is used to promote social change, and in particular to

promote peace and understanding between diverse people, does contribute to the goals of Pearson College.

Although this thesis reads from front to back, at no point has its creation been a linear process. The case study emerged out of the refinement of certain theoretical perspectives but the modifications to these theories resulted, concurrently, from the empirical work. Indeed, doing this research has been an opportunity to experience first hand that empirical work and theory development form an organic whole. Moreover, although refinements of theoretical frameworks have been suggested through this research, many questions have also been raised. In using extended case methodology, the development of theory is never-ending, theory is merely refined slightly with each new empirical case.

The research presented here is only part of my ongoing interest in social change and space. In this study I have applied the theories of the philosopher, Lefebvre, to the geographical study of an actual place, Pearson College. My thesis, though, points merely to a few ways in which Lefebvre's work can be revised and applied to an understanding of empirical contexts. This extended case study has therefore raised just as many questions as it answered and Lefebvre's theories need to be grounded in further empirical studies of other sites of politics of place such as community centres which serve dispersed minority groups, retreat centres for left-wing activists, or women's only spaces on university campuses.

One of the drawbacks I identified in Lefebvre's theory of the production of space, was that by focusing on the relations of capital it became difficult to conceive of the possibilities of resistance. By contrast, this thesis has tried to understand why some individuals perform practices which go against hegemonic discourses. Drawing on Foucault, geographers have shown considerable interest in the effects of disciplinary power on behaviour. However, my case study of Pearson College has shown that the

exercise of disciplinary power is not sufficient to interpellate all people into all discourses. It would therefore be interesting to look at the representational spaces of inmates of institutions which have traditionally been seen as disciplinary to assess if disciplinary power plays as significant a role as the analysis of the official representations of these spaces indicates.

Rather than focusing on the practices that people are disciplined into, this thesis has examined practices that people perform because they have come to believe in the power/knowledge system of which those practices are a part. People do things because they have been interpellated into a subject-position in a discourse which tells them that certain practices are appropriate to perform. Interpellation usually occurs in space. This thesis argues that space is implicated in interpellating individuals into discourses through the conceptual resources that are present in different places. People can control which conceptual resources are in a place through enabling or preventing the flows of space from entering that place.

In order to create social change, I assert that it is not just people's behaviour that has to change but the beliefs motivating that behaviour. A politics of place therefore should attempt to work on the level of changing people's minds through exposing them to conceptual resources which are supportive of alternative discourses and subject-positions. Any discourse needs places in which it dominates to facilitate the interpellation of people into it. Such an interpellation enables people to resist other discourses in other places.

Pearson College is one example of such a place. However, in order to develop a more comprehensive understanding of the potential for a politics of place, the theories outlined in this thesis should be examined through other case studies. Pearson College is one of eight United World Colleges and, as such, it shares part of its discourse with these other institutions which have their own spaces. For example, the College of the Adriatic is located in downtown Duino, Italy. How might the United World College discourse be

altered by the different uses of space at this College? Is it the spatial strategies used at Pearson College which change its students more successfully or can this relative success be explained by other factors? Besides the United World Colleges, what other places are used explicitly to promote resistance? And, not least, what spatial strategies are used to produce these places?

As outlined in this thesis, the rewriting of Lefebvre's (1991) theory of the production of space emphasised that everyone has some power to create space. It was also postulated that Pearson College graduates might be inspired to create spaces in which the Pearson College discourse dominated because they missed the place of Pearson College. It would therefore be interesting to explore the spaces that graduates of Pearson College have chosen to occupy, create and appropriate. In other words what subsequent spatial practices have been inspired by experiences at Pearson College?

Massey (1994) and Smith (1993) have both written about power and the scale of movement. They have also linked larger scales of influence to greater power. While it is generally appropriate to correlate these two variables, my case study of Pearson College indicates that sometimes control over smaller scales can be as powerful as control over larger ones. In fact, a politics of place is in many ways a call for a politics played out on a smaller scale that acknowledges that small scale actions can affect larger scales of social interaction. My study, however, has not looked very extensively at the smallest scale of human interaction, the scale of the body. The body is the only scale at which Pearson College students can have some control. A number of students at Pearson College have developed eating disorders. Do such illnesses result from students attempting to have a greater sense of control over at least one scale of the space in which they live their lives? This question merits further research.

Lefebvre's (1991) theories were rewritten largely in light of Smith's (1988) theory of resistance through interpellation. Although my research suggested some reasons as to

how and why interpellations take place, there are many issues which remain unexamined. It was suggested that Pearson College students were interpellated into the Pearson College student subject-position, in part, because it enabled them to meet a need for emotional support. The need for love, acceptance and support, as well as the stress which fuels that need, have been postulated to be central catalysts in the process of interpellating students into the dominant discourse of Pearson College. More research into the role of affective aspects of human social life in interpellating people into subject-positions needs to be done. It is clear that interpellations are not brought about simply by forcing bodies to perform subject-positions. And it seems likely that interpellations occur because subject/individuals desire to do something that a particular discourse will enable them to do. However, in order to come to a better understanding of how interpellations work, further research needs to be done on desire, space and interpellation. How do desires serve to interpellate people into discourses? How is space used to manipulate desires?

Furthermore, it appears that things such as smells and non-verbal sounds are important resources for people's identities through their connections with the human unconscious. These elements of representational spaces were raised by interviewees as some of the best things about being back at the College. Because of their power to evoke vivid memories, such elements appear to be powerful conceptual resources for the renewal of the Pearson College subject-position. The findings of this thesis, therefore, point to a need for further research into the psychoanalytic relations which are involved in interpellation and the role that space plays in those relations.

Perhaps the most substantial revision that this study has made to Lefebvre's (1991) theory of the production of space, is to shift the focus from material processes and flows of capital and commodities, to the flows of people and discourses. I agree with Massey (1993: 60) and Cosgrove (1989: 566) that not only economic forces shape late twentieth

century life. Merrifield (1993), however, is too narrow in his politics when he restricts politics of place to those which resist capitalist abstract space. As a politics of place, the Pearson College project succeeds in promoting a particular world view through the influence it exerts on graduates. I have been optimistic about the power that everyone has to produce space, but projects like Pearson College require considerable capital and can only be undertaken with the assistance of people who have powerful positions within the global economy. As I have noted, Pearson College is overdetermined by capitalist abstract space. Thus, although the College does a good job in producing resistance to discourses of governmentality and other discourses of exclusion, it does not challenge the hegemonic discourses of global capitalism. This thesis has not examined why those who control capital might want to promote a discourse of internationalism and service. It has however shown that such a discourse is by no means incompatible with the subject-position of a successful businessperson. Indeed, many graduates go on to pursue work in international corporate business settings. Further research should be done on spaces produced by capital to resist nationalist discourses, and to assess whether these places which promote internationalism without challenging capitalist abstract space, actually propagate that space.

This thesis has examined the institution of Pearson College as an example of a set of spatial practices which effectively challenge discourses of governmentality (Dillon, 1995). Reified conceptions of 'culture' are often fundamental aspects of such discourses. In my own research I have attempted to avoid reifying the concept of culture through focusing, instead, on the role that discourses play in enabling and constraining resistance. However, a closer examination of the use of the concept of 'culture' and the means by which it is reified in certain situations warrants investigation. Such an investigation could begin at Pearson College. Although the dominant discourse of Pearson College

seeks to produce resistance to exclusionary discourses of nationalism, it does not challenge the concept of culture itself. Instead, it promotes a type of multi-culturalism consisting of practising international understanding and a tolerance of difference. Does the dominant discourse of Pearson College actually serve to reify culture, and if so, does this detract from the College's goals?

Despite its flaws, the Pearson College program appears to have some success in convincing people to work for peace in the world. My research has shown that an appropriate place does indeed enable social change and that it does so through providing people with the conceptual resources that enable them to be interpellated into alternative discourses. That that interpellation has a lasting effect on beliefs and actions is illustrated by the similarity between what I wrote at the end of my time at Pearson College and what I wrote, seven years later as I finished writing my thesis. For centuries, people have known the power of belief to shape societies and have created spaces for those beliefs. However, belief is also grounded in the spaces of the everyday. Geographers need to devote more attention to understanding how people come to acquire and, more importantly, to change their beliefs.

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**Appendix - A: Members of the Canadian National Committee, United World
Colleges as at 20th April, 1971**

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**Members of the Canadian National Committee, United World Colleges as at 20th
April, 1971**

Hon. Chairman [sic]	Rt. Hon. Lester B. Pearson P.C.
President	Hon. Donald Cameron
Executive Director	Mr. R. Barry Tackaberry
Mr. Jean Baribeau	Ex-student, Atlantic College 66-67
Mr. Thomas S. Barnett	House of Commons, Ottawa
Colonel R.T. Bennett	Defence Headquarters
Hon. Robert Bonner	Vice-President, MacMillan Bloedel, Vancouver BC
Dr. Charles H. Bonnycastle	Headmaster Emeritus, Rothesay Collegiate School, NB
Mr. Bert C. Butler	
Air Marshal Hugh Campbell	Former Chief of Staff RCAF, Ottawa
Dean Douglas F. Dadson	Dean of the College of Education University of Toronto
Professor Donald Fields	University of B.C., Vancouver
Dr. James A. Gibson	President, Brock University, St. Catherines
Dr. William C. Gibson	University of B.C., Vancouver
Mr. John M. Godfrey	Campbell, Godfrey and Lewtas, Toronto
Mr. A. Kingsley Graham	Retired Ambassador to Sweden, Toronto
Mr. John R. Hecht	Hon. Consul-General of Austria, Vancouver BC
Colonel Robert L. Houston	President Canada-Japan Trade Council
Dr. Walter H. Johns	Past President, University of Alberta
Mr. Patrick Johnston	Principal, Upper Canada College
Mr. Frederick Jorgenson	President, Southern Alberta Institute of Technology
Mr. Hugh L. Keenleyside	Former Chairman [sic], B.C. Hydro: Ambassador to Japan
Major-General George Kitching	Former Executive Director to U.W.C.

Mr. Jules Leger	The Under-Secretary of State: Ambassador to France
Dr. J. Ewart Lloyd	Claresholm, Alberta
Dr. Joseph B. MacInnis	Medical Director, Ocean Systems Inc., Toronto
Hon. Norman A.M. MacKenzie	Past President, University of B.C.
Major-General A. Bruce Matthews	Chairman of the Board, Excelsior Life Insurance Co.
Mr. Jack E. Matthews	Headmaster, Lakefield College
Hon. Hartland de M. Molson	Montreal, P.Q.
Dr. D. Stephen Penton	Principal Emeritus, Lower Canada College, Montreal P.Q.
Mr. Kenneth Rotenberg	Yolles and Rotenberg, Toronto
His Excellency Mr. Arnold C. Smith Secretary-General, Commonwealth Secretariat, London	
Rev. Cedric W. Sowby	Principal Emeritus, Upper Canada College, Toronto
Dr. George Tatham	Master of McLaughlin College, York University, Toronto

Appendix - B: The United World College Survey Questions
(Nielson, 1991)

Questions Asked

The following questions from the survey were used as the basis for the investigation:

Basic Information

- * What College did you attend?
- * What year did you leave College?
- * Where were you living when you applied to UWC? (country)

Attitudes and Ideas

- * Do you think that being at a UWC affected your decision in the following fields?

Further studies and training:	A lot/A little/Not at all/Don't know
Professional career:	A lot/A little/Not at all/Don't know
Private life and interests:	A lot/A little/Not at all/Don't know

- * Do you think that being at a UWC has affected you attitudes to, and knowledge of and interest in the following issues?

Development issues	A lot/A little/Not at all/Don't know
Peace	A lot/A little/Not at all/Don't know
Ecology and environment	A lot/A little/Not at all/Don't know
Racial prejudice	A lot/A little/Not at all/Don't know
Human rights	A lot/A little/Not at all/Don't know
Disarmament/nuclear defence	A lot/A little/Not at all/Don't know

Appendix - C: The Pearson College Survey Questionnaire
(Dombrowsky and Spray, 1995 and 1996)

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR SECOND YEAR STUDENTS

(developed by Theo and Andrew)

A. Major Issues:

How much do you feel the following issues have been discussed during your two years at Pearson College?

(1 = not nearly enough, 3 = about right, 5 = far too much)

1. Sexism	1	2	3	4	5
2. Aboriginal Peoples' Issues	1	2	3	4	5
3. Homophobia	1	2	3	4	5
4. Feminism	1	2	3	4	5
5. Current Affairs	1	2	3	4	5
6. Life After Pearson College	1	2	3	4	5
7. Religion and Spirituality	1	2	3	4	5
8. Environmental Issues	1	2	3	4	5
9. Stress Management	1	2	3	4	5
10. Conflict Resolution	1	2	3	4	5
11. Practical Techniques for Applying Pearson College Values.	1	2	3	4	5

If, in your opinion, there is a major issue that should have been discussed and did not receive the attention it should, please list that issue here.

B. Existing Problems at Pearson College:

How do you rate the following potential problems as serious ones during your time at Pearson College?

(1 = an extreme problem, 3 = some improvement needed, 5 = little or no problem)

1. Western Bias	1	2	3	4	5
2. Alcohol Abuse	1	2	3	4	5
3. Academic Stress	1	2	3	4	5
4. Canadian Bias	1	2	3	4	5

5. Other Stress	1	2	3	4	5
6. Sexual Promiscuity	1	2	3	4	5
7. Homophobia	1	2	3	4	5
8. Sexism	1	2	3	4	5
9. Racism	1	2	3	4	5
10. Competitiveness	1	2	3	4	5
11. Secularism (lack of religion/spirituality)	1	2	3	4	5
12. Gap Between Faculty and Students	1	2	3	4	5
13. Intolerance for not Conforming to Model of Ideal Pearson College Student.	1	2	3	4	5

If, in your opinion, there is a major problem at the College that is not included in the above list, please state that problem here.

C. Value of Program Parts:

In terms of their value to your total experience at Pearson College, how do you rate the following parts of the program?

(1 = negative effect, 2 = neither positive nor negative, 3 = somewhat beneficial, 4 = very valuable, 5 = extremely valuable)

1. Project Week	1	2	3	4	5
2. One World	1	2	3	4	5
3. Social Service	1	2	3	4	5
4. National Days	1	2	3	4	5
5. International Affairs	1	2	3	4	5
6. Orientation Week	1	2	3	4	5
7. I.B.	1	2	3	4	5
8. Creative Activities	1	2	3	4	5
9. Challenging Outdoor Activities	1	2	3	4	5
10. Alpha Fine Arts	1	2	3	4	5
11. House Meetings	1	2	3	4	5

12. Special Topic Days	1	2	3	4	5
13. Village Meetings	1	2	3	4	5

If there is any other part of the official College program that represented a very positive or negative experience for you, could you please state that part here and how you felt about it.

D. How Has Pearson College Changed You?

The following qualities are considered to be among the educational aims of the College. Please rate your College experience in terms of how much it has enhanced these qualities.

(1 = now worse than before coming to College, 2 = no change, 3 = some positive change, 4 = significant positive change, 5 = a great deal of positive change)

1. Tolerance for an understanding of other cultures, political systems, value systems.	1	2	3	4	5
2. Level of confidence in capacity to face challenges, overcome obstacles, show courage and initiative.	1	2	3	4	5
3. Unwillingness to accept conventional thought, but to question assumptions, challenge premises and think clearly before reaching conclusions.	1	2	3	4	5
4. Ability to work with academic self-discipline and learn effectively.	1	2	3	4	5
5. Capacity to be sensitive to others' needs, to be compassionate, to feel a sense of responsibility for others' welfare.	1	2	3	4	5
6. Awareness of, interest in creative and aesthetic expression, especially of other cultures.	1	2	3	4	5
7. Ability to exercise leadership in the sense of motivating others to achieve worthwhile ends.	1	2	3	4	5

E. College Goals:

On a scale of 1 to 10, 1 standing for unimportant and 10 standing for extremely important, please give your opinion of how important is each of the following educational goals.

1. INTERNATIONAL UNDERSTANDING:
Global perspective, respect for diversity, etc. _____
2. ENVIRONMENTAL AWARENESS _____
3. LEADERSHIP: Self-confidence
Communication skills, spirit of initiative _____
4. GROUP DYNAMICS:
Teamwork, trust _____
5. INTELLECTUAL QUALITIES: Open-mindedness, clarity
of thought, knowledge, challenging assumptions. _____
6. ETHICAL QUALITIES: Courage of conviction,
commitment, compassion, consideration, responsibility _____
7. REFLECTIVE QUALITIES: Value of reflection, intro-
spection, well-roundedness. _____
8. CULTURAL AND AESTHETIC QUALITIES: Awareness of
value of cultures of other countries and one's own
traditions. _____

Please add any other goals you feel the College should have and include the rating as above:

_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____

F. What Is Missing:

What, in your opinion, has been missing from the College program that would have made your experience of Pearson College a more fulfilling one?

H. Relevance of Parts of Program to Educational Goals:

Using the grid below, please rate on a 1 - 5 scale the effectiveness of various College programs in achieving the specific goals listed.

(1 = of little or no value, 5 = extremely valuable)

* - If it is obvious that a particular component is not intended to influence a particular educational goal, please enter N/A (not applicable) rather than 1.

While at the College, my principal service(s) and activities were:

	INTERNATIONAL UNDERSTANDING Global perspective, diversi.	ENVIRONMENTAL AWARENESS	LEADERSHIP: communication, Initiative, self-confidence	GROUP DYNAMICS: teamwork, trust	INTELLECTUAL QUALITIES: open mindedness, etc.	ETHICAL QUALITIES: compass- ion, conviction, etc.	REFLECTIVE QUALITIES: value of reflection, etc.	CULTURAL AND AESTHETIC QUALITIES:	PURE ENJOYMENT: value inde- pendent of any goals.
INTERNATIONAL BACCALAUREATE									
ALPHA FINE ARTS									
INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS									
VILLAGE MEETINGS									
CREATIVE ACTIVITIES									
MAJOR OUTDOOR ACTIVITIES									
SOCIAL SERVICE									
ONE WORLD PARTICIPATION									
NATIONAL DAYS PARTICIPATION									
ORIENTATION WEEK									
PROJECT WEEK									
OVERALL PROGRAM									

If there are other points you would like to make, please attach a separate

Appendix - D: Questionnaire Sent out to Graduates for this Study

Graduates, Let Your Voice Be heard!!

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In the summer of 1997 a conference will be held to assess whether Pearson College is meeting its aims and to determine where the program could be improved upon. For this process to be useful, it is important to know what impact Pearson College has had on its students' lives.

I am a graduate of Pearson College myself and I am conducting this survey as part of my Masters research in Geography at Carleton University. I am interested in examining how the Pearson Experience and the aims of Pearson College are related to what students do when the graduates. I welcome any questions from people who are interested in knowing more about this study.

The results of my study will be made available to Pearson College and anyone else who is interested. I would also like to make sure that the graduate voice is heard at the upcoming conference. Please help me bring graduates' experiences and concerns to the conference, take the time to fill out this questionnaire and return it to:

Alette Willis ('88-'90)
c/o The Department of Geography
Carleton University
1125 Colonel By, Dr.
Ottawa, Ontario,
Canada, K1S 5B6
awillis@ccs.carleton.ca (e-mail)

In the interests of protecting your anonymity, I and my academic committee will be the only ones who will see the individual questionnaires. Only the results of the analysis of the responses will be made available to Pearson College and other interested parties. If you would like to know more about my study or to receive a copy of my research please contact me at the above address.

1. What country (or province for Canadians) sent you to Pearson College? _____

2. What country do you presently live in? _____
(If this is the same as above go to 3)

A. Are you planning to live in the country that sent you to Pearson College in the future? Yes No

B. Why will you return or not return to the country which sent you to Pearson College?

3. What is your present paid employment situation?

a) Student

what area of study? _____

b) Self-employed

c) Unemployed

d) Employed by someone else

i) Government

please specify which department _____

ii) Non-governmental organisation (NGO)

please specify which organisation _____

iii) Private business or industry

please specify which company _____

4. What specific career are you or would you like to pursue? _____

5. In **choosing a career** how influential were the following aspects of Pearson College?

	(1) Not influential	(2) a little	(3) average	(4) quite a lot	(5) very influential
The academic program	1	2	3	4	5
The services program	1	2	3	4	5
The arts activities	1	2	3	4	5
Other students	1	2	3	4	5
Faculty members	1	2	3	4	5
The graduate network	1	2	3	4	5
"Pearson Connections"	1	2	3	4	5
"Keep in Touch"	1	2	3	4	5
Other _____	1	2	3	4	5

A. If you answered "4" or "5" for any of the listed aspects of Pearson College could you briefly explain why you felt those aspects to be influential to your choice of career.

6. Overall in influencing my **career choice** Pearson College was

(1) Not influential (2) a little (3) average (4) quite a lot (5) very influential

7. In **pursuing your career goals**, how helpful were the following aspects of Pearson?

	(1) Not useful	(2) a little	(3) average	(4) quite a lot	(5) very useful
The academic program	1	2	3	4	5
The services program	1	2	3	4	5
The arts activities	1	2	3	4	5
Other students	1	2	3	4	5
Faculty members	1	2	3	4	5
The graduate network	1	2	3	4	5
"Pearson Connections"	1	2	3	4	5
"Keep in Touch"	1	2	3	4	5
Other _____	1	2	3	4	5

A. If you answered "4" or "5" for any of the listed aspects of Pearson College could you briefly explain why you felt those aspects to be useful in **pursuing your career goals**.

8. Overall in pursuing my career goals Pearson College was helpful

(1) Not at all (2) a little (3) average (4) quite a lot (5) very much

9. Do you do any of the following types of activities on a regular basis, please list what activities you do

a) Arts or crafts _____

b) Physical activity or sports _____

c) Volunteer or "charity" work _____

e) Other _____

A. In choosing to do 1 or all of these activities was Pearson College influential? Yes No (go to 10) .

B. If you answered "Yes" can you please explain how Pearson College influenced you.

10. How many students from Pearson College do you regularly correspond with (write, phone or e-mail) or have contact with?

a) None (go to 11)

d) 7 - 9

b) 1 - 3

e) 10 - 12

c) 4 - 6

f) More than 12

A. If you regularly correspond with other graduates of Pearson College how many of them live in different countries from you?

a) None (go to 11)

d) 7 - 9

b) 1 - 3

e) 10 - 12

c) 4 - 6

f) More than 12

B How often do you correspond with the Pearson College graduate that lives in a different country from yourself whom you correspond with the most?

a) Less than once a year

e) Once a month

b) Once a year

f) Twice a month

c) Twice a year

g) Once a week

d) Once every two months

h) More than once a week

11. Can you describe the ways in which the other students whom you met at Pearson College affected your life?

12. How would you define the aims of Pearson College?

A. I feel that Pearson College fulfills these aims...

(1) Not at all (2) partially (3) on average (4) mostly (5) completely

B. Please explain why you think that Pearson College does/does not fulfill its aims

C. Through what you are doing in your life now do you feel that you are fulfilling some aspects of the aims of the College? Yes No (go to 13)

D. If "Yes" in what way do you feel that you are fulfilling the aims of Pearson College

13. What year were you born? _____ **14. What is your sex?** Male Female

15. What year did you graduate from Pearson College? _____

16. In the country which you represented at Pearson College, do you feel yourself to be disadvantaged for any of the following reasons? Yes No (go to 17)

- (circle as many as apply)
a) Religion	e) Language
b) Race	f) Ethnic or cultural
c) Gender or sex	g) Political beliefs
d) Economic or class	h) Sexual orientation
i) Other _____	

17. Did either of your parents attend a university outside of the country in which they grew up? Yes No

18. Before you attended Pearson College what were your parents occupations?

A. Mother _____

B. Father _____

19. Have either of your parents held any of the following positions (please circle the appropriate category)

- a) Politics: president, prime-minister, member of the government, member of parliament, mayor, leader of a political party, chief, or member of a royal family
- b) Civil Service: head of a department or sub-department, secretary of state, chief advisor to one of the political positions above
- c) Business: owner, chief executive officer, chair, president or vice-president of a major corporation or bank
- d) Mass Media: owner, executive management, chief editor, program director
- e) Universities and Colleges: president or department head
- f) Military: admiral or general
- g) Trade Union: president or head
- h) Judge

If you wish, please enclose any suggestions you have as to how Pearson College or the graduate network could be improved to better meet its aims (or suggestions of new aims) on a separate piece of paper with this questionnaire. Suggestions will be compiled and passed along to Pearson College to be discussed at the upcoming conference.

Appendix - E: Profile of My Survey Respondents

Profile of Survey Respondents

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Region of the World	# of Respondents		Year of Graduation From P.C.	# of I
	From	Now		
Canada	47	36	92 - 95	18
U.S.A.	5	21	88 - 91	31
N. Europe	16	17	84 - 87	16
Down Under	5	7	80 - 83	20
Asia	12	10	76 - 79	12
Africa	5	2		
Latin America	7	6		
S. Europe and Middle East	9	9		
Former East Block	4	2		
Gender of Respondents			Employment Status	
Male	55		Student	48
Female	54		Unemployed	2
			Self-employed	9
			Government Employee	23
			NGO Employee	5
			Corporate Employee	23
Age of Respondents			# of Graduates Whose Parents	
21 - 24	18		Attended a Foreign University	27
25 - 28	32		Did Not Attend a Foreign University	80
29 - 32	19			
33 - 36	22		# of Graduates Respondents are in Re	
37 - 40	14		None	6
			1-3	33
			4-6	28
			7-9	16
			10-12	6
			More Than 12	18
# of Arts/Cultural Activities Regularly Regularly Engaged in by Respondents			# of Graduates Corresponded With in ,	
0	57		None	6
1	30		1-3	51
2	12		4-6	22
3	8		7-9	13
4	3		10-12	4
			More Than 12	9
# of Physical Activities Regularly Engaged in by Respondents			The Frequency With Which A Graduate Country is Corresponded With	
0	55		Less Than Once a Year	2
1	10		Once a Year	10
2	21		Twice a Year	38
3	15		Every Two Months	21
4	5		Once a Month	12
5	4		Twice a Month	7
			Once a Week	3
			More Than Once a Week	6
# of Volunteer/Service Activities Regularly Engaged in by Respondents				
0	49			
1	40			
2	15			
3	3			
4	2			
5	0			
6	1			
# of Respondents Regularly Engaged in At least one of the above activities				
At least one of the above activities	106			
None of the Above Activities	7			
In Participating in At Least One of the Above Three Activities, the # of Respondents Who Feel Pearson College				
Did Influence Them	69			
Did not Influence Them	30			

Percieved Influence of Various Aspects of Pearson College on Career Choice

Percieved Helpfulness of Elements of Pearson College to Pursuing Career

Appendix - F: Interview Topic Guide

I want to explore what you have done since you left Pearson College and how that has been effected by your experiences at the College. As part of that I want to also explore the goals and values of the College and how those relate to your values.

Please be as specific as possible. Specific anecdotes and stories are particularly useful in giving life to theories and ideas. There are no right answers.

The interview should take about an hour and I'll have to switch the tape over sometime in the middle. Any questions about my research? the interview?

What does it feel like to be at your 10 year reunion?

What has been going through your head since you got back on campus?

Could you briefly describe your life since graduating from PC?

Did you return home after graduating from PC?

What was it like to leave PC and return home?

What choices that you made were influenced by your PC experience?

How were these choices influenced by PC?

Do you think that attending Pearson College changed you?

the course of your life?

For good or bad?

How do you think your life would have been different if you hadn't gone to PC?

Why?

What is it about your PC experience that changed you?

How?

What aspects of your PC experience were the most influential?

When you look back at your PC experience are there particular moments that stand out?

Why do these moments stand out?

What lead you to apply to pearson college? (added in after the first interview)

What did you know about the college before applying?

Who told you about the college?

Do you keep in touch with many students from PC?

Were these the people you were closest with at PC?

How have they been a part of your life?

What is a typical PC student?

What do they go on to do after graduating from PC?

Is this the type of person you seek out for friendship now?

What would you say is the purpose or goal of PC?

Do you think PC meets these goals? How?

How could it better meet these goals?

Are they goals or values that you share?

Why? why not?

How has your life since PC reflected these values?

What do you see yourself doing in the future?

What do you hope to get out of this reunion?

Is there anything that I haven't asked you about which you think I should know about?

Appendix - G: Modified Questionnaire for Interviewees

Thank you for volunteering to be interviewed. Could you please take 5 minutes to fill out the following²¹⁹ questionnaire. The answers which you give to the following questions will be used to provide background information for the interviews. They will also help me to schedule the interviews. As with the tapes and the transcripts of the interviews themselves, these questionnaires will be kept confidential, no one but myself and my academic committee will see them.

1. Name _____

2. House and room you are **currently** staying in on campus _____

3. What country (or province for Canadians) sent you to Pearson College? _____

4. What country do you presently live in? _____

A. Are you planning to live in the country that sent you to Pearson College in the future? Yes No

5. What is your present paid employment situation?

a) Student

what area of study? _____

b) Self-employed

c) Unemployed

d) Employed by someone else

i) Government

please specify which department _____

ii) Non-governmental organization (NGO)

please specify which organization _____

iii) Private business or industry

please specify which company _____

6. What specific career are you or would you like to pursue? _____

7. In **choosing a career** how influential were the following aspects of Pearson College?

	(1) not influential	(2) a little	(3) average	(4) quite a lot	(5) very influential
The academic program	1	2	3	4	5
The services program	1	2	3	4	5
The arts activities	1	2	3	4	5
Other students	1	2	3	4	5
Faculty members	1	2	3	4	5
The graduate network	1	2	3	4	5
"Pearson Connections"	1	2	3	4	5
"Keep in Touch"	1	2	3	4	5
Other _____	1	2	3	4	5

8. Overall in influencing my career choice Pearson College was
 (1) not influential (2) a little (3) average (4) quite a lot (5) very influential

9. In pursuing your career goals, how helpful were the following aspects of Pearson?
 (1) not useful (2) a little (3) average (4) quite a lot (5) very useful

The academic program	1	2	3	4	5
The services program	1	2	3	4	5
The arts activities	1	2	3	4	5
Other students	1	2	3	4	5
Faculty members	1	2	3	4	5
The graduate network	1	2	3	4	5
"Pearson Connections"	1	2	3	4	5
"Keep in Touch"	1	2	3	4	5
Other _____	1	2	3	4	5

10. Overall in pursuing my career goals Pearson College was helpful
 (1) not at all (2) a little (3) average (4) quite a lot (5) very much

11. Do you do any of the following types of activities on a regular basis, please list what activities you do

- a) Arts or crafts _____
- b) Physical activity or sports _____
- c) Volunteer or "charity" work _____
- e) Other _____

A. In choosing to do 1 or all of these activities was Pearson College influential? Yes No

12. How would you define the aims of Pearson College?

A. I feel that Pearson College fulfills these aims...

(1) Not at all (2) partially (3) on average (4) mostly (5) completely

B. Through what you are doing in your life now do you feel that you are fulfilling some aspects of the aims of the College?
 Yes No

13. How many students from Pearson College do you regularly correspond with (write, phone or e-mail) or have contact with?

- a) None (go to 13) d) 7 - 9
b) 1 - 3 e) 10 - 12
c) 4 - 6 f) More than 12

A. If you regularly correspond with other graduates of Pearson College how many of them live in different countries from you?

- a) None (go to 13) d) 7 - 9
b) 1 - 3 e) 10 - 12
c) 4 - 6 f) More than 12

B. How often do you correspond with the Pearson College graduate that lives in a different country from yourself whom you correspond with the most?

- a) Less than once a year e) Once a month
b) Once a year f) Twice a month
c) Twice a year g) Once a week
d) Once every two months h) More than once a week

14. What year were you born? _____

15. What is your sex? Male Female

16. What year did you graduate from Pearson College? _____

17. In the country which you represented at Pearson College, do you feel yourself to be disadvantaged for any of the following reasons? Yes No (go to 18)

- (circle as many as apply) a) Religion e) Language
b) Race f) Ethnic or cultural
c) Gender or sex g) Political beliefs
d) Economic or class h) Sexual orientation
i) Other _____

18. Did either of your parents attend a university outside of the country in which they grew up? Yes No

19. Before you attended Pearson College what were your parents occupations?

A. Mother _____

B. Father _____

20. Have either of your parents held any of the following positions (please circle the appropriate category)

- a) **Politics**: president, prime-minister, member of the government, member of parliament, mayor, leader of a political party, chief, or member of a royal family
b) **Civil Service**: head of a department or sub-department, secretary of state, chief advisor to one of the political positions above
c) **Business**: owner, chief executive officer, chair, president or vice-president of a major corporation or bank
d) **Mass Media**: owner, executive management, chief editor, program director
e) **Universities and Colleges**: president or department head
f) **Military**: admiral or general
g) **Trade Union**: president or head
h) **Judge**

21. On the back of this sheet could you please indicate what times you would be available to be interviewed.

Appendix - H: Profile of Interviewees

Region of the World	# of Interviewees		Year of Graduation From P.C.	#
	From	Now		
Canada	9	15	86	17
U.S.A.	1	2	87	11
N. Europe	3	3		
Down Under	3	3		
Asia	3	0		
Africa	2	0		
Latin America	3	1		
S. Europe and Middle East	4	4		
Former East Block	0	0		
Gender of Interviewees			Employment Status	
Male	14		Student	9
Female	14		Unemployed	0
			Self-employed	1
			Government Employee	9
			NGO Employee	3
			Corporate Employee	6
Age of Interviewees			# of Graduates Whose Parents	
30	4		Attended a Foreign University	9
29	9		Did Not Attend a Foreign University	19
28	12			
27	3		# of Graduates Interviewees are in Reg	
			None	1
# of Arts/Cultural Activities Regularly			1-3	12
Regularly Engaged in by Interviewees			4-6	10
0	18		7-9	2
1	5		10-12	0
2	2		More Than 12	3
3	2		# of Graduates Corresponded With in	
4	1		None	1
			1-3	18
# of Physical Activities			4-6	4
Regularly Engaged in by Interviewees			7-9	1
0	5		10-12	1
1	7		More Than 12	1
2	7		The Frequency With Which A Graduate	
3	6		Country is Corresponded With	
4	2		Less Than Once a Year	3
5	1		Once a Year	6
			Twice a Year	8
# of Volunteer/Service Activities			Every Two Months	6
Regularly Engaged in by Interviewees			Once a Month	0
0	9		Twice a Month	2
1	14		Once a Week	1
2	2		More Than Once a Week	0
3	2			
4	0			
5	1			
# of Interviewees Regularly Engaged in				
At least one of the above activities	26			
None of the Above Activities	2			
In Participating in At Least One of the Above				
Three Activities, the # of Interviewees Who				
Feel Pearson College				
Did Influence Them	21			
Did not Influence Them	5			

	# of Interviewees
Career Path Chosen	
Pure Science	1
Applied Science	2
Social Services	7
Education	5
Business and Finance	3
Research and Policy	3
Arts	1
Other	4

**# of Interviewees who Feel
the College Fulfills its' Goals**

Not at All	0
Partially	3
On Average	3
Mostly	19
Completely	2

of Interviewees Who Feel That They Are

Fulfilling the College Goals	24
Not Fulfilling the College Goals	3

The Perceived Influence of Various Aspects of Pearson College on Career Choice

	Academics	Services	Arts	Students	Faculty	Network	P. Conn.	KIT	Overall
Not Influential (1)	3	8	16	5	6	23	21	20	4
A Little (2)	3	5	2	6	8	4	2	4	3
Average (3)	15	3	6	8	6	1	5	3	9
Quite a Lot (4)	3	10	1	3	5	0	0	1	7
Very Influential (5)	4	2	2	6	3	0	0	0	5
Average Rating	3.0714286	2.75	1.925926	2.964286	2.678571	1.214286	1.428571	1.464286	3.214286

Perceived Helpfulness of Various Aspects of Pearson College to Pursuit of Career Goals

	Academics	Services	Arts	Students	Faculty	Network	P. Conn.	KIT	Overall
Not at All (1)	1	7	10	4	9	13	16	16	1
Partially (2)	3	5	8	11	10	9	5	5	3
On Average (3)	6	6	5	3	3	5	5	5	15
Quite a Lot (4)	11	5	3	4	5	1	1	1	5
Very Much (5)	7	5	2	6	1	0	0	0	4
Average Rating	3.7142857	2.857143	2.25	2.892857	2.25	1.785714	1.666667	1.666667	3.285714

IMAGE EVALUATION TEST TARGET (QA-3)

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