

**COMMUNITY ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND ADULT EDUCATION**

by

**PAUL ZYSMAN**

B.A., Honours Political Science and Philosophy, McGill University, 1966

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Department of ADULT EDUCATION

The University of British Columbia  
Vancouver, Canada

Date OCT. 4/88.

## ABSTRACT

This study examines community economic development (CED) and its educational elements. CED is a process of community residents' learning and developing appropriate responses to their collective and individual socio-economic needs. In this process, learning and development are interactive and evolve into further stages.

While a guiding CED organization, resources and collaboration with public and private sectors are necessary elements of CED, the heart of CED is the direct participation, ownership and management of the CED organization and businesses by local residents. The educational significance of CED is that it can motivate people, especially low income people who are often alienated from education, to participate in CED and its education programs. What motivates poor people are: their need to satisfy their basic wants, the encouragement from fellow members of CED groups, and the empowerment that arises from a more egalitarian structuring of ownership and management of economic enterprises. Both the accomplishment of these ends and the learning experienced in the process provide satisfaction. This is likely to encourage further learning.

Four CED case studies ---- the American, Canadian, Tanzanian and Sri Lankan ---- are compared according to two models of CED stage development. Analysis of these case studies indicates that community exploitation, "crises," visionary ideas and popular education spawn CED movements. To develop organizations and implement businesses, these movements then need to develop a

managerial and professional expertise. While none of the four CED situations has been able to integrate effectively this expertise with their CED movements, Sri Lanka has been the most successful in this regard, and Tanzania the least. The problem has been that professionals, such as managers, educators and bureaucrats, have tended to impose their view of CED and their own interests rather than work with and support the people's views and interests. Canadian and American CED organizations, in their desire for social and governmental support, have professionalized at the expense of their movements. Thus, the people most in need of socio-economic interventions are often not the recipients.

This study therefore recommends that CED movements be nurtured, while being effectively combined with a professional approach that serves the movement. This can be done through popular education (on CED philosophy and practice) and ongoing dialogue by all sectors of society; and by creating and strengthening member groups concerned with a more egalitarian structuring of their organizations and economic enterprises. This would require education practitioners and theoreticians to play a key role in helping to implement CED. Finally, research would need to be undertaken to evaluate whether CED and its education programs do motivate community residents to participate in their own educational and socio-economic development.

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## CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

This thesis offers a critical and conceptual analysis of community economic development (CED) and examines its inherent and explicit learning and educational activities and programs. In this paper, 'learning' is taken to mean the acquisition of skills, knowledge, values, and attitudes, by individuals, groups and communities, while the use of the term 'education' assumes that learning activities are purposeful, systematic and sustained.

### *1.1. DEFINITIONS OF CED*

The term community economic development has a variety of meanings, usages and contexts. The generic CED perspective of describing "any level of economic enterprise that is located in a community setting" (Clague, 1986, p. 3) includes approaches such as planning for and stimulating the local economy, carried out by all three levels of government and/or partnerships of government and business (Checkoway, 1984; Pulver, 1981). The type of CED that I will investigate is commonly referred to as the 'third sector,' in that it is being driven by the community rather than by government (the first sector) and/or business (the second sector).

The 'third sector' literature on CED offers a variety of definitions of CED with some common elements. However these definitions fall into two categories, the first concerned with the building of a community-based local economic development agency and the second concerned with the processes of CED. One

example of the first category is offered in Perry's definition (1973, p. 16).

According to Perry, CED involves

....the creation or strengthening of economic organizations (or, more technically, economic institutions) that are controlled or owned by the residents of the area in which they are located or in which they will exert primary influence.

These economic organizations can be "industrial development parks, housing development corporations, banks, credit unions, cooperatives and CDCs (community development corporations) themselves as the most broadly generalized, guiding institution" (ibid). In Perry's definition, as in others that follow, the concept of residents' control, management and ownership of local economic development institutions and enterprises is paramount. This CED concept and practice is the moving principle, the very heart of CED, and will be discussed in chapter five.

The second category of definitions of CED commonly refers to the processes of community development (CD), and the education and economic revitalization of communities. According to this view, CED is a voluntary, collective and conscious attempt to bring improvements to a community in response to the community's own needs (Clarke, 1981). Jackson (1984) refers to this process as community economic self-help. This strategy of self-help involves "a variety of approaches to positive action and amelioration available to communities facing chronic underdevelopment, poverty and unemployment" (p. 11). Self-help approaches, when put into operation and institutionalized, may take the form of cooperatives, CDCs, employee-owned firms, worker cooperatives or combinations thereof.

Modern CED first began some twenty years ago. It is primarily an outgrowth of:

- social movements ---- community development (CD), cooperatives and adult education;
- pressing social needs;
- visionary ideals; and
- government and social agencies' collaborative and individual endeavours.

There are now thousands of CED organizations in the world, all with different forms, contents and objectives, depending on local conditions and philosophies. While most CED organizations are still too young to be evaluated and some have failed, there are many that are deemed successful (Macleod, 1986; Jackson, 1984).

CED organizations are concerned with fostering community-based enterprises that have two primary objectives: 1) creating a business that makes profits, and 2) fulfilling social goals, such as full employment that is both well-paid and satisfying (Wisemer & Pell, 1981; Jackson, 1984; MacLeod, 1986). Profits, above and beyond each individual's equitable income, are used according to the collective will, whether for savings, investment, consumption or social welfare.

The term 'community' can refer to either a geographic community or a community of shared interests or profession. In this paper it will usually refer to a geographic community: a functionally related aggregate of people who are arranged in a social structure and who share a common culture, a feeling of community and an awareness of their uniqueness and separate identity as a

group (Mercer, 1956).

The working definition of CED that I will use in this paper is one where *the community and its residents participate in, control and/or own community-based economic organizations and enterprises, in collaboration with 'all sectors', and aim to revitalize and/or strengthen the community's economic, social, political, educational, cultural and ecological well-being.* 'All sectors' include public and private sectors, educational institutions and social agencies.

This definition uses earlier attempts to combine Perry's organizational emphasis and Clarke's and Jackson's process orientation, while including the common element of voluntary self-directedness in involvement, planning, decision-making and management by community residents. Instead of referring directly to a community's expressed need, the definition infers such a need from the residents' purpose to revitalize and strengthen the community's well-being. This concept of community well-being draws on and integrates economic, cultural, political, social, ecological and educational dimensions. Such a wholistic approach attempts to ensure that the whole being is considered and that economic goals do not conflict with social, cultural, and/or other goals.

Some goals of CED are:

- Meaningful employment for community residents, with decent wages and working conditions, stability and opportunities for upward mobility.
- Significant local control over, and participation in
  - the generation and retention of capital,

- individual enterprises, and
- economic organizations.
- The satisfaction of basic material needs of the community, such as health care, housing, food, transportation, and financial services. Needs must be identified by the community, not by a special-interest fragment or an outside agency.
- Optimum integrated and ecological use of local natural resources according to locally determined needs.
- Increased ability of community members to acquire new skills, such as communication, self-government and entrepreneurial knowhow.
- The development of both internal and external markets.
- Involvement of the broadest possible constituency.

The underlying assumption of such a grassroots, people-centred approach is that people are inherently good and cooperative, and that they possess latent abilities that when tapped are among a community's prime resources. This approach recognizes that CED goals and activities will vary, in relation to the community's needs, the perspectives of participants, the context of time and place and of their interpretation (Clarke, 1981). The ability to accomodate different goals in a harmonious whole and to change them according to the exigencies of time is a skill in itself.

## ***1.2. PURPOSE, RATIONALE AND SIGNIFICANCE OF THIS STUDY***

The purpose of this study is to analyze CED and its educational elements. There are a number of reasons for doing so. (1) CED, as an innovative tool of economic and social revival, especially in depressed and disadvantaged areas, attempts to solve problems that government and private enterprise have proved unable and very often uninterested, in solving (Wisemer & Pell, 1982; Perry, 1982; MacLeod, 1982; Ford Foundation Policy Paper, 1973). Though not a panacea, CED organizations are viable vehicles of community revitalization with a track record of success (Jackson, 1984). Considering the high rate of unemployment and the ongoing economic and social problems caused by poverty (Harp & Hofley, 1980), there is all the more reason to examine alternative approaches to community revitalization.

(2) Education seems to play a crucial role in identifying community economic enterprises and putting them in place. Education also explains the global economic context to communities, makes communities aware of their economic realities, and helps people organize themselves so that viable community-based economic enterprises can be set up (Weber, 1987). Therefore, to understand and make good use of CED theory, research and practice, it is important to identify and critically examine CED's educational role, both for the community and for the CED process itself. Though there is a growing body of CED literature, there is little in this literature that relates specifically to CED education activities. More research in this area is needed.



(3) Education is often assumed to be causally linked to development. It is this assumption that underlies the immense buildup in the third world, during the last thirty years, of universal primary to post-secondary education. Unfortunately, this attempt at rapid modernization has not led to the desired development and improvement in the quality of life, but has often created greater problems (Coombs, 1985; Darkenwald & Merriam, 1982). The relationship between education and development, or more precisely, the relationship between different types of education and the resultant or/and concomitant developments, must therefore be questioned. It is still debatable whether there is a high correlation, let alone a causal link, between CED's various education programs and the achievement of its socio-economic goals. Put another way, is there any correlation between the lack of certain types of CED education activities, and the failure of CED socio-economic ventures?

While these are important questions that require investigation, there are no empirical studies cited in the CED literature that examines this relationship. However, there are a number of opinions about the relationship between community economic education and CED which will be addressed in subsequent chapters.

(4) How effective a form of education is CED education? Most people think of education as primary to post-secondary schooling. However, in the last sixty years, (since the 1919 report of the Adult Education Committee of the British Ministry of Reconstruction), there has been a growing awareness of fields of study and practice of education that occur outside the parameters of formal

education. Two educational approaches, that have come into prominence in the twentieth century, are the adult education movement (Cotton, 1964; Selman, 1984) and the concept of lifelong education (Dave, 1983; Cropley, 1977; Lowe, 1982; Gelpi, 1979; Unesco, 1976). These will be referred to as 'progressive lifelong education' and used interchangeably with 'adult education' and 'lifelong education.' Given one of the major concerns of both approaches is to make education available to all people, the word 'progressive' distinguishes these two educational approaches from either elitist or reactionary ones. A further concern of progressive lifelong education is to make education a desired and important commodity and process for those who are alienated from education and who may therefore resist it --- mainly the disadvantaged and depressed communities which, according to the adult education movement and lifelong education, need education the most.

### ***1.3. PROGRESSIVE LIFELONG EDUCATION AND CED***

Progressive lifelong education is perceived as a type of development, both for the individual and for society, that leads to further development in any chosen area (Rogers, 1969; Crane, 1983). Both the content and process of progressive lifelong education are based on the credos of the learners' primacy in the learning situation, the learners' own needs and interests, and the learners' self-directedness and voluntary participation.

CED educational activities can be perceived as a type of progressive lifelong education. They address the participants' foremost concerns about their

economic livelihood. This is done within the context of their community's need for social and economic development or revitalization. Furthermore, community residents are expected to participate in and control, if not actually own, the CED organizations, enterprises and educational programs. Thus, the purpose in researching CED educational activities is to examine how effective they are not only for social and economic development, but also for educational development.

This issue is pertinent in light of the fact that education is often criticized on the grounds that education can be a way of legitimizing the status quo of the given social order. Society can be given the impression that educating the disadvantaged would give them resources, opportunities and skills similar to those of the well-to-do. In fact, radicals argue, the opposite is often the case; i.e. the lower-income population is educated in a way that makes them more cooptable into the system and more exploitable. Therefore, while education may be empowering, who does it really empower, and in what circumstances and contexts? Does it truly empower the poor to participate more actively in society? Does it provide them with knowledge and skills that can help them to restructure their work life and social life in a more just and satisfying way?

These are complex questions, which are answered in a variety of ways by the various schools of progressive lifelong education. These schools differ in their philosophies of education and perceptions of how education is socially determined. The question of education, as cooptation or exploitation, will be a recurring theme in my examination of CED and its educational activities.

It would be enlightening, at this stage of the discussion, briefly to examine CED practices in the context of lifelong learning. Such learning is lifelong, in that it applies to and integrates all ages, and is lifewide, i.e. it extends into and actively links all domains of human life, including the home, the community and the formal institutions of primary to post-secondary education. While it is mostly a wholistic global concept, lifelong education is expected to be carried out according to local conditions and needs. This universal scheme subsumes adult education, includes all skills and branches of knowledge, uses all possible means, and aims at:

1. restructuring the existing education system so that social skills, ethical values, self-expression, healthy personality, integration with daily life in the home, community and workplace and so on, are paramount (Cropley, 1977);
2. developing the entire education potential outside the education system; and
3. empowering people to be the agents of their own education through praxis, i.e. a continual dialectical interaction between reflection and action (UNESCO, 1976).

Who would benefit from lifelong education (Gelpi, 1979)? Is it those who are chronically disadvantaged, dispossessed and disempowered? Or is lifelong education a means of repression or a maintenance of the status quo whereby the poor would be kept poor and the well-to-do would keep doing better? As a normative practice, how would lifelong education accomplish its declared goals? And would it be the purview solely of academia and bureaucracy or would it be truly available to all the people (Ohliger, 1974; Gelpi, 1979)? These questions will be examined in the context of this paper's critical analysis of CED and its

progressive lifelong educational activities.

And finally, CED seems to be a 'real life' lifelong learning curriculum (except for toddlers, perhaps) that hasn't yet been discovered and/or recognized by 'progressive' educators. It involves learning *from* experience and also learning *as* experience (Ohliger, 1974). CED education activities are mostly located in community meeting places and work places. The potential for community residents actively to restructure their communal economic, societal and educational systems, and their roles within them, is enormous. CED education activities would therefore seem to resemble the radical structuring of education that lifelong educators have been calling for (Dave, 1983). Whether it domesticates, represses or liberates remains to be seen. This thesis will examine whether, and to what degree, CED educational activities, conceptually and in practice, empower communities and/or interest groups such as lower-income residents of communities, to determine, participate in, and manage their socio-economic lives.

#### **1.4. METHODOLOGY**

To investigate the four areas identified in section 1.2., this paper will identify, describe and analyze the concepts central to CED, and the impact, significance and implications of its learning activities. To get a baseline of data, an extensive literature search was conducted. This involved:

- a thorough investigation of the U.B.C. libraries' card and microfiche book and journal catalogues,
- a computer search,

- several ERIC searches,
- a search of the indexes of the Public Information Service Bulletin (PAIS), going back to the mid-1960s, and
- a review of the bibliographies and footnotes of various CED texts and journal articles.

There was a paucity of material, probably because CED, as an independent field of study, is still being developed. Data on CED education was almost nonexistent. Much of it had to be reconstructed. As Cummings & Glaser (1983) have pointed out, social scientists' knowledge of CED is limited. They don't know how many CDCs have been established in the previous ten years; where they are located; how they are managed; what kinds of business ventures CDCs have established; their source of capitalization; their success and failure rates; and the number of new jobs created.

While some basic CED literature (Wisemer, Perry, Kelly, Jackson, Clark) was available at the U.B.C. libraries, other material (MacLeod, Cummings & Glaser, Surpin, Schweke) had to be obtained through inter-library loan. Even so, there was still a fair amount of material that was not available. For example, the Center for Community Economic Development at Cambridge, Massachusetts, which had a major CED library, counselling service and research unit and where some of the original American Office of Economic Opportunity CDC planners worked, is no longer in existence, and its collection difficult to get hold of.

Because the scope of the CED field is so wide and amorphous, composed

of many other fields, I focused my studies on 'self-management,' as it was the common element in all the CED definitions. The other fields that play a supportive CED role, and are an active ingredient of CED, are:

- adult education, lifelong education and community education;
- cooperatives and democratic workplaces; and
- community development (CD), new age economics and new age ecology.

The literature of these fields covered areas of study such as human and industrial relations and management; social and urban affairs, policies and planning; education, extension and CD; and new age economics, politics and ecology. To extend the CED literature base beyond its North American limitations, two other case-studies of CED, those of Sri Lanka and Tanzania, were analyzed.

### ***1.5. ORGANIZATION OF THESIS***

CED's key elements are examined in chapter 2. Also, two models of CED stage development are introduced: those of Perry and Melnyk. In the following chapters 3 to 5, these models are applied to four case studies --- the American, Canadian, Sri Lankan and Tanzanian. The CED histories and practices of these case studies are compared to each other and analyzed according to the models of CED stage development. These models are limited: Perry's is concerned with CDCs, while Melnyk's refers to cooperatives. However, since CDCs and cooperatives are both CED institutions, these models are useful. The two models will be compared to each other in order to highlight some of the major differences among CED stage developments, philosophies and approaches. In

chapter six, a conceptual model of CED praxis, involving the dialectical interaction of CED education and development, will be constructed. This model will show the different cycles of CED educational processes and how these stimulate, and are animated in turn, by CED activities. The CED stage development analysis will then be fed into this model of CED education processes.

Chapter six will also analyze the schematic place of CED educational activities within the field of adult education. The following chapter will investigate the significance of CED education, both inherent and explicit. Two psycho-social models of learner participation, those of Cross (1981) and Rubenson (1983), will be used. The data that has been filtered through the CED stage development and praxis models will then be examined in the light of the participation models. And finally, from the analysis of the CED elements and their relationship to each other, implications for the field of CED study and practice will be drawn.

## **1.6. SUMMARY**

The purpose of this thesis is to:

- investigate the essential elements of CED by looking at the practices and philosophies of four case studies;
- critically discuss CED normative practices;
- examine CED education processes and programs; and
- analyze the possible significance of CED education processes and programs for socio-economic and educational development of low-income communities.



## CHAPTER 2. THE INGREDIENTS AND PROCESSES OF CED

### *2.1. PREREQUISITES FOR, AND ESSENTIAL ELEMENTS OF CED*

Clarke (1981), in describing rural CED organizations, discusses a number of social conditions he feels necessary before CED can take place. These conditions are applicable to most urban CED situations. First there needs to be a pressing social need with local residents perceiving that there is action they can take in response. There must also be a high degree of community solidarity. Rural areas that have large populations are less likely to achieve community solidarity because of divergent economic interests among labour, business and landowners. The third necessary condition is popular support for CED. Hershey (1986) postulates that success is most likely when there is some pre-existing base of support in the community; in fact, he states that a strong community base is more important than previous development work. His rationale is that strong community support makes for greater motivation and responsiveness to community needs. Thus, popular support and community solidarity are both the outcomes and the sources of social movements. When these are lacking, CED activities are hampered in depth and breadth.

In discussing CED, the CED literature presents three essential ingredients for the CED process: local capacity, resources and technical assistance (including education and training). The CED process involves tasks such as project identification and development, board and staff training, management of ongoing projects, development and maintenance of community support and organization of

outside resources (Wisemer and Pell, 1981). The three CED ingredients are intertwined and interdependent. They can be found in every stage of the CED process and, along with ideological outreach and social movements, they are the engines that power CED from stage to stage.

Community local capacity refers to the community having the necessary commitment, patience, leadership and skills to initiate, develop and manage the CED process (Jackson, 1984). A CED process, that operates well, requires many skills ---- those of animator, educator, entrepreneur, manager, worker and technician. It is important continually to assess and promote local capacity so that the CED process is adequately, if not inspirationally, sustained.

Resources, such as financing, space and materials, must be adequate and appropriate (Clarke, 1981; Jackson, 1984). Money is needed both to run the CED organization (funding, income, etc.) and to allow the CED organization to initiate new economic enterprises or buy viable old ones (seed capital, venture capital, loans, etc.). In the rural context, many of the resources are natural and are drawn from the land, sea and forest.

Technical assistance, which involves many training and educational activities, also includes feasibility studies and business planning, management and bookkeeping expertise, marketing techniques and organizational development. Training is given in all of these areas, as well as the required technical and business skills required in a given enterprise. Managers and workers are recruited who are proactive (Surpin, 1985) and can balance social and economic

goals (Wisemer and Pell, 1981). This entrepreneurial development can be provided in intensive daytime courses, in weekend or evening seminars and on the job. Local citizens must acquire skills and knowledge so that they can then better direct their own economic, educational, social and cultural development (Jackson, 1984). It is this kind of technical assistance that strengthens local capacity. External assistance, in the form of money, materials, technical advice, education or training, can come from governments, or from independent organizations such as colleges and university extension departments, planning councils and central organizations (Clarke, 1981).

Links among the different sectors, organizations and groups, are an important element of technical assistance, education and training. Such partnerships allow for a more cooperative, horizontally integrated development and education approach, in which governments, private sector groups and independent organizations can benefit one another, and especially the community residents (Clarke, 1981; Jackson, 1984; Hershey, 1986). Collaboration can also help uncover and harness a community's potential and local capacity: community residents becoming active as CED organizers, board members, managers, workers and so on. With a developing local capacity, a community can more easily obtain and nurture the essential CED ingredients.

## **2.2. THE HEART OF CED**

The key aspect, the very heart of the CED process, is participation by the community's residents. By this I mean the residents' motivated involvement

in all CED activities (working, learning, organizing, etc.), both at the community organizational level and at the business enterprise level. Beyond simple attendance and work, involvement includes participation in decision-making, management and ownership. Participation is central to the ideology of CED. It is a large part of what drives CED movements.

Arnstein (1971) proposes that there are 8 rungs in a typical hierarchy of participation. The first two rungs are those of non-participation, the middle three are of token citizen power and the top three are of citizen power. In sequential order, beginning from the bottom, these rungs are:

1. manipulation;
2. therapy;
3. informing;
4. consulting;
5. placating;
6. partnership;
7. delegated power; and
8. citizen control.

Most community residents' participation in CED occurs at rung 7 --- i.e. delegated power. However, as will be discussed shortly, CED participants can be found anywhere on the hierarchic rungs of participation.

The outcomes of citizen participation are:

1. *"A means of mobilizing unutilized resources --- a source of productivity and labour not otherwise tapped.*

2. *A source of knowledge* ---- both corrective and creative ---- a means of securing feedback regarding policy and programs, and also a source of new inventive and innovative approaches.
3. *An end in itself* ---- an affirmation of democracy and the elimination of alienation and withdrawal, of destructiveness, hostility, and lack of faith in relying on the people" (Cahn & Cahn, 1971, p. 16).
4. *Education outreach programs* ---- to further broaden the participating constituency-base, inform it about CED activities and values, and help it define and actualize itself in its own socio-economic terms and in the context of its own realities.
5. *A stimulation of local capacity* ---- experiential, hands-on learning and training of the skills and knowledge needed to animate, plan, organize, put in place, manage and evaluate CED activities.

All this takes place within the context of the community's renewal and/or empowerment. The context tends to differ for each endeavour.

### **2.2.1. Community Participation in CED Organizations**

The straightforward participation by community residents in CED organizations ---- their just being there ---- is recognized as an aspect of two of the key prerequisites of CED: some type of popular support and community solidarity. Participation also indicates that people are interested and are motivated.

An ongoing debate for CED practitioners and theorists is whether the

control of CED organizations, particularly participation in decision-making and management, should be in the hands of professionals, interest groups and the more educated (who are mostly more well-to-do), or in the hands of the poor, the working class and the common people, as proposed by the more radical CED approaches. Control by professionals and those with higher socio-economic status is favoured by the moderate CED wing, because it is perceived as bringing success, at least in the short term. This moderate approach would satisfy the funding criteria of outside sources, present an encouraging community profile, and allow for the possibility of longer term success. While direct democratic participation is the primary goal and process of radical CED, moderate CED practitioners are more concerned with developing a strong organizational infrastructure.

In the moderate vein, Kelly (1977) perceives the American Community Development Corporation boards, and their selection process, as a meaningful form of community decision-making and an important contribution to CED success. Though the boards' members are mostly at a higher socio-economic and educational level than their fellow residents, some 89% are have-not citizens in that they earned less than \$15,000 per year (early 1970s). CDC board selection is mostly non-egalitarian in that the members are chosen by appointment more often than by election. Kelly (1977) says this is acceptable on two grounds.

One, only a tiny fraction of the population, an elite, can rule. In representational democracy, it is competitive elections that decide the makeup of the leadership that is to be entrusted to govern and manage society on behalf of

its citizens. It is primarily competitive elections that make democracy democratic. This leadership selection process is governed by the existing cultural norms and societal expectations about leaders. Their recruitability is determined by their family background, education, occupation, beliefs and physiology. These characteristics tend to be upper middle class.

Two, Americans hardly bother to vote in local elections: there is only a 1% to 10% voter turnout. Often the elected officials will represent a railroading faction or they may feel isolated from a constituency that never elected them. Because of such considerations, appointments from organizations often make for a better representation of the community. At the same time, organizations often have open membership. In this way, appointed members from an organization are a form of indirect representation.

While Kelly's research indicates the types of CDC board member characteristics and behaviours that make for successful CDCs, she doesn't elucidate how the moderate CED approach, of board and staff control, would bring about participation by the mass of community residents. She implicitly equates board and staff control with community involvement and control. Her assumption is that if the board and staff controlled CDC is successful, then the community residents benefit directly, through their economic, social and educational development.

Others (Jones, 1982; Surpin, 1985) take the opposite position. They believe that the revitalization of the community is possible only if the residents control

and manage CED organizations in a more direct way. This egalitarian approach has historically been formulated by political theorists such as Rousseau and the young Marx. Their belief is that there is an innate universal equality of human nature. The natural outcome of this equality is self-determination by all people. Radical thinkers do not accept the rationale that people can determine their own collective economic and political lives only through some type of leadership. They would argue that the municipal voter disinterest described by Kelly is the result of people being refused the right to rule themselves directly. Their disinterest and alienation is due to authorities determining and managing the major economic, social, political and educational issues.

Thinkers and practitioners, such as Freire and Surpin, feel that it is the very activity of reflection and self-management that empowers communities. Many radical thinkers believe that if anybody other than the people themselves control and run the CED activities, then the CED program can't help but be coopted to serve the status quo interests of professionals or of other dominant groups. At the very least, community capacity would not be developed.

The mid-range of the radical-moderate CED continuum synthesizes the two extremes. It perceives the role of professionals and organizations to be one mainly of providing support for direct democratic community endeavours. This support takes the form of appropriate resources, education and even help in running CED organizations and enterprises, as long as leaders' primary concern is the well-being of the community and not themselves. However, in many instances of CED practice, the concept of community residents' self-determination



is paid lip-service, with no real efforts made in that direction.

In the following section, worker ownership of, and participation in, businesses, will be examined. Worker run enterprises have been chosen for discussion because they are a good example of CED. Workplace democracy has slowly been evolving from a moderate approach to a more radical one. While full worker control is still an ideal, many workplace hierarchies have been reduced. The outcomes of such restructuring are very positive.

### **2.2.2. Worker Participation in CED Enterprises**

The goals of workplace democracy are:

1. *economic* ---- the ownership of the firm by those working in it and the equitable sharing of income;
2. *political-management* ---- equal participation in the decision-making and operating of the business; and
3. *social* ---- giving opportunities and benefits to all members of the community, including disadvantaged groups such as women, low-income people and minorities.

Democracy at work makes for the humanization of work. By increasing workers' participation, autonomy and power, labour problems such as alienation, dissatisfaction, poor quality of working life and declining productivity can be overcome (Vaneck, 1975; Zwerdling 1980).

Workers' self-management stands traditional business on its head. Labour hires capital, takes control of production, and organizes the work process as it sees fit. Vaneck (1971) perceives participation in management to be by all on an equal basis. This can mean one-man, one-vote, or alternative procedures, such as giving each voter the same amount of points so that they can assign different weights to various issues as they vote on them.

To summarize Vanek, it is active participation rather than ownership that entitles workers to control and manage the firm's activities. He further suggests that rather than own the capital assets they use, workers should pay a contractual fee, rental or interest. At the same time, the lenders of capital finance, or those who lease out physical assets, should have no control over physical assets, as long as the working community meets its obligations. The equitable sharing of income should involve the equal payment for labour of equal intensity and quality. Each job's relative value would be democratically assigned. Likewise, collective agreement would govern what to do with surplus: whether to save, consume or invest.

Another facet of worker participation in enterprises is discussed by Long (1977, 1978a, 1978b, 1980). Long's case studies show that both employee ownership and participation in decision-making have a significant effect on job attitudes, behaviours and performance. However, are these effects due to their interaction with each other or because of the greater effectiveness of one over the other? Long's (1978b) latitudinal research showed that the interactive multiplying effect of control and ownership is negligible. Rather it would seem

that worker participation in decision-making has a stronger effect on job attitudes. Long's analysis also demonstrates that since labour ownership doesn't necessarily lead to increased participation in decision-making, conscious efforts may be necessary to develop this participation.

For all of these reasons, the practice of workplace democracy is steadily growing across the economic landscape, both in quantity and in degree. While CED organizations develop labour-managed ventures, these enterprises, when not organized by CED institutions, often do not have a CED focus. This is mostly due to their lack of awareness about CED and the potential benefits of their working together. It is essential for CED organizations to inform independent worker-managed and -owned enterprises about CED and CED's worker and local resident participatory approach. Such an education program is especially needed in North America, where both CED and worker ownership/management are growing and where an integrated approach would have mutual benefits.

### ***2.3. CED STAGE DEVELOPMENT***

Though my reading of the CED literature is not exhaustive, I feel it was comprehensive enough to allow me to conclude that there are no CED process theories. However, there are some models that attempt to explain CED activities. One model of community economic organizations' evolution is Melnyk's (1985) three phases of cooperatives. Though used to explain the developmental cycle of cooperatives, this model is applicable to many CED approaches. The phases he discusses are:

1. the utopian epoch which is idealistic, ideological and wholistic. (Ideology is here defined as a system of visionary ideas.);
2. the mass movement which is characterized by expansion, success and popularity, and where the parts, rather than the whole, count; and
3. professionalization where the the organization's success is managed by a professional class whose viewpoint is non-ideological. Though this phase involves less popular education and general resident involvement, it does not preclude a return to the first phase with its ideals and dialogue.

Another model is Perry's (1982) five stages of CDC evolution.

1. The first stage requires an ongoing situation of community exploitation by outsiders. This manifests itself as a cycle of self-reinforcing deterioration and disinvestment, with human capital being exported.

But what if it is community members themselves who exploit the community, rather than outsiders? Perry's first stage doesn't take this into consideration. It implicitly defines the community as a harmonious whole. However, the CD and community education literature does discuss these two types of community, one which is an organic whole and the other which is split by confrontations among groups. This issue will be investigated in chapter six.

2. A galvanizing event heralds the second stage. This mobilizes the community leadership, who catalyze a movement and a campaign towards a tangible goal.
3. In the third stage, the organization of the CDC begins with the community working together and sharing their common fate, experiences and values.

4. The fourth stage is the organizing of a coalition of CDCs, which works towards changing public policy and law at both the local and national levels, so that CED participants have more access to resources and programs. Out of CDCs working with each other comes a knowledge of what actually works and what doesn't.
5. The final stage is the linking of CDCs everywhere in the search for further knowledge and new appropriate techniques.

Perry's five-stage CDC historical evolution differs somewhat from Melnyk's three phases of cooperative development. Perry's model is linear, while Melnyk's is cyclical. Perry sees the birth of a CDC beginning with a crisis occurring in an environment of ongoing exploitation. Melnyk's cooperative, on the other hand, begins as a utopian vision. What these models have in common is the concept of a popular movement. This occurs in the middle phase for Melnyk and towards the beginning for Perry. In the last phase, Melnyk's cooperative becomes rigid and institutionalized, while Perry's CDC becomes part of a greater CDC institutional whole that empowers the smaller groups. However, because his concept is cyclical, Melnyk's phase three can mean revitalization if a group re-enters the first phase of vision. Perry's stage five and some of stage four are futuristic and idealistic in that they are intended results and haven't yet occurred. Most CDCs can be categorized as at stage three.

Melnyk's and Perry's CED development models will be used to analyze four CED realities ---- the American, Canadian, Sri Lankan and

Tanzanian ---- in terms of their major forces and hindrances initiating and affecting them, their processes and their outcomes. To varying degrees, both models are applicable to each of the four CED contexts.

#### **2.4. SUMMARY**

CED involves the development of community controlled agencies that help stimulate the community's socio-economic capacities, through such means as the creation of community run businesses, the establishment of educational outreach programs, and the involvement of as many residents as possible. Such a CED approach rests on a humanistic foundation. The necessary prerequisites for CED are a pressing social need, a high degree of community solidarity, and popular support. The latter two are both the result and the cause of CED ideologies and movements. The CED program's essential elements are local capacity, adequate and appropriate resources, and technical assistance. These elements are interactive and mutually supportive.

Participation is the crucial thread that weaves through these CED ingredients. It is the main tenet of CED ideology and it is the core of CED education and practice. It is through active participation that the educational needs assessment is done.

Participation in CED businesses and organizations is also the heart of the CED process and an important CED outcome. It is the common element that runs through the range of CED approaches, from radical to moderate. Whereas

radical CED views direct democratic participation as its primary goal and employs it in its process, moderate CED is more concerned with developing a strong infrastructure. Most CED practice is oriented toward the moderate end of the continuum, whose organizers believe that representational democracy gives the community control over its own affairs. Most North American CED approaches are based on the belief that delegating authority to those who are knowledgeable and capable, is more likely to garner material and human resources and to achieve success. The radical CED school just as strongly believes that socio-economic and educational development for all, especially the disadvantaged, can occur only through egalitarian management and ownership. In practice, there are few projects functioning on the basis of such a pure radical approach. Most radical CED activities accomodate different degrees of citizen participation.

The mid-ground approach of the moderate to radical CED continuum tends to use professional and first and second sectors assistance, but theoretically only when needed and only when the professionals and the two sectors are more committed to the community's well-being than to their own personal and professional interests. An example of mid-range moderate to radical CED endeavour are worker-controlled enterprises. According to studies, the outcomes of these ventures tend to be improved worker attitudes and performance, with greater worker integration with, involvement in, and commitment to the firm. More research in this area is needed. Also, many worker-run ventures that are not generated by CED institutions could strengthen themselves and their local communities if they aligned themselves with the CED ideology and practised it.

In this thesis, CED processes are analyzed according to the stage development models of Melnyk and Perry. Melnyk's model is circular. It moves from vision to movement to professionalization and then back to vision. Perry's model is linear. Beginning with exploitation of the community, it evolves through the stages of CDC movement, organization, coalition and linkage everywhere.

In the following three chapters, the framework of CED stage development will be used to analyze CED histories and practices in the United States, Canada, Sri Lanka and Tanzania. The Sri Lankan and Tanzanian CED experiences were selected for comparison because they are social movements, which neither the American nor Canadian CED processes have yet become. By analyzing all four, one is introduced to a global range of CED approaches and cycles. These will be discussed according to their major forces, outcomes, hindrances and processes. Such an analysis can give some insight into the common elements and issues that, on the one hand, weave together the CED fabric, and on the other hand, unravel it.



## CHAPTER 3. CED IN THE UNITED STATES

### 3.1. MAJOR FORCES HELPING SHAPE AMERICAN CED

The American CED experience ---- its major forces, outcomes, hindrances and processes ---- will be examined in this chapter. An overview of the major forces helping shape American CED is presented in table 1. This will be followed by an analysis of these forces. Table 1's left column of 'stages' will represent the 'phases' and 'stages' of Melnyk's and Perry's respective models.

Table 1. Stage Development of U.S. CED: Major Forces

Stages	Major Forces
<u>Stage 1</u> 1700-1980s	1. Blacks' centuries of struggle. 2. Black visions, ideologies.
mid-1960s	3. Ghetto riots. 4. Federal legislation that recognized: - local self-determinism, - and business development. 5. Professional planners at OEO with vision. 6. Some community leadership.
<u>Stage 2</u> 1960s-1970s	1. Organizing of CDC and LDC groups. 2. CED movement not sustained.
<u>Stage 3</u> 1960s-1980s	1. Non-ideology of professionalism. 2. CDCs, LDCs.

3. Some input from:
  - cooperatives,
  - workplace democracies.

Stages 4 & 5 -----

### **3.1.1. The CDC's Black American Roots**

American CDCs have their historical roots in the blacks' centuries-long struggle for civil rights and the urban riots of the 1960s (Perry, 1973). Three early 20th-century black thinkers and activists, Booker T. Washington, Marcus Garvey and W. E. B. Dubois, presented differing solutions to black oppression (Berndt, 1977).

Washington, coming from a capitalist perspective, developed the creed of individual black endeavour, based on industrial education, hard work, religion and marital stability. His social view was pluralistic, with the blacks being equal but separate from whites. The progress of the black race was dependent on individual success. Garvey's major difference with Washington lay in his commitment to black separatism. Black people would unite as they came to understand their dignity, beauty and racial pride. Black economic enterprises would drive this resurgence, while Africa would develop as an independent world power. For Dubois, capitalism was the "science of wants." The struggle of the black people could be seen only in a class conflict context. What was needed was black people's integration into society with the total human being developed, not just the economic self (Berndt, 1977).

Thus, three differing strands of philosophy and social activism have powered the black movement through most of the 20th century. By the 1950s there was an outcry against the top-down solution to the problem of black poverty ---- massive public clearance projects and urban renewal programs (Kelly, 1977). The government's response to this outcry was President Johnson's War on Poverty programs of the early 1960s, which not only failed to satisfy blacks' needs, but also raised expectations. The combination may have helped ignite the black ghetto riots of the mid-1960s (Perry, 1982).

### **3.1.2. The Birth of the Community Development Corporation**

The 1960s riots revealed the bankruptcy of older large city institutions and provided the impetus to bring resident controlled community development corporations (CDCs) into being (Perry, 1973; Kelly, 1977). These were community-based organizations that embodied a shift in perspective from the concepts of individual entrepreneurialism and black civil rights to the socio-economic concept of a black community (Perry, 1973). The idea of CDCs spread quickly to other minorities, to rural communities and to low-income groups.

There were earlier models for CDCs: the Ford Foundation's Gray Areas program (Ford Foundation Policy Paper, 1973), the federal government's Community Action Agencies (Berndt, 1977), Reverend Sullivan's Zion Investment Association in Cleveland and SWAFCO in Alabama, a rural multi-purpose economic and community development organization (Perry, 1973). These

organizations' programs were run by local residents for the benefit of local residents (Kelly, 1977).

The CDC program was created in 1967 by an amendment, Title I -- Special Impact Program, to the 1964 Economic Opportunity Act. However, it was only due to the vision of planners at the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO), and of some federal legislators, that the concepts of self-management and local business development became part of the CDC program. Over the next few years Title I disbursed \$182.5 million to CDCs (Staff, 1986).

There was a struggle within government over the issue of community self-control. Various attempts to legislate the institution of a community collective approach failed. This issue was resolved when the 1972 Title VII amendment to the 1964 Economic Opportunity Act was passed. Title VII "legitimized the community control concept by specifically requiring that the funds be given to locally controlled community development corporations" (Kelly, 1977, p. 4).

Other major forces helping shape American CED have grown out of the momentum of stages 2 and 3 of the CED process itself. These forces include the worker-owned company and cooperative movements, the developed community capacity, the beginnings of a CED movement and the institutionalizing of CED.

### 3.1.3. Cooperatives

One response to CED's often marginalized and therefore short-term survival strategies is the development of cooperatives. Schweke (1981) proposes that cooperatives are an ideal organizational and developmental tool for new CED strategies, because they enhance a community's control and ownership of its economy. However, cooperatives ---- as an ideologically inspired movement, composed of people-centred and people-run enterprises ---- are currently moribund.

The cooperative movement has a long history in the U.S. Fifty million Americans are at present members of some 40,000 cooperatives, many of which have a strong presence in low-income communities. American cooperatives, as businesses providing goods and services to their member owners, are, according to Melnyk (1985), in the liberal democratic mold. They accept "capitalism as the dominant form, while seeking to redistribute wealth equitably" (p. 10). They are either consumer or producer oriented and rarely multi-functional in nature (ibid).

American cooperatives have faced difficulties in the past: lack of adequate financing and favourable markets, lack of technical skills, lack of support from surrounding communities, and defects in OEO programs and administration (Schweke, 1981). The cooperatives that have done best, in both urban and rural areas, are the credit unions. At the same time, changes in credit union law have increased the range of services that community development unions can provide (Schweke, 1981).

However, as is the case with the cooperative movement in Canada, existing cooperatives will have to reexamine and reconnect with their ideological roots if they wish to resurrect the cooperative movement (Melnik, 1985). Also, if cooperatives are to have a stronger impact on CED, they will need to modify and reduce their vertical relationships with their central organizations and move towards a horizontal identification and integration with other community organizations as well as the community as a whole.

#### **3.1.4. Employee-Ownership of Companies**

Over the years, there has been a variety of community responses to economic hard times. During the recession of the early 1980s, plant closures all over North America increased. To preserve their jobs and the quality of life, more and more workers bought into their companies. Studies of employee-owned firms found that they are more profitable and productive than conventional businesses (Long, 1982; Nightingale, 1982; Nightingale and Long, 1982).

Because of the successful performance of employee-owned companies, and because of tax incentives, more than 50,000 American jobs were saved directly, while thousands more were indirectly saved (Whyte et al., 1983). Of sixty buyouts in the period 1971-1981, only two failed. Many other employee-bought companies were spectacularly successful (Rosen, 1981). In that decade, there were some 250 businesses having a majority of owners who were employees, while some 5000 others had a minority of employee-owners.

According to the president of one employee-owned company, employee-ownership "is one solution to the confrontation between management, labour and government" (Jackson, 1984). Research shows that employee motivation increases as the percentage of non-management employee-ownership increases (Whyte et al., 1983). Worker owned enterprises tend to be more productive than privately owned firms. For example, the large worker-owned American Pacific Northwest plywood factories are 20-60% more productive than those in the private sector. Implicit in these results is the positive effect of education on employee motivation and participation. All of this allows for longer term CED strategies that are specifically related to CED's major objectives, rather than forced short-term scrambling and adaptation. Some of the outcomes of all of the above CED forces will now be examined.

### **3.2. OUTCOMES**

The major outcomes of the first stage of CED were community education and empowerment. These were oriented to collective community economic self-determination (see table 2). This approach, which was initially geared towards blacks, quickly spread to other minorities, rural areas and low-income groups.

While there were the beginnings of a CED social movement in stage 2, the movement never materialized. Rather, in the 3rd stage, CED groups became institutionalized, and remained largely in the hands of staff and board members.

Table 2. Stage Development of U.S. CED: Outcomes

Stages	Outcomes
<u>Stage 1</u> mid-1960s	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Educational outreach.</li> <li>2. CED concept spreads to minorities, rural areas and low-income groups.</li> <li>3. Collective approach.</li> <li>4. Business orientations.</li> </ol>
<u>Stage 2</u> mid-1960s - 1980s	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Beginnings of a CED social movement.</li> <li>2. CDCs, LDCs, citizen groups begin.</li> </ol>
<u>Stage 3</u> 1970s - 1980s	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. 2000 CED organizations.</li> <li>2. 1000s of jobs.</li> <li>3. Millions of \$s into the community.</li> <li>4. Mosaic of CED approaches.</li> <li>5. Community capacity is developed.</li> <li>6. Some acceptance of CED ideology.</li> <li>7. No CED movement.</li> </ol>
<u>Stages 4 &amp; 5</u>	-----

### 3.2.1. CED's Performance

Since the late 1960s, CED enterprises and organizations have had a mixed track record. Failures have been more common than successes. Considering, however, that the small business failure rate is over 80%, CED businesses are thriving in comparison. There has been nearly universal agreement on their importance (Surpin, 1985). As to the effectiveness of CED as a tool for community economic revitalization, there are differing opinions and research results. One such study will be examined in the following section.



Approximately forty CDCs were initially established. They were community controlled institutions designed to attract capital and use it to create jobs and entrepreneurial opportunities for local residents, and to slow the rate of community physical decline. These CDCs were given large core budgets and substantial amounts of venture capital (Surpin, 1985). Some three hundred businesses were created involving varying degrees of CDC control. Of these, two hundred were still active in 1981. More than 4000 jobs were established (National Centre for Economic Alternatives, 1981).

Another type of CED organization is the emerging Local Development Corporations (LDCs). Growing out of neighbourhood movements of the 1970s, these are intended to be self-help tools for low- and moderate-income neighbourhoods that already have resources to build on. By linking local residents with local employment needs, the LDCs develop their neighbourhoods' job potential (Gibbs, 1982). An example is the South Bronx Overall Economic Development Corporation (SOBRO) founded in 1972 by community and business leaders. Over 15,000 jobs were created, another 15,000 jobs were retained, and \$60 million in new capital was generated. SOBRO is funded in equal parts by government contracts, foundations and self-generated revenue. Its staff of forty provide the complete linkage of job training and placement for community residents. They also run an industrial incubator, a real estate development venture and a commercial rehabilitation business (Segal, 1985).

The National Congress for CED, which provides research, information and training for some 150 CDCs, states that the numbers of CDCs are quickly

growing. It estimates that there are currently some 2000 CDCs, half of which have been created in the past ten years. At the same time, hundreds, if not thousands, of CDCs have come and gone (Staff, 1986). How beneficial have these CDCs been for local communities?

### **3.2.2. The Effectiveness of CDCs**

In a 1983 quantitative study, Cummings and Glaser examined the perceived effectiveness of CDCs. The objective of the study was to discover the degree to which community-based organizations (CBOs), with an explicit economic and business orientation, have produced benefits for their neighbourhoods. The executive directors of the CBOs were surveyed for their assessments of material and nonmaterial benefits to the community. The survey was based on six areas of consideration: business development through attraction of industry to neighbourhoods or development of business enterprises by CDCs; improvement of local residents' skill levels, increasing their employability; expansion of community services; improvement of the neighbourhood's physical environment and housing stock; expansion of public sector services; and expansion of private sector investments. Those CBOs for whom economic development was a high priority had the highest rating for business development, expansion of jobs and increased private sector interest in the community.

According to Cummings, if properly funded and competently staffed, CDCs can produce tangible benefits for low-income communities. However, the CDC is not a foolproof cure for urban poverty. In light of the costs, are the benefits

enough? Some say yes, as will be described later in the JAL project (Clarke, 1981) in Quebec; others, such as conservative legislators, say no.

### **3.3. HINDRANCES**

While CED programs may look good theoretically and even in practice, there have been many obstacles to their being accepted and utilized as tools for community revitalization (see table 3). Some of the inhibiting forces in the first stage have been: 1) the lack of awareness, recognition and/or support of the CED vision by the private sector, government, social agencies and the general public; and 2) the strong capitalist emphasis on individualism.

An example of second stage hindrances is CED workers' difficulty encountered with the designated implementing agency, the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO), which resisted the very concept of CED being done by the community itself. Because of the high turnover rate of top OEO officials and their consistent intransigence, the history of the OEO's CDC program is a story of continuous struggle to maintain the integrity of the design, the program and the funding (Perry, 1973).

The third stage's obstacles are very much an extension of those of the second stage. There is very little support from the sectors, even though there is every attempt by the CDCs to demonstrate their professionalism and efficiency. For example, CDCs tried to attract branch plants of corporations by offering a combination of public subsidies, private financing and their own capital. Most of

Table 3. U.S. CED Stage Development: Hindrances

Stages	Hindrances
<u>Stage 1</u> 1700-mid 1960s	1. CED ideology culturally unrecognized. 2. Capitalist emphasis on individualism.
<u>Stage 2</u> mid 1960s-1970s	1. OEO lack of cooperation. 2. Government reactionism. 3. Funding cuts.
<u>Stage 3</u> mid 1960s-1980s	1. Economic downturn. 2. Lack of sectors', agencies' support. 3. Lack of social movements. 4. Communities not participating. 5. Lack of funding, lack of credit.
<u>Stages 4 &amp; 5</u>	-----

these efforts failed, for a number of reasons. Low-income neighbourhoods lack adequate infrastructure, and have high crime rates and accompanying high insurance rates. Building plants is expensive because of the high cost of land acquisition and demolition and even when plants are profitable, companies tend to move out of inner cities in order to avoid unions and to reduce labour costs (Berndt, 1977; Surpin, 1985).

Those communities which do attract branch plants tend to realize only partial benefits. Often residents don't get the jobs; the new incomes go outside the community to suppliers and professionals. Branch plants are not dependent on local markets and the community isn't strong enough to influence it or retain it. Bedford Styvessant's IBM plant, which has been successful on most counts, is a

rare exception (Surpin, 1985).

Such hindrances have prevented CED initiatives from developing into social movements, and have inhibited their spread. Following is a description of some of the historical processes of CED programs.

### **3.4. PROCESSES**

The CDCs initially emphasized minority business development through loans, equity investments and direct development of subsidiaries. This proved to be a time-consuming, protracted process, with the Small Business Administration a reluctant partner in loan packaging.

By the mid-1970s, the major CDCs had shifted from venture development to real estate development. Promoting local entrepreneurs and attracting existing business had proven difficult, slow and insufficiently visible, and it was viewed as too risky by conventional financial institutions. Austere times led to an economic recession with federal cutbacks on investments and operations. To retain their core budgets from the government and foundations, CDCs needed to show that they could effect a recognizable change in their communities. They had to demonstrate that they could become financially self-sufficient (Surpin, 1985).

Many CDCs had access to large amounts of relatively affordable, undeveloped land. By developing large-scale commercial and residential projects they could bring about major visible physical improvements, make safe

investments, raise large amounts of public and private capital and build their credibility (Surpin, 1985). At the same time, other smaller CED organizations were being created: federal community action programs, tenant organizations and community organizations. They grew in the shadow of Title VII CDCs, aspiring to the same level of resources and development (Surpin, 1985). Both new and old CDCs sought 'quick fix' solutions ranging from industrial parks to small-business incubators. The results of most of these 'quick fixes' were more impressive for their symbolic value and scale than for the number or quality of actual jobs created for local low-income residents (Surpin, 1985).

One example of a 'quick fix' solution is the commercial area revitalization program. While this approach makes for a better atmosphere and for a more stable neighbourhood, it usually works in neighbourhoods that have some middle class people. Poor and working class people don't have sufficient income to support the required wide range of specialty stores. At the same time, store owners can't compete with large chain stores. Besides, local businesses tend to provide only low wage and part-time jobs (Surpin, 1985).

"Short term survival and incremental change have largely become disconnected from longterm structural change" (Surpin, p. 36). Many CDCs, no matter how competent, are in a daily struggle to survive, to do the best they can. Many projects are only tangentially related to the major objectives of CED ---- i.e. good jobs and local control (Surpin, 1985).

The American CED processes have been by trial and error and somewhat

tortuous. They have tended to leapfrog Melnyk's and Perry's second phase/stage to their third one (see table 4). In their attempt to gain funding and government and social acceptance, the CED institutions have striven to be seen as professional, competent and strong. This has engendered short-term 'quick-fix' approaches to development. While America's CED outcomes have been, relative to comparative private sector initiatives, impressive and successful, the CED institutions are still lacking a longterm vision of local socio-economic development.

Table 4. American CED Stage Development: Processes

Stages	Processes
<u>Stage 1</u> 1960s	1. Tortuous, trial and error.
<u>Stages 2 &amp; 3</u> mid-1960s to 1980s	1. Minorities business development ---- slow, time-consuming. 2. 'Quick-fix' programs: - real estate development, - short-term survival. 3. Education and economic development through coops, employee management/ownership. 4. CED institutionalization. 5. CED organizations learning to balance development and management.

### 3.4.1. Development and Management of New Business Ventures

One important issue for the CED organization is its relationship to its individual economic enterprises. If the organization not only develops individual

enterprises but also manages them, it is possible that the organization may overextend itself and fail financially. On the other hand, if the individual enterprises are completely independent, then any sense of community input and control over them is lost.

The CED organization's development functions are to identify project possibilities and to help them get started. The management function is to run established concerns. What is needed is a flexible interdependent relationship between the organization and its enterprises, where all functions, from development to management, are used judiciously (Clarke, 1981).

According to Surpin (1985), few CED organizations have the entrepreneurial capability, the stability and the resources for new entrepreneurial development and management, while at the same time keeping themselves going. Few of the organizations are large enough to have the required specialized staff for new ventures that require fundraising and management. Many groups underestimate the requirements of starting up businesses and overestimate their abilities.

In selecting ventures, there may be a conflict in goals. For example, creating more jobs may mean realizing lower profits. Or a CED organization may go for a 'quick fix' in order to become financially independent, which may mean venture development that uses less labour (Berndt, 1977). Even if local workers are hired, they may be paid inadequate salaries so that costs are kept down and profits up (Gibbs, 1982). What is required is a feasibility and



suitability study of potential new ventures for the community and the CDC. With such a study, and with the vision and philosophy of CED, any conflicting or overlapping goals can still be integrated.

### **3.4.2. New Directions**

Clarke (1981) points out that skill is needed to hold the various CED goals in a creative relationship. The ability to maintain an appropriate mix of goals, with changing goal priorities, in a context of changing global, national, regional and local circumstances, must be learned continuously.

CED problems could be solved through the creation of a regional development corporation that provides funding, resources, training, education, technical assistance and advice, much like Mondragon's Caja Laboral (Jackson, 1984; Clarke, 1981; Brodhead, 1981) or Surpin's (1985) Centre for CED in New York. Surpin's centre works in two ways. One is to identify business opportunities and to pro-actively recruit managers and workers to develop them. Managers and core groups of workers, in partnership with the Centre, plan and start the businesses. Minority leaders, managers and workers are developed through education, training, consultation, support and group processing. The second way is to work with community groups and development organizations interested in establishing cooperative enterprises. Surpin feels that cooperative ownership structures allow for the most direct form of resident control. The one-vote-per-person policy for workers, who are community residents, gives them a direct stake in the business' success. "As a city-wide support centre," the

Centre for CED "also provides a range of services for worker-owned businesses: feasibility studies; preparation of business plans and financial packages; development of appropriate governance and legal structures; manager and worker recruitment; worker education and training; and management consultation and assistance" (p. 39).

As Perry (1973) pointed out, CED's immediate aim is not to end poverty. It can't. Nor can it correct all the problems caused by our culture's economic system. It can't even ensure a job for every able-bodied person. The community-based enterprise will never make enough profit to provide a meaningful income supplement to all residents. To do so would require so much investment money that the established power and wealth relations would be upset.

As a multi-purpose vehicle, the CED organization's more limited objective is to increase the degree of local influence, participation and self-empowerment by building local economic institutions. The CDC economic, education and animation programs can begin revitalizing the community by stimulating its latent social, political, educational and economic strengths. The CDCs can then demand and receive a more equitable share of the production and wealth of their country, including a national guaranteed income, while creating their own sustainable wealth and maintaining their own well-being (Perry, 1973).

### **3.5. SUMMARY**

While historically there have been instances of CED in America, it wasn't till the late 1960s that the federal government, in response to the black ghetto riots, put in place a national program of CED. Difficulties such as unwillingness of the OEO to put the CED program into practice, pressure to show immediate results, and reduced government funding and policy-support, have prevented CED from becoming a major intervention. This in turn has kept CED from developing into a mass movement (stage 2). In spite of this, CED organizations and enterprises have grown. Relative to their private sector counterparts, they have been successful. CED resilience and adaptation have resulted in new CED approaches and programs.

Some 2000 CED institutions have stimulated the awakening and growth of community capacity through local socio-economic development. Thousands of CED-initiated enterprises have created meaningful, decently paid employment. Communities have been enriched through physical improvements, capital inflow, and a strengthening of community identity and cohesiveness. The seeds of an ideology of participation in ownership, decision-making and management, have found some receptive ground.

However, against the backdrop of conventional economics, CED activities are few in number and practically invisible. Therefore the potential for CED growth is enormous, considering the need to redress socio-economic imbalances, the need to find innovative engines to drive the economy, and the enormous

potential input of existent infrastructures, such as cooperatives and worker owned/worker run enterprises. Some questions remain: How effective are CED organizations and enterprises? More important, whom does CED benefit? While CED is effective to some degree, its success has not yet benefited great numbers of the low-income residents and other workers for whom it was intended.

## CHAPTER 4. CED IN CANADA

According to Wisemer and Pell (1982), there are five major roots to the Canadian CED tree. These are the cooperative movement, the communal experiments of the late 1960s and the 1970s, the attempts of various minorities and interest groups to gain socio-economic control over their lives, the Canadian government's job creation programs and the American War on Poverty and its descendant OEO.

Other major forces are the CD and adult education movements and approaches. These and the cooperative movement and approach will be discussed within the context of some of the Canadian CED forces, hindrances, processes and outcomes, and within the framework of CED stage development.

### **4.1. MAJOR FORCES**

The major forces of Canada's 1st stage of CED were the needs and ideologies of various minorities and interest groups, and the cooperative, adult education, community development and workplace democracy movements (see table 5). Various CED ideologies and educational outreach activities crystallized around issues such as unemployment and chronically socio-economically depressed communities.

A 2nd stage of CED, composed of CED groups and an incipient CED movement, evolved in response to the above groups and movements. The

Table 5. Stage Development of Canadian CED: Major Forces

<b>Stages</b>	<b>Major Forces</b>
<u>Stage 1</u> 1900-1970s	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Needs and visions of minorities, interest groups and the 'new age' culture of the 1960s and 1970s.</li> <li>2. Ideologies of the cooperative, adult education, CD and workplace democracy movements.</li> <li>3. Socio-economically depressed communities.</li> <li>4. Unemployment.</li> </ol>
<u>Stage 2</u> 1930s	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Antigonish movement.</li> </ol>
1960s-1970s	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>2. Communal experiments.</li> <li>3. CD, adult education, cooperative and democratic workplace approaches.</li> <li>4. Community capacity and leadership.</li> <li>5. CED groups and the beginnings of a CED movement.</li> </ol>
<u>Stage 3</u> 1970s-1980s	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Community capacity and CED leadership.</li> <li>2. Non-ideology of institutionalizing and professionalization.</li> <li>3. CED organizations.</li> </ol>
<u>Stages 4 &amp; 5</u>	-----

approaches of these movements became an integral part of CED programs. From the mid-1960s to mid-1970s, the federal government also became an active partner in providing CD and CED oriented job creation programs. The momentum generated by this 2nd CED stage in turn stimulated the evolution of a 3rd stage. However, rather than stimulating popular participation, the CED organizations generally became institutionalized.

#### 4.1.1. Community Development, Cooperatives and Adult Education

Given that CED is in many ways an extension of CD, the principles of community development (CD) are very relevant to CED. These principles include collective initiative, local self-determination, and the utilization of a variety of public and private resources (Clarke, 1981). CD is a philosophy, a process and a technique. As such, private organizations, government agencies, educational institutions and various minorities and interest groups, are users of CD methods and sometimes are among the prime CD forces.

Some of the earliest forerunners of modern CD were the Suffragist movement, the phenomenon of Louis Riel and the cooperative movement. The latter two were forces in the 1st CED stage. Louis Riel and the people of the Red River Settlement organized around the issue of identity and control over political, economic, cultural and social conditions (Mackie, 1977). The early twentieth century saw the emergence of cooperative movements, such as Desjardins movement in Quebec and the Antigonish movement in Nova Scotia. Cooperatives were imported from Britain at the turn of the century. Beginning in Nova Scotia, they gradually spread across Canada. By inspiring CED groups and movements, the cooperative experience has been an important generator of CED stages 2 and 3.

One more major force shaping CED is the adult education movement. Adult education is an important tool in itself, but it also supports and propagates other movements. The fathers of modern Canadian adult education ----

Corbett, Coady, Kidd ---- perceived adult education not only as a means of social change, but also as a movement that could empower all people.

While adult education has mostly been used as a handmaiden to support the other Canadian roots of CED, the Antigonish movement of the 1930s is one example where adult education as a movement unto itself, using cooperative and CD approaches, resulted in CED. This was one of the few times in North American CED history that a full-fledged movement has arisen.

#### **4.2. OUTCOMES**

In the 1st CED stage, CED philosophies and approaches have gained toeholds in several parts of Canada (table 6). CD and adult education have provided valuable education outreach and organizing techniques. For example, the Antigonish movement, through the St. Francis Xavier University Extension Department and Moses Cody, began a campaign of mass meetings. These were a type of "intellectual bombing operation," where the people were confronted with their economic situation and challenged to become "masters of their own destiny."

Stage 2 of the Canadian CED experience, with the exception of the Antigonish movement, has largely bypassed the social movement stage. Rather, it quickly evolved into stage 3, where CED groups and organizations have become institutionalized. There are now hundreds of such CED organizations throughout Canada (Jackson, 1984). They have provided employment and capital for many communities and have responded to some of the communities' social needs. These



Table 6. Canadian CED Stage Development: Outcome

Stages	Outcomes
<u>Stage 1</u> 1900s-1970s	1. CED approaches get a toehold in different parts of Canada. 2. Antigonish: "intellectual bombing operation" ---- mass meetings. 3. Educational outreach.
<u>Stage 2</u> 1930s  1960s-1970s	1. Successful Antigonish movement.  2. CED groups, organizations.
<u>Stage 3</u> 1970s-1980s	1. Institutionalizing of CED organizations. 2. Jobs. 3. Millions of \$s. 4. Non-ideology of professionalism.

will be looked at in section 4.4.

Why have the CED organizations and citizen groups failed to become grassroots movements? Part of the reason is that the forces that have shaped it ---- the various adult education, cooperative and CD movements ---- have lost their own impetus as movements and have themselves become professionalized and concerned with their own institutional interests.

Many present day leaders of liberal democratic cooperatives, which are now well established in North America and Europe, are therefore aware of a need for new impetus in cooperative education and development. Today education means primarily the education of members about operations of existing cooperative

business. The sense of the cooperative, as part of a social movement and of an adult education movement, as in the Antigonish experience, has been largely lost. Some cooperative leaders are concerned about members' lack of awareness of the significance of cooperatives and the importance of participation in management (Clarke, 1981). It is interesting to note, that while cooperatives have been working at Perry's stages four and five, in that many are powerful federations that have strong political lobbies, they are also inflexible and rigid ---- institutionalized at Melnyk's third phase.

While the cooperatives have largely not responded to the 1970s and 1980s economic problems of joblessness and community impoverishment, those already existing remain vital and flourishing. The cooperative model is a proven means of maintaining economic stability. The cooperatives' record of creating local jobs and wealth is good. However, further development is restricted not only by a lack of vision, but also by the lack of management training programs, board members' education, marketing knowledge and financing (Jackson, 1984). Few cooperatives have realized their potential of stimulating local economic development, beyond saving money and improving service delivery.

Cooperatives can, and should be, vehicles for local economic development ---- and effective generators of CED stages 2 and 3 ---- that are accountable to the needs and concerns of local residents. In a way, cooperatives have already contributed indirectly to CED. Financial benefits to the community have helped ensure fair prices to both producers and consumers and business surpluses have been equitably distributed to members (Clarke, 1981).

The statistics on Canadian cooperatives are impressive. Some 10,000 cooperatives and credit unions have nine million members and assets of \$45 billion. The cooperatives' 70,000 employees, many of whom are also members, earn \$1.5 billion annually (Jackson, 1984). However, cooperatives seem to be sleeping giants. As Melnyk (1985) points out, cooperatives need to be revitalized by turning to their ideological roots, and entering a renewed idealistic phase, followed by a new movement.

And finally, Canadian CD, another major force of CED, as a conscious process of intervention and animation of the community, is currently at a low ebb. Many social agencies, just like government, found the heat of CD social activism in the community too hot, and abandoned it. The areas where CD has grown in strength are in social movements, such as the peace, environmental, women's, and native revitalization ones. While CD, as an active ingredient of CED, hasn't been able to fan a CED movement into flames, it has been a key aspect of CED.

#### **4.3. HINDRANCES**

Besides the loss of impetus of the CD, adult education and cooperative movements, a major obstacle for Canadian CED, as in the U.S., has been the lack of societal awareness and therefore acceptance of the CED values of socio-economic self-determination (table 7). This societal ignorance of CED is found not only in the 1st stage, but is also reflected in the 2nd and 3rd stages by the federal government's approaches to short-term CED-type programs. These

were mostly aimed at dealing with rising unemployment. The underlying idea was to keep large numbers of workers out of the labour market as a whole, until that market had grown and caught up. (Mackie, 1977). In the face of a lack of long-term commitments, no development support framework was created, nor was the concept of community capacity fostered. As well, governments have been unable/unwilling to respond with appropriate resources as requested by communities (Brodhead et al., 1981).

Table 7. Canadian CED Stage Development: Hindrances

<b>Stages</b>	<b>Hindrances</b>
<u>Stage 1</u> 1900s-1970s	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. CED ideology generally unrecognized.</li> <li>2. Capitalist individualism.</li> </ol>
<u>Stage 2</u> 1960s-1970s	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Government programs are only short-term job development.</li> </ol>
<u>Stage 3</u> 1970s-1980s	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Economic downturn.</li> <li>2. CD, adult education and coop movements lose their impetus.</li> <li>3. Government's lack of interest in local self-determination.</li> <li>4. Lack of public support.</li> <li>5. No ideological dialogue.</li> <li>6. Lack of funding.</li> </ol>

Programs "which started at a community and area level with a relatively high degree of participation at the community level evolved into a program directed at large geographic areas or industry sectors .... with very little

community involvement and a great deal of planning and negotiating between federal and provincial government" (Brodhead & al., 1981, Appendix A. p.1). And finally, governments found the developmental attitude of confrontation and social activism of many groups and organizations unacceptable. Unprepared to deal with the pressures, governments withdrew most of the funding of CD and CED oriented programs.

Another obstacle to CED evolution in all its stages has been the general lack of effective contribution from its natural collaborators and supporters ---- ongoing cooperative, adult education and democratic workplace institutions. For example, within the cooperative infrastructure, links between cooperatives move vertically, from local cooperative to central one. Local cooperatives don't create networks. They keep a narrow focus and therefore don't have much input into CED, though their aims and CED's are very similar (Clarke, 1981).

What is necessary is stronger horizontal links among cooperatives, if they are going to make an effective contribution to CED (Clarke, 1981). Surpin's (1985) vision is of a federation of worker cooperatives, a social movement pooling its resources (Perry's fourth stage of CDC development). Clarke also believes that it is important for central cooperatives to respect the autonomy of local cooperatives. The key element of local autonomy is the central's acceptance of the local cooperative's objective of broad CED, rather than the usual narrow trading.

Another limitation of CED potential is that even when a strong horizontal

network of CED cooperatives, like the Antigonish movement has been set up, it tends to become rigid and increasingly less responsive to the community's new needs. This is due to the dying out of the ingredient of adult education, which is caused, in Melnyk's framework, by the professionalization of the third phase and the bureaucratization of the movement. The fires of the Antigonish movement, for example, died out by the late 1950s because there were no longer any critical discussions on the philosophy, ideology and values of the cooperatives. The vision was gone (MacLeod, 1986).

Thus some of the major obstacles of CED evolution are the lack of

- a societal awareness of CED philosophy and values,
- a CED educational outreach,
- a CED movement,
- CD, adult education and cooperative movements that support CED,
- supportive long-term government policy, programs, funding and resources,
- linkage and collaboration with all the other sectors, and
- technical assistance.

As will be seen in the next section, technical assistance ---- in the form of CD, adult education and cooperativism ---- is a major ingredient of CED processes.

#### **4.4. PROCESSES**

CD is a key element of CED processes (see table 8). Jean Legasse, a father of Canadian CD, identifies the following three major characteristics of the CD process:

1. maximum utilization of all area resources, including human resources;
2. the projects being undertaken with the technical and financial assistance of an outside agency;
3. being oriented toward the achievement of goals set by the very people whom the project is to serve (Mackie, 1977, p. 40).

These characteristics are equally valid for CED.

Table 8. Stage Development of Canadian CED: Processes

Stages	Processes
<u>Stage 1</u> 1900-1970s	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. CD, adult education and cooperative processes.</li> <li>2. Education outreach.</li> </ol>
<u>Stage 2</u> 1960s-1970s	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Organizing groups, movements.</li> <li>2. CD, adult education, cooperative and democratic workplace approaches.</li> <li>3. Discussion and analysis of CED philosophy.</li> <li>4. CED education and development programming.</li> </ol>
<u>Stage 3</u> 1970s-1980s	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Implementation.</li> <li>2. Institutionalization and professionalization.</li> <li>3. Evaluation and analysis.</li> </ol>
<u>Stages 4 &amp; 5</u>	-----

As a matter of fact, many CD projects have been in effect CED programs. For example, in the early 1960s the federal government became involved with CD as an economic and job development strategy. Through the Agriculture and Rural Development Act (ARDA), farmers in depressed rural

agricultural areas were assisted to adapt to changing economic conditions. This involved farm adjustment, land clearing and farm consolidation. Some of these rural areas participated in program planning and played an advisory role in program delivery. Later in the 1960s, ARDA was expanded in scope to include business and industrial development.

In 1963-64, the federal Indian Affairs Branch undertook the largest government effort to use CD techniques to assist Indian people to take control of the social, economic and political factors that affected them. Over the next two and a half decades, CD and its CED and adult education partners have become major elements in the Indians' cultural revitalization movement, which is focused on their regaining title to their land and on their rebirth as a self-governing people, culturally and economically vibrant.

Through the 1960s and early 1970s, student, civil rights, and counter-culture movements became a means of achieving social change. Agencies, such as the Canadian Association of Neighbourhood Services, also began to use CD as a means of providing community-based services and developing citizens' groups that dealt militantly with housing, neighbourhood improvement and the fight against poverty.

The federal government continued to support CD through the early and mid-1970s with programs such as the (1) Company of Young Canadians (CYC), (2) Local Initiatives Program (LIP), (3) Opportunities for Youth (OFY), (4) Local Employment Assistance Program (LEAP), (5) Community Employment Strategy



(C.E.S.), and (6) Department of Regional Economic Expansion (DREE). Some of their respective objectives were:

1. hiring local youth to help identify community potential and catalyze communities toward greater equity by organizing community groups;
2. teaching people how to deal with political structures and how to influence the nature of programs and services available to them (for example the number of daycare centres doubled during 1971-72);
3. helping develop youths' skills of adaptation and responsibility through the experience of managing programs and services;
4. funding a small number of communities for the longer term planning and development of potentially viable, locally-owned economic development projects;
5. coordinating all existing federal, provincial and local services in selected target communities; and
6. focusing on local capacity development (i.e. people) with an emphasis on resource and physical infrastructure development.

(Brodhead et al., 1981; Mackie, 1977).

Cooperative and adult education processes are also key elements of the Canadian CED process. A good example is the Antigonish movement. From the first phase of idealistic response to socio-economic deprivation arose the educational mass meetings. What grew out of this were the second stage economic improvement study clubs, kitchen meetings and a community movement. Partly as a result of the community movement, the third stage saw the creation of hundreds of small cooperatives, both consumer and producer. As mentioned, it wasn't until the late 1950s that this community movement became

institutionalized.

Another example of CED programs using cooperative processes is an innovative type of liberal democratic producer cooperative similar to the American CDC ---- the development cooperative (DC). Clarke (1981) uses this term to indicate that the DC is a combination of rural cooperative and development agency. As such, it contracts with government or gets government assistance in order to utilize government resources in the promotion of local development. The DC generates local employment, preserves and enhances social and economic viability, makes optimum integrated use of local resources according to locally determined needs, and runs community enterprises (Clarke, 1981).

Project JAL in Quebec, representing three parishes, offers one example of a development cooperative and a symbol of rural regeneration. The JAL people argue that government welfare programs, job creation and training programs, and development programs are more expensive than what they themselves produce (Clarke, 1981). Operation Dignite in 1971, of which JAL was a participant, was a mass movement organized to resist the government closure of some 87 marginal parishes. Some of the early benefits of JAL were the creation of 120 jobs, depopulation halted, unused land returned back into production, forests improved, and the creation of a new sense of motivation, confidence and hope for a people who previously had seen little future for their area.

#### 4.5. SUMMARY

While Canadian CED has not had as much government support in terms of either funding or legislation as American CED, both CED approaches have been marginal. This is primarily because the CED approach runs counter to the prevailing North American cultural and economic norms, which value individualism and profit. Both governments have been willing to use aspects of CED, but only for short-term ends. Once the ideological outlooks of the governments shift and/or people become empowered in self-governance and begin to make demands for social equity, then government support is withdrawn.

One obvious effect of the Canadian government's withdrawal of CED types of job-development programs is that CED growth has been stunted. The increasingly conservative attitudes of government officials and the public in the mid-1970s further dampened the CED oriented processes of collective initiatives and self-determination. However, in response to the 1980s' economic downturn, CED initiatives in both the U.S. and Canada have increased, though in a tortuous way.

"Who does CED benefit?" Not, apparently, the people for whom it is intended. Governments have simply not provided the long-term support required. This leaves many CED organizations in a bind. Not only are they dependent on government, but they often must adapt their programs to accommodate government objectives and short-term economic criteria if they want to survive. A common result is a small number of better educated and relatively well-to-do

individuals running and benefitting from the CED organizations and enterprises.

One area in dire need of strong CD and CED intervention is the Canadian countryside. Any CED agenda must take into consideration the fact that control of major rural economic structures doesn't rest in rural areas (Clarke, 1981). Such an agenda must also reinforce the importance of the informal rural economy with its occupational pluralism. This rural economy conflicts with the multinationals' approach, where all decisions concerning investment, production, processing and marketing respond to the financial and organizational needs of the corporation. These rarely correspond to local economic and social needs. Through the centralization, professionalization and industrialization of the rural sector, and through the intensive use of plants and labour, the rural population becomes alienated from its own resources, land and labour --- to say nothing of damage to ecological harmony (Clarke, 1981).

Clarke believes that rural CED agendas and theory must develop the practice and concept of pluralistic occupational lifestyles as another choice in our present postindustrial era with its reduced need for human labour. This new, yet old method, is tolerant of fluctuations in the economy and uses natural resources conservatively. This approach is essential in third world countries, where migration to urban centres is destroying the indigenous rural community, while intensifying economic hardship.

Linkages among research institutions, universities and rural CED organizations, would benefit all involved. Initiatives in CED should be able to

draw on information and ideas about technologies and systems appropriate to rural localities. Also, collaboration with the private sector --- one that perceives local residents' self-management as key to the prosperity of all, would strengthen CED initiatives. However, to date the private sector has been far from helpful. Their support, with some exceptions, has been token, sufficient only to maintain a good image. Where CED has derived its strength is from community and citizen groups using the methodologies of CD, adult education and cooperatives. These groups can be perceived to be at a Melnyk pre-movement phase one or at a managerial phase three. Those at phase three avoided the movement stage for pragmatic reasons: because it was too risky or because it would have made funding and recognition more difficult. CD, adult education and cooperatives can also be seen as being at phase three as they are both institutionalized and professionalized. They tend to be more concerned with themselves, as technological instruments, and with their own well-being, interests and ethics, than with social change for everyone's collective well-being.

## **CHAPTER 5. CED IN TANZANIA AND SRI LANKA**

In this chapter, I will examine Tanzania's and Sri Lanka's indigenous people's revitalization movements. Respectively called Ujamaa and Sarvodaya Shramadana, both movements have a major CED focus and process. By indigenous I refer to the standard Oxford definition meaning native, aboriginal, or belonging naturally to the soil.

The Tanzanian Ujamaa movement has been generously supported by government ---- one could call it government created and run; while the Sri Lankan Sarvodaya Shramadana movement is a combination of grassroots and private agency. The agency is composed largely of volunteers and some paid workers and professionals. The inclusion of these two CED movements will allow for a wider basis for comparison of CED approaches. Also discussed will be the movements' major CED forces, outcomes, obstacles and processes.

### **5.1. THE UJAMAA AND SARVODAYA SHRAMADANA MOVEMENTS**

Wallace (1956) defines revitalization movements "as a deliberate, organized, conscious effort by members of a society to construct a more satisfying culture" (p. 265). Many leaders of cultural revitalization direct their primary efforts towards re-creating an alternative culture, often based on their traditional economic heritage, rather than spending their energies in conflict with those sustaining the status quo. Culture can be defined as "patterned behavior existing within any group, whose members share meanings and symbols for

communicating those meanings. These shared meanings are embedded in cultural symbolic systems, such as language, dress and art, and are functionally manifested through political, economic, religious and social institutions (structures)" (Colleta, 1977, p. 13). Education is subsumed by culture, but at the same time creates and re-creates culture.

The Ujamaa and Sarvodaya movements both use the progressive lifelong education approach, including popular education, in their CED activities, as do North American CED organizations. By popular education I refer to the active participation of the common people in directing their own process of learning and in identifying the content of the knowledge to be acquired. This involves people becoming collectively aware of themselves and their condition, of their becoming 'masters of their own destiny.' This can lead to revitalization, renewal and empowerment and, if desired, it can allow for appropriate and effective assimilation of other technologies, methods and views. Where the two revitalization movements differ from North American CED organizations is that the latter are not at a movement stage yet. Also, while the people's current situation is the take-off point for all the CED approaches, the North American approach doesn't, for the most part, involve a return to cultural roots as an initiating vehicle and bridge for CED activities. This cultural return involves the people's examination and legitimization of their heritage through the renewal of their tradition, tools and language.

In many ways, the indigenous people are a 'neglected species' of learners. The learning universe and world view of the peasant culture include a potent

non-formal (out of school) and informal (daily experience) education network. Its primary (re)sources are friends and family; its secondary (re)sources are priests, faith healers, shamans, herbalists, story-tellers, musicians and dancers. Folk medicine, folk knowledge, proverbs and stories, are passed on through oral traditions.

## 5.2. MAJOR FORCES

The major driving forces of the Sri Lankan and Tanzanian CED movements are their colonial heritage of oppression; their efforts to re-create their ancient social and spiritual practices and philosophies into a modern vision; and their CED leaders ---- Ariyaratne and Nyerere, respectively ---- both ex-school teachers and both intellectuals (see tables 9 & 10).

Table 9. Stage Development of Sri Lankan CED: Major Forces

Stages	Major Forces
<u>Stage 1</u> 1958	1. Colonial heritage of oppression. 2. Cultural revitalization: - Buddhist, - Sinhalese, - Gandhian thought. 3. Ariyaratne.
<u>Stage 2</u> 1958-1968.	1. Ariyaratne. 2. Agency runs the movement. 3. Volunteers.



Stage 3  
1968-1976.

1. Funding from abroad.
2. Movement takes off.
3. Ariyaratne.

Stage 4  
1976

1. CED network.
2. Ariyaratne.

Stage 5

-----

Table 10. Stage Development of Tanzanian CED: Major Forces

# **Stages**

# **Major Forces**

Stage 1  
1966

1. Colonial heritage of oppression.
2. Cultural revitalization:
  - Bantu,
  - Nyerere's philosophies.

Stage 2  
1966-1976

1. Nyerere, and his policies.
2. Government and party direct the movement.

Stage 3  
1976-1980s

1. Government and party oppression.
2. Nyerere.

Stages 4 & 5

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### **5.2.1. Post-Independence**

Ujamaa and Sarvodaya revitalization movements are responses to the ongoing exploitation and dislocation of post-independence Tanzania and Sri Lanka (Perry's first stage). The Western capitalist 'trickle-down of wealth' approach hasn't worked for the indigenous people, except for their minuscule elites and bourgeoisie. Foreign aid, when given, is often a thinly disguised means by which donor nations persuade local people to buy from them. Even when freely given, the donors' insensitivity and cultural bias towards native people is often substantial.

### **5.2.2. Philosophies and Concepts**

Sarvodaya Shramadana is a combination of Sinhalese folk tradition, Buddhist teachings and the ideas of Vinobha Bhave and Mahatma Gandhi. The word Sarvodaya in this context means universal awakening, while Shramadana means the sharing of oneself and one's labour for the good of all. Together they form a praxis, conscientization leading to action, which leads to new conscientization and so on (Kantowsky, 1980). Ujamaa is based on Bantu tradition and spirituality and Nyerere's ideas. Ujamaa means socialism, although its literal meaning is familyhood (Nyerere, 1968; Kariuki, 1979).

The Sinhalese and Bantu folk traditions are similar in that they both have a strong tradition of cooperation. In the former, great value is placed on the sharing of labour and on hard work and discipline. In the latter, through

the extended family, there is the sharing of necessities and communal property.

In addition to the fact that they are not movements, North American CED organizations differ from Ujamaa and Sarvodaya in that they lack the same kind of historical and cultural tradition. While the concepts and values of equity and self-directedness are as strongly advocated, the notion of the collective is not emphasized as strongly. Considering the vast amount of Western thought that is disseminated through the third world, it would be interesting to have third-world CED practices imported to North America.

### **5.3. OUTCOMES**

Both Sarvodaya and Ujamaa have suffered from bureaucratization and professionalization. Neither of them has been able to integrate technocratic skills and ambitions into their traditional philosophies and revitalized cultural missions. Yet ironically, both still require skilled manpower, resources and funding (see tables 11 & 12).

The Sarvodaya organization has grown and paid specialists have been hired. Even trained village volunteers are getting paid. This has led to bureaucratization, where 'paid workers' no longer work like volunteers. They lack the same spirit. In spite of these difficulties, Sarvodaya has continued to grow rapidly. In 1976 a three year 1,000 village development scheme was launched. By 1985, 3,500 villages and one million people were reached by 6,000 full-time volunteers and hundreds of thousands of unpaid volunteers.

Table 11. Stage Development of Sri Lankan CED: Outcomes

Stages	Outcomes
<u>Stage 1</u> 1958	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Education outreach.</li> <li>2. Cultural revitalization.</li> <li>3. Informal education: Shramadana workcamps.</li> </ol>
<u>Stage 2</u> 1958-1968	Movement grows: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Sarvodaya grows in 125 villages,</li> <li>- 25,000 volunteers.</li> </ul>
<u>Stage 3</u> 1968-1976	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Institutionalizing of movement.</li> <li>2. DEP.</li> <li>3. Village Re-awakening Councils.</li> <li>4. Three year 1,000 villages development plan</li> </ol>
<u>Stage 4</u> 1976-1985	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Sarvodaya in 3,500 villages.</li> <li>2. One million people reached.</li> <li>3. 6,000 full-time volunteers.</li> <li>4. Hundreds of thousands of unpaid volunteers.</li> <li>5. No economic take-off.</li> <li>6. No village re-structuring.</li> </ol>
<u>Stage 5</u>	-----

In the case of Ujamaa, the managerial white collar class, composed of civil servants, professional party members and elected representatives, was able to subvert the movement to its interests, so that the actual move to Ujamaa villages was antithetical to the spirit and letter of Ujamaa. Sarvodaya, on the other hand, has been successful in awakening villagers to their own heritage, abilities, self-esteem and potentials. Where it hasn't succeeded is in catalyzing continuing and self-sustaining CED, especially in the area of agriculture. Training has been for modern technological approaches rather than for traditional

Table 12. Stage Development of Tanzanian CED: Outcomes

Stages	Outcomes
<u>Stage 1</u> 1966	1. Cultural revitalization. 2. Educational outreach.
<u>Stage 2</u> 1968-1976	Movement subverted by white collar class.
<u>Stage 3</u> 1976	1. Forced collectivization of villages. 2. CED on hold.
<u>Stages 4 &amp; 5</u>	-----

subsistence methods. The support of a modern cash crop economy in preference to a subsistence economy only widens the gap between rich and poor (Ohrling, 1977). Other areas of Sarvodaya short-fall are:

1. the lack of a real transfer of power from the village elders to the villagers themselves;
2. the failure of the Development Education Program (DEP) to develop a local capacity that can initiate and/or support change; and
3. the tension between social movement volunteers and experts that limits and obstructs CED processes rather than supporting them.

#### **5.4. HINDRANCES**

Hindrances to CED in Sri Lanka have been the government's mistrust of, and rivalry towards, the Sarvodaya movement; lack of funding; and the stressful tensions of the movement becoming professionalized and institutionalized (see table

13). In contrast, Tanzania has a government sponsored CED movement sabotaged by people in the middle and lower government and party ranks and by wealthy farmers (see table 14). These groups feared that their economic and political power would be eroded if the peasantry were empowered by the example of an egalitarian and equitable CED approach. The white collar subversion of the CED movement succeeded in bringing back the people's colonial inheritance of suspicion and mistrust of government.

Table 13. Stage Development of Sri Lankan CED: Hindrances

Stages	Hindrances
<u>Stage 1</u> 1958	-----
<u>Stage 2</u> 1958-1968	1. Lack of funding. 2. Government mistrust.
<u>Stage 3</u> 1968-1976	1. Lack of funding. 2. Government rivalry. 3. Tensions of movement becoming institutionalized.
<u>Stage 4</u> 1976-1985	1. Lack of funding. 2. Inappropriate technical assistance. 3. Ongoing centralization of movement.
<u>Stage 5</u> 1985	Lack of funding.

Table 14. Stage Development of Tanzanian CED: Hindrances

Stages	Hindrances
<u>Stage 1</u> 1966	-----
<u>Stage 2</u> 1968-1976	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Movement sabotaged by: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- people in middle &amp; lower government and party ranks,</li> <li>- rich farmers.</li> </ul> </li> <li>2. People's mistrust of authorities.</li> <li>3. Para-statal companies preempting funds, resources and market.</li> </ol>
<u>Stage 3</u> 1976	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Resistance by white collar classes.</li> <li>2. Resistance by peasants.</li> </ol>
<u>Stages 4 &amp; 5</u>	-----

### 5.5. PROCESSES

Though there have been some successes, Ujamaa's processes were mostly turbulent (see table 16). In contrast, Sarvodaya has been able to develop a working pro-active process between villagers and outside volunteers (see table 15). Through informal and nonformal adult education, there is an ongoing awakening of the people.

Prior to colonization Tanganika was essentially composed of tribes that were materially well off, socially well integrated and well organized (Baumann, 1891). In response to the destruction of tribal culture by the colonial powers and the demands put on them, the population scattered. When Ujamaa was

Table 15. Stage Development of Sri Lankan CED: Processes

Stages	Processes
<u>Stage 1</u> 1958	Shramadana workcamps: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- cultural revitalization,</li> <li>- informal adult education,</li> <li>- physical work ---- development,</li> <li>- linkage of villagers and volunteers.</li> </ul>
<u>Stage 2</u> 1958-1968	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Popular participation.</li> <li>2. Popular education.</li> <li>3. Local leadership.</li> <li>4. Local resources.</li> <li>5. Outside funding.</li> </ol>
<u>Stage 3</u> 1968-1976	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Fund-raising.</li> <li>2. Fresh strategies: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- DEP,</li> <li>- Village Re-awakening Councils,</li> <li>- 'haulas.'</li> </ul> </li> </ol>
<u>Stage 4</u> 1976-1985	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Thousands of volunteers participating.</li> <li>2. Professionals managing movement more &amp; more.</li> </ol>
<u>Stage 5</u>	-----

implemented, over 90% of the population lived in scattered households (Freyhold, 1979).

According to the Ujamaa philosophy and policy as explained by Nyerere (1968), the peasantry were to be persuaded by all leaders to live and work together communally so as to allow for greater productivity (economies of scale) and better delivery of services, with an improved social quality of life. The fruits



Table 16. Stage Development of Tanzanian CED: Processes

Stages	Processes
<u>Stage 1</u> 1966	Nyerere's philosophies and eventual policies on: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- African socialism,</li> <li>- education,</li> <li>- rural development.</li> </ul>
<u>Stage 2</u> 1968-1976	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Turbulence.</li> <li>2. Persuasion.</li> <li>3. Incentives.</li> <li>4. Compulsion.</li> </ol>
<u>Stage 3</u> 1976	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. 75% of rural population in Ujamaa settlements.</li> <li>2. Collective farming abandoned.</li> <li>3. Ujamaa on hold.</li> </ol>
<u>Stages 4 &amp; 5</u>	-----

of collective efforts in agriculture, small scale industry and commerce, would be shared "according to work done" with some set aside for investment and for the needy. There would be division of labour and specialization within the village and between villages. Each village was to be self-reliant. All decisions were to be made by the democratic organs of the village with party, field and government workers to act as resource people, giving training and assistance.

Through volunteer participation, socialist villages were to be started all over Tanzania. No threats or inducements would be used. Practical, context-appropriate suggestions would be given. Most of the mobilization was left to administrative and field staff who were formerly in charge of previous

government policies.

In the first two years, only 5% of the rural population moved into Ujamaa-style villages. In the three years that followed, there was little improvement. The whole experiment in voluntary movement to Ujamaa villages lasted five years, between 1967 and 1972 (McHenry, 1979).

When persuasion and incentives failed, force was used to move the peasantry into Ujamaa settlements. Though there was resistance, the compulsory moves, begun in the early 1970s, were complete by 1976 with 75% of the remaining rural population in settlements. However, the effort to have people farm communally has been abandoned for the time being. While the threat of force is still there, the government has allowed private and block farming (where a plot is run by a family) to continue. There has been some force used in establishing nonagricultural activities such as the building and running of collective village shops. Competing private shops were forced to shut down (McHenry, 1979).

The Sri Lankan Sarvodaya movement began in 1958, when a group of urban students and faculty, led by Ariyaratne, went to one of the poorer, lower caste villages to live, work and learn from the village. Shramadana work camps were organized where villagers and volunteers joined together for both physical work and informal education. Within three years, 36 Shramadana camps had been established in 26 villages.

By 1968, the movement had spread to 125 villages and had acquired 25,000 volunteers. Only the poorest villages were chosen. Data as to economic, educational, cultural and health needs was used along with the inculcation of spiritual and cultural values and skills. Local leadership, popular participation by both villagers and outsiders, and the use of local resources and outside funding, led to some success. However, success was inconsistent because of inadequate funding and lack of trained full-time workers (Kantowski, 1980).

Analysis of the situation led to more vigorous fund-raising and fresh strategies. These strategies were three-pronged. A new Development Education Program was launched; a greater participatory organ, the Gramodaya Mandalayas (Village Re-awakening Councils) was initiated; and 'hauilas' (diverse interest groups, such as mothers, youth, farmers) were organized. The success of the DEP was essential for coordinated followups in Shramadana villages, for training of volunteers and villagers, and most important, in the realization of a new village social order.

## **5.6. SUMMARY**

The driving forces of Tanzania's and Sri Lanka's CED movements have been their colonial histories of oppression, cultural revitalizations and the philosophies and charisma of their respective leaders, Nyerere and Ariyaratne. While the upper echelons of Tanzania's government and party directed the movement, the middle and lower ranks sabotaged the CED initiatives of self-management, in fear of losing their positions of power and control. The end

result was that the people did not trust the government or the party, and had to be coerced to leave their homesteads and move to collectivized villages. This effectively destroyed the CED movement.

Even with hindrances such as lack of funding and government rivalry, the Sri Lankan movement succeeded in awakening hundreds of thousands of villagers to self-help action. However, the movement is currently caught between the processes of professionalization and popular participation. Because the two processes can't be synthesized, no economic take-off has taken place, nor has village power been restructured.

#### ***5.7. COMPARISON OF THE FOUR CED CASE-STUDIES***

As the four CED histories indicate, CED is not easy to implement. While histories and situations vary, there seem to be some issues and problems common to the four different cultures. These include the ingredients of CED, the organizing of CED and the restructuring of local economies.

While the prerequisite of pressing social need abounds (Perry's first stage), there is a greater dearth of the prerequisites of community solidarity and popular support for CED. Because it is a spiritual and popular movement, Sarvodaya has been able to rouse the peasantry. The Sri Lankans supporting CED are willing to create their own economic lives. In North America, the movement stage is still incipient, as many enterprises are distracted, if not consumed, by the daily task of survival in a relatively hostile environment.

Residents may not even be aware that there is a community-based enterprise in their midst. In Tanzania, outright hostility met the government-foisted CED movement. The fact that there were relatively few deaths when people were forcibly moved into CED villages was taken as a sign of success. Instead of community solidarity, there was the class struggle by party cadres, civil servants and kulaks to retain their personal power and interests.

Possibly the two greatest failings in all of the CED programs described above are lack of technical assistance, or appropriate assistance, and the inadequate community control of CED organizations and enterprises. The type of technical assistance I am referring to involves helping latent community capacity to surface. Once it has been realized, community capacity can facilitate the further development of dormant capacity. While promulgators of the CED philosophy and many of the volunteers understand the concept and process of "people power," many of those providing technical assistance understand the concept but not the process. Unfortunately, in situations such as Ujamaa's, the leaderships have shown irresponsibility by beginning and eventually enforcing a CED movement with government and party workers who had no interest in having the community's latent abilities and skills developed. Nor were they interested in the democratization of the village, the maize fields, or the factory.

In Sarvodaya, many disaffected youth are trained, but they then wish to turn their education to their own personal betterment. Likewise, the professionals who run the centralized school and research have an economic vision that doesn't include a people's traditional agriculture economy. Still, Sarvodaya has managed

to develop some community capacity that can initiate social-issue projects (day-cares, community kitchens), organize interest groups (youth, women, farmers) and some economic programs (agriculture, small crafts, light industry). Its greatest failing has been in not developing a community potential that could create a 'sustained and self-sustaining' economy. When people collectively run the economic life of their community and there is sufficiency for all, not only are many communities and residents freed from exploitation and alienation, but many are also socio-politically empowered.

While the Canadian government has provided CED oriented technical assistance, this has been cut off as soon as the evolution of the programs no longer conformed to the government's agenda. It would seem that the government prefers to control the socio-economic field, rather than supporting economically self-sustaining and self-determining communities. At the same time, CD, adult education, cooperatives and workplace democracy, while being important ingredients of CED, have, as distinct fields, not fully envisioned nor contributed to the unfolding and empowering of CED processes. Rather than being consistent major forces in creating and sustaining a CED movement to revitalize society, they have remained preoccupied by their own institutional interests. In many respects, the American CED experience has been similar. Support for CED from government, agencies and movements has been sporadic and piecemeal with no long term overview. At root is the lack of a strong ideology in North America that subscribes to humanism, cooperation and egalitarianism.

The lack of a developed community potential has meant that power

relations have changed marginally. The democratizing process of CED, which is its most important educational activity and makes it a major force in creating and sustaining CED initiatives, has only marginally been brought into play. This is the case in all four different cultural CED situations. In Sarvodaya, the successful mobilization of villagers at the grass-roots level and their involvement in the process of their own development has not resulted in decision-making shifting from village elites to the mass of villagers. Village programs are still mostly dependent on external workers, while the movement infrastructure is itself highly centralized. Sarvodaya is still identified with, and dominated by its leader, Ariyaratne, without a new leadership evolving from the grass-roots (Colletta & Todd, 1983).

As already discussed, Ujamaa, except for some exceptions, never developed its villager-controlled socialism. By contrast, in North America, the numbers and degree of community-based worker and community resident democratically-run institutions and enterprises have been steadily growing, though when measured against the backdrop of the wider economy, the CED engineered power relations shift seems almost insignificant. One reason for the slow growth is that many of the worker-owned enterprises and cooperatives have not been created through CED programs. As such, these enterprises have been primarily concerned with their own interests and have not had a community focus. This has muted their educational and socio-economic potential within the community. Nor have CED organizations taken the opportunity of lobbying and educating these democratically-run ventures to work within a wholistic community development approach.

Inadequate resources is the third major contributor to undeveloped community potential. Similarly, North American CED organizations' lack of funding, resources and technical assistance are major reasons for their slow evolution. This is a major hurdle. Even programs with widely accepted concepts of entrepreneurial, job and human resource development, hardly get funded.

In spite of all these difficulties, CED programs and activities in North America and Sri Lanka are increasing. The same can be said for CED's implicit and explicit education activities. In the following chapter, the CED educational processes and their lifelong and lifewide content will be examined. Further, there will be an investigation of how the educational activities of CED are interactive with socio-economic development and how these are mutually reinforcing processes and form a praxis.



## CHAPTER 6. CED EDUCATION: PROCESSES AND PROGRAMS

CED's inherent and explicit education process and practice, which will be examined in the following chapter, is an outcome of:

1. its philosophical orientation, i.e. where it fits in within the range of moderate to radical approaches;
2. its practice, which is dependent on
  - a. its stage(s) of CED model evolution (Melnyk's and Perry's),
  - b. the degree of citizen and worker participation (Arnstein's eight rungs of participation),
  - c. the quantity and quality of CED ingredients ---- i.e. pressing need, ideological vision and praxis, community solidarity and support, funding, government policy, resources, technical assistance and local capacity; and
3. the context of global and local situations.

One of the questions asked in the beginning of this thesis was: what is the need for, and the value of, CED education? This question can be amplified: why would community residents participate in, and support, CED education? Also, why should educators and policy-makers research CED education and make it available?

As described in the four CED case studies, the rationale for CED education processes is that community residents can learn how to break out of a socio-economically depressed situation. Even a prosperous community could learn

how to create greater socio-economic well-being. Herein lies an enormous challenge for governments and educative agencies: to research, fund and implement a wholistic CED education and praxis agenda that is an expression of, and a response to, the community's educational and socio-economic need to revitalize itself, while at the same time creating a more integrated, just and equitable society.

The importance of CED programs is that they provide the (progressive) lifelong education curriculum sought by advocates of lifelong education. CED education programs meet all the criteria of a global lifelong education scheme. It makes community residents the subjects, and sometimes even the programmers, of their own education. As previously discussed, the contents of CED education programs are coterminous with the economic needs of the community residents, and it is they who assess those needs. Also, by beginning to restructure the existing education system, CED allows students and their schools to become integrated within the community in a meaningful, practical and life-enhancing way. Students can become relevant participants in 'real' life, rather than just preparing to do so in the future.

Both inside and outside of school, CED education enhances community residents' cooperative, self-directed and self-actualizing abilities. These involve affective, cognitive and motor skills. Examples of CED progressive lifelong education programs will be discussed later in this chapter.

### 6.1. PROCESSES

In this section, a conceptual framework for the CED educational process will be discussed and depicted in a series of figures. This is a theoretical presentation. In the four CED case-histories examined, a variety of problems prevented each one from unfolding according to all the cycles of this model. However, this model is not idealistic. Different parts of it can be seen in practice.

The CED educational process can be seen as an upward spiraling praxis, each cycle of which involves the implicit or explicit development of an education curriculum. This programming is the very development of a socially grounded lifelong education curriculum called for by lifelong education proponents (Gelpi, 1979; Dave, 1983). While the mass of community residents still are far from being the programmers of their own nonformal education, many CED projects do focus on having the residents be the agents of their own education.

CED praxis consists of activity (development) followed by reflection on that activity, which includes critical thinking, dialogue and feedback. This collaborative analysis/learning illuminates the appropriate new actions to be taken. The 'reflection' pole of praxis involves analysis of the situation, design of an education program and evaluation of the program, while the 'action' side is the program's organization, implementation and development. The metaphor for the whole CED spiral is that of gardening. Its four stages (cycles) are:

- 'preparing the ground,'

- planting the seeds,
- nurturing the new seedlings, and
- helping the trees grow.

#### **6.1.1. 'Preparing the Ground'**

Each cycle's education program is developed according to the community's situation, needs, commitment, capacity, energy level and resources, and that of the CED organization's philosophy, capacity and resources. Therefore each program is uniquely customized for that time, place and actors. 'Preparing the ground' often involves some type of educational outreach, such as conscientization, animation and politicization. The 'gardener', as educator and/or organizer, facilitates an educational intervention that is often a "triggering event," a developing and cuing up of a "learning moment" for the community. An example is the Antigonish movement's mass public meetings.

The objectives of 'preparing the ground' are threefold:

1. To bring people together, by informing them through media, mail, telephone, and word of mouth, about CED and CED meetings.
2. To challenge the community to think globally and locally. That is, to understand their local economic realities, their larger economic context and how the two interact.
3. To inform people of the implicit meaning, process and aim of CED, which is community participation in, and control, ownership and stimulation of the

community's (socio-)economic life, in collaboration with governments, agencies, schools and businesses (see fig. 1).

### **6.1.2. Planting the Seeds**

This cycle involves three steps, though not necessarily in the following order (see fig. 2).

1. A local CED organization, movement and/or citizens' group needs to be set up. Learning how to do this is a distinct education in itself.
2. The teaching, study and discussion of CED philosophies and approaches should be widely and readily available.
3. 'Thinking globally and acting locally' requires some fostering. This would involve researching and analyzing:
  - . feasible local market needs (i.e. community needs),
  - . external market needs,
  - . ecologically sound and community empowering and sustaining enterprises that meet those needs,
  - . the resources available and required, and
  - . the training and education needed.

### **6.1.3. Nurturing New Seedlings**

This cycle of CED gardening involves learning how to:

1. put into place innovative approaches and ventures;
2. work in and manage the new businesses;

ACTION

- organizing
- developing
- implementing

REFLECTION

- learning activities
- analysis, design, evaluation

cycle 1

-education outreach

-reflection on economic issues

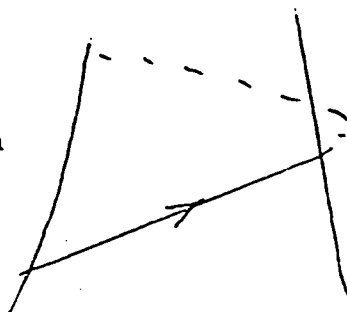


Figure 1. CED Praxis: Preparing the Ground

ACTION

- organizing
- developing
- implementing

REFLECTION

- learning activities
- analysis, design, evaluation

cycle 2

- organizing groups, movements
- developing organizations

- discussing philosophies
- analyzing local economics
- designing programs
- learning how to organize

cycle 1

- education outreach

- reflection on economic issues

Figure 2. CED Praxis: Planting the Seeds

3. create and/or maintain sustaining, invigorating and pluralistic occupational lifestyles;
4. organize experiential learning situations, in-service training and collaboration and linkages among the different sectors; and
5. develop a more capable and skilled organization (see fig. 3).

#### **6.1.4. Helping the Trees Grow**

The underlying assumption in this last phase is that once community residents have tasted the efficacy of learning activities in helping adapt to and effect changes in their lives, it is very likely that they will continue to participate in learning activities, both in CED and in other domains (see fig. 4).

The learning activities of this stage include:

- counselling,
- summative evaluation (research and/or analysis),
- new analysis, and
- critical thinking and dialogue.

This stage's objectives, which are a culmination of those of the previous three, are:

1. to maximize community capacity;
2. to shed feelings of inadequacy and dependency;
3. to heighten community feeling;
4. to increase motivation, leading to greater local control, pride and confidence;
5. to develop greater democracy at work and in the CED organization;
6. to achieve greater job satisfaction;



ACTION

- organizing
- developing
- implementing

REFLECTION

- learning activities
- analysis, design, evaluation

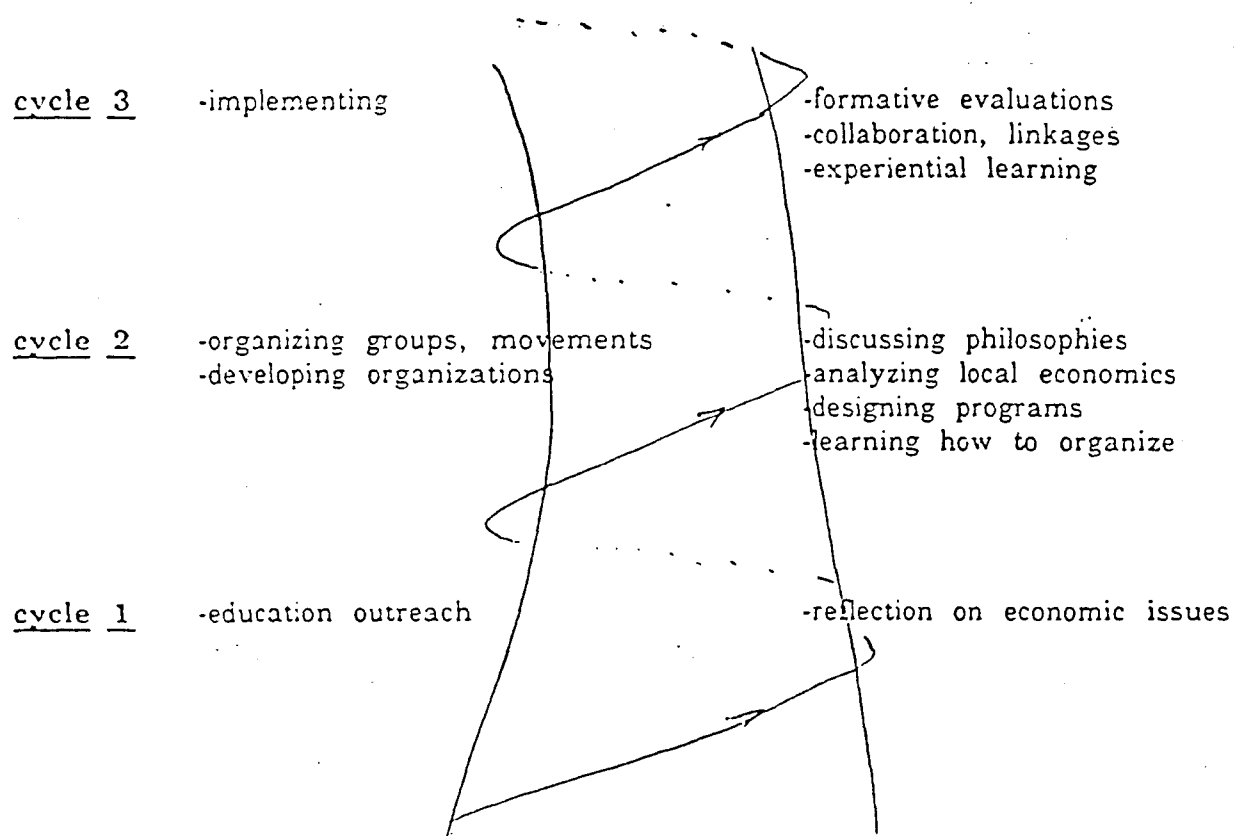


Figure 3. CED Praxis: Nurturing the New Seedlings

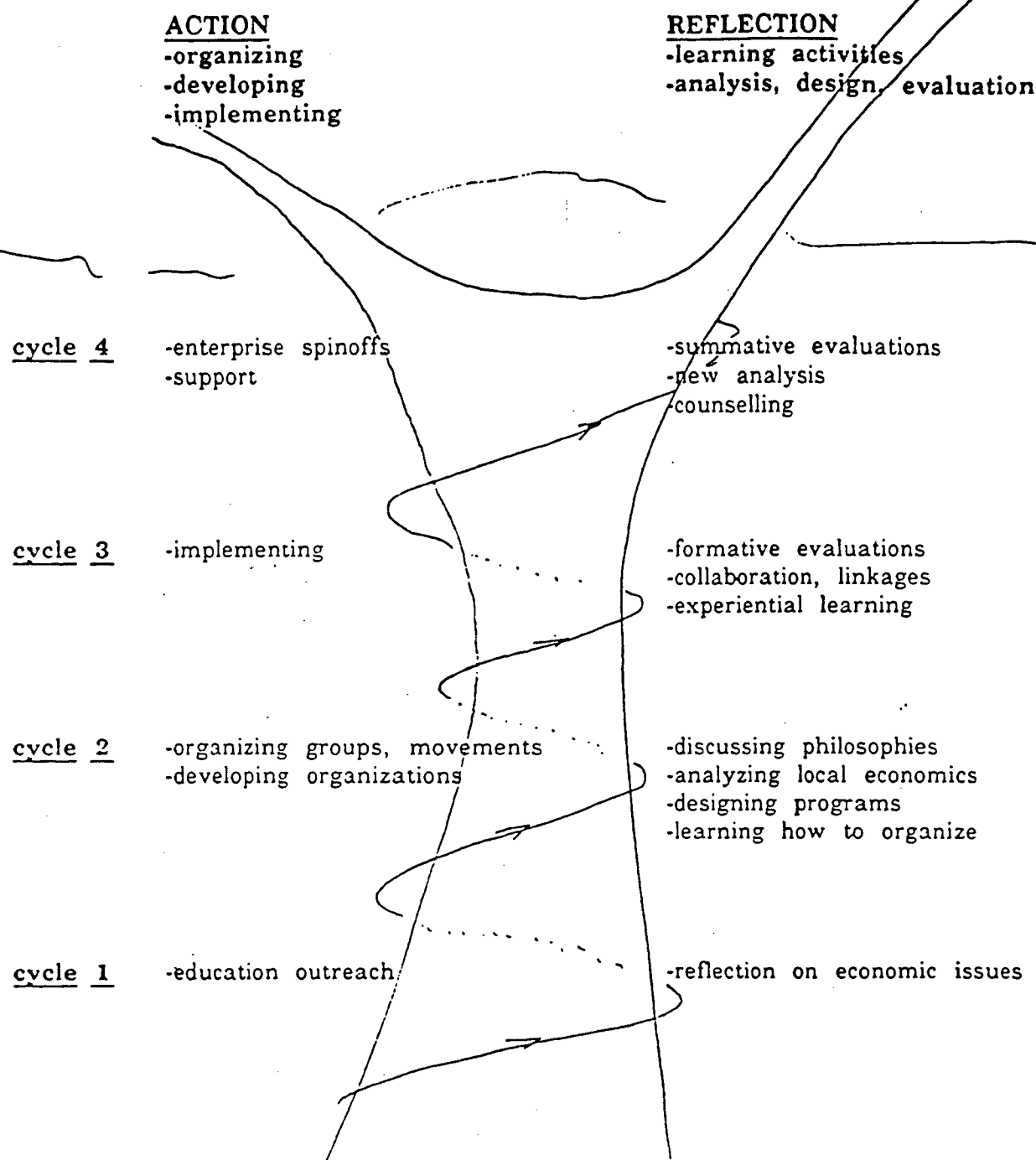


Figure 4. CED Praxis: Helping the Trees Grow

7. to improve productivity and profitability;
8. to create positive changes in labour attitudes and behaviours;
9. to make visible and real contributions to local well-being;
10. to initiate enterprise spinoffs;
11. to learn how to set up further enterprises;
12. to network with other CED organizations; and
13. to learn how to learn and how to solve problems.

#### **6.1.5. The CED Education Cycles**

The four spiraling cycles of the CED education process combine Melnyk's and Perry's models. They include both models' stages of:

- socio-economic needs and vision of CED;
- CED groups and movements;
- formation of enterprises and institutions; and
- support and networking.

The CED education process evolves in a linear fashion, like Perry's model: at the same time each cycle loops back and revitalizes each of the previous cycles, as in Melnyk's cyclical model (see fig. 5).

Melnyk's entropying third phase occurs when the visionary and ideological dialogue, based on CED's philosophy of humanism and democracy, are omitted from the CED educational cycles. These cycles' moderateness or radicalness depend on the degree to which learning activities are guided by, and are expressions of, the CED democratization ideals. The radical CED education cycles

Education Cycle 4  
Perry stages 4 & 5

Education Cycle 3  
Perry stage 3  
Melnik phase 3

Education Cycle 2  
Perry stage 2  
Melnik phase 2

Education Cycle 1  
Perry stage 1  
Melnik phase 1

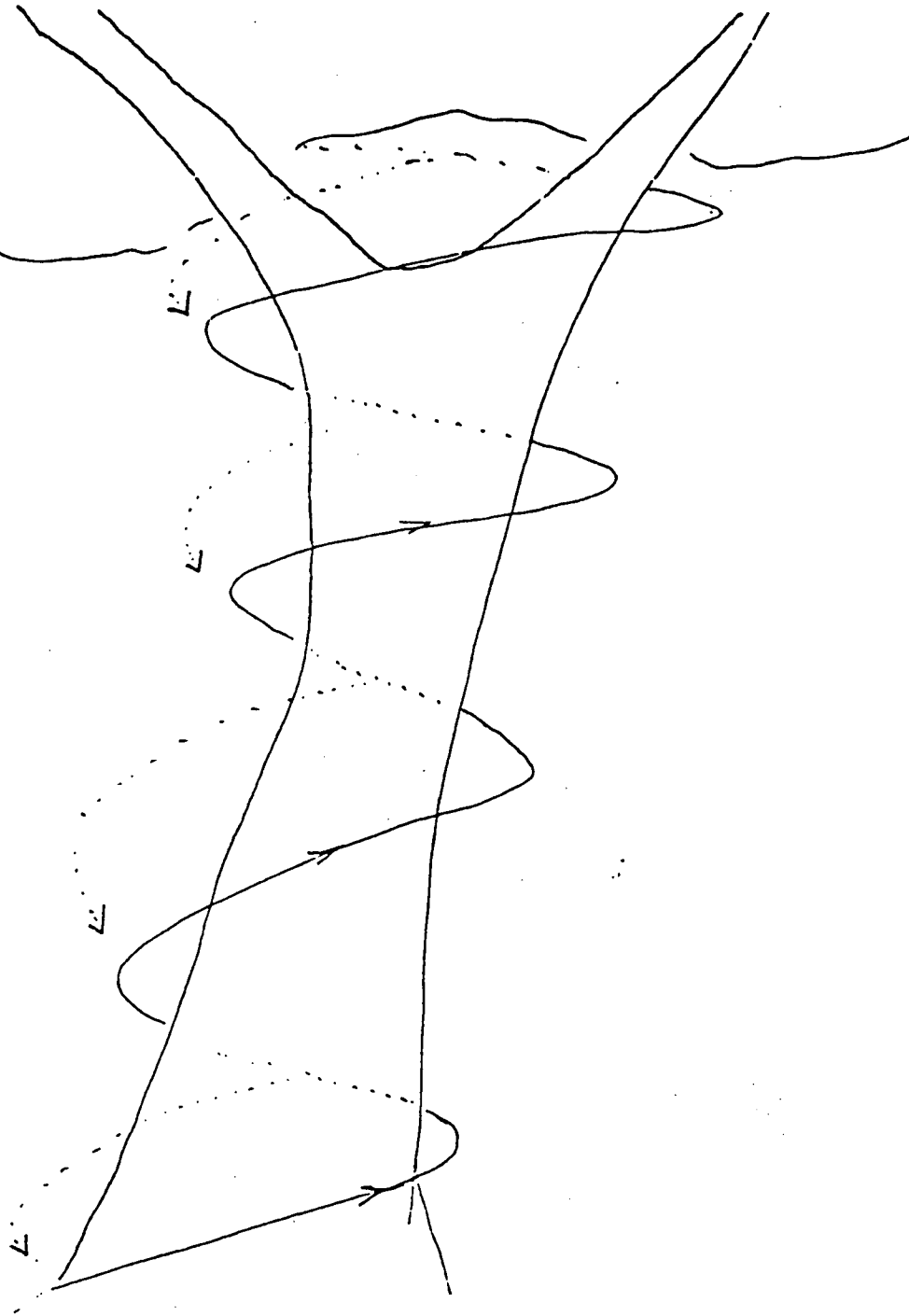


Figure 5. CED Stage Development & Cycles of CED Educational Processes

involve drastic reductions of hierarchical structures. This encourages mass mobilization of resources and people, and stimulates community capacity. Participation becomes active and pro-active. The moderate CED education cycles do less restructuring of power relations and are more concerned with setting up strong, efficient CED institutions that 'get the job done,' the 'job' being the community's socio-economic revitalization.

## **6.2. CED LIFELONG EDUCATION PROGRAMS**

In this section, a number of established CED nonformal and formal progressive lifelong education programs will be described. These have had varying degrees of success, with the vast majority on the moderate side rather than the radical side of the range of CED approaches. Because there is little information on North American CED education, there will be an overrepresentation of CED education from outside North America.

### **6.2.1. CED Nonformal Adult Education**

Nonformal adult education, unlike formal adult education, is not 'institution-bound,' nor 'age-' and 'time-bound' (i.e. where students are required to move at a certain pace through the system) (Coombs, 1985). However, formal education institutions, such as university extension departments and community colleges, have historically played some economic role in the community, participating in CD, rural development, and so on.

For example, in British Columbia, public education institutions have provided a range of nonformal educational activities (Advisory Committee, 1985).

These include:

- providing information, education and training according to different CED philosophies, approaches and options;
- using their facilities, expertise, equipment and resources to 'incubate' small businesses;
- linking learning activities with direct, practical application out in the community;
- giving leadership in creating interest and awareness and collaborating with many sectors, so that many 'partners' are inspired to play a role; and
- providing a multiple and wholistic CED praxis which combines education/training, enterprise development, job placement, and community social services development.

These CED education activities have been flexibly structured as short courses, experiential workshops, and on-the-job training programs. Ideally, in the process of developing and providing these educational services, skills are acquired, new enterprises are organized, unemployment is reduced, and the economy is stimulated. However, according to available CED literature, it would seem that these B.C. nonformal education programs (which involve cycles 1 to 4 of the CED education processes), are few in number, have a moderate CED orientation, and are not integrated into a comprehensive or cohesive CED approach. These limitations seem to be due to the government's marginal support and interest, the lack of a cultural ideology

of participatory democracy and collective humanism, and the rise of self-interested professionalism.

Another example of nonformal adult education is the Sarvodaya movement. The organizers felt that formal education was creating more problems than it was solving. Education, it was felt, should be meaningful and directly related to life. "It should not only impart knowledge but also develop useful life skills, instill good moral, cultural and psychological attitudes, generate spirit of service and a feeling for humanity, awaken people to their full potential as individuals and as groups, and thereby help develop a total personality, leading to the development of a total society" (Wijetunga, 1985, p. 194).

Several nonformal adult education programs are provided. One is the village work camp, where villagers and volunteers join together for both physical work and informal education. The latter is composed of discussions and cultural activities, such as dance, song and drama. These work camps are excellent examples of the first and second cycles of the CED education process. Work in the camps also involves the construction of houses and dams, agriculture, road repair and water tank rehabilitation. Some of the outcomes are the raising of consciousness, self-reliant action through collective power, cultural (values and expression) renewal, and the manifestation of latent village dynamism. The Sarvodaya movement has been accepted by the villagers because of this informal education outreach program which incorporates and revitalizes their religion and cultural

traditions, while doing CED work and education (Colletta et al, 1982).

Another nonformal adult education program is the Development Education Program for young men, women and Buddhist monks (bikkhus). The learning activities range from a 2 week pre-school and community kitchen orientation to 3 month intensives in the same and in rural health; to 6 months training in agriculture or vocational crafts and cottage industries; to 2 years agriculture and social training. The latter prepares them for building new Sarvodaya settlements on available land (Kantowsky, 1980).

The success of the DEP is essential for coordinated followups to Shramadana villages, for training volunteers and villagers, and most important, for realizing a new village social order. This village restructuring is partially driven by the life-long education programs of the Haula groups (see fig. 6) and the development of the Village Re-awakening Councils (Gramodaya Mandalayas).

So far the results of the DEP have been mixed. The majority of trainees are not very socially motivated. Being young and unemployed (youth unemployment is 80%), their main concern is self-improvement and getting the credentials for paid work. The feedback from some of the young students is that the training programs are not adequate, that the courses are too short and not well organized, and that the instructors do a poor job. This may be due to the instructors having themselves been trained in



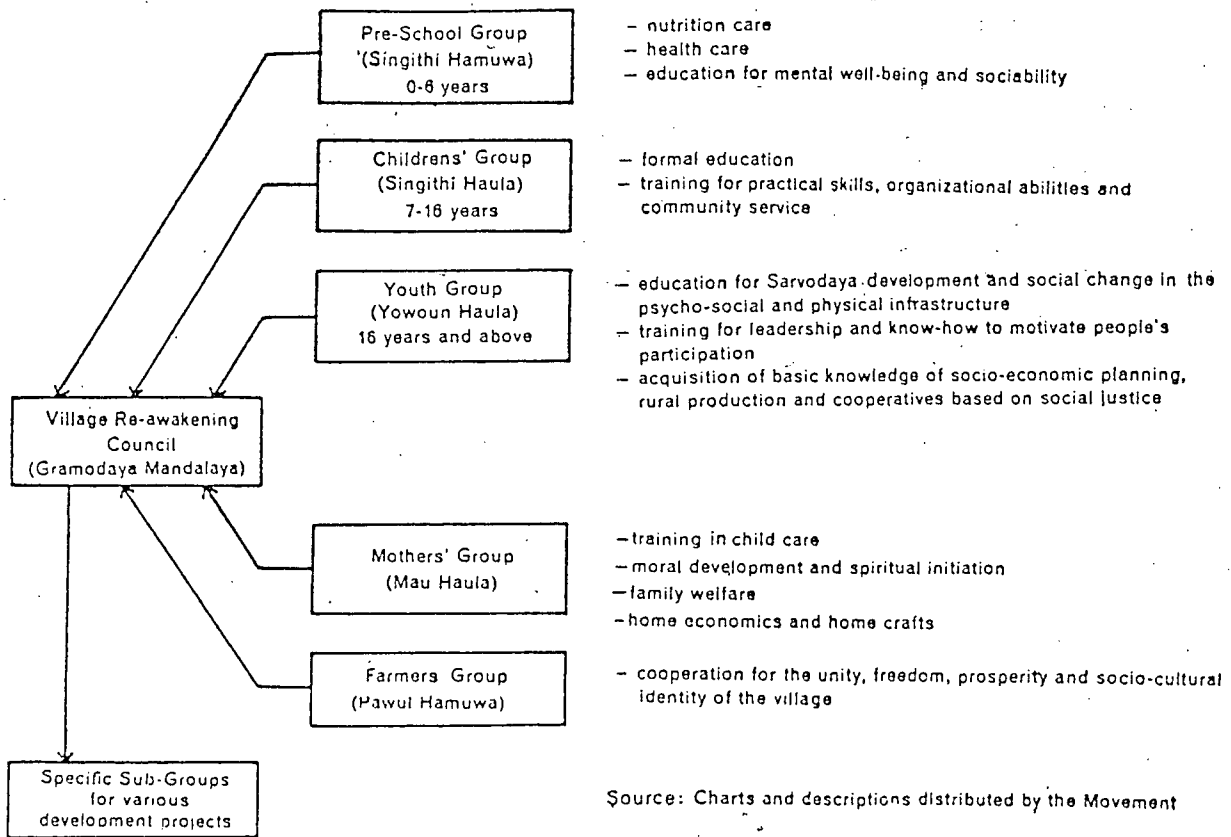


Figure 6. Haula Groups

formal institutions and therefore being unable to create a nonformal program (Kantowsky, 1980).

How does one translate the spontaneous learning-by-doing of the Shramadana camps into syllabuses? This familiar tension between professionalism and social movement is affecting the Sarvodaya movement. The ultimate success of the movement will depend on the integration of the two, when trained specialists, inspired by the values of the movement, work towards democratic village control, where the villagers themselves create an economic take-off.

#### **6.2.2. CED Formal Education**

Nyerere's (1968) policy booklet, 'Education for Self-reliance,' declared that the Tanzanian educational system would be overhauled and oriented toward rural life. Instead of primary school being a step to higher education and to an incipient middle class, primary school would now be the educational terminus, teaching skills and values that would be relevant and applicable to daily rural life. The colonially bequeathed elitism, including the wall between children and parents, would be dismantled. The school would be integrated into the community, so that academics and agriculture would be combined. Like the village, the school would be democratic, socialist and self-reliant. The students would have the final say in decisions and actions.

While between 1970 and 1975, the numbers of primary school students

more than doubled, the growth in numbers of secondary school students was roughly 20%. However, Nyerere's education policy did not manage to change the content or the process of formal education (Coulson, 1982). Similarly, at the University of Dar Es Salaam, for a variety of reasons, the status quo of education was preserved. The major reason for the failure to restructure the schooling system was an educational bureaucracy that was more interested in maintaining its own status and control. While there were discussions about how to change this situation, by such means as creating political cadres and re-educating the educators, their ministries of education and the school administrations, nothing came of this plan. Freyhold's (1979) explanation is that the dominant element of Tanzania's only party (TANU) didn't want class struggle, cadres, or effective control from below.

An example of successful CED formal education is Mondragon's Escuela Profesional Politecnica (EPP). Mondragon is a town of over 30,000 in the Basque region of Spain. In the late 1950s, Arizmendiarieta, a priest, began the EPP in Mondragon. This led to the development of over seventy producer cooperatives. The EPP is a formal education institution providing a formal education curriculum based on technological and cooperative skills and knowledge. Future cooperators are prepared for a wide range of jobs within the Mondragon cooperative system. Arizmendiarieta believed that through visionary people "mastering technology it would be possible to develop and generate processes that would permit a more human and social development." Besides providing cooperative education, EPP, which is cooperatively run, has a community orientation. Still, the major emphasis is technical education, which is continuously adjusted to product and

technology developments in Mondragon's 70-odd cooperative factories. A complete tri-level technical program ---- low, middle and higher professional training ---- is provided to over 1000 students annually (Thomas and Logan, 1982).

### 6.2.3. Interactive CED Education Systems

What is most fascinating about the Mondragon education cooperatives, of which EPP is only one, is their wholistic lifelong education approach. This interactive nonformal and formal education system is guided by a small planning nucleus ---- the League for Education and Culture (see fig. 7). It focuses inwardly on technical and cooperative education and on the manpower requirements of the 78 Mondragon cooperatives; and outwardly on promotion of Basque culture, the improvement of primary and secondary education, and planning for education at local and provincial levels.

The other Mondragon institutions that provide a variety of education programs are:

- Ikerlan ---- a research unit for product development.
- Caja Laboral Popular ---- Mondragon's cooperative bank that provides counselling, promotion, research, planning, seed capital and education for cooperatives.
- Alecoop ---- an innovative, profitable factory school run by students.
- a cooperative hostel educating Basquenos in principles of worker owned cooperatives.

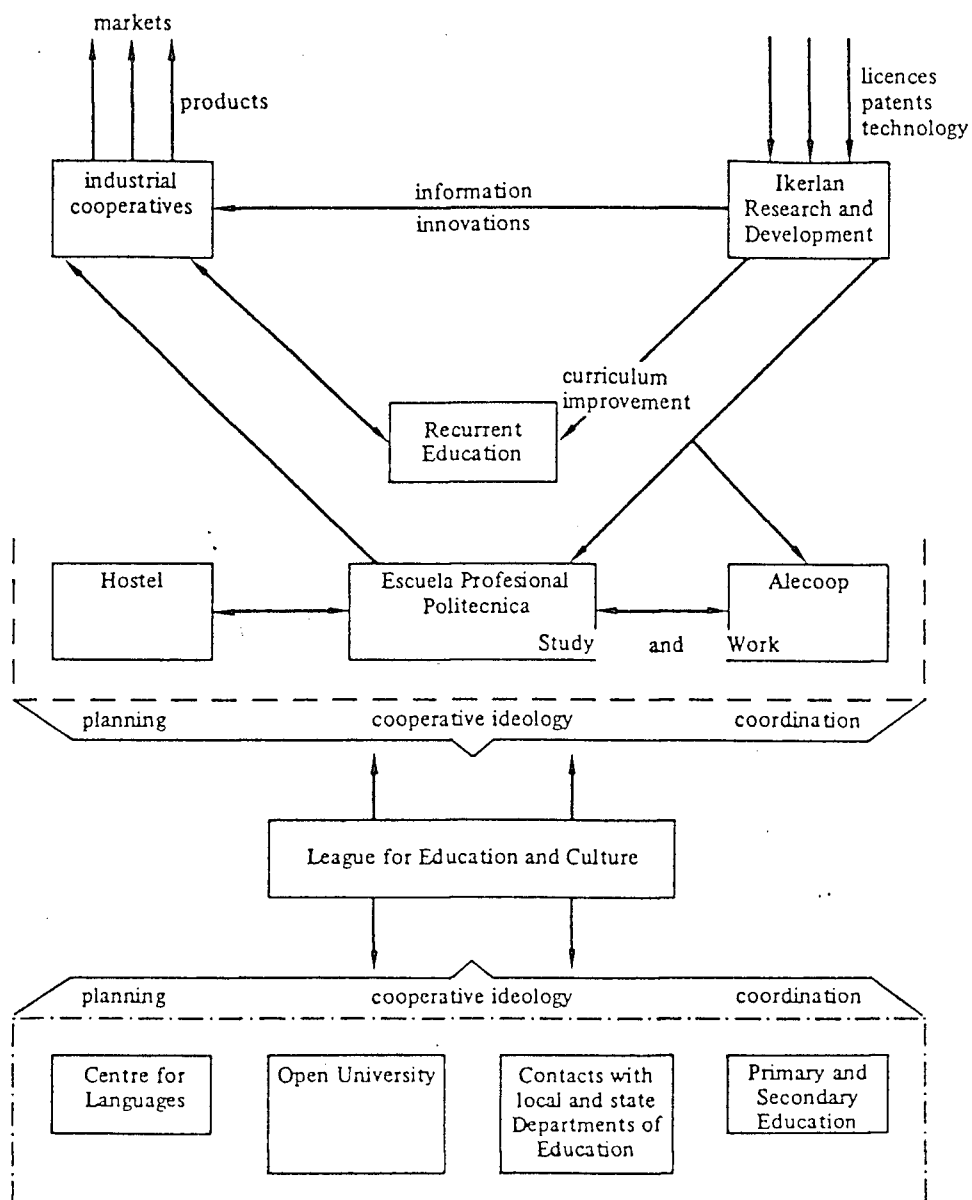


Figure 7. Cooperative Education in Mondragon

Such an integrated lifelong and lifewide educational approach helps create a strong CED praxis. To maintain and improve on this, the Mondragon educational system would need to keep returning to its visionary roots to develop workplace democracy and community democracy, areas in which it is poor.

In the following section, CED, as a type of community adult education, that reaches out and educates communities, especially marginalized ones, will be examined. Also, community adult education will itself be analyzed, so that CED education's relationship to adult and lifelong education can be mapped. This analysis will also intimate how CED education could be applied by (community) adult educators in their work.

### **6.3. CED AND THE COMMUNITY'S EDUCATION**

CED not only develops communities, but it implicitly and explicitly educates them. The rationale for investigating CED's educating of the community is to contextualize CED within the field of education. As such, CED is part of community adult education (a type of nonformal education), which itself is subsumed by adult education and lifelong education, or what I earlier referred to as progressive lifelong education.

Brookfield (1983) defines three types of community adult education:

1. Adult education for the community is a market approach, where educational programs are provided to consumers according to their demands. Programs are delivered in the locale of the providing centre. The educator doesn't

exercise value judgements regarding the merits of the course. S/he provides on demand.

2. Adult education in the community draws on Hiemstra's (1972) notion of the educative aspects of the community, where the community is a learning resource or laboratory. Many of the programs take place in the natural societal settings of the community. The students learn *from* the community rather than *about* the community. Control over content and conduct of programs is exercised by the learners, while the educator is a resource, a facilitator, and at times a co-learner.
3. Unlike the first two, adult education of the community is overtly normative and prescriptive. The educator perceives the 'good,' healthy community to be one that is self-directing, participatory and egalitarian. His/her aim may be to facilitate a given community to see where it should strengthen itself. Through the transmission of skills, values and knowledge, the community will either move itself to a qualitatively improved state or it will restructure itself. Whereas in the first two types of community adult education there is an implicit development of the community, it is in this third type that there is an overt development, if not transformation, of the community. In a way it is similar to popular education, and could be called community popular education.

### **6.3.1. Adult Education of Community**

Brookfield (1983) identifies two types of 'community education' ---- the liberal and the liberating. "'Liberal' assumes that the person is 'free' and should

be freer and more enlightened whilst 'liberating' assumes bondage and the setting free of whole classes of persons" (Fletcher, 1980, p, 69). These typologies are heavily dependent on the understanding one has of community. "The liberal view is of a *gemeinschaft* type of community, an organic harmonious entity" (Brookfield, 1983, p. 66-67), i.e. its perspective is one of equilibrium. "The liberating view holds that communities are split by divisions and inequalities of an economic, political and ethnic nature" (ibid, p. 67). There is also a third view, which includes both the liberal and the liberating types of community education. This view allows for the contradictions and paradoxes of community. At times there is the sense of the wholeness of community, and at other times there is the pluralism of different and sometimes conflicting interests and needs in the community. Conceptually, liberal and liberating community adult education can be seen as opposing ends of a continuum, with the third view, that combines both, in the middle. In practice, this third approach is very prevalent and can be weighted towards either end of the continuum, depending on the realities of the situation.

An example of a combined 'liberal' and 'liberating' community adult education approach is the Montreal Seniors' Campaign to Lower Transit Fares in the 1970s. The liberating aspect of this experience was the seniors' learning how to take action ---- and then taking action ---- against Montreal's Drapeau regime and an intransigent Montreal transit corporation. Praxis began with a period of raising seniors' awareness of their socio-economic realities. The following phase was their learning how to organize and fight for their social rights ---- in this instance the lowering of transit fares for those 65 years and over. A policy of



subsidized cheaper transport for old people, who are mostly on a marginal income, would provide them with more mobility. The seniors' transit campaign involved mass meetings and sit-ins in the Montreal subways.

The liberal community adult education goals were for the seniors to begin to:

- rejoin the mainstream society;
- unify as a community;
- develop self-esteem and self-confidence;
- organize themselves;
- educate the public, the media and governments as to seniors' socio-economic realities; and
- learn how to do all of the above.

Of the four examples of CED activities discussed earlier, none has a 'liberating' nor combined 'liberal'-'liberating' community education approach. Though they were born out of the black ghettos' fire and blood, American initiatives have been geared to garner establishment support and not be seen as radical. Canada's CED roots, while somewhat radical, have ended up with an educational practice similar to the American one. This has kept both American and Canadian CED mostly within the purview of specialists and a tiny part of the populace. Even so, CED education and activities suffer from lack of support from government, business and the general public. Part of this problem is due to people's unawareness of the CED approach to socio-economic and educational development.

In Tanzania, class confrontation was inimical to Nyerere's vision of Bantu socialism. However, while government presented a liberal CED education policy, the funding was inadequate and misused. More important, the agents of Ujamaa praxis ---- the civil servants, the party cadres, the field workers and educators ---- were unprepared and unwilling to carry out the government's CED policy. They fought against the development of local capacity, to say nothing of self-determination. In the face of such technical assistance, the peasantry refused to participate in Ujamaa.

In Sri Lanka, the Sarvodaya movement, cognizant of government hostility, and attempting to re-create a Buddhist field of social harmony, has maintained a liberal education approach. The nonformal adult education Shramadana camps have catered to, and awakened, whole communities. However, the nonformal Development Education Program has selected only young people and some monks to be educated. Because they haven't provided older villagers with the same opportunity, their input into village CED activities and into the nonformal village education programs ---- the Haulas and the Village Re-awakening Councils ---- has been limited.

The Sarvodaya movement faces another difficulty as it struggles to enter its next stage: a systemized, more scientific and better managed economic takeoff. The difficulty lies in its being caught in the contradiction between the volunteers' movement and managed development. Until now, it has been unable to resolve its tensions into synergetic new stages (Perry's 3 to 5), mainly because the movement is not yet subsumed under direct democratic participation. The

specialist coordinators, managers and educators, are even less involved in direct democracy. They can hardly see beyond their own agendas to recognize the paramount importance of the community determining its socio-economic life ---- in practice, not just in theory.

#### **6.4. SUMMARY**

CED praxis is composed of four spiraling cycles that evolve upwards (Perry's model), while at the same time looping back and re-invigorating earlier cycles (Melnyk's model). These four cycles ---- educational outreach/conscientization; organization of CED groups, institutions and movements; implementation; and support of economic enterprises and innovative lifestyles and networking ---- are generated by the interactive play between the 'education' pole and the 'development' pole of CED praxis.

CED education processes range from the moderate to the radical, with the former concerned more with the development of a strong CED infrastructure and the latter with the democratization of community socio-economic life. While both have goals of material and social betterment, the radical approach includes an equitable distribution of all social products ---- income, education, justice and social roles.

Chronically impoverished communities have needed and found value in CED education and praxis. The CED lifelong education programs have been successful in helping break the cycle of poverty. Here is a lifelong education curriculum

already in practice. Educators, who have been seeking to create a lifelong education practice, can now support CED education. As a force that both motivates community residents to participate in their own education, and unleashes the community's capacity to revitalize itself, CED and its educational programs require support, funding, research and analysis from all sectors, especially the community of educational institutions.

Though not part of a movement, Mondragon's integrated education system, using a blend of nonformal and formal education programs, has been most successful in involving many local people in a wide variety of learning activities that have increased their desire for knowledge, while helping create a complex of successful cooperatives. Mondragon's schools and education programs operate as cooperatives with the cooperative ideology pervading the curriculum content. A radical CED approach has been started. However, most of the producer cooperatives are still organized in Taylorized (i.e. routinized) assembly lines, rather than in work teams and other forms of workplace democracy.

While successful in awakening the village masses, the Sarvodaya movement has only partially been able to build on this base and develop meaningful lifelong education programs. These programs haven't attained their objectives of helping shift decision-making power to the villagers and assisting in stimulating the growth of local economies. One reason for this is that the programming tends to reflect the values and knowledge of the managers and volunteers, rather than that of the villagers. Similarly, the Tanzanian government and party leadership tried to restructure the educational system with little

attempt to bring the educators, administrators and civil servants on-side. A plan for the democratization of education was pushed in a highly undemocratic way.

In North America, CED lifelong education programming is growing in school, workplace and community settings. However, due to the lack of popular education, CED values, activities and education are still widely unknown. Outreach programs are needed for professionals, civil servants, businessmen and the general public (cycle one ---- 'preparing the ground'). The possibility of community economic and educational empowerment is a concept that could override the self-interest of all the different sectors and institutions. The thinking is as follows: by helping low-income communities develop themselves, especially through the educational impact of a movement, the entire society's economic and social well-being could be heightened. Therefore, a major task, for CED protagonists, is to convey to all the sectors, the social agencies and the public, the CED vision.

CED is concerned with the development and normative education of the community, as an organic whole ('liberal education'), and of alienated and exploited segments of the community ('liberating education'). The four CED programs discussed in this paper, by synthesizing the liberating community education approach into their liberal community education programs, could give their CED initiatives more momentum. The North American CED programs could develop into movements, and as such, educate all the sectors and the general populace in CED philosophies and praxis. Similar to the seniors who carried out the Montreal Seniors' Campaign to Lower Transit Fares, the exploited classes,

interest groups, minorities and lower-income communities could become conscientized and empowered, by learning how to campaign for their rights to determine and manage their own socio-economic and educational lives, and how to lobby for the necessary funding, resources and technical assistance.

By assimilating 'liberating' community education into their 'liberal' education program, the Sarvodaya movement could stimulate the villagers to learn how to demand that specialists and volunteers work together to support villager strategies to satisfy their needs. While the volunteers have been responsive to the villagers' cultural ways, the professionals require such sensitization and training. The Tanzanian Ujamaa approach could be similar, except here the white collar class needs to be educated in CED values. This white collar education could be reinforced by the Tanzanian government and party themselves becoming more democratic.

The next chapter will discuss the significance of CED education for the community and its members, especially low-income ones. CED education processes and outcomes will be examined within the context of psycho-social models of motivation to participate.

## CHAPTER 7. THE SIGNIFICANCE OF CED AS AN EDUCATIONAL INTERVENTION

The issue of nonparticipation in learning programs by low-income people is a major problem cited in the adult education literature (Darkenwald & Merriam, 1982; Canadian Association for Adult Education, 1982). It is assumed that participation in adult education programs would help end poverty. However, there is a catch-22 situation here. Nonparticipation seems to be perpetuated by poor people's poverty and their alienation from education (Rubenson, 1983).

What is significant about CED, as an educational and developmental intervention, is that it can, and does, motivate poor and working class people to participate in CED learning activities that help break their poverty cycle. Discussed below are seven important CED lifelong educational outcomes that help drive the Melnyk and Perry CED models from stage to stage.

While according to adult education literature, there is no theory of participation (Darkenwald & Merrriam, 1982), the literature does present some psycho-social interaction models of participation that explain people's motivation or lack of motivation to become involved. These models rely on cognitive theory approaches, as proposed by Lewin, Tolman, McClelland, Atkinson, and Vroom, among others; and on force-field analysis in the areas of people's attitudes, situations, needs, environments, and all intersections of these elements.

The force-field analysis draws heavily on Lewin's (1947) work and was

further developed by Miller (1967) into a social class theory. Using Maslow's (1954) needs hierarchy, Miller graphs the interaction of the positive and negative forces that motivate different social classes. For example, the survival needs of the lower social classes will be a positive force towards education, while their hostility to education will dampen that positive force. On the other hand, the upper classes, having fulfilled their survival needs are motivated to fulfill higher needs, such as self-actualization.

I will use Cross' (1981) and Rubenson's (1983) psycho-social models of participation (see figures 8 & 9) to indicate how CED processes motivate community residents and workers to participate in CED learning activities. Cross' is an interactive model, where motivational forces such as situation and psycho-social variables can work towards, or away from, participation. As a chain-of-response cycle, Cross' model assumes that participation will reinforce the other variables and lead to further participation. While similar to Cross' model in many respects, Rubenson's model also has, above and beyond Cross' model, the three structural variables of:

1. degree of hierarchical structure,
2. values of member and reference groups, and
3. study possibilities.

Because of their general significance, Rubenson accords these structural variables special status in his model, stating that "structural factors tend to strengthen previously established inequalities" (Rubenson, 1983, p. 22). When these structures are changed, educational barriers are overcome, access is increased, and education can play a role in people's socio-economic development.



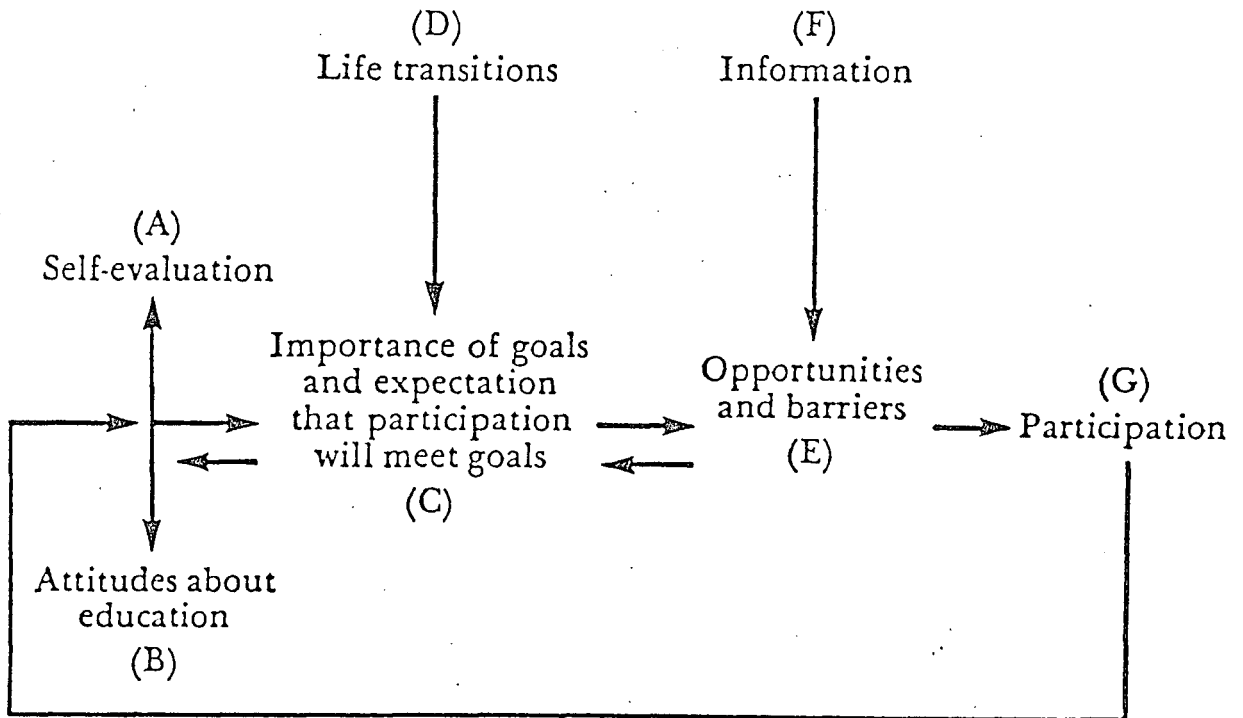
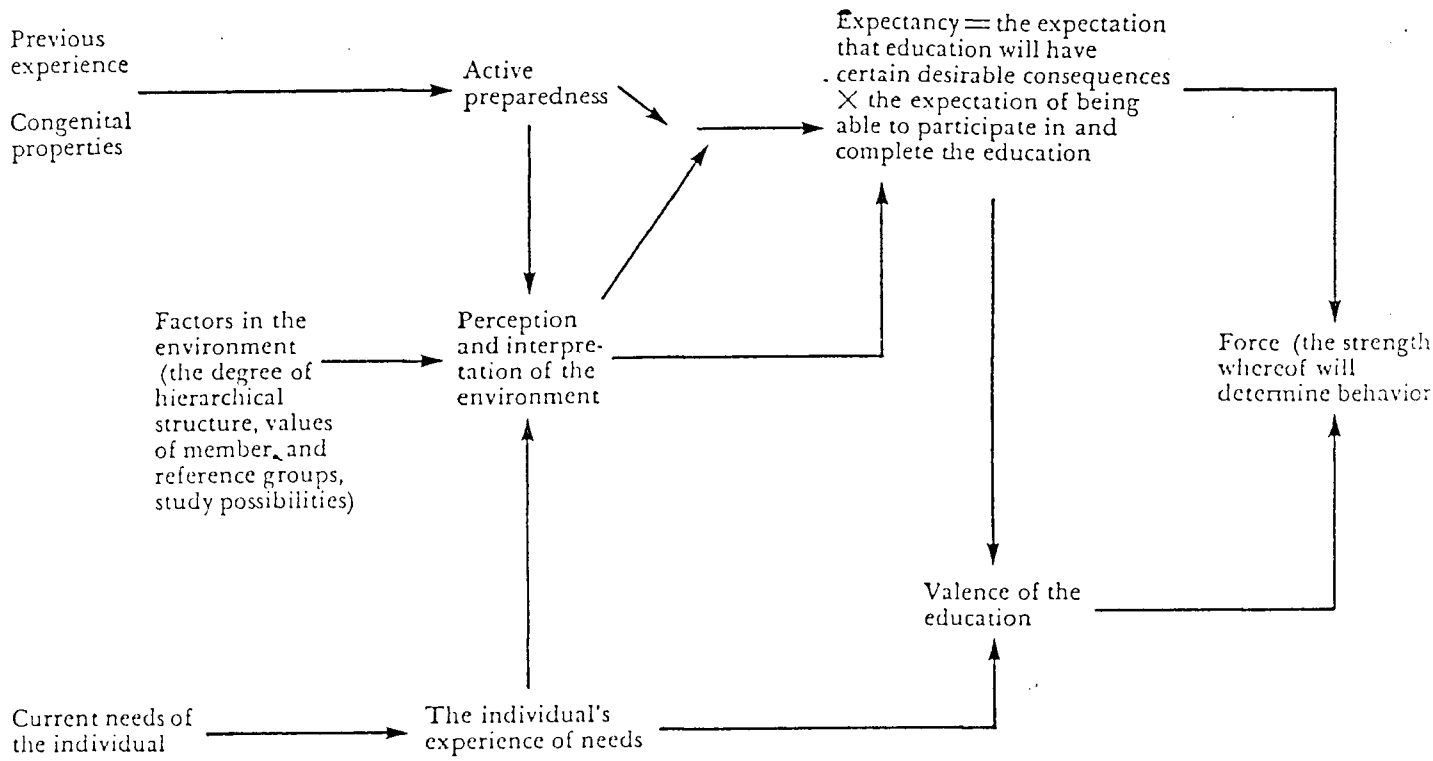


Figure 8. Cross' Chain-of-Response (COR) Model for Understanding Participation in Adult Learning Activities



Source: Rubenson, 1977, p. 35.

Figure 9. Rubenson's Paradigm of Recruitment

There are seven ways that CED heightens people's positive motivational forces and reduces their negative ones. Each of these seven CED educational effects can be found in either Cross' or Rubenson's participatory model.

1. CED addresses a primary need of people ---- the economic one. CED's economic approach is immediately meaningful and important to low-income people, who are keenly concerned with their material survival. It is CED's wholistic treatment of daily life, with its integrated mix of economic and educational activities and interventions, that low-income individuals, groups and communities can, and do, find attractive and relevant. Participation in CED can satisfy their experienced needs. This would increase the individual's motivational forces at Cross' point C and Rubenson's valence. Valence is the algebraic sum of the values placed on needs satisfaction (see figures 8 & 9).

'Pressing need' is one of the prerequisites for CED and is the first stage of Perry's model. As such, CED progressive lifelong education, as content (Melnyk's first phase of ideological vision) and process, is one of several means of responding to the needs of low-income individuals. These educational responses to direct human need are found in each cycle of the CED educational process.

2. Information, relevant and impactful, is provided through educational outreach and dialogue in which the aims and processes of CED are worked out. The failure to receive accurate information by "turned off" learners has historically been a barrier to learning (see Cross' pt. F). CED outreach can be a forceful call that can bring the community out. At the same time, it can refer residents to the appropriate educational and economic resources in the community

that match their needs. If those resources aren't available, CED outreach becomes informed, in turn, as to what is lacking in the community.

Each cycle of the CED educational process, loops back into previous cycles, providing ongoing information through formative and summative evaluation and through new analysis. In the radical educational process, this helps assure the democratic control, production, distribution and consumption of knowledge. It is this educational process and outcome that helps catalyze the CED movement (Melnik and Perry: phase/stage two).

3. CED can create teachable moments through its programs. These programs are geared to help people make important life-cycle transitions (see Cross' pt. D). The cueing up of triggering events through, for example, CED education outreach, can motivate people to alter their socio-economic lifestyles, as well as change their psychological outlook.

The triggering educational or learning events, and the life-cycle transitions, occur, not only for individuals, but also for collectives of people. CED education programs can catalyze people into movements, create community coalitions, develop cohesive 'kitchen study groups,' and so on. The life-cycle transitions of CED collectives (the Perry stages and Melnik phases; the cyclical CED education processes) can create more conscientized and skilled member groups. Such groups, as will be explicated in point 7, can be strong recruiters for education among low-income people. Other collectives of people, for which CED education programs could become a triggering learning event, and developmental stage transition, are special interest communities ---- educators, civil servants, political parties, etc.

4. Study possibilities are increased by having community residents develop their own CED learning activities. Rubenson has 'study possibilities' as one of his structural factors that address the question of creating equity. When residents are the subjects, rather than the objects, of the CED program, they can choose and develop program material that is relevant, that responds to their needs, interests and ideology. At the same time, to raise self-evaluation and change negative attitudes towards education (see Cross' pts. A & B), the course-work methods are non-competitive (i.e. cooperative), with self-administered and interpreted aptitude and interest tests, positive learning experiences and feedback. The objective is "to demonstrate to failure-threatened personalities that through their own efforts they can succeed" (Cross, 1981, p. 137).

Here is an opportunity for adult education, as a movement, and lifelong education, to be more than rhetorical and conceptual. CED self-directed and life-oriented learning activities are the processes that encourage people, as individuals and as collectives, to participate and begin to become 'masters of their own destiny.' This CED education approach suffuses the movement stage. If the CED education processes maintain their ideological vision and dialogue, then the professionalizing of the movement need not be a step toward entropy, as in Melnyk's model, but can be one where people can share their values and experiences and work together as in Perry's model. It is this educational commitment to dialogue and vision that keeps re-creating learning moments for geographical communities and communities of interest.

5. Expectations are met:

- when education helps accomplish the community residents' economic needs,

and

- when individuals can participate in and complete their education. These 'expectations' interact with 'valence' and determine the force of the residents' motivation to participate in CED activities (see figure 9).

The ability to meet expectations is due to the CED education cycles looping back to earlier cycles. This action informs community learners that their education programs are:

- aligned with their experiences, capabilities, social and work roles, and beliefs and visions,
- presented in digestible instructional form and process, and
- responsive to their socio-economic needs.

6. The CED process reduces the degree of hierarchic structure, both in the workplace and in community life. This occurs in the workplace through employees' participation in ownership of, and decision-making in, community-based business enterprises. This is the result of, and creates further opportunities for, participation in different forms of learning, training and education. For example, through cooperation, teams of workers do tasks that managers had previously done. Or extensive rotation of work roles among members maintains worker interest, and allows for the training of each other to be a natural and continuing part of the work process. Not only craft, business and technical skills are learned, but also skills such as analysis, expression, communication and cooperation.

Likewise in the community setting, cooperative leadership and community decision-making are an educational awakening for all the residents. By increasing

popular participation through decreased hierarchic structures, the sense of community and belonging is strengthened. This further motivates people to learn how to strengthen their community economically and socially. The CED experience gives them confidence to participate more fully and to keep reducing the degree of hierarchic structure in all situations.

Community and workplace democracy, as the heart of the radical CED approach, can guarantee that CED, and its educational processes, benefit all of the people. Knowledge no longer remains an elitist possession. Professionals and civil servants working with community residents and workers can share their competencies, resources and powers, rather than monopolize them. They can work alongside the community's citizens and be active in the full range of CED activities.

Horizontal teamwork is found in all of CED's educational cycles. In the workplace, as research has indicated:

- work itself is transformed,
- the work environment is changed,
- self-evaluation, and therefore the effects of earlier socialization, improve (Cross' pt. A), and
- the stock of knowledge is generated and used in the most effective and efficient way.

7. The CED process creates and/or strengthens member and reference groups. The latter are groups of people that utilize the norms of member groups (Rubenson, 1983). As these member groups successfully evolve into CED organizations and enterprises, and become more familiar and at ease with

learning activities, their attitudes towards education improve. This can have a strong "recruiting for learning" influence on the rest of the community. Miller (1967) points out that to encourage higher rates of participation in adult education by low-income people, a market psychology of enrollment (which doesn't work with poor people), must be dropped, and strategies developed for working with people in neighbourhood, community, or urban renewal organizations. If necessary, organizations and/or citizens' groups may first have to be created. As can be seen in Perry's stages two and three, and in the cycles of the CED educational processes, there is much organization of people into active groups.

The above seven CED outcomes, (which are above and beyond CED's economic and social outcomes), indicate that CED has a significant social and educational role to play. It is an unrecognized lifelong education curriculum which is humanistic and uses the principles of democracy, collective community and workplace responsibility. By bringing people together, so that they can create *their* socio-economic lives, it stimulates greater communal self-confidence, pride and motivation to participate further in CED and, very likely, in other learning activities.

### **7.1. SUMMARY**

Low-income community residents do not fully participate in social life, because they are alienated from many of society's institutions and activities, such as education and the educational system. The reasons for this diffidence and estrangement are many, including structures that maintain social inequalities and



socialization processes that re-create negative self-evaluations. However, without fuller participation in social life, poor people can't enjoy a more equitable share of society's fruits. CED programs are one way in which low-income community residents can be motivated to participate in educational, social and economic activities, so as to improve their well-being.

The field of adult education has several psycho-social models that describe the chain of interactive forces that either heighten or decrease people's motivation to participate in learning activities. CED approaches, as educational content and processes, are strong motivational forces that, when applied within the parameters of two such models, Cross' and Rubenson's, suggest that poor people would participate.

CED organizations and movements create strong member and reference groups that have a powerful "recruiting for learning" influence on the low-income community. Since poor people do not consume education in the marketplace, then member and reference groups are even more important as a way of attracting them to learning activities. The strength of the "recruiting for learning" of CED education is:

1. its content, which responds to poor people's economic needs, and
2. its process, which allows community residents to develop their own CED curriculum, one that they can expect to master and that *truly* responds to their needs.

The educational process also provides relevant and impactful CED information that recruits and links CED participants, and that also maintains the democratic

control, production, distribution and consumption of CED knowledge. This self-directed educational process and content helps form a more positive attitude towards self, education and community. Such psycho-social growth in turn reinforces the member and reference groups and their "recruiting for learning" activities.

CED philosophies and initiatives help reduce the degree of hierarchic structure in CED organizations and enterprises. This makes for stronger member groups by increasing community and workplace identity. Through a more democratic approach, social and work roles become more innovative and accessible to CED participants, which leads to further educational initiatives. These educational opportunities can often be profound triggering events and learning moments for both individuals and collectives. As such, they can lead to important life-cycle transitions, whether it is Canadian CED organizations becoming a movement or ministries of education recognizing the value of, and implementing, CED lifelong education programs.

In summary, CED programs motivate low-income citizens to participate in learning activities by:

1. helping reduce the degree of community and workplace hierarchies,
2. creating member and reference groups,
3. providing relevant information,
4. creating study possibilities,
5. satisfying people's life needs and learning expectations, and
6. stimulating life-cycle transitions of individuals, interest groups, CED

organizations and movements, professional bodies, social agencies and the first and second sectors.

## **CHAPTER 8. CONCLUSION AND IMPLICATIONS**

### **8.1. THE THEORY**

#### **8.1.1. Community Economic Development**

The following discussion will synthesize the CED concepts presented earlier in this paper, particularly: CED, CED education, CED stage development and praxis and the significance of CED. CED is a wholistic means, for geographic communities and communities of interest to revitalize themselves economically, socially and educationally. As a process and an outcome that is both educational and developmental, CED aims to integrate approaches that draw on the political, cultural, economic, social and educational dimensions in the attempt to satisfy the whole being. Its cooperative and humanist ideology of local self-determinism ranges from moderate to radical. The moderate CED approach focuses on building strong CED institutions that can stimulate socio-economic development, while the radical approach attempts to create egalitarian and collective ownership and/or management of all the CED activities.

#### **8.1.2. CED Education**

As an educational activity and program, CED educates the community. This community education is subsumed under adult education and lifelong education. When the community is held as an integrated whole, a *gemeinschaft*, then CED community education is 'liberal', working towards the betterment of the

whole community. When the community is perceived as divided with some segments dominating others, then CED community education is 'liberating' and it facilitates exploited groups to free themselves. The synthesis of 'liberal' and 'liberating' CED education permits the emancipation of disadvantaged groups in the community at the same time as furthering the well-being of the whole community. 'Liberal' and/or 'liberating' CED education can fall anywhere in the range of moderate to radical CED approaches.

### **8.1.3. CED Stage Development and Praxis**

The CED praxis, consisting of the dialectic of development and education, evolves through several stages. The developmental side of this praxis, through organizing and implementing activities, animates its opposite, the educational, whose learning processes of critical thinking, dialogue, analysis, design and evaluation, in turn, illuminates and generates a further phase of development. As a result of these interactions between development and education, CED instigates an evolutionary cycle of praxis.

The first CED stage of 'pressing socio-economic need' (a prerequisite for CED), calls forth a CED ideological response. The response manifests itself as CED praxis, where an organized educational outreach to community members generates dialogue and critical thinking about their socio-economic condition. Such a conscientization can lead to a second stage, where movements, organizations and groups, develop. These then

- analyze their economic realities,

- design developmental and educational programs to accomodate those realities,
- learn how to organize further, and
- evaluate their previous work.

#### **8.1.4. The Significance of CED Stages 1 and 2**

The significance of the first two stages of CED praxis is that there is a psycho-social restructuring going on, which can motivate low-income citizens who are otherwise alienated from education and development to participate in their own socio-economic development and education. One structural motivational force is the creation and/or strengthening of member groups. Since poor people rarely participate in education or development available on the open market, member organizations can be built and/or structured to have a strong "recruitment for learning" mandate, whose power lies in the following conditions:

- people's 'pressing socio-economic needs' are addressed;
- CED philosophies and programs are presented in relevant and forthright informational ways; and
- CED study possibilities are (re)structured so that people can control and manage their learning activities, and expect that these can be done and will meet their needs.

#### **8.1.5. CED Stages 3 to 5**

The first two CED stages are dependent on community support and solidarity. This includes collaboration with all sectors, schools and professional

bodies. When the second stage generates the third stage ---- the implementation of CED programs ---- the CED movement comes to a critical point in its evolution. It can further develop in the direction of a social movement, professionalize and institutionalize itself, or attempt a synthesis of both. In any of these implementation procedures, the learning of work skills is basic.

While the degree of participation at each stage of CED praxis varies, depending on the range of CED approaches, and the exigencies of the time, this third stage often determines whether the people actually get to run the economic enterprises, or whether those enterprises will be in the hands of managers from the sectors and social agencies. The pivotal importance of choice in the third stage makes it an event which can trigger educational life-cycle transitions for many groups, organizations and movements. In turn, this then leads to the fourth and fifth stages. These stages involve four elements.

- They are an extension of the first three stages of outreach, organization and implementation.
- They continue supporting existing economic ventures.
- They involve networking with other organizations.
- They create an atmosphere, through popular education and government policy, that encourages CED praxis.

#### **8.1.6. The Significance of CED Restructuring**

The five stages of the CED process must all have the three interdependent elements of resources, local capacity and technical assistance. These

elements are essential if people are to develop their capabilities in such roles as managers, organizers and educators. The significance of the active participation of community members in CED activities is that it reduces the degree of hierarchic structures in CED institutions and enterprises. Such organizational restructuring can:

- break down the inequitable distribution of social and work roles,
- allow for innovative and cooperative team approaches in these roles,
- encourage the necessary learning for these roles,
- mobilize resources and manpower,
- increase positive community-, enterprise-, education- and self-evaluation,
- create greater productivity and improved worker performance, and
- increase motivation to learn.

The likelihood of such self-sustaining outcomes increases with the radicalness of the CED thrust. Finally, such CED outcomes are educationally significant, not only because they are important 'learning moments,' but also because they lead to new stage developments in the lives of individuals, groups, enterprises, organizations and movements.

## **8.2. THE PRACTICE**

This thesis has examined the history and practice of CED in four different countries. What follows is a brief synopsis of these four types of CED in the context of the CED theory just presented. This will allow for an analysis of what is lacking in CED practice and a discussion on what needs to be done.



The first stage of CED activities in the U.S. ---- educational outreach ---- has succeeded to some degree in responding to the 'pressing needs' of some of its minorities and low-income groups. In the beginning, government policy, funding, and technical assistance were forthcoming. Community support was good. Member groups were formed, educational information and opportunities grew, and some people's lives began to improve. However, in response to the pressure to show quick results, a global economic downturn and a new government administration unsympathetic to the philosophies of CED, the CED initiatives became moderate in their approach and their 'liberating' educational focus was dropped. Participation by the mass of community members became token and only a small number of low-income people benefited. The cost-efficiency of short-term success created institutionalized CED programs benefiting those who were already successful.

The Canadian CED experience is similar. It too began with short-term support from government and social agencies. However, when government and the agencies shied away from more radical CED approaches, the second stage of CED involved the organization of small, select groups rather than movements. The result was that in the third stage, these CED groups chose moderate, and mainly token, approaches. Thus the educational and developmental potential of CED has become muted in Canada. Member groups are smaller and more limited; the degree of reduction in hierarchic structure is small; and information and study possibilities are far fewer. While CED rhetoric may still be strong, the needs and expectations of the mass of low-income community members are not being met.

Thus, North American CED organizations and enterprises often find themselves in a bind. On the one hand, they need funding, resources and technical assistance. On the other hand, only a more radical approach ---- where community people actively participate in managing and/or owning community enterprises and organizations ---- can spur local capacity, which is both the result and the cause of local socio-economic development and education. The irony is that though many CED organizations take the route of moderate and token participation, they are still denied the necessary assistance and support.

Another disappointment is that cooperatives and worker-run businesses, while philosophically related to CED approaches, generally haven't supported or worked as part of their local economic development programs. They've been more concerned with their interests, and/or they've interacted only with their central authority. Opportunities for community economic education and development continue to be lost.

Educational institutions have provided CED progressive lifelong education programs and processes that are generative of, and contained within, each stage of CED praxis. However, these are small, few in number, and not part of an integrated and collaborative CED approach.

Tanzania's Ujamaa movement is a disappointment for the field of CED practice. Here is a noble vision ---- a blueprint to turn the countryside into an egalitarian, self-determining and self-sustaining sea of villages, and a lifelong educational scheme to restructure the education system to serve the peasants'

needs ---- all gone to waste. The mistake occurred in the first stage: the educational outreach program was flawed in its inception and delivery. Simply put, the educators, administrators and field workers themselves, had not acquired an education in CED ideals and philosophy, nor were they trained in its practice. The top leadership was unwilling to organize a 'liberating' CED educational outreach, which could have created class tension and/or conflict. The unfortunate repercussions of the Ujamaa education outreach was that people learned that education and development were not in their hands, and that those telling them otherwise were not to be trusted and should be resisted.

In many ways the Sarvodaya Shramadana movement has been the most successful of the four CED cases, although it lacked the ingredient of funding from a supportive government. However, because of its educational outreach of nonformal education work camps and nonformal education programs of cultural and economic revitalization, it has awakened millions of villagers, who strongly support the movement. The work camps, the village special interest groups of farmers and youth, the socio-economic projects of day-care and community kitchens, the Village Re-awakening Councils and the Development Education Program ---- all of these have propelled Sarvodaya through most of the stages of CED evolution. However, at its third stage of CED, Sarvodaya is still teetering, unsure whether to take a moderate or radical tack. Meanwhile, there is little local participation in managing CED activities. While member groups are strong and encourage learning, the lack of hierarchic restructuring in favour of egalitarian villager self-determination has minimized educational possibilities, and the likelihood of an economic takeoff that benefits the peasants.

### **8.3. IMPLICATIONS**

What needs to be done? First, there must be an attempt to recreate the earlier, more visionary stage of CED. This ideology, of local self-determined revitalization should be part of an interactive dialogue in each cycle of the CED educational process.

Second, people need to be conscientized, i.e. critically awakened as to their socio-economic condition in the national, international and local scheme of things. Such a conscientization requires a 'liberating' or synthesized 'liberating' and 'liberal' CED education program which would create especially strong member groups, intent on recruiting further members and re-creating their critical dialogue.

Third, some of the radical CED approaches must be adopted, otherwise CED will end up coopting community energies. The more radical CED thrust can help people restructure their work and social life, in a more just and satisfying way. The learning outcomes are incalculable. Community members' response would be so huge, that the issue of motivation to participate would be put to rest.

Fourth, to assure a strong and viable CED initiative, and to make it readily available, a wide base of community support is required. This entails a vigorous CED movement. Such a movement would need to be animated by a popular community education, that is true to, and clear in, its mission and its process of learning activities.

Fifth, to better understand the education-development relationship, empirical studies should be undertaken, to investigate the impact ---- motivational and developmental ---- of CED activities and education programs. To verify the first four implications, such a study would also examine the different effects of activities and programs that range from 'liberal' to 'liberating,' moderate to radical, ideologically strong to weak, and movement-oriented to institution-centered.

Sixth, to ensure an inclusive and wide base of support, government, business, professional bodies and social agencies need to be recruited. Their support, funding and technical assistance is important. To have all these sectors and institutions participate and collaborate in CED, given their self-interests, an educational outreach of dialogue and critical analysis needs to be undertaken. Examples of such an education outreach practice are the Canadian Association of Adult Education (CAAE) facilitating a national CED movement; British Columbia's Social Planning and Research Council initiating CED conferences throughout the province that include all the sectors; and a British Columbia Advisory Committee on Continuing Education's Role in Economic Development and Youth Employment requesting funding for CED education from their province's ministry of education.

Seventh, there is a major role for both adult education and lifelong education to provide theory, research and practitioners for CED education, to create public awareness and understanding about CED, and to help implement all seven recommendations here listed. First, to quote a Marxist aphorism, the educators need to be educated. This education would of course be self-directed. An example of this is the 'Adult Education in CED' workshop held at the 1988

CAAE conference.

Eighth, the cooperatives, the worker owned/managed enterprises, and the bodies of community workers, civil servants, economists and so forth, need to be enlisted to participate in a wholistic and integrated CED approach. They too would need to realize that by working for the well-being of all the members of the community, they would in the long run be serving their own interests.

If the best elements of the North American, Tanzanian, and Sri Lankan CED programs were combined, then the ideal CED program could be approximated. Such a program would include Tanzania's government and party vision and policy support; the Ujamaa and Sarvodaya CED philosophies; the Sarvodaya movement and some of its education outreach and programs; and the North American resources, funding and technical assistance.

Even if all of the above eight recommendations were put into practice, CED programs possibly might not succeed in motivating community members to take control of their own socio-economic well-being. One reason for this might be that the CED programs lack sensitivity towards people's socio-cultural realities and values. There would also have to be a strong commitment to the humanist ideals of CED. If so, there would be a strong potential for adult education to help unleash a strong CED movement, to inspire the sectors, the agencies and the public to implement CED programs, and to stimulate equitable and self-determined socio-economic development and education at each evolving stage of CED praxis.

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