

USERS' GUIDE

The Moment can be read quickly and easily — on the subway, while grabbing a bit to eat, before going off to sleep at night. It can also serve as a catalyst for deeper reflection on the issues presented. Active readers can use **The Moment** as an educational resource with groups. Try any of these activities:

From Watch the Media

- Collect articles on Free Trade from local or national newspapers and magazines and do your own *media analysis* of the coverage. What perspectives are reflected in the treatment of the issue? What position is being supported?
- Select one page of a newspaper that mentions Free Trade and undertake a *free-line analysis* like the one shown here.

From Keep Going

- Write us a letter about your experience using **Getting Started on Social Analysis in Canada**. Include critiques and describe adaptations.

From Rambo Market Reigns

- Photocopy the cartoon, write out the caption, and have people make up their own captions.
- Use the article **Minutes of the Moment** as background reading for a discussion on Free Trade. On what points do you agree/disagree? Select an article or book from the list of resources on Free Trade and study the issue further, perhaps from the perspective of a certain economic sector or even a particular industry.
- Read the photo-story together in a group. What different interests are represented? What major areas of concern are 'on the table'?

in Free Trade negotiations? Who stands to benefit from freer trade and who will not?

- Walk around the block where you live or work; imagine what it would look like 'after Free Trade.' What industries or businesses would be affected by Free Trade and how? How would your daily life be affected?

From the Popular Educators' Kit

- Try the *social tree* tool. Use it with a group that wants to look at Free Trade or another specific issue in Canada.

How does it help to advance and communicate the group's social analysis?

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Resources on Free Trade

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Marjorie Cohen. **The MacDonald Report and Its Implications for Women**, November, 1985. National Action Committee on the Status of Women, 344 Bloor Street West, Suite 505, Toronto, Ont. M5S 1W9.

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Introductory Issue — Autumn 1986

The Moment

QUEEN ST. E.
970

CARLAW AV.
204

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Inside

- Photo-story and Cartoon on Free Trade
- Watch the Media
- Rambo and Free Trade
- Popular Educators' Kit
- Resources
- And more...

WELCOME TO THE MOMENT

Where We Start

Queen Street East and Carlaw Avenue. That's where the Jesuit Centre for Social Faith and Justice is located. And that's where our work starts — in East Toronto, a microcosm of Canada, where we see many signs of injustice that challenge us. Does our work in social analysis and popular education speak to the folks who live or work near Queen and Carlaw?

Since its founding in 1979, the Jesuit Centre has been involved in research and education around Canadian issues. In the early years, the focus was on medicare, environmental and health issues. Working on specific issues led us to examine their root causes and to trace their relationships with other problems.

Building on this early work, *Getting Started on Social Analysis in Canada* was written by the Centre's Michael Czerny, S.J., and Jamie Swift and published by Between the Lines in 1984. The book introduces Canadians to such issues as health problems, housing shortages, environmental pollution, unemployment, the impact of technological change. It leads the reader through a process of social analysis: raising questions about society and seeking answers, not only to develop a critical awareness of the world but also to lead towards social justice. The book has been used in many schools and universities, church and community groups, and is now in its third printing.

What we are doing now

But social analysis is not

enough. For groups organizing around specific issues as well as coalitions working for broader structural changes, social analysis must lead to political analysis and effective strategizing. In Latin America, this practice is called 'conjunctural analysis'; at the Jesuit Centre we're calling it 'naming the moment.' In a series of monthly workshops, we are experimenting with new ways to name the moment in Canada, to assess what's currently going on and what it means for the work of organizing for social change. We hope that the method we're



developing will be useful to many other groups and sectors.

What does this process involve? What do we mean by conjunctural analysis? Participants in *Naming the Moment* workshops have offered these interpretations:

- Looking at the web of different forces.
- Evaluating issues and forces at a point in time to decide which way forward.
- Figuring out who's mad, who's glad, and who's sad — opening up the possibility of multi-sectoral analysis and action.

- An assessment of the chief forces at work in the most important issues at a given moment, suggesting where things are headed and what can be done.
- Short and medium prognosis of current forces at work.
- Determining opportunities for action.

In April, May and June of this year, three workshops brought together twenty activists and analysts from different sectors to look at the current economic, political, social, and ideological

patterns in the Canadian scene. These *Naming the Moment* workshops involved participants in

- describing key issues
- assessing the organizing going on around these issues
- considering new kinds of actions based on the analysis.

The Centre is continuing these monthly gatherings in 1986-87.

What's in this issue

The *Moment* builds on the interest generated by *Getting Started* and is integral to the *Naming the Moment* workshops. It presents

the analysis in popular form and includes tools that we have found useful. We hope it will serve as an educational resource for people and groups wanting to develop their own skills in social and conjunctural analysis.

This first issue has several pieces:

- On this page, users of *Getting Started* report on their experiences.
- *Watch the Media* offers a critical look at how the media shape our interpretation of current issues; 'headline analysis' is introduced as a tool for analyzing the media.
- The poster-size centrefold focuses on Free Trade as the key issue that emerged from the first *Naming the Moment* workshops; we raise questions about Free Trade, or the Rambo market economy, in several forms:

- *Naming the Moment* reflects the analysis done in the workshops;
- cartoonist Carlos Freire provides a graphic synthesis of the workshops;
- a photo-story captures the issue of free trade at Queen and Carlaw;
- *The Social Tree* is introduced as a popular education tool useful in naming the moment.

- *A Users Guide* on the back page suggests how to use this broadsheet as a learning tool with groups, and lists resources for people who want to examine the Free Trade issue more deeply.

We want to know how you use *The Moment*. The last word is yours; let us hear from you.

KEEP GOING

The Jesuit Centre book *Getting Started on Social Analysis in Canada* has provoked diverse responses and stimulated actions that go beyond its pages. Groups write and tell how they have begun to organize around issues raised in the book, how they have moved beyond social analysis to collective action. That's what it means to "keep going" after "getting started". So that efforts in Antigonish might inspire work in Winnipeg, we begin an on-going exchange among users of *Getting Started*.

I'm concerned about the way we continue to analyse the 'situation of women.' There's something wrong with the way we do it and I react instinctively to it but am having a hard time formulating it.

The chapter on women in Getting Started was good for its information and seeing the problems of women as different from men's. However if you do further work I would suggest we not be put in a separate category — that too easily allows us to be seen as a special case. It's true women's experience has been different, but then again patriarchy pervades all classes and sectors. I don't feel women are a separate class — we're in all classes — and yet in each of those classes our experience of work, power, etc., has been qualitatively different from that of men. We don't fit a neat class analysis so don't put us somewhere else — change the analysis. If we analyse the situation of women and superimpose it on a strict class analysis, it does muddy the picture, but the picture is muddy. Every analysis of every situation has to consider women as a fundamental component — otherwise it's faulty — no matter what the issue.

It's true we live in an unjust world with unjust structures — those structures created in large measure by powerful elites — powerful elites that were almost (I say 'almost') exclusively male. That has to say something. It certainly says something about the Church.

Joan Campbell
Development and Peace
Halifax, Nova Scotia

One of IDEA's most successful projects has been the formation of an ecumenical study group using Getting Started. Each month, the group meets for a pot-luck supper followed by a meditation or Bible study to put the issue into spiritual focus and then to explore the selected issue. As well as using the text, we invite local resource people to contribute their expertise and insights.

The housing issue aroused by far the most concern. We spent two meetings exploring the need for affordable housing. We heard from a real-estate agent, the managers of a housing co-operative and the residents of a geared-to-income housing project. Many have expressed a desire to take concrete action, so we are presently setting up a task-force to examine the possibilities.

We have also looked at the food industry, the environment and the health-care system. We sent a letter of support to the [Ontario] government on the extra-billing question and received in return a request from the Minister of Health to use part of that letter in a pamphlet he is publishing on the issue.

John and Gail McMillan
IDEA — (Interfaith Development
Education Association)
Burlington, Ontario

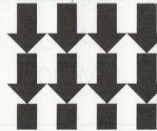
The book does a good job of pointing to the power citizens do have in effecting change through well-informed and concerted action focused at governments and corporations.

By way of criticism of your book, I could only point to one concern raised in our group. Getting Started tends to divorce itself from any particular ideology except its interpretation of Christian teaching. However, by not admitting any particular political perspective, the reader sometimes has difficulty in regarding Getting Started as merely a catalyst, and can find evidence of broad prescriptions for change contained between the lines.

Paul Roy
Ignatius Parish Manitoba
Winnipeg, Manitoba

Michael Corry S.J.
Jamie Swift

**GETTING
STARTED**
on Social Analysis in Canada



WATCH THE MEDIA

However we receive the news — whether electronically or in print or by word of mouth — we are getting filtered information. Someone has decided what are the most crucial events and what they mean. They have been framed: selected and interpreted within a particular view of the world. Yet this frame, this meaning, these details seep into our consciousness and shape our own ideas about what's important, what's good and bad, what should and should not be done.

"Wait a minute! Who's telling me this? What are his/her interests? Who and what are missing from this article? Whom can I believe? What should I question? How am I responding to this information?"

We cannot constantly ask all these questions, and we often lack the tools to pick apart what we're being fed. Yet to have a critical understanding of what's going on in Canada, we must develop the skills of viewing and listening critically.

Watch the Media offers an analysis of media coverage of the key issue treated in the broadsheet. It will help us think more carefully about who's shaping our analysis and in what ways. We are also introducing tools for doing simple media analysis.

The Frames

The pattern of ownership in the media is clearly concentrating. With micro-electronics and satellites the relative number of people who are interpreting world events is reduced. In Canada, the media, the corporations and business interchange leaders. They go to the same schools, they use the same

language, they shift their way among top jobs in government, industry, and media. It's a much more homogeneous culture at the top than we might first think.

Distortion, deletion, and omission are the traditional ways in which the media either intentionally or through procedural habits shape our interpretation of the world. We spend an inordinate amount of time getting the details right. But we must also begin to grapple with the frame, the titling of articles, the naming of categories.

We need to pay attention to how strongly our interpretive structures are organized by the mass media.

The main strategy of the media is to take something historical, as most events are, and make it ahistorical. There are all kinds of devices for getting rid of the real historical context. The real contradictions — labour subordinate to capital, women subordinate to men — are made imaginary by the frames they're put into. Business-leader Conrad Black gets five minutes and labour-leader Dennis McDermott gets five minutes; TV will help us think more carefully about who's shaping our analysis and in what ways. We are also introducing tools for doing simple media analysis.

We can challenge the media frame by being historical. Watching oneself, *not outside*, but *immersed* in the culture. For example, many times the relative number of people who are interpreting world events is reduced. In Canada, the media, the corporations and business interchange leaders. They go to the same schools, they use the same

language, they shift their way among top jobs in government, industry, and media. It's a much more homogeneous culture at the top than we might first think.

Here's a clip from *First Blood*:

Rambo: Do we get to win this time?

Bad guy: Let technology do the work.

Rambo: I think minds are the best weapons. [Ronald Reagan pictures are scattered throughout the story.] The point is to win and survive. To survive in war you have to become war.

Bad guy: He (Rambo) is expendable.

A theme running through *First Blood* is that the individual is expendable. Yet Rambo is referred to as the Chosen One. He says: 'I'm coming to get you!' Who is this 'you'? One might think it's the Russians, but it's the technocrats, the bureaucrats whom Rambo is fighting against. The Russians are bad and do really nasty things: they torment and electrocute people. They have blue eyes, while Rambo's are brown. But the ultimate bad guy is the military computer technocrat or bureaucrat.

When Rambo is asked, 'What do you want?' he answers, 'For our country to love us as much as we love it. We laid down our lives, we came back and got pissed on.'

Of all the sentiments Rambo expresses, which ones do we reject? Which ones do we identify with? These sentiments are not that far from the kind of agendas we ourselves have. Metaphors such as Rambo are extremely potent; there are good solid reasons for people hooking onto them, and we are all affected by them. We need to be humble when we talk about the media. Doing analysis does not free us from being part of the culture we are analyzing.

HEADLINE ANALYSIS

A Tool for Media Analysis

Headline analysis helps us search for the deeper structure of headlines, the story lines we miss. In using such a tool, we examine how the page is laid out, how articles and visuals are juxtaposed, how people and positions get linked unconsciously in our minds, how certain ideas are never questioned. We've begun a headline analysis of an April front-page of the *Globe and Mail* with several articles on free trade.

One concept operating in the layout of the page is that of 'equivocality'. It refers to the way in which the media create an appearance of equality which is not present in the real world. This imaginary equivocality obscures objective power relations. For example, in our headline analysis, Ontario's 'hi-tech goals' and the Maple Leafs 'roaring back' (both implying that Canada is a big player) are juxtaposed with the headlines about Reagan's aid package and the Free Trade vote. Underlying this pattern and, indeed, underlying the official version of the Free Trade talks themselves, is the assumption that the United States and Canada are equal trading partners. The way these events and issues have been framed by the media suggests that the two countries are 'equivalent' in power and resources. Something neither real nor logical has become part of our 'common sense' understanding of what's happening in the world.

The diagram shows a newspaper page from *The Globe and Mail* with several headlines circled and annotated with handwritten notes in ovals. The notes are connected to the newspaper text by arrows.

Headlines on the newspaper page:

- WIN \$1 MILLION
- High-tech goals set for Ontario
- INSIDE: Reagan plans aid package for Mideast
- President to press fight for trade pact
- U.S. free-trade vote postponed until today
- Dome estimates fail to include \$30 million for scoreboard, site
- Canadians in Libya see little reason to leave

Handwritten notes in ovals:

- Taxpayers will pick up for the industry most important to free trade consequences.
- Canada's strength (in hi tech and hockey) is juxtaposed with that of the U.S. Are we really equal trading partners?
- Rambo (the U.S.) has machine guns Canada has hockey sticks...!
- The decision to build the dome is already made — a fait accompli — within that context, critiques will be made. \$130 million is just a wrinkle in the system.
- Free Trade may be treated in similar fashion.
- President Ronnie is working to 'help' Canada just as he 'helps' other countries in whose interests?
- U.S. 'aids' Mideast and attacks Libya — Canada supports this — How will our aid and trade, and foreign policy be linked, given 'free trade'?

Naming the Moment

RAMBO AND FREE TRADE

Rambo — a tough guy in fatigues and sporting a machine gun. Rambo comes to us from the south and symbolizes macho market forces, more aggressive foreign and military policy, and attacks on social and cultural programs. The Free Trade negotiations between the United States and Canada begun in May raise many questions about our relationship with the giant south of the border.

Does Free Trade merely mean more American products in our shopping malls, and more Canadian maple syrup in theirs? The two countries are already each other's major trading partners. Yet nearly everything for sale in our malls is imported.

The controversy around Free Trade is puzzling at times. It looks like a futher U.S. take-over — not only commercially, but also in terms of culture, taxation, social programmes, etc. — and yet Ronald Reagan fights to sell the idea against protectionist sentiments (the narrow vote in the Senate committee, the shakes-and-shingles affair, the subsidized wheat sales to the Soviet Union).

There are mixed feelings, too, among Canadian groups. Those

with economic interests in support of the Murphy-Reisman negotiations include:

- a minority in each economic sector (lumber, mining, agriculture, fisheries, manufacturing, services) who feel the would benefit from easier access to the U.S. market
 - industries, like forestry, whose prosperity seems threatened by the rise of U.S. protectionism
 - companies in Canada, whether Canadian or multinational, which see the United States as the best, most logical market to expand into
 - the wealthiest Canadians who are building ever larger empires, not through investment but through corporate raids and take-overs
- Politically, Brian Mulrooney has made himself the personal champion of Free Trade. His prior business experience was to manage, and ultimately shut down, the Canadian branch plant of a U.S. multinational. Today, in a harshly competitive world, he seems to believe that Canada is better off totally under the wing of the U.S. eagle. The Canadian electorate did not elect the PCs on a Free Trade ticket; public opinion has not provided any clear mandate for a

new arrangement whose benefits to the population are questionable.

We need to examine more deeply the interests for and against Free Trade. Since World War II, the social wage (unemployment insurance, health insurance, public education, transfer payments) has been absorbing a growing portion of our gross national product. This allegedly at the expense of *private profit* (whether individual or corporate). Maybe our economic/political leadership has now decided (as that of Great Britain, the United States and West Germany did earlier) that western capitalist democracies can no longer afford the so-called "welfare state." In a crisis between business efficiency/profitability and social equity, the neo-conservatives say it's time to tip the balance back towards unfettered capitalism. The idea is built upon the firm belief that the market mechanism both generates prosperity and somehow distributes it.

This theology of the market, expressed in monetarist or other terms, is obviously the platform of the Thatcher and Reagan administrations. Here in Canada it's being pushed by Brian Mulrooney, by the MacDonald Commission, by

Michael Wilson's Finance Department, by Simon Riesman's special bureaucracy for Free Trade, by the Business Council on National Issues and similar lobbies. While negotiating trans-border commerce, maybe Murphy and Reisman are really implementing the more radical political or ideological agenda of a powerful minority of neo-conservatives and corporate elite.

If this is so, it could be a mistake to try and follow the bewildering soap opera of U.S. customs, duties and tariffs. Maybe we should tune into the real drama surrounding Canadian social and fiscal policy: the Department of Finance's review of pensions, allowances and other programs; the promotion of an omnibus Guaranteed Annual Income; the Forget Commission's report on unemployment insurance; the shifts in taxation policy and transfer payments which are meant to reduce the worst regional discrepancies in terms of basic services available to the Canadian public.

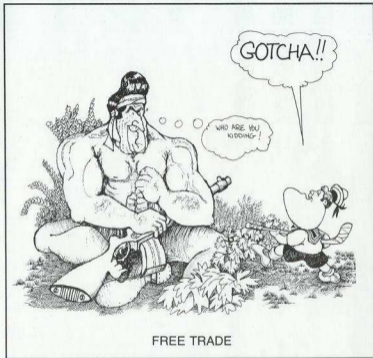
All these changes will tend to hurt the poor, burden the middle class, favour the wealthy, and further fragment Canada.

The opposition to Free Trade has

been led by the labour movement, women's groups, cultural workers, progressive church coalitions. These efforts have been supported by the NDP, especially its more activist members, along with individual members of other parties. The most effective work is being done in coalitions that bring these sectors together, creating a new kind of politics.

Yet we cannot afford to romanticize coalitions, when the forces for a Rambo reign in Canada are formidable. These multi-sectoral efforts, such as the Against Free Trade Coalition, must be accompanied by a longer-term educational process. The current debate offers an opportunity for deeper reflection on our existing dependency and for broadening the commitment of grass-roots groups to fundamental social change.

Rambo forces are strong and the Sylvester Stallone figure has not only invaded our borders but has also seduced our minds. To resist and to carve out our own future is a challenge we can meet only by combining our strengths and energies. The hope is that emerging coalitions will overcome differences, forge a common vision, and take common action.



FREE TRADE

The Moment — RAMBO MARKET REIGNS

AT THE CORNER AT THE COLGATE-PALMOLIVE PLANT JOANNE, YVANN AND LAURIE ARE HEADING OUT FOR LUNCH

WHILE MEI-LING, YUK-CHAN AND WING-SING ARE LEAVING THE GARMENT FACTORY ACROSS THE STREET.

HI GUYS...! COME ON IN... GOT A GREAT SPECIAL TODAY!

IT'S ALMOST NOON AT THE FISH AND CHIPS SHOP AT QUEEN AND CARLAW AND BRIAN'S WAITING FOR THE LUNCH-TIME CROWD

HEY, BRIAN...! WHAT'S ON THE TABLE ANYWAY...?!

DON'T YOU KNOW ABOUT UNCLE SAM'S FREE TRADE SPECIAL...?!

YEAH, WHAT ARE THE BARGAINING CHIPS IN THE FREE TRADE TALKS?

HERE ARE YOUR CHIPS!

DON'T JUST EAT 'EM... PLAY 'EM!

WELL, JUST IMAGINE WHAT THIS STREET WOULD LOOK LIKE AFTER FREE TRADE...!

EAST TORONTO COMMUNITY LEGAL SERV

AND I CAN IMAGINE GOING TO THE RECORD SHOP NEXT DOOR...!

WHAT ABOUT OUR MUSIC, OUR MUSICIANS...?!

HMMM... AND WHAT WOULD HAPPEN TO OUR GOVERNMENT...?!

YOU MEAN UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE HAS BEEN CUT...?!

CANADA THE \$17.99 STORE
David Reville
Riverdale Office
461-0223
CONSUMER

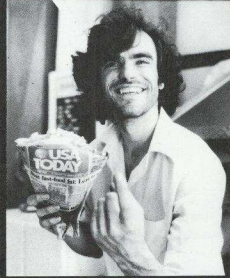
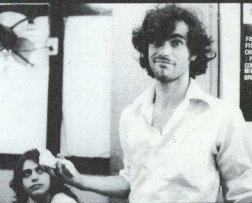
SOME BARGAIN, EH...? WHO'D WANT IT ANYWAY...?!

WELL, MY NEIGHBOUR, A SUPERVISOR AT COLGATE-PALMOLIVE, SAYS BIG U.S. OWNED COMPANIES LIKE HERS WILL CLEAN UP WITH FREE TRADE... WHILE LOCAL INDUSTRIES LIKE THE GARMENT FACTORY WILL LOSE THEIR SHIRTS...!

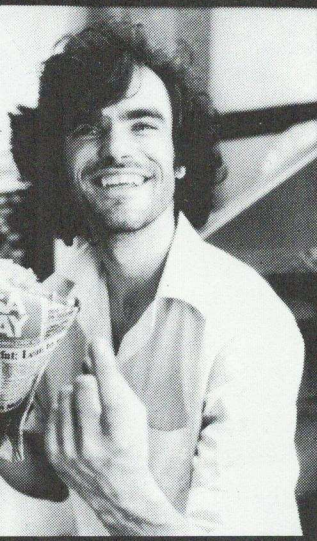
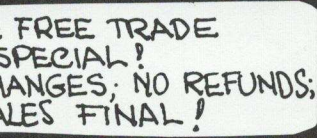
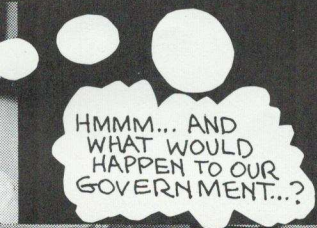
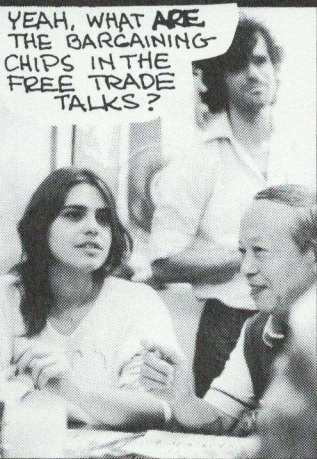
THE FREE TRADE SPECIAL!
NO EXCHANGES; NO REFUNDS;
ALL SALES FINAL!

CENTRAL GARMENTS
CLOSED
Moved to North Carolina

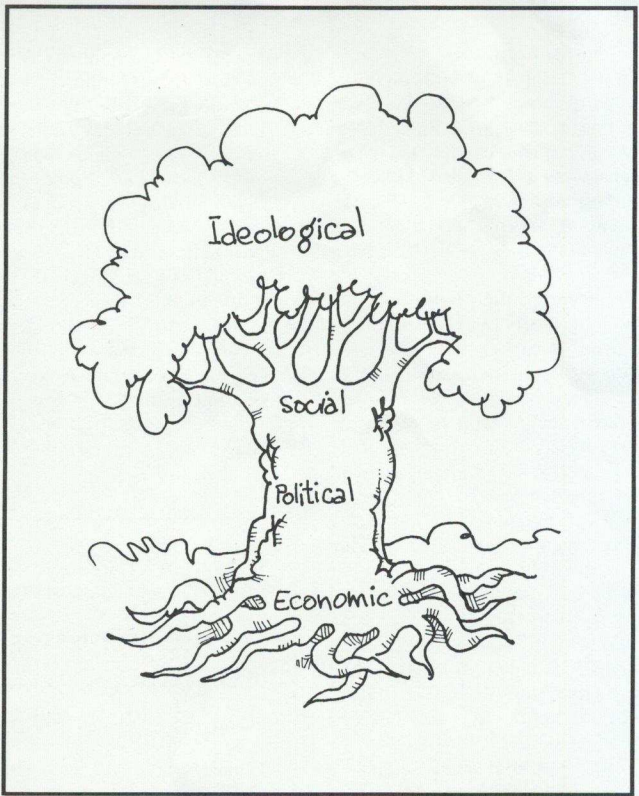
YEAH... HALF OF US WOULD LOSE OUR JOBS...! WHAT A BUMMER...!



Queen and Carlaw - After Free Trade



POPULAR EDUCATION KIT



Introducing the Social Tree

One tool we've used for sorting out current issues is the 'social tree'. Originally developed in Central America, the tree poses questions about Canadian society in four dimensions: economic, political, social and ideological.

Why a tree? The image of a tree is useful for understanding how the components of Canadian social structure are interrelated:

- the *roots* represent the *economic* system, at the base of Canadian social structure (e.g., our form of industrial capitalism in relationship to the global and especially the U.S. economy);
- the *trunk* provides the organizational or *political* structure that makes the system run (e.g., our federal parliamentary system of government);
- the *branches* stand for *social* organizations and institutions, (e.g., hospitals, trade unions, the family);
- the *leaves* identify the *ideological* aspects of society, its beliefs and values, and structures for transmitting them (e.g., schools, churches, the media and the arts).

No aspect of Canadian society exists in isolation from the others — no tree has leaves without a trunk or branches without roots. The economic system to a large extent determines the kind of political system we have and who controls Canada. The ideological patterns, including our beliefs and values, reflect and reinforce that economic system. Our social and political organizations help maintain the status quo in both economic and ideological terms. So when we look at the roots, trunk, branches, and leaves of the Canadian tree, we not only identify each part but also note how each feeds the others.

The *social tree* is an analytical tool. Here is one way to use it to name the issues. Of course, you'll adapt it, depending on the group, its size, objectives, and time available. Try it and let us know your experience.

Steps

1) *Introduce the social tree* with a large drawing on a flip chart, marking the four aspects of society on the four parts of the tree.

2) *Explain your objectives* for using the tree as an analytical tool with the group.

3) *Divide the group into four working teams* (2-10 people each) around the four aspects. Make sure people with special backgrounds or interests are in the appropriate category (e.g., someone who understands the economy in the economic group, an educator in the ideological group), but avoid their posing as experts.

4) Ask each group to *brainstorm the major issues* of the moment from the perspective assigned to it: economic, political, social or ideological. Get the groups to then *select the key issue* from their original list and discuss why they have selected it. Each group should name a reporter, and write the chosen issue on a piece of paper.

5) Bring the four groups back together in a plenary. Each reporter then *presents the results of the discussion*, taping the selected issue onto the big drawing of the tree and explaining the group's choice.

6) Discuss the four issues selected and compare them. How are they related in the tree? Where do they converge? Do they represent aspects of the same issue? *Try to come to a consensus on the major issue* around which Canadians are organizing at this moment.

9) Now rename the issue selected, by identifying the economic, political, social, and ideological aspects of the issue (either in the small groups or in the plenary). *Consider the dynamic inter-relationship* between the four components. Is one aspect more prominent than another at this particular point in time? Are there any coincidences or contradictions? Where are the best opportunities for organizing? What is your group going to do about the issue?

(For a more detailed introduction to the *social tree*, see *A New Weave: Popular Education in Canada and Central America* by Rick Arnold, Deborah Barndt, and Bev. Burke, 1985: CUSO/OISE. Order from PRG, 229 College St., Toronto, Ont. M5T 1R4.)