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Exploring (de)alienation in social movement learning: Case study findings on participant motivation and the role of movement organisations

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Abstract: This paper engages in questions of empowerment, transformation and de-alienation among social movement participants and reviews selected findings from two APCOL case studies. Beginning with a brief review of key literatures in sociology and adult education, I explore the following questions: How can we understand everyday activities as resistance to estrangement, powerlessness and isolation? Can further development of theoretical and conceptual approaches to understanding (de)alienation provide us with necessary tools to understand *how* social movements relate to *de-commodification* and *basic human needs*? Based on these research questions, I explore findings on two major themes; 1) motivational dimensions for community activism, and 2) the role of organisations (and resources generally) in supporting and hindering holistic community-based activities for de-alienation.

Keywords: social movement learning, theory of alienation, de-commodification, basic human needs, cultural historical activity theory, anti-poverty activism

EXPLORING (DE)ALIENATION IN SOCIAL MOVEMENT LEARNING: CASE STUDY FINDINGS ON PARTICIPANT MOTIVATION AND THE ROLE OF MOVEMENT ORGANISATIONS

Collective action is often rooted in a vision for social change and an imagination for social justice. As social movements garner attention on a global scale and the issues facing movement participants continue to escalate, adult educators are faced with new opportunities to support learning that may encourage positive social change. As people are faced with an ever-increasing presence of globalized capitalism, responses through collective activity vary greatly and are often seemingly fragmented even within social movements – varying in tactics, strategy, goals and outcomes. However, there appears to be an important thread that brings together various movements; a deeply human interest in reconnecting and gaining control over our basic needs through productive activity. Whether participants engage in direct action protest, community gardening or letter writing campaigns, there is a common motivation rooted in overcoming alienating conditions facing themselves or others. For adult educators, there is a powerful opportunity to better understand how *learning one's alienation* may encourage productive activity that leads towards strategies for de-alienation.

This paper engages in questions of empowerment, transformation and de-alienation among social movement participants and reviews findings from two case studies in Toronto among anti-poverty activists. Beginning with a brief review of key literatures in sociology and adult education, I explore the following key research questions:

1. How can we understand everyday activities as resistance to estrangement, powerlessness and isolation? Can further development of theoretical and conceptual approaches to understanding (de)alienation provide us with necessary tools to understand *how* social movements relate to *de-commodification* and *basic human needs*?
2. To what extent can classical traditions in the study of alienation provide a theoretical framework for research on adult learning in everyday life (inclusive of activity across multiple institutions, e.g. employment, community life, the home; i.e., across the "mode of production" *writ large*[i]) that encourages collective transformation and social change?

Such a review presents existing theoretical and conceptual approaches to understanding alienation as well as key adult learning theories – including Freire's (2000) emancipatory learning theory and other socio-cognitive approaches (Krinsky, 2008; Stetsenko, 2008) – that can facilitate opportunities for engagement in de-alienating activities in social movements[ii].

Following a review of conceptual and theoretical foundations of this analysis, I examine findings from two case studies where participants come from diverse backgrounds with varying experiences in anti-poverty activism. Among their differences, there are certain threads that bring together their learning experiences. Addressing the above research questions, I explore how participants reflect on their own activism and engage in activities rooted in developing strategies for de-alienation. What emerges is a complex picture of anti-poverty activism that challenges some of the pre-existing assumptions of resistance and emphasises the importance of understanding motivational dimensions for participation – particularly how they are linked to broader socio-political realities.

Additionally, the role of movement organisations in effecting social change is critically examined through the lenses of several community workers.

From these preliminary findings, I conclude with some considerations for how adult educators may support social movement activities in a meaningful way – especially to facilitate holistic and emancipatory activities that may encourage positive social change.

THEORIES OF (DE)ALIENATION AND SOCIAL CHANGE

The expansive nature of scholarly discussions on alienation, anomie, estrangement, disconnect, isolation, powerlessness present significant challenges when attempting to operationalize and expand upon any one approach – especially considering the interdisciplinary nature of the field today. With this in mind, I focus on the sociologic tradition of studies in alienation, specifically regarding theoretical and conceptual discussions on issues of *social alienation* as outlined by Karl Marx in the *Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844* (EPM) as well as Bertell Ollman's discussion of Marx's method and theory of alienation (1976). It is in the EPM where Marx outlines the four forms of alienation; from human labour (activity), products (material), each other and the "species" (Marx, 1961). The last separation, from the "species", can be interpreted as a separation from oneself or human nature. Rather than separate and distinct categories, it becomes a question of emphasis within the different parts of a whole, hence a question of *relations*. Key to understanding Marx's method is to approach it as a 'philosophy of internal relations' where 'mutual interaction' between the various parts, make up a whole:

> [I]nteraction is, properly speaking, *inneraction*… Of production, distribution, consumption and exchange, Marx declares, 'mutual interaction takes place between the various elements. Such is the case with every organic body'. What Marx calls 'mutual interaction' (or 'reciprocal effect' or 'reciprocal action') is only possible because it occurs within an organic body. This is the case with everything in Marxism, which

> treats its entire subject matter as 'different sides of one unit'" (Ollman, 1976, p. 17).

Such a dialectic approach to understanding social relations is fundamental for a holistic exploration of how (de)alienation manifests among social movement activists. Furthermore, we may only be able to understand alienation "as the absence of unalienation, each state serving as a point of reference for the other" (Ollman, 1976, pp. 131-132). For social movement activity, this is especially important as individual and collective action is often rooted in a vision of an alternative social condition.

Empirical studies that directly address issues of alienation tend to emphasise *subjective* or *objective* forms of estrangement in society[iii], relying on such a distinction may detract from an analysis addressing the dynamic nature of de-alienation in human social relations as they primarily focus on alienation as a result of social conditions (i.e. 'due to workplace conditions, workers face extreme feelings of alienation') or realized/sustained by psychological conditions. In both cases, there is a tendency to ignore the series of intervening and extending steps once an individual understands his/her alienated condition.[iv] The individual/collective production that takes place prior to understanding and overcoming alienation becomes central for us to explore how *learning processes for de-alienation* are in fact embedded in certain everyday activities, and may be facilitated with a better understanding of existing dynamics. This research presupposes the existence of an alienated condition under capitalist social relations and illuminates the various collective efforts to overcome alienation in everyday life. Understanding the objective forms of alienation and the responses to such alienation, we may observe how these efforts are rooted in a learning process; which may lead to strategies for de-alienation and positive social change.

Any project aiming to understand social relations under capitalism is faced with the challenge of maintaining a dialectic approach that understands how structures (in some instances structures that seem very broad and emanating from what mainstream social science refers to as the "macro-level") exist and affect human activity; while accepting

that individual and collective agency is a dynamic force engaged with existing institutions, whether to reproduce or reject them, we cannot ignore the influences of everyday activities:

> [C]ulture, as Certeau has so decisively put it, is plural and at the same time political in that it deals with possibilities – it makes the possible and impossible for us all. Yet, subordinate groups, in the face of material barriers, on their breaks, in their basements, kitchens and neighborhoods bear the burden of making this plurality. So I say, with a nod to a young Marx's original preoccupations, that we should take seriously the everyday life of people if we're to take one thing seriously. It may be the only real politics, the only real political economy there is. (Sawchuk, 2003, p. 218)

This emphasis on everyday life becomes an opportunity to better understand how existing resistance to conditions of alienation and attempts to develop ways to overcome alienation are not new, nor do they need to be extravagant in nature, rather they take place in 'basements, kitchens and neighbourhoods' where people are ready for a change in the mode of production. Through an understanding of a shared human motivation towards *de-alienation* we may begin to explore the *raison d'être* of human activity.

'LOSING REALITY' AND BASIC HUMAN NEEDS

An important note in the process of operationalizing Marx's theory of alienation is the analytic concept of 'losing reality' – a notion that may be trivialized through a blanket assumption of false consciousness *or* as a place to begin our exploration of the deeply human motivation *to regain a holistic sense of reality*. The possibility for individuals and groups to gain an authentic understanding of the world[v] operates dialectically with working to transform the world, and can be understood through the myriad of artefacts that are produced/consumed in our everyday activities. However, fundamental to these processes is the power we put onto the commodity-form (and its power wielded onto

society) – thus, to fully understand the complexities that individuals/groups must navigate, we must further explore how advanced capitalism has managed to distort our understanding of our needs.

As the individual's sense of reality is dominated by the commodity-form and its production/consumption, there is a distancing from her *human needs*, now determined by external, *alien* products; "So much does labour's realisation appear as loss of reality to the point of starving to death. So much does objectification appear as loss of the object that the worker is robbed of the objects most necessary not only for [her] life but for [her] work" (Marx, 1961, p. 69). Such a disconnect is at the heart of what drives collective action as there is a need to re-connect our activity to our basic human needs[vi]. The notion of *losing reality* through such estrangement poses questions related to how one's activity contributes to the learning process, and results in further alienation *or* opportunities for de-alienation.

CONTEMPORARY RESEARCH IN ALIENATION STUDIES

Recent discussions that explore questions of alienation (and struggles to overcome it) have been mostly theoretical in nature (see Berardi, 2009; Biro, 2005; Oldenquist, 1991), often with minimal emphasis on the practical implications relevant to facilitating positive social change. At the same time, it is important to note that direct references to alienation, its effects and the need for collective action are numerous in scholarly and popular texts, including but not limited to texts that reference alienation from a Marxist perspective and with the intent to encourage collective action as a response to growing alienation under advanced global capitalism (e.g. Holloway, 2010; Schmitt, 2003). For Schmitt (2003), he concludes strongly with a call for de-commodification, arguing that the need to humanize our activities is urgent in the face of global changes;

> We can continue this downward path toward a society ever more regimented, manipulated, and self-deceived, or we can band together with groups of friends and, looking away from our own comfort and

> convenience, face the poverty, cruelty, and tyranny that dominate the world. In bestirring ourselves to heal the world, we reassert our humanity and reclaim our lives for ourselves. Protesting our own commodification, we can affirm once again the humanity of each of us—that human beings are ends in themselves and should not be treated as means to the ends of power-hungry governments or corporations seeking fatter profits… Turning our backs on the seductive comforts and narcotizing conveniences of the world of commodities, we shall try to build a free society where each furthers his or her own well-being and promotes that of the others. (p. 134)

Though most of the literature on social alienation falls under sociology and philosophy, generally, the potential for adult educators to explore these ontological questions and consider opportunities where we may facilitate de-alienating experiences must not be ignored. While these concerns are not new in adult education (e.g. Brookfield, 2002; Freire, 2000), there is significant opportunity to broaden the potential for understanding the role of learning in collective efforts to overcome alienation.

With this brief review of Marx's theory of alienation, the importance of dialectics and considerations for theories of everyday life, I now turn to a potential framework to bring together these analytic tools in a dynamic, meaningful and fundamentally transformative approach – Marxist Cultural Historical Activity Theory (CHAT).

CHAT, TRANSFORMATION AND LEARNING (DE)ALIENATION

> [H]uman nature is a process of overcoming and transcending its own limitations through collaborative, continuous practices aimed at purposefully changing the world. In other words, it is a process of historical becoming by humans not as merely creatures of nature but as agents of their own lives, agents whose nature is to purposefully transform their world. (Stetsenko, 2008, p. 483, emphasis in original).

Among various sociocultural approaches to learning, a Marxist approach to Cultural Historical Activity Theory (CHAT) provides a distinctly dialectical approach rooted in a "transformative relation to the world" where "it posits that human development is both continuous with *and* radically different from the processes in the rest of the animate world" (Stetsenko, 2008, p. 483). The long tradition of CHAT comes from Soviet Russian psychology in the works of Vygotsky, Leontiev and Luria who were deeply influenced by the work of Marx and Engels (Engeström, 1999). Beginning with *activity* as the unit of analysis, with the intent to present a "multivoiced theory" that "should not regard internal contradictions and debates as signs of weakness; rather, they are an essential feature of the theory" (Engeström, 1999, p. 20). These "contradictions" that emerge are central to breaking "down the Cartesian walls that isolate the individual mind from the culture and the society," which provide opportunities for learning through *mediation* that involves "using and creating artifacts" (Ibid., p. 29). In social movement studies, the appeal towards CHAT stems from its central goals of transformation and social change, and more specifically with the tools provided to understand cognition from the individual and collective, simultaneously.

By approaching *activity* as the unit of analysis, we find a unique way to understand how individuals engage in social movements while addressing the complex array of motivations. Such an emphasis on activity provides an opportunity to locate "cognitive activity within a broader system structured by subjects motivated by goals or objects; mediating artifacts or tools; institutional rules and genres of discourse; relevant communities; and divisions of labor within those communities" (Krinsky, 2008, p. 3). In the case of delineating activities that may be considered to reproduce or resist conditions of alienation, we may consider how "activity systems that are governed by use-value production" are considered illegitimate under capitalism (Sawchuk, 2006, p. 251), but are in fact key opportunities to learn and develop systems of mutual reliance that may begin a process of overcoming alienation.

OBJECT/MOTIVE AS DE-ALIENATION

In CHAT terms, the concept of *object/motive* is central to this argument as it "may be either material or ideal, either present in perception or existing only in the imagination or in thought" (Leontiev in Sawchuk, 2010, p. 12) and is a part of a complex set of internal and external relations that produce "a dialectical, internally referential whole" (Sawchuk, 2010, p. 13). If we consider how anti-poverty movements are often rooted in a vision for an unalienated future condition, then we may look closer at social relations where the *object/motive* can be cited as *de-alienation*. While there are numerous artefacts mediating the participant's engagement with a particular activity, it is within the object/motive that we may facilitate a learning process that encourages transformation and positive social change.

LEARNING (DE)ALIENATION AMONG ANTI-POVERTY ACTIVISTS IN TORONTO

The concept of alienation – as many philosophic musings – has the risk of remaining within theoretical and conceptual debates and failing to adequately support practice. It is my hope that through an analysis of the narratives of anti-poverty activists we may begin a process of operationalizing Marx's theory of alienation in a way that manages support reflection and the existing work that communities are engaged in to effect lasting social change. The narratives that appear below are from the Anti-Poverty Community Organizing and Learning (APCOL) research project, where participatory action research (PAR) studies were conducted across various anti-poverty related campaigns[vii] in various neighbourhoods throughout the Toronto-area. The participants of two of these case studies are based in two separate neighbourhoods with their own specific histories and contexts that mustn't be overlooked. However, for the purposes of this analysis, I have made a conscious decision to focus primarily on the invidual narratives as they relate to broad umbrella of anti-poverty movements. Through such an in depth analysis of open-ended interviews (n=32), I hope to provide some insight into the learning processes that take place as well as emerging artefacts that support their community activism.

We may consider this as an illustration of how certain spaces, tactics and movement dynamics affect the degree to which participants locate alienating conditions and reflect on strategies to overcome such conditions. The nature of 'activism' among participants varies significantly, where even the term is often viewed with hesitation and the forms of organizing activities are often dynamic. Based on the initial research questions, we will look at two major themes; 1) the role of organizations (and resources generally) in supporting and hindering holistic community-based activities for de-alienation, 2) motivational dimensions for community activism among paid and unpaid community workers.

ROLE OF ORGANIZATIONS IN FACILITATING (DE)ALIENATION

> People here have relied on institutions to intervene whenever they have problems. How do you organize and mobilize people here when they think that...who wants to come to a community meeting to talk about security issues… we have the state we are paying taxes they're the ones to deal with issues of security, we don't need to meet as a community about that. If I have any ideas about security I will call the government and tell them about the insecurity, but it's very difficult here in Canada to organize people because the agency, you know, it kinda has taken over, and people have internalized that. (James, APCOL KGO Case Study)

In this first excerpt, James offers some insight as to why community members disengage and do not bother to make time for community concerns. Coming from a background in organizing in developing nations, he views the overly-bureaucratic nature of Canadian society as a key factor in discouraging participation. According to such a system, the role of residents is to *report their concerns*, whether calling the authorities or attending a formal public forum, residents have "internalized" their roles – often seeing themselves as consumers (tax payers) who deserve improved service, rather than residents who deserve the opportunity to make their community the place they imagine it should be. Redefining one's position as a *worker* is one of several stages we

observe among community residents towards understanding how to overcome such alienating conditions. Within this quote, we can observe at least three of Marx's four dimensions of alienation: 1) From activity, residents are unable to find a way to engage in the work necessary to produce a neighbourhood that they can feel proud of – instead, organizations become the vessels for productive activity and vary in their effectiveness at encouraging resident engagement; 2) from each other, residents are encouraged to stay focused on their specific roles and responsibilities, usually summed up by employment or familial activities, thus maintaining a disconnect among neighbours who do not work in the same space as one another; 3) from the product, simultaneously we can see how outcomes of community development are mostly viewed as distant changes managed by organizations and government, with minimal or no input from residents – let alone allowing residents to actually be able to do the work themselves. James continues in his analysis, offering further insight:

> Why should we meet and talk about our children taking drugs as a community, there is the agency, the social service agency we don't need to meet as a community to talk about it. If I have a problem if I see a child being abused, I'm just going to call social services. So the biggest challenge here is that interface between people, and getting people wanting to get involved to do something in their own community, and where the institutions come in, can they roll back their frontiers, and if they do is the infrastructure there at the community level to fill in the gap of those agencies you know producing their involvement and letting people to take over. (James, APCOL KGO Case Study)

While further presenting the challenges faced by too many organizations, James offers a glimpse of hope as he focuses on the primary problem as he sees it, *getting people to want to be involved* and for organizations to step back when appropriate *let people take over*. Though the solution is not as simple as "rolling back their frontiers" – rather there is a need to ensure some level of infrastructure at the grassroots level. Possibly, the seemingly obvious notion of "letting people to take over" might be at the root of de-

alienating community organizing, as there is a reality facing many organizations and small groups who are working as advocates – well-intentioned, though somewhat disconnected from the experiences faced by residents.

However, potentially structureless models face contradictions and when material resources are available, there needs to be a local production system to provide democratic means to utilize such resources. Sarah, another paid community worker, offers insight into the possibilities for organizations to facilitate community involvement by remaining objective and limiting how she is involved with community issues:

> I'm not from this community and I'm not the one making decisions. I make a lot of decisions about structure, what we as people who are employed can do to support the work, but I won't make decisions about what's best for the community. For instance, the … committee is talking about what to build on this space of property, and somebody said, well, let's go to the community and ask them, which of course I agree with totally, but not yet. I'm a structural expert, so I'm gonna say, let's figure out how much money we can spend and what is possible to build with that, then ask the community what they want within those parameters, rather than ask the community what they want and we know we can't build half of it. (Sarah, APCOL KGO Case Study)

As she explains above, Sarah is deliberate in her role as a 'structural expert', always keeping an eye on how to make necessary resources available and ensure that there is a broad strategy to connect the various projects with each other and support them as needed. Several times, she emphasised that she does not make any decisions, and as someone focusing on strictly resources, she offers herself more as a consultant than a traditional community organizer – always cautious in maintaining a certain distance from the work happening at the community level. Such a disconnect might be viewed in a negative light – and is certainly not without contradictions – though I would argue that

this is likely one of the better models for paid staff to utilize when there is an explicit goal towards capacity-building.

Both case studies demonstrated the struggles facing both paid and unpaid community workers in navigating the complex institutions that govern how their local systems of production operate. Simultaneously, participants also recognized the value in the "little things" that could make a significant difference in their everyday lives, and demonstrate the common motivations across participants in both neighbourhoods.

MOTIVATIONAL DIMENSIONS AND OVERCOMING ALIENATION

Several participants had an issue with the term "activist" – both paid staff and volunteers engaged in various community activities. For one participant it is an issue of what motivates her to engage in the work she does;

> Interviewer: Would you call yourself an activist?
>
> Respondent*:* No, no… I just identify myself as a person who's doing my work, and what I can do I will do to the best of my ability… I'm a believer that we weren't brought to this earth to just live, but to actually do something. It's part of existence; you're healthy, you're well, you have a roof on top of your head, what more could you ask for? It's to do something.

(Miriam, APCOL MTD Case Study)

Partly an aversion to categories and labels, the above dialogue also presents us with a motivational dimension that may be explored at the level of one's existence – as the various factors influencing her interest "to do something" have contributed to her current position. How do familial, communal, spiritual, ideological and other social factors influence such a standpoint? A need to engage in productive activity that contributes to

positive social change is clearly rooted in this organizer's interest in staying present and connected to her community on varying levels.

In a similar vein, a community volunteer in KGO responded to the question by describing herself as a "worker,"

> I'm just a worker… I can help get the job done…I just see a need, and I can try, especially through the people I know, I can say 'hey this is happening here, how can we fix it?' (Beth, APCOL KGO Case Study)

This focus on the object of her activity – motivated by the apparent needs she encounters everyday – illustrates the importance of learning how to "see a need" and take action appropriately. Though she entered the conversation by calling herself *just a worker*, our conversation provided a new understanding of the specific skill set she possesses and knowledge that she contributes to the various anti-poverty activities taking place in the KGO community. By emphasizing the value of her experiences and knowledge, we are faced with a unique opportunity to facilitate systems of mutual reliance through consciousness-raising and transformative learning – rather than simply commodifying her experience as "lived experience" with the explicit goal of securing funds and resources for social services.

For both respondents, one paid and the other volunteer, their engagement is directly linked to their perceptions of how they contribute to effecting change and their respective communities. The challenges faced by the above participants to remain motivated and focused on alternative visions they have for their communities are ongoing – constantly being challenged by changes in funding structure, political climate, neighbourhood dynamics, etc. – and it is through a recognition that at their centre is an imagination of a community that is driven primarily by *use-value* mediated activities. One of the more challenging realities is the lack of time or space to reflect on our everyday lives and connect with one another, as Miriam explains;

> We live in a crazy world where there's no time to reflect. You don't have the time to even be honest with yourself because you have bills to pay, you just have to do it to make ends meet. Because of that we end up losing ourselves. This is why I'm fascinated by going into nature. Because you will always have silence and peace. Listening to your emotions, another thing that has been silenced. We are intuitive and we're not encouraged to really listen to those. Especially listening to young people, they're going through thousands of emotions. Even in working with them, though, we're not aware of how to work with it. Because you've got to have a swag and look a certain way. Because as a frontline worker, if you get all emotional, it's not something that is normal. But when you end up opening up to that level, you've connected with that young person in a whole new way. (Miriam, APCOL MTD Case Study)

Several key issues come up in the above quote. First, the notion of 'losing ourselves' in a 'crazy world' highlights a realization that social conditions are often isolating and estranging us from our basic needs. In the same breath, she offers solutions to overcoming such estrangement, including 'going into nature', listening to our emotions and 'opening up' so that we may connect to each other (and ourselves) in a whole new way.

CONSIDERATIONS FOR ADULT EDUCATORS

As all of the preceding narratives demonstrate, there is an active learning process taking place, mediated by various artefacts and community rules, within the contexts of their campaigns and organizations. The opportunities to reflect and consider the contradictions they encounter on a daily basis can serve as the necessary catalyst for improving upon existing movement activities and begin considerations for strategies for de-alienation. In considering next steps for the work of any social movement organization, community centre, social service agency, grassroots collective or as an individual – there is value in considering how the distortions of advanced capitalism

have left most of us challenged in understanding our basic human needs, thus we find ourselves engaging in activities that may not directly support our needs or those of others.

As adult educators, researchers, organizers and workers, we must consider how we may locate opportunities to reflect on our everyday activities as they contribute towards social justice – and towards the de-commodification of such activities. It is within these spaces that we may encourage the production of necessary artefacts that mediate learning de-alienation through work that contributes towards our community needs. Within social movement activity, there is promise for such learning to take place and as is evident with the responses to globalized capitalism in various communities throughout the world, we might be closer to a 'tipping point' than anyone can predict. It is our responsibility to support and encourage the development of alternative systems of production based on use-values rather than an increasingly unsustainable global economic system.

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[i] Such a recovery is situated in an understanding of human labour as 'self-fulfilling work' intent on praxis and transformation. As explained in Terry Eagleton's recent work: "Production for Marx, then, means realizing one's essential powers in the act of transforming reality. True wealth, he claims in the Grundrisse, is 'the absolute working-out of human creative potentialities... i.e. the development of all human powers as an end in itself, not as measured on a predetermined yardstick.' [...] The word 'production' in Marx's work covers any self-fulfilling activity [...] Labour as we know it is an alienated form of what he calls "praxis" – an ancient Greek word meaning the kind of free, self-realizing activity by which we transform the world" (Eagleton, 2011, pp.124-125). It is important to note that such an elaboration of human labour and productive activity is central to the forthcoming analysis of social movement activity as potentially 'self-fulfilling work'.

[ii] For the purposes of this research, the term social movement is defined quite loosely and is best characterized as "conscious, concerted, and sustained efforts by ordinary people to change some aspect of their society by using extra-institutional means" (Goodwin and Jasper, 2003, p. 3).

[iii] Archibald (2009a) provides further discussion of this distinction and its implications on the theoretical and conceptual development of Marx's theory of alienation.

[iv] Some have argued that studies in alienation have diminished as a result of people feeling less alienated, however it has been well documented that this is far from accurate. Archibald (2009a) reviews the field of alienation studies and argues that while there is a need to update Marx's theory, there is no shortage of data that demonstrates the prevalence of alienation throughout the world.

[v] We may consider Paolo Freire's (2000[1970]) description of learning to "read the world" as an attempt to regain a sense of reality by transforming the world: "Within the word we find two dimensions, reflection and action, in such radical interaction that if one is sacrificed—even in part—the other immediately suffers. There is no true word that is not at the same time a praxis. Thus, to speak a true word is to transform the world" (p. 125)

[vi] Ivan Illich provides some helpful commentary to reflect on the changing nature of *needs* in modern society: "Increasingly, needs are created by the advertising slogan, purchases made by prescription. One's action is not the result of personal experience in satisfaction, and the ensuing adaptive consumer substitutes learned for felt needs. As people become experts in the art of learning to need, learning to identify wants from experience becomes a rare competence" (1977, p. 23).

[vii] APCOL is a five-year SSHRC/CURA funded project, whose mission is to "examine grassroots popular education and learning strategies within anti-poverty community organizing campaigns in a sample of the highest poverty neighborhoods in the Greater Toronto Area (GTA)."