DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 130 971 SO 009 561

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TITLE Education in Social Movements.
INSTITUTION Pittsburgh Univ., Pa. International and Development Education Program.
PUB DATE Nov 76
NOTE 230p.

EDRS PRICE MF-$0.83 HC-$12.71 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS *Activism; Black Power; *Case Studies; Dissent; Economically Disadvantaged; *Education; Educational Experience; Females; Minority Groups; Organizational Development; Organizational Effectiveness; *Organizations (Groups); Political Attitudes; Social Action; Social Attitudes; *Social Change; Socially Disadvantaged; Student Alienation; Tables (Data)

ABSTRACT

The contribution of education to social protest movements within the United States and Canada is analyzed. The purpose of the study was to call attention to educational programs which have succeeded in facilitating social change. The method used was evaluation of advantages and limitations of education through case studies of 28 social movements. Research focused on origins of the movement; educational response and rationale; and evaluation of the perceived contributions of education to movement objectives. Results of the 28 case studies indicate that education developed within a movement context increases the capacity for collective action and augments movement opportunity and solidarity. Detailed analyses of a United Farm Workers case study and a Feminist Women's Health Movement case study are presented. Results of these analyses indicate that the key to social movement organization development is increased individual, group, and organizational competence. The authors conclude that development of organizational competencies over time is the most obvious evidence of the influence of educational programs on social protest movement organization. (Author/DB)

# EDUCATION IN SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

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November 1976

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# CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

## Overview and Intent of Research

This study deals with an analysis and evaluation of the contribution of education to collective efforts seeking social and cultural change. Through an analysis of various case studies of such phenomena, this study analyzes how specific educational programs have fed into social movements. Under what conditions has education contributed to movement efforts at social change?[1]

In making an assessment of this question, the primary task is the formulation of a method of analysis by which the relevant variables conditioning collective efforts at social change and the utilization of educational programs can be identified. An analysis of the relationships of variables within both the educational and social change processes facilitates an assessment of the advantages and limitations of education within social movements.

The research in this study is conducted on several case studies of educational programs within various social movements. Using a comparative framework, the evaluation of case studies relates the effectiveness of variant conditions within movement educational programs to the social movement organization and its environmental context. In order to confine the the research problem to operational boundaries, the case study evaluation is limited to social movements within the United States and Canada.

The generalizations which an evaluator should be able to conclude from such an analysis are instrumental in displaying which elements are generally associated with effective educational efforts by movement organizations seeking social change, and those associated with ineffective efforts. The purpose of the research is critical not only in how it feeds back to theory (greater facility in understanding social movements), but also in its application within social

movements (i.e. greater effectiveness in goal accomplishment. As such, it points toward further program development.

## Definitions of Concepts and Issues

In initiating the following analysis, it is necessary to define the concepts of "social movement" and "education".

In an analysis of group organization for power ("power" defined as the ability to make one's interests felt in the decisions that affect the individual), Saul Alinsky expresses the essence of a social movement: "the orderly development of participation, interest and action"[2] by a group of people, for the purpose of articulating demands for change or resistance to change in the social order. Several assumptions are inherent in this definition:

1. A social movement is the orderly development of participation, interest and action by a group of people... The viability of a movement is dependent on its organizational capabilities. As such, an essential function of the social movement is to serve as a "chemically treated funnel through which aggressions are transmuted into a dynamic cooperative drive".[3] This concerted effort gives character to the various organizations and structured groups (groups with specific programs, defined goals and objectives, an ideology, and leadership elites) which comprise the social movement. In addition, the ability of the social movement to mobilize participation, arouse interest and channel energies, and organize action tempers the direction of change.

2. ...for the purpose of articulating demands for change or resistance to change... The conception of a social movement begins with a group of people sharing a similar experiential background, seeking either to alter socio-economic structural relations in order to alleviate perceived grievances: or those groups seeking to facilitate ethnic revival and resistance to acculturation. The formation and development of a social movement is founded on perceived

grievances and expectations of what they view as just or what ought to be. Secondly, a social movement is an outgrowth or crystallization of the desire of a group of people to find solutions for their own problems and to direct change according to their perceived needs, forces which are obstructed by the realization of the scarcity of organizational resources to effect change from below. The social movement is generally a response to a real or perceived sense of powerlessness, to the insulation of people from decision-making in society, fired by the need to articulate demands for change. Case study analysis will show that social movements are composed of the marginal groups in society: the politically impotent, those that are socially and economically immobile, and those that lack identity as individuals and have a sense of not belonging.

3. ...in the social order... A social movement seeks to bring about or resist social, political, cultural, and/or economic change in the social order. In many instances, a social movement implies the building of a new power group, and confrontation with tradition and established institutions -- in itself, a violation of and threat to the maintenance of the social order. In attempting to induce social change or to resist change efforts, Blumer has stated that "a movement has to carve out a career in what is practically an opposed, resistant, or at least indifferent society".[4] As such, the movement functions essentially to educate people (including the public) for the purpose of gaining adherents to movement goals and objectives, i.e. in an effort to win the "hearts and minds" of the people.

As such, an educational strategy utilized within the context of a social movement is oriented towards liberating (in both personal and group terms) rather than adjustive outcomes. The problem of this study is to assess the role and contribution of an educational strategy when the educational process is enmeshed in collective change efforts for specific social, political and/or economic goals. Basically it

involves an analysis of the process of a change oriented educational strategy and an assessment of its impact, potential and limitations.

The evaluation of the effects of an educational program or more specifically, the assessment of the value of a particular educational approach in facilitating social change efforts, must also take into consideration the inter-relationship of the educational system to the social order and its prescribed position of subservience. The formal established school system seeks to protect rather than inform, to promote consensus rather than conflict. The intended and unintended consequences of formal education has resulted in a fragmented educational experience, with heavy emphasis on compliance with the established order for maintenance purposes.

As a result, the exclusion of certain groups of people from decision-making, together with the maintenance of their oppressive condition, has presented a task for the use of education as a tool in social change efforts. In coming to terms with frustrations with the system, various groups are utilizing other educational strategies in order to gain control of their own education and also for the purpose of directing change to suit their perceived needs. As outlined above, these educational programs take many forms, from schools to established communication networks. Within this context, a definition of the concept of education is associated with several key questions.

1. Who defines problems, needs, priorities and goals? Within the context of this study, education is defined as "movement controlled", with specific programs developed in response to the movement's perceived sense of powerlessness. More specifically, educational programs are developed and utilized as a tool in social movement efforts efforts to bring about social change.

2. What are the goals? The orientation of education within a social movement is geared to "liberating"

rather than adjustive outcomes. Education is geared to the perceived priorities of a movement involved in a struggle for altered social relations. Generally, education is utilized for the purpose of facilitating the articulation of problems, assisting in the formulation of solutions, and meeting the requisite perceived needs of an organization.

3. What is the structure of education? For comparative purposes in this study, analysis and evaluation is limited to education with a defineable program structure. This structure includes the audience to which the program is directed, the functional purpose of the program, and the technique utilized.

With these characteristics in mind, "movement education" is defined as structured, learning activities, developed and controlled by a social movement within a liberating framework, for the expressed purpose of meeting movement needs, priorities and goals. With education feeding into the rising levels of consciousness of a social movement, the success of a collectivity's appeal for change will hopefully rest in dialectical exchange and accomodation of grievances.

## The Significance and Need for the Study

The problem in determining the practical use of limited educational resources is one of assessing the value of particular educational programs and processes and the institutional potential of a particular educational approach. Current policy and planning literature has emphasized the capacity of education in increasing the structural viability of a society in accordance with established national development priorities. Studies have largely been focused on the role of education in the socialization/resocialization and technical training of "maladjusted" individuals and groups. Referred to as "welfare colonialism"[5], the purpose of education within this context is to raise the consciousness of the people, but with prescribed answers conforming to the

legitimized goals of a society. Motivated by paternalistic attitudes, the educator becomes preoccupied in doing for people, rather than with them; with application of educational principles tempered by a dedication to "social uplift through social discipline".[6]

The application of educational programs in facilitating change from below and as a means of personal/group liberation has been virtually ignored in educational planning literature.[7] In recognition of this neglect, the deliberate focus of this study is to describe, analyze, and evaluate the utilization of those educational programs created and controlled by social movements seeking to (a) alter socio-economic structural relations in order to alleviate perceived grievances; and (b) those seeking to facilitate ethnic revival and resistance to acculturation. If the argument is accepted that the purpose of formal schooling and establishment sponsored educational programs is to preserve the stability of the existing socio-economic structure, in addition to the control of deviance (i.e. programs oriented towards adjustive outcomes), it is then contended that the utilization of educational programs created and controlled by social movements might perhaps be a fruitful area to examine in the possibility of contributing to social change.

## CHAPTER II: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND BACKGROUND OF RESEARCH

Theoretically, the study of social change has consisted of large scale theories and change resulting from the intended and unintended consequences of technological development and industrialization, i.e. change efforts essentially involving top-down strategies.[1] This study proposes to explore another dimension of the social change process involving theories of bottom-up strategies, more specifically, the study of collective action and the implications for social change. Collective efforts for social change may be pervasive, as in the revolution in China in 1949, and in France in 1789; or they may be reformist in nature and far less profound. However, the change efforts themselves implicate the existence of relatively organized groups of people, dissenting against the established order and seeking to articulate demands for change against the resistance and rigidity of institutionalized ideologies, norms and attitudes. Social movements thus involve both structure (coordinated groups of people) and ideology, i.e. a common set of perceptions of "what's wrong" and "what ought to be".

The research problem of this study deals with the innovation and utilization of education within a social movement context, and questions whether there is a correlation or significant relationship between education and movement goal accomplishments. More specifically, this analysis will deal with the following ramifications of the question of "under what conditions have educational programs contributed to movement efforts at social change?":

1. Under what conditions do social movements innovate educational programs?
2. What variables are most influential in shaping the relative effectiveness of educational programs?
3. What variables are typically associated with program ineffectiveness?

4. What evidence is there that educational programs have made significant contributions to movement objectives, i.e. how have educational program goals, such as training leaders, strengthening solidarity, and developing strategy, etc., contributed to movement objectives?

To reiterate, the primary task in answering these questions is the formulation of a method of analysis by which the relevant variables conditioning collective efforts at social change and the utilization of education within movement organizations can be identified. In order to understand how education fits in with social movement development and the achievement of movement goals, it is necessary to comprehend in process terms how social movements become structured in an effort to articulate demands for change.

In order to study the development of movement organizations and the development of movement programs and doctrine, and in order to analyze variable inter-relationships within both the educational and social change processes, this study will focus on those societies which are more amenable to and tolerant of social expressions of dissent and conflict. A theoretical analysis or framework of change efforts within societies which are largely intolerant of expressions of conflict involves a different set of problems for analysis, compared to those societies in which efforts at reform are tolerated as a viable alternative and in which the cumulative effect is hopefully institutionalized channels for protest. For this reason, this study is confined to the analysis of social movements within the United States and Canada.

The next step is to formulate a theoretical framework, a method of analysis, in which the relevant variables conditioning collective efforts at social change and the utilization of education within social movements can be identified. In an effort to build a theoretical framework for such an analysis, it was found advantageous to use the work of F.L. Tullis, author of Lord and Peasant in Peru: A Paradigm of Political and Social Change, and Politics and Social Change in Third World Countries.[2]

The quest for change, whether it involves the need to alleviate perceived grievances through socio-economic structural change, or the need to re-establish or re-define self-identity, involves stress and varying degrees of struggle. The question then becomes one of identifying those underlying stress factors which foster the development of a social movement. Tullis has labelled these conditions as "structural binds", i.e., structural discrepancies between group capacity to act and evident opportunity to do so within the confines of the environmental situation.[3] By definition, the structural bind involves the power relationships between a mobilized group and the environmental situation (i.e. the social-political-economic context pre-conditioning the possibilities of structured societal responses to social movements). Structural flexibility, or the possibilities of societal responses may be represented on a range from social facilitation/absorption to social control/coercion.

The structural bind or the stress conditions and the intensity of those conditions, created by societal responses to articulated demands for change, influence the organizational development (solidarity and intensity) of the social movement, in addition to perceived expectations of opportunity. Thus we can represent the relationships of the above variables relative to the development of social movements from a dormant/inactive stage to one of intensity.[4]

| dormant/inactive | moderate | intense |
|---|---|---|
| $V_1^+ + V_2 + FV_2$ | $V_1^+ + V_2 + FV_2$ | $V_1^+ + V_2 + FV_2$ |
| | $V_1^+ + V_2 + FV_2$ | $V_1^+ + V_2 + FV_2$ |

where:

$V_1$ = capacity for collective action
$V_2$ = opportunity
$FV_2$ = perceived expectation of future opportunity
$V_3$ = solidarity

The organizational variables ($V_1$, $FV_2$, $V_3$) describe the internal conditions of the organization. In order to assess their dynamic quality, the following situations progress in time from the interaction between internal organizational variables and structural flexibility factors ($V_2$, $SR_c$, $SR_f$).[5]

TABLE 1: DEVELOPMENT OF MOVEMENT INTENSITY

| Dormant | Moderate | Intense |
|---|---|---|

SITUATION I:

$V_1^{+} + V_2^{\bar{o}} + FV_2^{\bar{o}}$

SITUATION II:

$SR_f$ ------->

$V_1^{+\uparrow} + V_2^{\bar{o}} + FV_2^{\uparrow}$

(a.) Short run:

moderates movement forces and facilitates reform

(b.) Long run:

---------- $V_1^{+\uparrow} + V_2^{\uparrow} + FV_2^{\bar{o}}$

SITUATION III:

$SR_c$ ------->

$V_1^{+\uparrow} + V_2^{\uparrow} + FV_2^{\uparrow}$

(a.) Short run:

containment; but tends to radicalize movement forces and to increase solidarity.

---------- $V_1^{+\uparrow} + V_2^{\nearrow} + FV_2^{\nearrow}$

(b.) Long run:

resolution of structural bind; or destruction of movement forces.

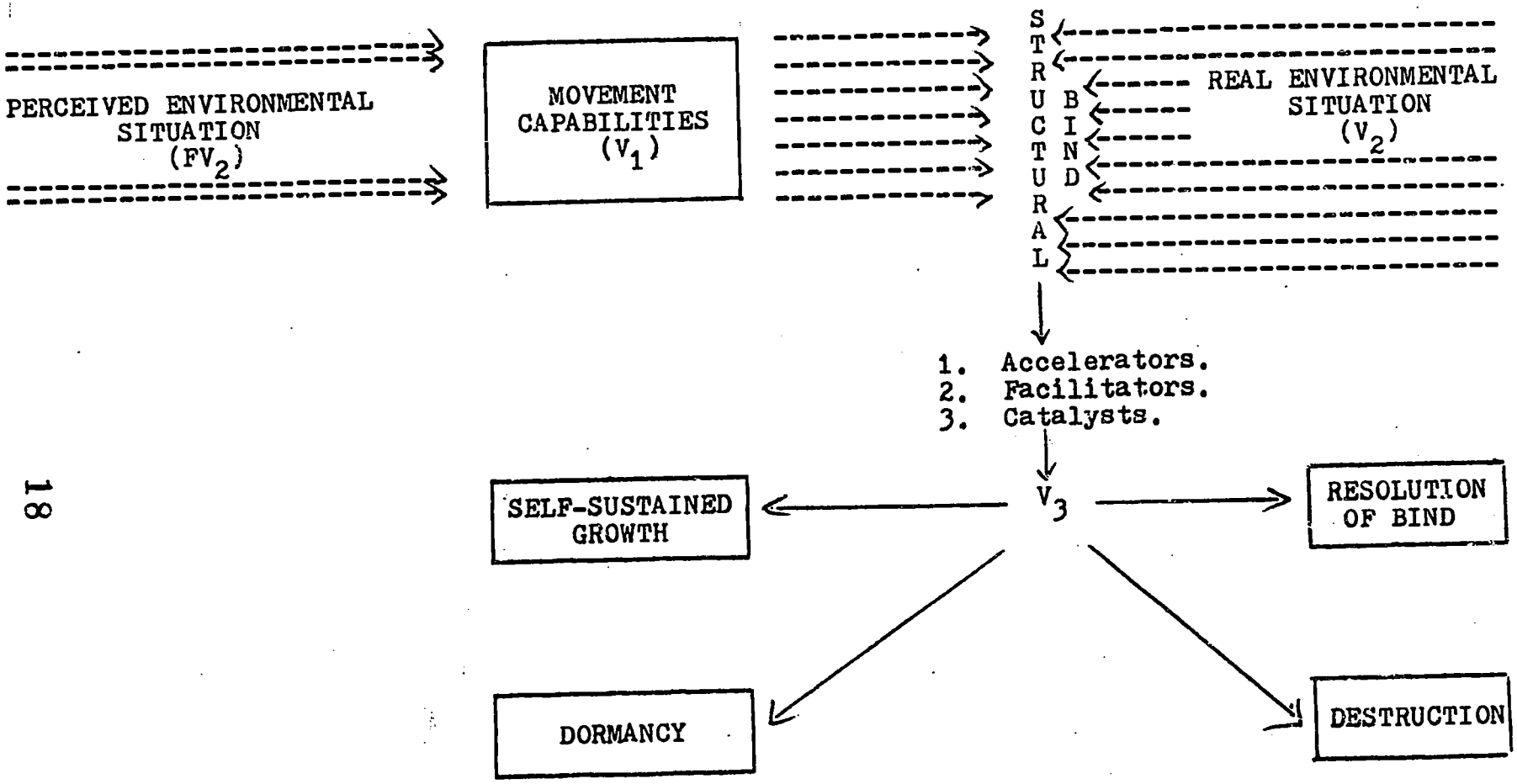
---

$SR_f$ = societal response - facilitation
$SR_c$ = societal response - control
$V_1$ = capacity; $V_2$ = opportunity; $V_3$ = solidarity
$FV_2$ = perceived future opportunity ($\bar{o}$ = low/static)

The previous chart shows three situations of the short and long term effects of environmental conditions where the societal responses include facilitation or control. The advantage of a theoretical framework is that it facilitates an assessment of how and why educational programs have enhanced the position, relative to goal achievement and increased movement intensity, of social movements in the three situations described.

Before definitively establishing this framework, it is also necessary to define the "internal binds" within social movement organizations. Examples of internal binds include leadership factions, goal displacement, participant apathy, lack of organizational skills and resources, etc. The existence of these internal binds within movement organizations accentuates already existing external stress conditions and tends to obstruct the intensification of movement and development and solidarity. The following framework defines the effects of these binds and the inter-relationships of the afore-mentioned variables (capacity, opportunity, expectations of future opportunity, solidarity, and societal response).

TABLE 2: THE PROCESS OF SOCIAL MOVEMENT DEVELOPMENT



The theoretical framework for the analysis of social movement development provides for four possible outcomes of social movement development:

(1.) resolution of the structural bind.
(2.) self-sustained growth.
(3.) stress conditions which progress towards dormancy.
(4.) stress conditions resulting in movement destruction.

Tullis describes an "additional set of factors that has some bearing on the intensity of collective action, once the structural and psychological binds are set"[6], and refers to accelerators, facilitators and catalysts. It is at this critical junction that the utilization of educational programs by movement organizations will be examined.

The difficulty with this type of analysis lies in the fact that the conceptual analysis of education in a review of the literature[7] has focused on the need for more effective learning in order to reach more people, more effectively in the socialization/politicization process. Analysis has been essentially devoted to the study of educational programs within the contest of top-down strategies for the expressed purpose of re-enforcing establishment ideologies and goals.

> "A major thrust of the literature in non-formal education has been the 'demythologizing' of educational thought -- the recognition that schooling is only one of a probably infinite array of educational possibilities...
> In summary, the need for effective non-formal educational programs is usually expressed as a need to find alternatives: the alternatives are needed because of one or more of the following motives:
>
> (1.) To bring education to people who are not being reached by the formal educational establishment.
> (2.) To provide education at lower costs.
> (3.) To direct educational efforts toward goals that are more practical or more closely

related to the learners' needs within their society".[8]

As observed, the interest in education is built on the idea of engineering new delivery systems as an alternative to formal schooling.

> "From this perspective the problem becomes essentially 'How can non-formal education be used to support incremental improvements in resource allocation and production, to make existing societies, even if characterized by gross structural violence, more visible?' The answer has been in large part to blame the victims and to seek to make their behavior through schooling and training more 'functional' in terms of elite expectations".[9]

There is little evidence in the literature as to how education functions to facilitate social change apart from the priorities established by the dominant ideologies and social institutions. "Outside the establishment or at its fringes, we need to work with individuals and groups who are moving towards an awareness of political and economic oppression and are acting against it".[10]

In "strategies for non-formal education", it is contended that in order to expand the existing knowledge base of educational potentials for social change, it is necessary to study the implications of the use of educational programs within social movements.

> "This priority might be viewed from several knowledge needs. One approach is to develop a conceptual framework drawing on social movement and collective behavior theory...to explain why and how social and ethnic movements have developed non-formal education as latent movement functions. Under what conditions has the phenomenon of non-formal education in collective social change efforts occurred?
> ...We also need to identify and classify examples of non-formal education programs as they have occurred over time in collective efforts by groups seeking to oppose acculturaion, inequality, racism, economic exploitation, and structured violence in non-revolutionary societies...With comparable analysis, they may well help to indicate key variables influencing the creation, operation, and outcomes of liberating non-formal education programs".[12]

It is necessary not only to develop a conceptual framework based on social movement theory in order to explain how and why social movements have created educational programs; but also to identify and classify existing examples of educational programs created within a movement context. There are numerous possibilities for an exploratory analysis of case studies available in social movement literature.[13] This study will examine twenty-eight case studies of movement organizations, including examples of ethnic movements, labor movements, communal and religious movements, and various political type movements. Through an analysis of various factors within these case studies, it is hoped that an assessment can be made of the contribution of education to social movements.

## CHAPTER III: HYPOTHESES AND INTER-RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN VARIABLES

This exploratory study questions whether there is a significant relationship between education and social movements. Does education function to...

- increase the capacity for collective action?
- increase self-generated opportunity?
- increase movement capacity?

More specifically, the analysis and evaluation of case studies will assess the validity and applicability of the following hypotheses:

I. Inter-relationships between education and movement capacity ($V_1$)

- The utilization of education tends to increase the capacity or group resources of a movement, and will be associated with growth.

II. Inter-relationships between education and opportunity ($V_2$)

- With the increasing intensity of structural binds and the probable increase in movement solidarity, the utilization of education tends to relieve the structural bind by equalizing movement capacity and opportunity, i.e. education acts to increase self-generated opportunity as a result of increasing capacity.
- The utilization of education to establish social linkages, i.e. to maximize the leverage of the social movement and its legitimacy, enhances movement goal achievement and relief of the structural bind.

III. Inter-relationships between education and solidarity ($V_3$)

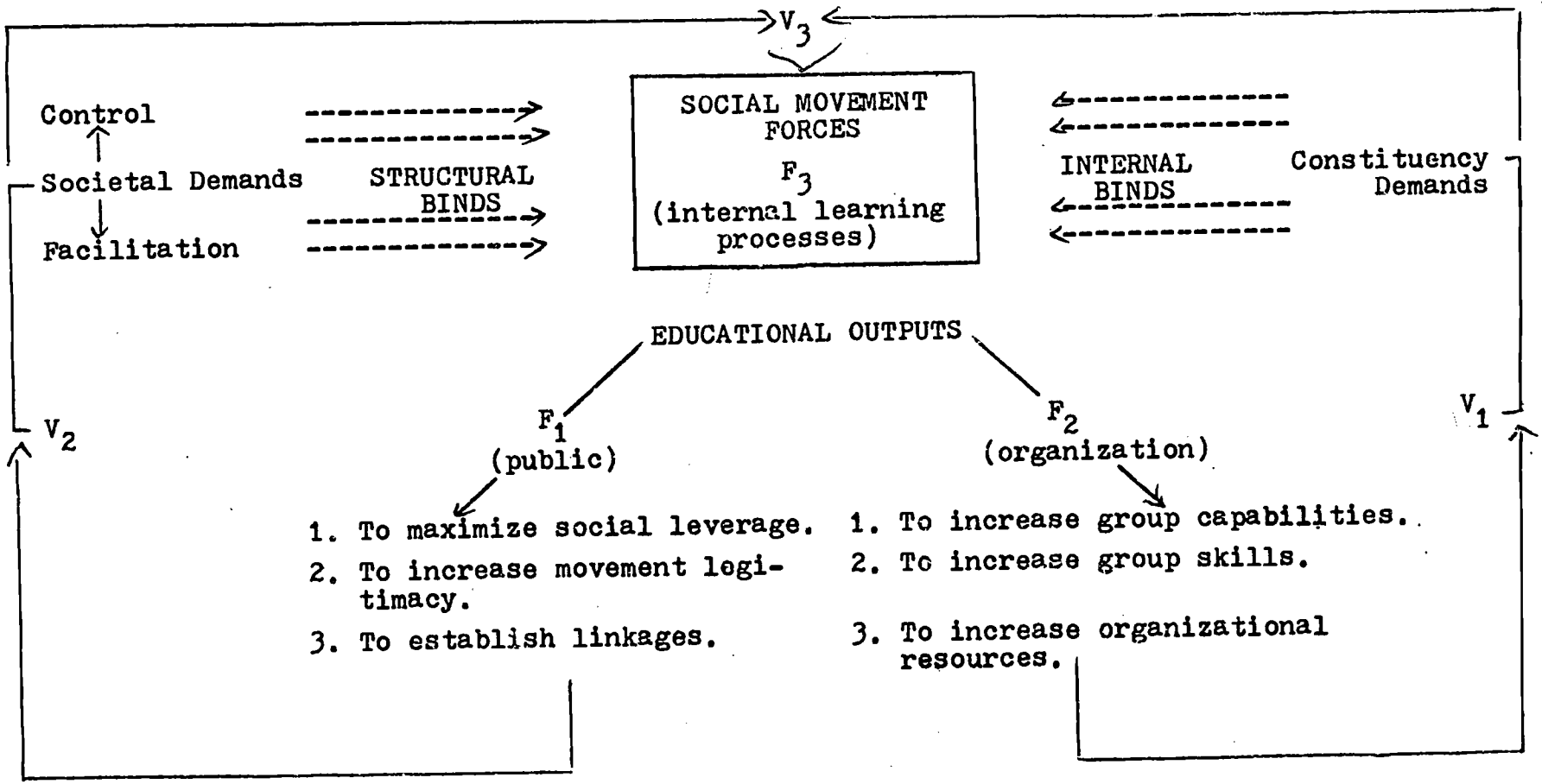
- Education serves to enhance internal movement linkages which in turn act to foster movement solidarity.

The hypotheses simply postulate a relationship between education and movement capacity, education and opportunity,

education and solidarity, and education and movement success. The following chart is a visual representation of the stated hypotheses dealing with educational functions, together with the inter-relationships between organizational and structural variables. It serves to explain the various educational functions or outputs of the movement, and the effect of educational outputs on variables dealing with the development of the movement (capacity, opportunity, and solidarity). The educational outputs of the movement are geared to the public ($f_1$) with the objective of increasing opportunity levels, and to the organization ($f_2$, $f_3$) in order to increase movement capacity and solidarity.

The following two sections of this chapter set forth some of the ideas that will serve to channel the analysis and assessment of the contribution of education to social movements. The first section deals with the relevance of community organization theory to educational functions within movement organizations; the second section deals with the importance of the process of evaluation.

TABLE 3: EDUCATIONAL FUNCTIONS AND RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN VARIABLES



## Education and Community Organization Theory

It may be useful to look at Saul Alinsky's theory of community organization as it may shed some light on the problem to be studied.[1] The most salient aspect of oppression in any society is the "powerlessness" of the oppressed, both as an objective fact and in the psychological attitude of the oppressed that they cannot influence the outcomes of their lives. However, by the sheer value of their numbers, Alinsky states that the poor, the disenfranchised, and the oppressed have an edge on power. The thrust of Alinsky's hypotheses is based on the tactics and strategies conducive to the acquisition, elaboration, and the actual use of power, i.e. power through organization. Alinsky's community organization theories are based on the following propositions.[2]

1. Apathy results because of the lack of opportunity for collective action.
2. The character of the means or tools through which change may be effected must be clearly understood by the people at all times; it is power through organization.
3. Prevailing arrangements of power patterns can only be altered by power, i.e. "organized energy".

It is through this organization for power that education becomes fundamental for organizational viability and goal achievement.

> "In the last analysis, the objective for which any democratic movement must strive is the ultimate objective within democracy - popular education... The very purpose and character of a people's organization is educational."[3]

The centrality of education to the development of movement organizations is reiterated by Alinsky:

> "The community organization should provide a constant meaningful educational experience for as many of the participating citizenry as possible. The organization has to be used in every possible sense as an educational mechanism. Education and not propaganda. Education in the truest sense whereby

> the membership will begin to make sense out of their relationship as individuals to the organization and the world in which they live; so that they can make informed and intelligent judgments. The stream of activities and programs of the organization provides a never-ending series of specific issues and situations which create a rich field for the learning process".[4]

Thus, in the overall pedagogical context of Alinsky's theory, the following orientations are of paramount importance:

1. Reliance on the people to provide the impetus for change and to sustain the organization.

> "If you respect the dignity of the individual with whom you are working, then their desires, not yours; their values, not yours, their ways of working and fighting, not yours; their choice of leadership, not yours; their programs, not yours; is what is important and to be accepted".[5]

2. If the basic problem is defined as powerlessness, then the role of education is to assist individuals in articulating needs, to mobilize resources in order to meet those needs, and the organization of participation, interest and action for the self-realization of organizational goals.

> "The problem is that the underprivileged have no power over their lives, and they know it. They want bread and opportunity; instead they're offered 'consolation', 'adjustment', arts and crafts, fun and games... Show them how to get the power to achieve what they want, not what somebody else thinks is sufficient for them, and they'll uplift their community themselves".[6]

It is to those ends that it is postulated in this study that the educational outputs by a movement organization serve a three-fold function; and when educational programs of a movement seeks to meet these three functions, it will prove most effective relative to organizational goal achievement.

- Education functioning to increase movement capability, skills and resources with educational objectives directed towards increasing movement capacity.

- Education functioning within the internal learning process of the organization, with educational objectives directed to increasing solidarity.
- Education functioning to "inform the public" (establishing linkages and increasing legitimacy) with educational objectives directed to increasing movement opportunity.

## The Importance of Evaluation in the Contribution of Education to Social Movements

An evaluation of the relationship between education and social movements basically involves a series of inquiries into the nature of educational processes and collective efforts within organizations:

1. Discloses the extent to which specific programs reach stated goals. The evaluation involves an examination of goal achievement, including discrepancies between formal and covert goals and actual program outcomes.

2. Analyzes why the observed results occurred. Which educational programs worked or did not work, how and why? This analysis involves:

   a. Examination of the theoretical premises underlying the program.

   b. Specification of the program "process model", i.e. the linkages between inputs and outcomes.[7]

   c. Analysis of the effectiveness of educational programs, program components, and alternative approaches. This assessment tends "to avoid the dead-end of finding the whole program ineffective (or effective) without any indication of why."[8]

The function of evaluation is to locate and identify factors which contribute to relative program effectiveness. This function makes imperative the utilization of a systems approach rather than elementary evaluation of goal achievement; and the need to focus not only on goal achievement but also measures of effectiveness of other program functions, for example: program productivity in terms of goal achievement; program flexibility

relative to adaptation to change; and the relative absence of intra-organizational stress. If an evaluation of educational program effectiveness can be made in these terms, i.e. in terms of relationships between program and organizational factors, the results of this analysis will contribute substantially to movements seeking to bring about change in the social order.

## CHAPTER IV: METHODOLOGY AND LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

An assessment of the contribution of education, i.e. structured teaching and learning activities, to social movements necessitates an exploratory approach to the problem - specifically, a survey of the existing literature and accessible information on movement educational programs. The inferences and conclusions that may be drawn from such a survey will be based on an analysis of existing case materials.[1]

The analysis of education within movement organizations will focus on three critical perspectives. Each of these perspectives will be delineated in a "case abstract" for each movement organization, and will include:

(1.) Origins of the movement, including a descriptive analysis of the structural bind.

(2.) The educational response and rationale, specifically dealing with the conditions under which organizations innovate educational programs; and the pedagogical aspects including program goals and structure.

(3.) Evaluation of the perceived contributions of education to movement objectives, and in terms of any discrepancy between program goals and actual outcomes, both anticipated and unanticipated.

Within the boundaries imposed by the above perspectives, the case survey will be limited to twenty-eight case studies of movement organizations in the United States and Canada.

This type of analysis enables a multi-measure approach in each case study. Specific factors or variables in each case, including capacity, opportunity, and solidarity, are searched and rated. These variables become operationally viable via the utilization of indicators which enable their identification and description. The indicators are utilized in a coding form (see appendix I) to facilitate and assessment of the relationships between variables associated with movement education. Tullis has defined three sets of indicators[2] (the total number of

indicators in 50), to which there will be added a fourth and fifth category on the coding form:

(1.) Indicators of variables which facilitate/impede organizational efforts, i.e. capacity ($V_1$): indicators of this variable include the structural bind, the audience to which the educational program is directed, the functional responses of the educational program, educational program structure and technique, specificity and scope, influence in goal-setting, nature of perceived goals, availability of external and internal inputs, satisfaction with educational programs, function of ideology, degree of parochialism, and range of programs.

(2.) Indicators of variables which mitigate/aggravate situational factors, i.e. opportunity ($V_2$): indicators of this variable include intensity of the movement organization, the extent to which goals threaten societal power relationships, description of threat to society, the legitimacy of the educational programs, and the extent to which educational programs succeed in gaining public support.

(3.) Indicators of variables which encourage/discourage psychological commitment to collective efforts, i.e. solidarity ($V_3$): indicators include the degree to which program goals/methods commonly perceived, constituency participation in programs and level of support, control, stress conditions.

(4.) Indicators of variables measuring program success: indicators include the limitations of the programs, organizational membership, organizational legitimacy, constituency satisfaction, program flexibility, program effectiveness, program continuity, movement success.

(5.) Indicators of variables assessing the validity of the hypotheses: educational contribution to movement capacity, movement opportunity, and movement solidarity.

Each case study will be dealt with in the form of a coded sheet and a case abstract. The case abstracts will

provide a general overview of each case study, and will include information on the origins of the movement, the educational response and rationale, and program evaluation. The coded forms, utilizing an ordinal level of measurement, will provide the data base for a computerized evaluation of the relationships between variables. The comparison of the case studies of movement educational programs, together with the computerized evaluation of the relationships between variables, functions to refine abstractions and to test the explicit relationships defined in the hypotheses.

Although this study deals with only twenty-eight case studies, the data base formulated for each case study (including citations on sources of information) could provide basic outlines for intensive case studies of educational contributions to each movement organization. The following two intensive case studies will be presented in this paper and will hopefully elucidate the conclusions of the research study.

(1.) "Fighting For Our Lives": Educational Contributions to the United Farm Workers Movement.

(2.) Educational Contributions to the Women's Health Movement: The Feminist Women's Health Centers.

Intensive case studies of this nature shoud facilitate a deeper understanding of how education functions within movement organizations.

## Limitations of the Study

One limitation of this particular study is the difficulty in searching out information on movement educational programs. Although data sources are from both primary and secondary source materials, very little of the literature on social movement organizations deals comprehensively and explicitly with educational programs. Pooling information from varied sources presents a difficult task. For this reason, the study is based on

a non-random availability sample. Limitations on the availability of the literature places obvious constraints on the quality of the analysis. Coupled with this problem, the limited number of case studies also places constraints on the generalizability of research findings.

Rationale for the Selection of Case Studies

Another aspect that must be dealt with in determining methodology is the rationale for the selection of case studies. A purposive sample of case studies is selected according to a proposed method of classification of social movements based on two explicit factors: specification of structural binds and classification of movement objectives.

Factor #1: Structural binds are stress conditions caused by discrepancies between the perceived situation of a group and the perception of what is just, possible, and expected. It concretely represents the power relationships between a mobilized group and society. Four broad classifications of structural binds are specified:

(1.) Political bind: stress conditions characterized by the insulation of a group from decision-making. The resultant struggle is between institutional power bases and peripheral groups organized to influence or to participate in decision-making processes, or to divest political/social institutions of power.

(2.) Economic bind: stress conditions generated by the discrepancy between the economy of affluence and an economy of scarcity,, creating conditions of impoversihment. Efforts are directed towards equalizing access to economic

resources and improving the group's economic base.

(3.) Ethno-Cultural bind: stress conditions characterized by alienation and rootlessness as a result of cultural denigration and extreme pressure towards acculturation (due to ethnic/cultural background). Group innovations are characterized by efforts at revitalization, i.e. a conscious effort to establish a more satsifying culture and lifestyle in order to insure stress reduction.

(4.) Socio-Cultural bind: stress conditions characterized by social isolation as a result of a group's perceived need for a new and more satisfying socio-cultural environment.

Factor #2: A social movement has been defines as "the orderly development of participation, interest and action by a group of people for the purpose of articulating demands for change or resistance to change in the social order".[3] Defined as such, the problem for the analysis of existing case materials becomes one of differentiating one social movement from another.

In differentiating social movements, it may be useful to examine the ideological component of social movements: "the set of ideas which specify discontents, prescribe solutions, and justify change".[4] The particular ideology of any social movement defines its relationships with the social system in addition to determining movement objectives, i.e. the desired direction of the movement as a response to the structural bind. The movement seeks to influence the social order and in doing so, orients itself towards specific goals.

The possible movement responses or categories expressing latent and manifest movement objectives may be classified as follows:

(1.) Transformative: Movement objectives call for the basic structural alteration of the social order (e.g. the Black Panthers, see case study #43126) or fundamental alteration within a given sector of the social order (e.g. the Feminist Women's Health Movement, see case study #41106). Movement objectives are essentially based on the ideas of

liberation and self-determination with the aim of restructuring the social order in line with the defined goals of the movement.

(2.) Reformist: Movement objectives seek to alter relationships within the social order without drastic structural change. The movement efforts are directed towards correcting social defects which detrimentally affect the movement constituency. For example, the Civil Rights Movement developed in response to white racial superiority and individual and institutional practices of racism. Movement objectives basically sought to guarantee minority civil rights by correcting and demanding change of the legal mechanisms which handed civil rights to select groups of people (see Civil Rights case studies #11102 and #11103).

(3.) Separatist: Movement objectives seek to break away from the existing social order for the purpose of establishing a segregated subsystem within the social order (e.g. Nation of Islam, see case study #23116) or a separate system apart from the social order (e.g. A.I.M., see case study #21104). As it is perceived that the social order is dysfunctional to movement needs, the expressed objective is to create a more satisfying and functional socio-cultural system.

(4.) Reactionary: Movement objectives seek to counter and reverse changes brought about in the existing social order. The movement is generally characterized as "conservative", i.e. "not progressive". Ongoing societal changes are perceived as unresponsive to existing needs. Movement efforts are directed towards re-establishing previous status quo conditions (e.g. the response by the Citizen's Councils to court desegregation rulings, see case study #31105), or towards establishing a more ecologically, socially, politically, and/or economically sound social order (e.g. the Unification Church, see case study #34122).

Each of these categories expresses the inter-relationships between perceived stress conditions (perceptions of what is just and what ought to be) and the expression and organization of dissatisfaction as embodied in movement objectives.

The classification of these two factors, structural binds and movement objectives, results in sixteen possible types of social movement classifications. This classification is represented in the following table.

TABLE 4: METHOD OF CLASSIFICATION OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

| MOVEMENT OBJECTIVES / STRUCTURAL BIND | REFORMIST | SEPARATIST | REACTIONARY | TRANS-FORMATIVE |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| POLITICAL | SNCC<br>DELANCEY STREET<br>S.F.WOMEN'S MOVEMENT<br>COFO | A.I.M. | CITIZEN'S COUNCIL | C.W.L.U.<br>L.A.WOMEN'S MOVEMENT |
| ECONOMIC | U.F.W.<br>C.I.O. | MANITOBA FEDERATION OF AGRICULTURE | RURAL ADVANCE-MENT FUND | COMMONWEALTH COLLEGE<br>BROOKWOOD COLLEGE |
| ETHNO-CULTURAL | T.W.O.<br>CRUSADE FOR JUSTICE | NATION OF ISLAM<br>DANISH EVANGELICAL CHURCH<br>D.Q.U. | K.K.K. | BLACK PANTHERS |
| SOCIO-CULTURAL | MORMONS | HUTTERIAN BRETHREN<br>AMISH | UNIFICATION CHURCH | ONEIDA<br>HARE KRISHNA<br>BRUDERHOF |

In selecting case studies, emphasis is more on obtaining a wide range of situations rather than testing for internal consistencies within each group type. Secondly, an effort is made to assess both effective and ineffective movement efforts at social change and the use of education by social movements.

In judging the relative effectiveness of a particular movement educational program, emphasis will be on the perception of a discernible correspondence between intended and actual outcomes. Ineffectiveness will be based on evidence of dysfunctional unintended consequences; out-migration of movement constituency; cooptation of the movement with resultant displacement of movement objectives; assimilation and acculturation of movement constituency.

Summary of the Important Aspects of the Research Problem

The study is focused on the evaluation and analysis of the contribution of education to social movements, specifically assessing the conditions under which education contributes to collective efforts to bring about change. An analysis of the variables within both the educational and social change processes questions how education functions: (1.) to increase the capacity for collective action; (2.) to increase self-generated opportunity; and (3.) to increase movement solidarity.

The evaluation and analysis of the contribution of education to movement change efforts will be organized within a comparative framework based on the survey of twenty-eight case studies, and comparison and analysis of two intensive case studies. The framework for evaluation of the case studies will consist of (a.) origins of the social movement and structural bind, (b.) educational response and rationale, and (c.) program evaluation.

The following pages contain the abstracts of the twenty-eight case studies, and will be followed in Chapter V by a presentation of the research results of a comparative analysis of the case studies. The case studies are listed

as follows:

#11101 - San Francisco Women's Movement
#11102 - Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)
#11103 - Council of Federated Organizations (COFO)
#21104 - American Indian Movement (A.I.M.)
#31105 - Citizen's Council of America
#41106 - Los Angeles Feminist Women's Health Center
#41107 - Chicago Women's Liberation Union (CWLU)
#12108 - United Farm Workers (UFW-AFL-CIO)
#12109 - Congress of Industrial Organizations (C.I.O.)
#22210 - Manitoba Federation of Agriculture and Cooperatives
#32111 - Rural Advancement Fund
#42112 - Commonwealth College
#42113 - Brookwood Labor College
#13114 - Crusade for Justice
#13115 - The Woodlawn Organization (T.W.O.)
#23116 - The Nation of Islam
#23117 - Danish Evangelical Church
#23118 - D-Q University
#14119 - The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints (Mormons)
#24220 - Hutterian Brethren
#24121 - Old Order Amish Soceity
#34122 - The Holy Spirit Association for the Unification of World Christianity
#44123 - Bruderhof
#44124 - International Society for Krishna Consciousness
#44125 - Oneida
#43126 - Black Panther Party
#11127 - Delancey Street
#33128 - Ku Klux Klan

CASE ABSTRACT #11101

1. Women's Movement: San Francisco Women's Movement.

2. Citations:

   - "The New Women's Survival Catalog", Berkley Publishing Co., New York, 1973, Chapter V, pp. 123-144.

3a. Structural Bind: Sexist education and orthodox modes of education which alienate women from conventional, established institutions.

Origins of the Movement: Beginning in 1971, a group of women from the San Francisco Women's Movement expressed a need "to take their learning about themselves, their oppression as women, and women's history farther than the small consciousness-raising group would allow". To overcome sexist and orthodox educational methods the women decided to start their own school, in their belief that greater freedom to innovate exists outside established institutions. To thwart the crystallization of an elite, the original group disbanded after the first Breakaway school semester. To insure responsibility without elitism, structure has been introduced by defining the essential organizing functions, and sharing these equally on a rotating basis.

3b. Educational Response and Rationale: "The only way we can learn without intimidation, inhibition and frustration is from and with, each other. Women must have their own

schools where they can meet together in a warm, supportive atmosphere, to share experience and knowledge". Breakaway was organized to reach out to women "drop-outs". The school began in 1971 with 13 courses; in 1973, the catalog listed 25 courses. Course content is presented from a feminist point of view, and acts to confront the class and racial barriers that divide women; and the oppression of women in society. Courses are of two types: (1) Consciousness-raising courses: integrates a specialized topic with the "C-R technique", i.e. "develops social, political, and personal insights thru connecting individual experiences with sexism"; and (2) "content courses" such as art, women studies, self-defense, and skills.

3c. Evaluation: A disadvantage of a program of this type is the fact that many women ignore organized efforts to bring about social change. "There are no ghettos of women. As a result, women tend to perceive of their problems as personal, rather than socially based".

The trend is to an acceleration in the perceived need among women for increasing self-knowledge. It is projected that Breakaway will continue to grow.

4. 1.0, 2.0, 3.1, 4.1, 5.1, 6.1, 7.0, 8.1, 9.0, 10.0, 11.1, 12.0, 13.1, 14.1, 15.1, 16.1, 17.1, 18.3, 19.3, 20.0, 21.2, 22.1, 23.0, 24.0, 25.0, 26.0, 27.0, 28.2, 29.2, 30.1, 31.1, 32.0, 33.6, 34.0, 35.0, 36.1, 37.0, 38.2, 39.1, 40.1, 41.0, 42.0, 43.0, 44.1, 45.2, 46.0, 47.1.

CASE ABSTRACT #11102

1. Civil Rights Movement: SNCC.

2. Citations:

   - Edward Peeks, The Long Struggle for Black Power, Scribener, New York, 1971.

3a. Structural Bind: Denial of voting rights in the South.

Origins of the Movement: The organization was established by James Foreman and M.L. King in April 1960 for the purpose of organizing Southern sit-ins. SNCC was successful in infusing the Civil Rights movement with numerous young people to confront racial discrimination and the white power structure. The organization changed focus in 1966 when Stokely Carmichael advocated the exclusion of white members and the adoption of a policy of "Black Power".

3b. Educational Response and Rationale: "Voter Registration Schools" were established in 1961 in the McComb area of the Mississippi Black Belt. The schools were coordinated by Robert Paris Moses. The idea of a regular day school was super-imposed on the voter registration program. The purpose of the educational program was to arouse community interest and support and personal involvement by Blacks in the community.

The program appealed to those with civic and intellectual interests (with little formal education), and to those who wanted to exercise the

right to vote.

The registration school curriculum consisted of (1) instruction on how to fill out a registration form; (2) how to answer questions; and (3) how to prepare to face a hostile white registrar.

3c. Evaluation: The actions of SNCC are seen by many observers as representative of "withdrawalfrom the white world and a setting up of social, cultural, and political institutions". SNCC did not succeed in registering many voters on the rolls, although more than 55,000 Blacks registered in the "Freedom Democratic Party", a grassroots political organization.

The educational program was characteristically redemptive and efforts were geared towards changing people in order that they might bring about social change. This type of emphasis resulted in a change in movement intensity (decreased). The one conclusive evaluation that may be drawn from the voter registration efforts is that the vote alone is not enough to eradicate basic problems. "What do you tell people when you ask them to register and vote? Do you tell them, 'I want you to register because that's really all that's missing. We have a beautiful working democratic mechanism here. The only problem is that you are left out of it'. I think it is truer to say, 'If you register and if you vote, you will then have as much power as the rest of us, which is very little'."

4. 1.0, 2.0, 3.1, 4.1, 5.1, 6.1, 7.0, 8.1, 9.0, 10.1, 11.1, 12.0, 13.1, 14.1, 15.1, 16.1, 17.1, 18.0, 19.9, 20.9,

21.1, 22.1, 23.1, 24.1, 25.2, 26.1, 27.2, 28.2, 29.3,
30.2, 31.0, 32.2, 33.6, 34.1, 35.1, 36.0, 37.1, 38.2,
39.1, 40.9, 41.0, 42.9, 43.9, 44.2, 45.1, 46.0, 47.2.

CASE ABSTRACT #11103

1. Civil Rights Movement: COFO (Council of Federated Organizations).

2. Citations:
   - Florence Howe, "Mississippi Freedom Schools: The Politics of Education", Harvard Educational Review, Vol. XXXV, Spring, 1965, pp. 144-159.
   - Edward Peeks, The Long Struggle for Black Power, Scribener, New York, 1971.

3a. Structural Bind: Repressive social conditions in which "learning means only learning to stay in your place. Your place is to be satisfied - a good nigger".

Origins of the Movement: COFO is an ad hoc organization formed for voter registration of Blacks in 1964. The federation was composed of Urban League, NAACP, CORE, SCLC, and SNCC. The three foci of the organization consisted of (1) voter education (registration drive in the interests of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party); (2) Freedom Schools; and (3) community service projects. The objective of the federation was "to give the Southern Negro his constitutional rights, his political and civil equality, with the ballot imperative to the realization of the overall goal".

3b. Educational Response and Rationale: Approximately 50 schools were organized as a response to repressive social

conditions. First developed in Mississippi, the purpose of the Freedom Schools was "to provide an educational experience for students which will make it possible for them to challenge the myths of our society, to perceive more clearly its realities, and to find alternatives, and ultimately new directions for action; or more briefly, to train people to be active agents in bringing about social change".

The program at the Freedom schools consisted of the Citizenship Curriculum (core of the program at all schools), discussion groups, and electives (Black folk culture and history, chemistry, biology, English, French, typing). Basically a program for leadership development, the aim of the curriculum is to assist the growth of self-respect through self-awareness, both of which lead to self-help. The program is structured to meet two basic needs: the need for information and the need for identity.

The chief educational device utilized by the schools is the question session. As such, discussion "begins on the level of the students' everyday lives and those things in their environment that they have already experienced or can readily perceive, and builds up to a more realistic perception of American society, themselves, the conditions of their oppression, and alternatives offered by the Freedom Movement".

3c. Evaluation: The rationale for these educational activities was to involve the Black community in the voter registration drive. Education was fundamentally political and the act of attendance itself involved a political decision. What is there to learn from the Freedom School experience? "That our schools are political grounds in which our students begin to learn about society's rules... and to acquire the strength and wisdom to break through all spiritual prisons of self and society and so to reach freedom".

More than 3000 individuals enrolled in the Freedom schools.

4. 1.0, 2.0, 3.1, 4.1, 5.1, 6.1, 7.0, 8.1, 9.0, 10.0, 11.0, 12.0, 13.1, 14.1, 15.1, 16.0, 17.1, 18.2, 19.3, 20.0, 21.1, 22,1, 23.2, 24.0, 25.0, 26.2, 27.2, 28.2, 29.3, 30.3, 31.0, 32.2, 33.6, 34.0, 35.0, 36.0, 37.0, 38.1, 39.1, 40.1, 41.0, 42.0, 43.0, 44.1, 45.1, 46.0, 47.1.

CASE ABSTRACT #21104

1. Red Power Movement: American Indian Movement (A.I.M.).

2. Citations:


- Akwesasne Notes, publication of the Mohawk Nation, Rooseveltown, New York.
- James Mecarelli and Steve Severin, Protest, Red, Black, Brown Experience in America, William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., Michigan, 1975, Chapters 11-15.
- "Report on the Survival School/Indian Education Conference", A.I.M., White Earth Reservation, September, 1975.
- Edie Paiva, "The Effects of Educational Programs Contributions to Native American Movements", unpublished case study, IDEP, University of Pittsburgh, December, 1975.


3a. Structural Bind: Perceived condition of cultural disintegration, economic dependence, and psychological crippling and alienation caused by assimilation policies of getting the Indians into the mainstream.

Origins of the Movement: A.I.M. was formed in 1968 in response to police harassment and poverty within the urban ghetto. "We're in the business of political confrontation with the goal being social change and the philosophy being Indian self-determination". A.I.M. is fighting for political sovereignty, Indian rights to land and natural resources, abolishing the B.I.A., civil rights, and Indian education

for Indian children.

3b. Educational Response and Rationale: Federation of survival schools and Indian-controlled alternative schools, formed September 8-13, 1975 at the educational conference sponsored by A.I.M. Schools include:

- Red School House (St. Paul, Minnesota).
- Heart of the Earth Survival School (Minneapolis, Minnesota).
- White Earth Survival School.
- We Will Remember Survival School (Rapid City, South Dakota).

The functional purposes of these schools includes fostering survival skills:

- "To provide legal/technical assistance to survival schools and to assist schools seeking funding.
- Consulting service to help other schools get started.
- To trouble-shoot legislative difficulties hindering the development of alternative educational programs".

Rationale: Taken from the Survival School Resolution (September 13, 1975):

- "White-controlled and dominated education has undermined and destroyed Indian children.
- Piecemeal programs tacked onto the public school system have been ineffective at best.
- Indian people can no longer sit back and allow their children to be subjected to white dominated education.
- The existing national Indian educational organization

has failed to meet the needs of Indian youth and has wasted millions of dollars on so-called Indian programs which end up dominated by non-Indian schools and governments".

3c. Evaluation: The 1973 statistics of the Department of the Interior, "Statistics Concerning Indian Education", report that there are 200,000 Indian children in school: 2/3 in public school, 1/4 in B.I.A. schools, and 1/20 in private and mission schools. In light of these statistics, the Indian Federation is a good move in providing alternative education to a larger percentage of Indian children. Major difficulties include (1) lack of solidarity caused by factional in-fighting over movement objectives, political status and identity, leading to a dispersion of energies; (2) societal response - control; (3) Although there is societal guilt over past government policies of genocide, the concern over existing/current conditions for the Native Americans is minimal with merely a tendency to romanticize the past. In addition, there is difficulty in accepting the militant, revolutionary stance of A.I.M. (e.g. Trail of Broken Treaties: March on Washington, 1972, and Wounded Knee, 1973.)

4. 1.2, 2.1, 3.1, 4.0, 5.1, 6.1, 7.1, 8.1, 9.0, 10.1, 11.1, 12.0, 13.1, 14.1, 15.1, 16.1, 17.1, 18.0, 19.3, 20.0, 21.2, 22.1, 23.0, 24.1, 25.0, 26.0, 27.0, 28.2, 29.3, 30.3, 31.1, 32.1, 33.6, 34.2, 35.2, 36.0, 37.0, 38.0, 39.1, 40.2, 41.1, 42.2, 43.0, 44.1, 45.2, 46.1, 47.2.

CASE ABSTRACT #31105

1. Organized Resistance to the Civil Rights Movement: The Citizen's Council of America.

2. Citations:

- Neil R. McMillen, The Citizen's Council, Organized Resistance to the Second Reconstruction, see Chapter XII, "The Lily-White Schoolhouse", University of Illinois Press, 1971.
- "Welcome to Council School: A Handbook of Information and School Policy", published by the Council School Foundation, Jackson, Mississippi, 1971.

3a. Structural Bind: The Supreme Court school desegregation act of 1954 was perceived as "an all-out effort by the majority to impose its will upon a recalcitrant and unwilling minority". Desegregation had "infected the region's public school systems", and formal education was no longer responsive to the will of the community nor controlled by the people. It was perceived that "the liberals will eventually destroy the way of life we have known".

Origins of the Movement: The Citizens' Council is a "civic, political, non-partisan, non-secret body pledged to the defense of white supremacy by adequate political action". As a grass-roots organization, the Citizens' Council is organized to resist federal intrusion, rallying around the concepts of "states rights" and "racial integrity". As a defender of white supremacy, state and local resistance

groups, as early as 1958 tried to provide an alternative to desegregated public education. The private school movement began after the Civil Rights Act of 1964. With desegregation imminent, the Citizen's Council began its drive to organize private academies. By 1966, the promotion of segregated private education was the major project of the Citizen's Council.

The fundamental premise of the organization is that effective resistance to desegregation is built on control of the local power structure. As such, coordination and control by the Council was achieved through centralization of decision-making, achieved at the expense of local autonomy.

3b. Educational Response and Rationale: In the face of desegregation laws, the Council advocated the selective closing of public schools and the opening of white private schools as a strategy in the defense of segregation. The Council utilized their own media channels, a weekly radio and television station ("The Citizen's Council Forum"), and a Council newspaper ("The Citizen"), in teaching the how-to of "abandoning the government schools and fabricating educational institutions better equipped to teach the importance of racial integrity. The all-white academies would be a bulwark for Southern values against alien encroachment".

As reflected in the curriculum, the main job of the academies was to teach the

"three R's". The schools began in 1964, and by 1966 had a fully accredited three school system (Council School #1: grades 1-7; Council School #2: grades 1-8; and Council School #3: grades 8-12). In addition, the Council had pledged "to assist all persons who wish to operate private, nonsectarian, segregated schools". Organizational headquarters in Jackson served as an information clearinghouse for lists of private schools, available instructors, and physical facilities.

3c. Evaluation: It has been noted that the "channeling of popular resistance to integregation into lawful, coherent, and proper modes was perhaps the outstanding accomplishment of the Council". The counter-revolution of the Council succeeded only in slowing down change processes, not reversing them. The unavoidable and gradual implementation of desegregation critically eroded the popular appeal of the Council. Beginning in 1964 the schools had only 22 students in six grades; by 1966 school enrollment reached 260, in a fully accredited three school system; by 1969 the Council School had an enrollment of 3100. (In the Spring of 1970, it is estimated that more than 300,000 students attended private academies in the South). The Citizens' Council was the largest Southern organization working on behalf of segregation efforts and in itself provided a vital leadership role in the resistance movement. The Council (with a claimed membership of 40 million, was originally founded to resist federal

desegregation efforts in direct political confrontation. As resistance dissipated the organization became a seclusion for private education.

4. 1.0, 2.1, 3.1, 4.0, 5.1, 6.1, 7.1, 8.1, 9.0, 10.1, 11.1, 12.0, 13.1, 14.1, 15.0, 16.1, 17.1, 18.0, 19.0, 20.1, 21.2, 22.1, 23.0, 24.0, 25.0, 26.0, 27.0, 28.2, 29.2, 30.3, 31.0, 32.0, 33.6, 34.0, 35.1, 36.1, 37.1, 38.2, 39.1, 40.3, 41.0, 42.2, 43.9, 44.2, 45.1, 46.2, 47.4.

CASE ABSTRACT #41106

1. The Women's Health Movement: Los Angeles Women's Health Center.

2. Citations:

   - "The New Woman's Survival Catalog", Berkley Publishing Co., New York, 1973, Chapter III, pp. 71-92.

3a. Structural Bind: Defined as oppression which hinges on women's false consciousness (i.e. enculturated passivity and dependency on men). Perceived that the specific needs of women are not being answered by the medical establishment. Perceived that the working concept of a "radical monopoly" is an unnecessary practice in the area of gynecological health.

Origins of the Movement: As a self-help movement, the Feminist Health Collective was designed as an "alternative to the authoritative treatment women receive from male doctors, and also to change women's consciousness about their bodies". A woman's clinic is based on the condition of women helping each other. The Center now offers a wide range of gynecological services.

3b. Educational Response and Rationale: The Feminist Women's Health Center originated for the purpose of providing health services and "self-help" education courses. "As both the consumers of our health care (as women) and providers of that care, we are in a far more realistic position

to determine relevant health care for women. The health centers depart from all other existing traditional medical services which keep women in a dependent position by the health authority... In addition, the educational self-help clinics are demystifying the long kept secrets by the sharing of information and experience".

(1.) Each center gives free on-going self-help courses in which women learn self-examination.

(2.) The centers also offer counseling and paramedical work, in addition to a 24 hour hotline.

(3.) Training staff members for the health facilities held during seven week summer sessions.

(4.) Speaking engagements and cross country tours are conducted to assist women in other parts of the country staff self-help clinics.

3c. Evaluation: The Women's Health Movement and related self-help groups threaten the traditional power and centralized authority of the medical establishment and related drug industry. As such, counter-threats have been the trend and may be expected in the future. For example, Carol Downer, (co-director of the Los Angeles Health Center) was charged with practicing medicine without a license. The law is vague in this area, and it took a test case to assess whether this type of health care is legal. Ms. Downer was acquitted, and this case should serve as a precedent for other self-help clinics.

4. 1.0, 2.0, 3.1, 4.1, 5.0, 6.0, 7.0, 8.1, 9.1, 10.1, 11.1,
12.1, 13.0, 14.0, 15.1, 16.1, 17.0, 18.0, 19.3, 20.0,
21.2, 22.1, 23.0, 24.0, 25.1, 26.1, 27.1, 28.2, 29.3,
30.3, 31.0, 32.2, 33.2, 34.0, 35.0, 36.1, 37.0, 38.2,
39.4, 40.1 41.1, 42.0, 43.0, 44.1, 45.3, 46.3, 47.1.

CASE ABSTRACT #41107

1. The Women's Liberation Movement: Chicago Women's Liberation Union.

2. Citations:

   - "The New Women's Survival Catalog", Berkley Publishing Co., New York, 1973, Chapter IX, pp. 203-204.

3a. Structural Bind: Women perceived as bearing the brunt of sexist attitudes which foster discrimination and oppression. Oppression perceived as similar to minority groups in similar bind conditions.

Origins of the Movement: Founded in 1969, the CWLU is "an explicitly radical, anti-capitalist, feminist (oriented toward socialist feminism), city-wide organization committed to building an autonomous, multi-issue women's liberation movement". Ongoing programs of the Union include Legal Clinic, Direct Action for Employment (DARE), Graphics Collective, a Rape Project, and various educational projects, a health evaluation and referral service, and an outreach group (organized around women's and girls sports). With a city-wide membership of 200 (membership dues of $12), the program of the CWLU is "aimed at improving the lives of all women, fighting for power and working to build a new society in which all people will be able to develop to their full potential". The organization consists of 20 chapters (discussion/study groups) and work groups (plan programs around specific issues and provide skills, services, and

education in these areas).

3b. Educational Response and Rationale: The Liberation School for Women is a project of the Union. The union began planning for the alternative school in 1970 in order to respond to some of the needs of the women's movement in Chicago: (1) to bring more women into contact with the concept of liberation through a source other than the media; (2) the need for political education for Union members ("we saw the school as a place to develop our analysis and strategy as well as research"); (3) skill development (survival skills and those skills necessary to build the movement). The Union hopes to see "participation in the school become a springboard for students to a deeper commitment for social change, a deeper commitment to the movement and to the CWLU as part of that movement". The school has three six-week and eight-week sessions a year consisting of 20 courses in 3 areas: (1) introductory courses (women's history, sex and health education); (2) skills courses (self-defense, auto mechanics); (3) political education courses (trends in sociology, feminism, politics of food). The Union also sponsors:

- Chapters - 20 groups of women are now organized who come together to talk or study and to give each other help and support.
- "Womankind", a monthly newspaper directed to women who are not in the movement. The purpose of the newspaper is to deal with news that will interest various groups of

women.

- Speakers Bureau: created to help stimulate discussion about women's oppression in society. The school periodically offers workshops on public speaking, and speakers are available to speak on issues affecting women.

3c. Evaluation: The stated goal of the Liberation School is "to create positive dissatisfaction in the participants, a realization of the dissatisfaction many women feel with their lives, not a dissatisfaction which grows silently within each isolated woman and sours her life, but one which leads her to question her situtaion, to challenge it, to grow with other women to an understanding that sisterhood is powerful". Specific courses deal with various action projects and act to challenge oppressive institutions in meaningful ways. Other than these courses, however, the Union has not definitively designed any "struggle-oriented" programs for institutional change of oppressive conditions. Nonetheless, the Union exists as a forum for discussion of problems basic to women's rights. Secondly, other programs such as the newspaper, speakers bureau, and the "outreach packets" designed by the Graphics Collective are organized to contact people outside the movement in order to exchange information and broaden participation.

4. 1.0, 2.0, 3.1, 4.1, 5.0, 6.0, 7.0, 8.1, 9.0, 10.0, 11.0, 12.0, 13.1, 14.0, 15.0, 16.1, 17.0, 18.4, 19.3, 20.0, 21.2, 22.1, 23.0, 24.0, 25.0, 26.2, 27.2, 28.2, 29.3,

30.3, 31.0, 32.1, 33.4, 34.9, 35.0, 36.1, 37.0, 38.2,
39.5, 40.1, 41.1, 42.0, 43.0, 44.1, 45.2, 46.3, 47.1.

CASE ABSTRACT #12108

1. The Labor Movement: The United Farm Workers Union (AFL-CIO).

2. Citations:

   - Full bibliography specified in chapter on the UFW.

3a. Structural Bind: The structural bind involves the centralized power of the agri-business managers which has resulted in the economic deprivation and exploitation of farm workers. The historical aspect of the struggle have involved the power relationships in agriculture, a struggle to radically shift the balance of power from agri-business managers to a union of farm workers.

Origins of the Movement: The UFW is a labor movement developed as a reaction to the deprivation of farm workers throughout the Southwest. The UFW also has a specific Chicano identity: a labor dispute over the wages of migrant farm workers generated into a movement to redefine the Chicano identity and to establish civil rights. A farm worker organizing committee was begun by Cesar Chavez in 1963.

3b. Educational Response and Rationale: Education theory and practice was utilized in building the union, primarily derived from Alinsky's theory of community organization. The "house meeting" was used an an organizing technique. To provide the necessary skills needed in sustaining union growth, the Nuestra Señora de la Paz Educational Center was built. To provide vital public input into the movement,

support is built through boycott centers all over the country. In addition, the UFW has organized numerous mobile educational units and campesino centers, in addition to a Huelga School for farm worker children.

3c. Evaluation: The UFW has succeeded in less than a decade in focusing national attention on and involving the political machinery in large-scale labor problems that go beyond specifically Chicano issues. The educational programs of the UFW have been specifically instrumental in building constituency support for the union, increasing public support and movement legitimacy, and increasing organizational viability. The educational programs developed in the context of the UFW struggle have proved a valuable asset in strengthening the position of the union and the life conditions of the farm workers.

4. 1.1, 2.0, 3.0, 4.0, 5.0, 6.0, 7.0, 8.0, 9. 10.0, 11.0, 12.0, 13.0, 14.0, 15.0, 16.0, 17.0, 18.1, 19.1, 20.0, 21.0, 22.1, 23.0, 24.0, 25.2, 26.2, 27.2, 28.2, 29.2, 30.3, 31.2, 32.1, 33.0, 34.1, 35.0, 36.0, 37.1, 38.2, 39.5, 40.0, 41.1, 42.0, 43.0, 44.0, 45.3, 46.0, 47.1.

CASE ABSTRACT #12109

1. Labor Movement: Congress of Industrial Organizations (Southern Industrial Union Movement).

2. Citations:

   - Aimee Horton, "A Program and a Movement Become Institutionalized, The Southern C.I.O. Schools", Ph.D. dissertation, Chapter 10, pp. 177-205.

3a. Structural Bind: Exploitation of industrial labor.

Origins of the Movement: From 1935-1955, labor unrest in the South organized into a southern industrial union movement. The basic objectives were to foster recognition and acceptance of collective bargaining for workers who have not and cannot be organized on a craft basis, i.e. the organization of the mass production industries on an industrial basis. The Highlander school was used to develop a small workers education program, and then went on to become a southwide center for workers' education. Highlander resources were used in the period 1944-1947 to meet the organizationally defined needs of an increasingly institutionalized labor movement. The school was open to all union members endorsed by their unions.

3b. Educational Response and Rationale: The Highlander - C.I.O. School was organized in 1944, as a labor proposed, cooperatively developed program for leadership training. The four week program included "C.I.O. Policy and

Organization", labor history and economics, parliamentary law, public speaking, and the production of mimeo-graphed shop papers, in addition to a course on C.I.O. Political Action and Legislative Programs (emphasizing the need for farmer-labor unity) and community relations. In the first year, because of the small size of the student group (8), the Highlander staff provided a number of opportunities (e.g. conferences) for field experiences to supplement formal courses. In 1945, traditional Highlander courses, labor history and economics, were dropped and courses on training for shop stewards, and fundamentals of collective bargaining, were added to the program.

3c. Evaluation: The basic educational ideology of Highlander stemmed from a belief that solutions to problems cannot be imposed by outside experts. The educational methods utilized included social activism and "free form adult education - not with teachers and textbooks and lectures, but with a variety of programs designed to grow out of people's needs". The definition of needs and priorities and solutions come from the people.

From the first C.I.O. session in 1944, four of the eight students were placed on international organizing union staffs, and the other four became officers in their locals. In 1945, labor officials took a more active role in curriculum planning and teaching (student numbers increased to 26) and an evaluation indicated that the school was an educative experience for labor officials and staff

as well as students during both years of operation. There is also evidence that students responded to the broader goals of the Highlander staff (including the future role and responsibilities of labor) by becoming involved in workers' education, political action, and community organization. By 1946, any significant C.I.O. participation in planning was lacking; the school was taught strictly by Highlander staff, and students were not recruited by the C.I.O. for potential leader-students. The C.I.O. was using its energies in its organizing drive. A Highlander offer to develop educational programs for organizers and new members was rejected.

The Highlander-C.I.O. schools had provided students with "a variety of social and educational experiences to help them gain a broader view of the social movement and its role in society". Highlander's diminishing role within the industrial union movement was seen to be caused by many factors: a growing trend towards unions developing their own educational programs to meet institutionally defined leadership needs (Highlander assisted and encouraged this development); worsening, post-war social climate characterized by a tendency towards conservatism and conformity, fostered by anti-communist perceptions and attitudes; the growing conservatism of the increasingly institutionalized labor movement (membership was stable and union integration was assured); and the determination "of the independent, radically democratic school not to give up any of its independence or radicalism

to gain acceptance".

4. 1.1, 2.1, 3.0, 4.1, 5.1, 6.1, 7.1, 8.0, 9.0, 10.1, 11.1, 12.0, 13.0, 14.1, 15.1, 16.0, 17.1, 18.0, 19.2, 20.0, 21.0, 22.1, 23.1, 24.0, 25.2, 26.0, 27.0, 28.3, 29.3, 30.2, 31.2, 32.2, 33.6, 34.2, 35.2, 36.2, 37.0, 38.0, 39.1, 40.0, 41.2, 42.0, 43.0, 44.2, 45.0, 46.0, 47.4.

1. Cooperative Movement: Manitoba Federation of Agriculture and Cooperatives.

2. Citations:
   - John K. Friessen, Manitoba Folk Schools, Published by the Study Group Committee, Cooperative Services Branch, Winnipeg, Canada, January, 1951.
   - Robert R. Meyer, Spirit of the Post Road, Published by the Federation of Southern Manitoba Cooperatives, Friessen and Sons Ltd., Altona, Manitoba, 1955.

3a. Structural Bind: Complex agricultural and economic problems causing a breakdown in Canadian rural community life. Agricultural mechanization resulted in a decreasing need for a large labor force, and further caused rural farm migration to urban areas.

Origins of the Movement: The revitalization of the farm movement in Canada was accomplished at a rural provincial convention in 1939, which resulted in the organization of the Manitoba Federation of Agriculture and Cooperatives. The Manitoba Federation initiated the concept of the co-operative movement for community development. Representing the response of the people to their own social and economic problems, the Federation was to serve as the coordinating agency for all cooperatives within the province. The cooperative movement is geared to four aspects: diversified farming, small acreage, a large labor force, and consumer

and producer co-ops. The cooperatives of the Federation had a membership (1955) of 8000 within a region of 20,000 people. With the trend in Canadian rural population declining between 1930-1940 (by 300,000), the Manitoba rural population was increasing. The cooperative movement itself succeeded in making people more aware of the community and their relationships within and to the community. In promoting a comprehensive program of community education, the Folk Schools and Advanced Leadership Schools (voluntary youth programs for the rural communities of Manitoba) became an educational project of the Federation. These programs were initiated to interest and involve young people in the cooperative movement and to develop community leadership.

3b. Educational Response and Rationale: The task for the organization was to educate rural youth in order to provide support for the cooperative movement. As such, the rationale for a comprehensive educational program was to sustain the farm organization and to stimulate and "to provide and elementary training ground for leadership, and to inspire an interest and confidence in the cooperative movement, both as a way of life and as a means of achieving economic security". The following programs were organized:

- Study action groups: a technique of education within a neighborhood group and an emphasis on study for action.

- Folk Schools: education-in-residence programs organized "for the people, a Canadian version of the Scandinavian adult schools". The following objectives functioned in guiding the program: to awaken a community consciousness, to develop an understanding of the economic aspects of the cooperative movement, to develop the will to study for action, and to create a spirit of genuine fellowship.

Conducted during one week sessions, the program includes the following course material: rural community problems, the study of farm organization, the history of the cooperative movement, study of educational-health-agricultural problems, public speaking and discussion group techniques, together with social and recreational activities.

A monthly MFA newspaper kept ex-students informed of folk school developments.

- Advanced Leadership Schools: the three week sessions are organized for more intensive study with the same educational infrastructure as the folk schools. Held first in 1947, the schools are open to all adults (ages 16-35). The curriculum of these schools is more intensive than the folk schools and is divided into four areas: social and economic, cultural, practical and physical.

3c. Evaluation: As stated by Danish cooperative leader, Peter Manniche, "the natural life of a cooperative without an

educational program is a generation and a half". The expansion and consolidation of the cooperative movement was dependent on the adequate training of farm youth.

In 1949-1950, there were seven Folk Schools with 145 students in Manitoba. In a ten year period from 1941-1950, enrollment averaged about 134 students. In the same ten year period, the Folk Schools completed ten sessions, the Advanced Leadership Schools completed four sessions.

The educational programs have definitely been perceived as successful. Among the accomplishments, the following are of major importance: reversal of the trend of out-migration from rural to urban areas; continued support for the cooperative movement in the Manitoba province; increase in participation of students in local organizations.

A few problems of the programs have been assessed as follows:

(1.) Both the one-week (folk school) and three-week (Advanced Leadership Schools) sessions are capable of only providing a general treatment of the subject matter. This factor is counter-acted somewhat by the fact that the schools are "educating the students, not away from, but back to their own communities".

(2.) Criticism is also given to the narrowness of their appeal and approach. The educational program is directed to co-op members in order to improve loyalty to the community and the co-op movement; or for an

immediate gain in membership. It does little to promote the cooperative movement.

(3.) There is a need for education geared to the study of the co-op movement and technical training. (An International Cooperative Institute is planned to meet this need).

4. 1.1, 2.1, 3.1, 4.0, 5.1, 6.1, 7.1, 8.0, 9.0, 10.0, 11.1, 12.0, 13.1, 14.0, 15.0, 16.1, 17.1, 18.0, 19.3, 20.0, 21.1, 22.1, 23.0, 24.0, 25.0, 26.0, 27.0, 28.3, 29.0, 30.0, 31.2, 32.0, 33.6, 34.0, 35.0, 36.1, 37.0, 38.2, 39.4, 40.0, 41.1, 42.0, 43.0, 44.0, 45.3, 46.1, 47.0.

CASE ABSTRACT #32111

1. Labor Movement: Rural Advancement Fund (National Sharecroppers Fund Inc.).

2. Citations:
   - "R.A.F. At Work", pamphlet distributed by the Rural Advancement Fund, 2128 Commonwealth Ave., Charlotte, North Carolina.
   - James M. Pierce, "The Condition of Farmworkers and Small Farmers in 1973", Report to the National Board of the National Sharecroppers Fund/Rural Advancement Fund, 1974.

3a. Structural Bind: Trend characterized by the decline in family farms caused by the growth in agri-business industries. Small land holdings are discouraged primarily as a result of high development costs.

Origins of the Movement: The Rural Advancement Fund, as a subsidiary of the National Sharecroppers Fund organized in response to the continuing decline in farms (estimated 100,000 people leave the rural areas annually) and the growth in agri-business (corporations receive 71% of the profits of the food industry). The objectives of the RAF are to encourage and support rural economic development through cooperatives and other community organizations; to educate the public of the facts of rural poverty and the programs needed to end it; and to provide technical assistance to low-income rural people of health, housing,

education, child care, and other self-help projects.

3b. Educational Response and Rationale: R.A.F recently began the Frank P. Graham Experimental Farm and Training Center near Wadesboro, North Carolina. The purpose of this training center is to train small farmers in efficient, labor-intensive, and ecological modern farming techniques; a technology conducive to land usually available to low-income family farmers. The program consists of three subdivisions:

- Farm management: training/experience in soil preparation, planting, fertilizing with natural methods, grading, processing, and marketing.
- Training in the skills necessary for the organization of cooperatives and other self-help enterprises (budgeting, human relations, etc.).
- Training in rural-related vocational skills (carpentry, welding, machine repair).

The Center has a small resident staff which is supplemented by teachers from the Anson County Technical Institute.

3c. Evaluation: "Graham Center offers some directly practical ways to help solve today's major problems of energy pollution, unemployment and hunger. It demonstrates how to reclaim depleted, eroded land and bring it back into production. It teaches how to raise crops with minimal use of fossil energy, using nitrogen from the land and

natural methods of insect control rather than oil-based, energy consuming, polluting fertilizers and pesticides. It helps people to get jobs and income, and it spreads information on how to raise good food efficiently, and to market it without reliance on corporate middlemen".

The Center is reported to need more facilities in order to facilitate the growing list of applicants for the program. Additional courses, e.g. animal husbandry, have also been requested.

4. 1.1, 2.0, 3.1, 4.1, 5.1, 6.1, 7.0, 8.1, 9.1, 10.0, 11.1, 12.0, 13.1, 14.1, 15.1, 16.1, 17.1, 18.0, 19.9, 20.9, 21.1, 22.1, 23.0, 24.0, 25.1, 26.2, 27.1, 28.2, 29.3, 30.3, 31.2, 32.0, 33.6, 34.0, 35.0, 36.1, 37.9, 38.2, 39.4, 40.1, 41.1, 42.0, 43.0, 44.1, 45.2, 46.2, 47.9.

CASE ABSTRACT #42112

1. Labor Movement: Commonwealth College.

2. Citations:

- Richard Altenbaugh, "The Labor Colleges: A Study of Education in Social Movements", unpublished paper, IDEP, University of Pittsburgh, December, 1975.
- Raymond and Charlotte Koch, Educational Commune, The Story of Commonwealth College, Schocken Books Inc., New York, 1972.

3a. Structural Bind: Condition in which laborers were "cheated from an educational and socio-economic standpoint". Laborers were in a position in which they were easily manipulated and economically exploited.

Origins of the Movement: (1923-1940) Built in Arkansas, the College served the workers/farmers of the Southwest. The founders of the labor college believed that the most severe conditions for workers and farmers existed in this region. The purpose of the educational experiment was to produce leaders in order to collectivize workers, i.e. "to train leaders for a new and different society, in which workers would have power and would need responsible leadership"

From 1923-1931, the College was geared to giving poor working class youth an educational opportunity for "cultural improvement"; after 1931, education was also geared to training students for an active role in the labor movement.

3b. Educational Response and Rationale: Commonwealth College was organized as a "resident college, attractive to all segments of the socialist, trade union, and cooperative movements". The College offered cultural enrichment and technical training to help young workers and farmers serve their communities. The College was founded to help "build a new social order - with which formal education was not concerning itself". Geared primarily for leadership training, the curriculum included: working class history, Marxian economics, labor problems, imperialism, labor journalism, proletarian journalism, public speaking, and office courses. Another educational tool included the student production of plays. Practical trade union techniques were also taught, and students actively participated in organizing farmers and workers.

3c. Evaluation: Utilizing a multi-media educational approach, the philosophy, curriculum and other aspects of Commonwealth College acted to depict the contradictions inherent in a capitalist economy and the exploitation of the labor class. The curriculum was geared towards acquiring an understanding of the sources of the social and economic deprivation of the labor class, together with the tools necessary in overcoming these disadvantages, "not just the hope of social mobility through schooling".

In the area of practical organizing activity, College organizers faced severe social repercussions. Commonwealth College was eventually forced to close after

years of harrassment and accusations including "subversive activities by Southern planters, industrialists, utility operators, financiers, and politicians". It has been postulated that Commonwealth College failed because "it was remote from the industrial North, yet marginal to the South; because inter-racial education was prohibited by state law, because Southern youth were too poor to afford even the nominal tuition;, but mostly because the school sought to prepare leaders for a working-class, labor-oriented culture".

4. 1.1, 2.1, 3.0, 4.1, 5.1, 6.1, 7.1, 8.0, 9.0, 10.1, 11.0, 12.0, 13.1, 14.1, 15.1, 16.0, 17.1, 18.4, 19.1, 20.0, 21.2, 22.2, 23.9, 24.9, 25.0, 26.0, 27.0, 28.2, 29.3, 30.3, 31.2, 32.2, 33.6, 34.0, 35.1, 36.1, 37.9, 38.9, 39.4, 40.9, 41.2, 42.9, 43.9, 44.2, 45.0, 46.3, 47.5.

CASE ABSTRACT #42113

1. Labor Movement: Brookwood Labor College.

2. Citations:

- Richard Altenbaugh, "Labor Colleges: A Study of Education in Social Movement", unpublished paper, IDEP, University of Pittsburgh, December, 1975.
- A.J. Muste, The Essays of A.J. Muste, ed. by Hentoff, Simon, and Schuster, New York, 1967.

3a. Structural Bind: Bind perceived as a condition in which formal education acts as a control mechanism in suppressing the change-oriented (i.e. deviant) attitudes of the labor movement.

Origins of the Movement: Situated in the East in an industrial center, Brookwood College opened in 1921 (closed in 1937). The interest in workers' education stemmed from the perception that "workers were hindered in their union activities and stunted in their intellectual activities because they were forced at an early age to quit school in order to work". In addition, there was a concern among trade union leaders for a viable supply of trade union leaders who would lead the movement for a new social order.

3b. Educational Response and Rationale: The Labor College was a professional school "to educate workers to work in the workers' movement. It frankly aimed not to educate the workers out of their class". The curriculum, consisting of

a two year course, was primarily geared to leadership training. The first year was largely devoted to compensatory education; the second year trained students for participation in the labor struggle. These courses included public speaking, labor dramatics, music, how-to courses on conducting strikes, picket lines, and conventions, and political campaigns. Additional compensatory courses were conducted in economics, social and economic history, and the history of working class conflicts.

3c. Evaluation: A great deal of criticism came from the American Federation of Labor because the Federation wanted to undermine any criticism of its organization at Brookwood. Critical discussion at Brookwood was directed to the limited goals and conservative philosophy of the American Federation of Labor. Eventually, Brookwood was without financial support from the union coffers.

However, in the course of fifteen years of activity, "Brookwood trained nearly five hundred persons, many of whom occupy responsible positions in labor".

4. 1.1, 2.1, 3.0, 4.1, 5.1, 6.1, 7.1, 8.0, 9.0, 10.1, 11.1, 12.0, 13.1, 14.1, 15.1, 16.0, 17.1, 18.0, 19.9, 20.9, 21.0, 22.1, 23.9, 24.9, 25.0, 26.0, 27.0, 28.2, 29.3, 30.3, 31.2, 32.1, 33.4, 34.2, 35.1, 36.1, 37.9, 38.0, 39.4, 40.2, 41.2, 42.9, 43.9, 44.2, 45.0, 46.3, 47.4.

CASE ABSTRACT #13114

1. Brown Power Movement: Crusade for Justice.

2. Citations:

- James Mencarelli and Steve Severin, Protest, Red, Black, Brown Experience in America, William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., Michigan, 1975, Chapters 6, 8, 9.
- Tony Castro, Chicano Power, The Emergence of Mexican America, Saturday Review Press, New York, 1974.
- "Escuela y Colegio Tlatelolco", Pamphlet, Denver, Colorado, 1973.
- "We Are Not Beasts", Akwesasne Notes, Early Summer, 1973, p. 36.
- "Crusade for Justice", pamphlet, 1567 Downing Street, Denver, Colorado.

3a. Structural Bind: Psychological destruction of the Chicano people as a result of assimilation/acculturation policies.

Origins of the Movement: The Crusade for Justice is a Denver based organization begun in 1965 by Rudolfo Gonzales, for the purpose of securing "equality with dignity for the Mexican-Americans". As a community service center and acting as a watchdog for Chicano interests, the Crusade for Justice has been active in the area of civil rights, education, housing and employment.

3b. Educational Response and Rationale: The rationale for the programs devised by the organization is based on the need

for building Chicano nationalism. Thus the Crusade for Justice sponsored "Freedom Schools" (1969) to revitalize the Chicano identity and culture, in addition to nursery schools, cultural centers and libraries. A major effort is the Escuela y Colegio Tlatelolco (1970) where the concern is to "create cultural awareness and re-enforce pride in our language and way of life, building positive self images to counter the psychological destruction of our people". The school is providing a bilingual, bicultural educational program (preschool, primary, secondary, and undergraduate) in addition to vocational and adult educational programs, and El Ballet Chicano.

3c. Evaluation: In light of societal policies of assimilation, a "disadvantage" for the organization is its militant stance, characterized by nationalistic attitudes, self-determination, machismo, and the "need for more forceful methods". As an example of societal response to the organization: in March, 1963, the Tlatelolco School was attacked by Denver police, resulting in one death, 19 injured, and a demolished dormitory. The theme of Chicano nationalism advocated by Gonzales is similar in rhetoric to the Black Power/Black Nationalism rhetoric of the 1960's.

The plan to develop a nationalist mentality is the foundation of efforts at social change to control those institutions which shape the lives of the Chicano people. One advantage of the Tlatelolco undergraduate program is the emphasis on a barrio based program of studies

dealing with the problems and culture of the Chicano in the urban community.

4. 1.2, 2.0, 3.1, 4.0, 5.1, 6.1, 7.0, 8.1, 9.0, 10.0, 11.1, 12.0, 13.0, 14.1, 15.1, 16.0, 17.1, 18.4, 19.3, 20.0, 21.2, 22.1, 23.1, 24.0, 25.0, 26.0, 27.1, 28.2, 29.3, 30.3, 31.1, 32.2, 33.6, 34.0, 35.0, 36.0, 37.0, 38.2, 39.4, 40.9, 41.0, 42.0, 43.0, 44.1, 45.2, 46.0, 47.2.

CASE ABSTRACT #13115

1. Community Movement: The Woodlawn Organization.

2. Citations:

- Arthur M. Brazier, Black Self-Determination: The Story of the Woodlawn Organization, William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., Michigan, 1969.
- Charles E. Silberman, "Up From Apathy - The Woodlawn Experiment", Commentary, May, 1964, pp. 51-58.
- "The Battle of Woodlawn", series of articles in the Daily Defender, November 19, 1962 - December 3, 1962.
- "Woodlawn: An Urban Battlefield", Chicago Sunday Sun Times, April 9, 1961.

3a. Structural Bind: "A large mass of people were being denied the right to participate in making decisions that affected their own lives". (Alinsky). Described as "welfare colonialism", i.e. social welfare efforts stemming from the idea of doing things for, not with the community.

Origins of the Movement: In a struggle for self-determination, The Woodlawn Organization or TWO was organized under the guidance of Alinsky's Industrial Areas Foundation. TWO is a representative federation of numerous community groups (membership - 30,000) within the Chicago South Side ghetto slum of Woodlawn. TWO utilized the community organization theories of the IAF and its executive director, Saul Alinsky. Difficulties centered around ghetto problems, conflict over the differing perspectives of the expansion

and growth of the city and the University of Chicago, and how Woodlawn affects both. TWO-IAF goals included changing the traditional patterns of Chicago's development: "the flight of the white population from areas adjoining the ghetto, the stranding of their churches and institutions, the expansion of the ghetto into the white-vacated area, and the intensification of segregation".

3b. Educational Response and Rationale: The educational response is based on community organization theory:

- Group meetings held in churches and with other concerned groups. The meetings were designed to acquaint the members of the community with each other in order to facilitate common perceptions of problems, grievances and vested interests.
- Local persons were trained in how to run meetins, instilling racial pride, and cultivating leadership.
- "Demonstrations" put on to show how community power is used, in order to prove the point that organization could improve circumstances and solve problems (e.g. rent strikes, the Square Deal Campaign).

Rationale: The goal is to "rub raw the sores of discontent and to sharpen dormant hostilities". The problem is to overcome community apathy, and to bring out and focus the inarticulate resentments and dormant hostilities. People are incapable of acting until these grievances are articulated and seen as problems, as a condition about which something can be done.

3c. Evaluation: TWO has aroused opposition "mainly because it has... militantly fought with unconventional, and often radical methods... It has shouted where others have whispered". It has demonstrated that a community can be mobilized to help itself, in addition to exerting the power necessary to make community interests felt in decisions that affect the community. It has succeeded in cultivating a sense of direction and purpose, and dignity and worth "that makes it possible for them to accept help... not as the result of charity but as the result of their own power".

4. 1.2, 2.0, 3.0, 4.1, 5.0, 6.0, 7.1, 8.0, 9.1, 10.1, 11.0, 12.1, 13.0, 14.0, 15.1, 16.1, 17.0, 18.0, 19.2, 20.0, 21.0, 22.2, 23.0, 24.0, 25.2, 26.0, 27.0, 28.0, 29.3, 30.3, 31.0, 32.2, 33.4, 34.2, 35.3, 36.1, 37.0, 38.0, 39.3, 40.9, 41.1, 42.0, 43.0, 44.1, 45.2, 46.0, 47.1.

CASE ABSTRACT #23116

1. Black Power Movement: Nation of Islam (Black Muslims).

2. Citations:

- I. Shalaby and J.C. Chilcott, The Education of a Black Muslim, Tucson, Arizona, Impresora, Sahuaro, 1972.
- C. Erin Lincoln, The Black Muslims in America, Beacon Press, Boston, 1961.
- "Muhammed Speaks", weekly newspaper printed by Muhammed's Mosques, Chicago, Illinois.
- Clemont E. Ventross, "Threat, or Blessing, or Both: The Black Muslim Schools", Phi Delta Kappan, Volume XLVII, No. 2, October, 1965.

3a. Structural Bind: Poor socio-economic conditions and denigrated identity of the lower class Black in America.

Origins of the Movement: Movement of a political-religious nature begun by Wallace Ford Muhammed (1930), now under the leadership of Wallace D. Muhammed. Objectives of the Nation of Islam: (1) freedom, justice, and equality; (2) racial segregation; (3) self-sufficiency (independent economy); (4) Black solidarity. Aim is to establish a Black Nation for the descendants of American slaves, historically acting as a "nation within a nation" with their own independent, self-supporting communities.

3b. Educational Response and Rationale: The headquarters established at Chicago, Illinois, has an organizational

membership (est. 100,000 of poor, disadvantaged and victims of racism) which seeks a new identity and life style through which they can develop a sense of self-worth. Education "seeks to develop a Muslim identity and the total cultural renewal of its membership", in order to reduce stress conditions. Education is used to facilitate the development of the Muslim social philosophy. The educational facilities include:

- Radio: Voice of Muhammed broadcast on radio every Sunday.
- Newspaper: "Muhammed Speaks", published weekly: news articles, editorials, and writings by W.D. Muhammed.
- University of Islam: The elementary and secondary institution caters to approximately 1000 students at eight centers. The objective is to create a satisfying culture and a desirable identity. The school and the Mosque are channels through which the Muslim organization can teach its members Arabic, the Muslim religion, and Black history, i.e. a Muslim way of life.
- Vocational and adult educational evening classes held at each Mosque to teach the adult members reading, writing, math, history, self-defense, physical fitness, and consumer education. These programs, called the Fruit of Islam, Muslim Girls Training, and General Civilization classes function to provide a means for changing identity from that of a lower class Negro to that of a Black Muslim.

3c. Evaluation: The Muslim movement is evaluated in "terms of the extent that they create a point of crystallization for people stripped of their unity and identity under the duress of slavery and social conditions". The motivation for separate schools is to have an environment where the people can believe and practice the tenets of the Nation of Islam. The Nation of Islam has established a counter acculturative social movement in an effort to re-establish their cultural integrity and to reduce social deprivation. The focus is on changing individuals (redemptive) rather than political or social relationships. The success of the organization lies in its capacity to provide a positive self-conception and a satisfying life style. It is a unique movement in that a separatist effort to establish an educational system has rarely been permitted to exist where societal forces (as in the U.S.) are geared to assimilation.

4. 1.2, 2.0, 3.1, 4.0, 5.1, 6.1, 7.0, 8.1, 9.0, 10.0, 11.0, 12.0, 13.0, 14.1, 15.0, 16.1, 17.1, 18.1, 19.1, 20.1, 21.2, 22.1, 23.0, 24.0, 25.0, 26.1, 27.0, 28.2, 29.2, 30.2, 31.1, 32.1, 33.6, 34.0, 35.3, 36.1, 37.1, 38.2, 39.1, 40.1, 41.1, 42.0, 43.1, 44.0, 45.3, 46.1, 47.0.

CASE ABSTRACT #23117

1. Religious Movement: The Danish Evangelical Lutheran Church.

2. Citations:
   - Enok Mortenson, The Danish Lutheran Church in America: The History and Heritage of the American Evangelical Lutheran Church, Board of Publications, Lutheran Church of America, 1967, particularly Chapter 6.
   - Landis and Willard, Rural Adult Education, MacMillan Co., New York, 1933, Chapter XII.

3a. Structural Bind: "America was and continued for many years to be an alien world for us. In mind and thinking, we lived in Denmark and all that was Danish". (Mortenson, p. 89). The Danish perceived themselves as exiles, and efforts were directed in not letting themselves be swallowed by the alien culture surrounding them. The Danish immigrants sought to preserve cultural values and traditions (while maintaining political allegiance to the U.S.) in an effort to re-establish ties with their roots - their language and homeland.

Origins of the Movement: Precisely because of these perceptions of isolation in a new country and nostalgic remembrances of their homeland, the immigrants were inclined to preserve cultural values and traditions. The cultural development occurring among the Danes centered around the Lutheran Church. They organized their

educational institutions according to the philosophy of the Danish folk school (Grundtvigian "folkelig" concept). Emphasis was on the religious element with roots in the "mother Church of Denmark"; but the movement was cultural, nationalistic and linguistic as well. The Church essentially served "to gather all those in America who wish to preserve Danish values and support a serious intent to augment their spiritual and cultural heritage, and bring it to fruition not only for ourselves and the old fatherland, but for the land to which we have become united with strong bonds".

3b. Educational Response and Rationale: Education was organized according to the philosophy of the Danish folk highschools, with the objectives of "enlightened action, self-fulfillment and enlivenment". There were no entrance requirements, diplomas, grades, or certification; and the schools catered to adults 18-30 years of age. The following schools were organized:

- 1878-1890: Elk Horn Folk School (Iowa).
- 1882-1920: Ashland Folk School (Michigan).
- 1884-1884: West Denmark (Wisconsin).
- 1887- : Nysted Folk School (Nebraska).
- 1888- : Danebod Folk School (Minnesota).
- 1910-1931: Atterdag College Folk School (California).
- 1921-1934: Dalum Folk School (Canada).

Classes were held in history, singing, writing, geography, math, Danish, and English. In all instances but one (Danebod Folk School), the folk school principles were abandoned, and the folk schools were converted to other institutions. Since 1946, the buildings at Danebod were

used for community activities and camps conducted in the spirit of the folk school.

3c. Evaluation: Attempts have been made to transplant the folk high schools, but with one or two exceptions they have been relatively unsuccessful. The schools have failed for many reasons: remoteness and poor transportation, inadequate facilities, insufficient financial resources, the removal of vital leadership, and the illusion that the schools could be transplanted without adaptation. Other factors that had an influence on the movement and the schools was the competition, not only with other religious denominations but also within the Lutheran Church itself; the wide scattering of Danes over the whole country, along with other factors (out-migration, assimilation into other groups) acted to curb growth; and the tendency to isolate even from other Lutherans. Historical evidence denotes that the Danish Folk schools failed to "weather" transplantation in the U.S. But nonetheless, the "influence of the folk school was noticeable even in people who had never been inside its doors, for it had mediated a 'folkelig' enlightenment that permeated the whole fabric of the Church". (Mortenson, p. 287).

4. 1.2, 2.0, 3.1, 4.1, 5.1, 6.1, 7.1, 8.1, 9.0, 10.0, 11.1, 12.0, 13.1, 14.1, 15.1, 16.1, 17.1, 18.3, 19.1, 20.1, 21.2, 22.2, 23.2, 24.0, 25.1, 26.0, 27.0, 28.1, 29.0, 30.0, 31.1, 32.0, 33.6, 34.3, 35.2, 36.2, 37.1, 38.0, 39.3, 40.3, 41.2, 42.2, 43.1, 44.2, 45.0, 46.1, 47.4.

CASE ABSTRACT #25118

1. Brown Power Movement: D.Q. University.

2. Citations:

   - Chicano Alternative Education, prepared by the Southwest Network of the Study Commission on Undergraduate Education of Teachers, 1973.
   - Akwesasne Notes, Early Spring, 1972, p. 32.

3a. Structural Bind: Oppression of the Indian and Chicano people and erosion of socio-cultural values and life styles. The lack of culturally relevant education tends to destroy communities and shatters self-image. Secondly, the aspirations and energies of Indian and Chicano students in higher education are redirected to adapt to larger societal needs rather than structural change.

Origins of the Movement: With the perception that public education is not relevant to the needs of the Indo-Chicano peoples, and also that cultural coercion is destroying Indo-Chicano heritages - a group of Chicanos and Indians worked to build an Indian-Chicano University as an alternative school. The objectives of D.Q. University are "(1) make an act of educational self-determination; (2) to bring in Native American and Chicano students and give them nation building skills, not just the theoretical knowledge, but applicable knowledge; and (3) to provide an effective disposition for the education of Native American and Chicano youth, that they get a sense of collective self-worth,

both culturally and individually, so that they can confront the needs of their own communities".

3b. Educational Response and Rationale: D.Q. University is motivated by the idea of community control. It primarily caters to low income students. The University consists of the following schools:

- Graduate Schools: Black Elk College (Native American studies) and Quetzalcoatl College (Chicano studies).
- Undergraduate School: Tiburcio Vasquez College (vocational and professional studies).
- Health Sciences School: Carlos Montezuma.

The curriculum is constructed from a traditional or a tribal approach and is based on experiential application (representative of historical models, Iriquois Academie, and the Calmeca). The long term goal of the University is the transfer from a conventional curriculum in which ethnic studies are attached to an interdisciplinary approach in which related fields are clustered, e.g. the study of the allied health sciences would include the study of chemistry, biology, physics and anatomy, in addition to history, sociology, and the economics of medicine. Cultural goals are integrated with this interdisciplinary approach.

3c. Evaluation: The "Developing Institutions Act" provides federal money for educational administrators if the institution is "meeting the needs of the disadvantaged and if those disadvantaged whose needs they are meeting have little or no access to other educational institutions".

Re Curriculum: Culture is integrated into the curriculum: "You have to get the integrity of the culture in the total curriculum so that the natural sciences, the social sciences, the study of government - everything comes through that critical lens of cultural sanity".

Major problems center around the lack of economic resources, community hostility, and internal political and structural problems particularly management, as a result of psychological insecurity stemming from educational efforts of self-determination.

4. 1.2, 2.1, 3.1, 4.0, 5.1, 6.1, 7.0, 8.1, 9.0, 10.0, 11.1, 12.0, 13.1, 14.1, 15.1, 16.1, 17.1, 18.4, 19.3, 20.0, 21.1, 22.1, 23.0, 24.0, 25.0, 26.0, 27.2, 28.2, 29.3, 30.2, 31.1, 32.1, 33.6, 34.0, 35.0, 36.1, 37.0, 38.0, 39.0, 40.1, 41.1, 42.0, 43.0, 44.1, 45.2, 46.1, 47.1.

CASE ABSTRACT #14119

1. The Mormon Movement: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints.

2. Citations:

   - Dorothea Kelsey, "Educational Contributions to the Mormon Movement", unpublished case study, IDEP, University of Pittsburgh, December, 1975.

3a. Structural Bind: The Mormon Church represented a competing ideology, unorthodox theology and lifestyle. As a cohesive community it was perceived as a political and economic threat leading to outbursts of antagonism, harrassment and persecution of the Mormon movement.

Origins of the Movement: 1830-1847: Organized in 1830 by Joseph Smith. After settling in Ohio and Missouri, the members located in Illinois to escape persecution.

1847-1887: Under the leadership of Brigham Young, the Mormons moved to Utah, where Mormon control was established throughout the Utah territory. Control ended with Edmunds-Tucker Act; the political and economic dominance of the Mormon Church throughout the Utah Territory dissolved.

1887- : Preservation phase. Present population 2,208,000, comprising 72% of the Utah population.

3b. Educational Response and Rationale:

1830-1847: Educational programs geared to leadership training and training missionaries (School of the Prophets); teaching tenets of the faith, and gaining converts, i.e. indoctrination.

1847- 1887: Period of dominance (Utah).

1887-1919: Mormon religious instruction excluded in public schools. In response, "academies" were begun in larger Mormon settlements as an alternative to public schools.

1919- : "Seminary programs" (high school Youth) and "institutes" (university students), and Sunday School classes also initiated to sustain religious instruction.

3c. Evaluation: It may be noted that during one phase of Mormon history (1847-1887), movement and educational program expansion occurred because of Mormon dominance in the Utah territory. In the periods prior to and immediately after this phase, the Mormons experienced excessive societal intolerance. The ability of the movement to survive was due in large part to cooptation of the movement. In terms of realizing goals, educational programs were relatively successful; however program continuity was halted because of societal cooptation. The Mormon movement was forced to conform to societal demands.

4. 1.3, 2.0, 3.0, 4.0, 5.1, 6.1, 7.1, 8.0, 9.0, 10.0, 11.1, 12.0, 13.0, 14.1, 15.1, 16.1, 17.1, 18.4, 19.0, 20.1,

21.2, 22.1, 23.0, 24.0, 25.0, 26.0, 27.2, 28.1, 29.3,
30.3, 31.1, 32.2, 33.6, 34.1, 35.0, 36.1, 37.1, 38.0,
39.3, 40.1, 41.2, 42.0, 43.0, 44.1, 45.1, 46.0, 47.3.

CASE ABSTRACT #24220

1. Religious Movement: The Hutterian Brethren.

2. Citations:

- Victor Peters, All Things Common, The Hutterian Way of Life, Harper and Row, New York, 1971.

3a. Structural Bind: Sections of Canadian and American society feel that the Hutterian colonies form little cultural islands which obstruct the conformative process of Canadianization and Americanization. Past and present demands presented for the forcible dissolution of the Hutterian colonies. Bind perceived as resistance to societal integration and assimilation.

Origins of the Movement: The Hutterites, a fragment of the Protestant Reformation, arrived in North America in the 1870's after persecution and expulsion from Central Europe. Today numbering about 15,000, 2/3 of the Hutterites live in Canada and the rest in the U.S. (South Dakota, Montana). The Hutterite community is characterized by community or colony seclusion and strict "avoidance of the world"; community ownership of goods; democratic organization and participation.

The group lived in seclusion in the U.S. from 1874-1917. With the end of U.S. isolation and culmination of nationalism in 1917, the Hutterites faced increasing anti-Hutterian hostility aggravated by Hutterian objections to military service,

and resulting in emigration to Canada. Hutterian expansion and economic competition led to further persecution by Canadian society. Resistance to military service in the 1940's further aggravated the situation, and resulted in restrictive legislation against large Hutterian land holdings which were perceived to displace the less thrifty farmers of British origin. Agitation also included demands that the public schools intensify integration efforts.

3b. Educational Response and Rationale: Colony education, distinct from the public schools, is limited to kindergarten, German school, Sunday School, and informal apprenticeships with community enterprises. Social education of children begins at a very early age. In the kindergarten, the emphasis is on socializing the child and teaching him to subordinate his own wishes to that of the community. In the German and Sunday schools, the emphasis is on religious instruction for the purpose of indoctrinating the children with traditional Hutterian beliefs. The need for education is necessary in order to counteract the materialistic objectives and worldly orientation of the public schools.

3c. Evaluation: Public school education of the Hutterian children is of a colonialistic type. Because of their large land-holdings, school districts usually conform to Hutterian communities. Thus, the children are exposed to eight or more years of public school education. However, the children are also taught an intense appreciation and

knowledge of the Hutterian religious and cultural heritage. They emerge as Hutterians, full and faithful members of the community. They seem "immune" to worldly influences, and this is attested to by the continued growth and stability of the colonies. No disintegration of the Hutterian way of life is apparent. Severe anti-Hutterian legislation might serve to drive the colonies from Canada, but would not change them. Avoidance of the outside world as an effective barrier to integration is supplemented by the strong kinship ties enhancing group identification and solidarity.

4. 1.3, 2.1, 3.1, 4.0, 5.1, 6.1, 7.0, 8.1, 9.0, 10.1, 11.1, 12.0, 13.1, 14.1, 15.1, 16.1, 17.1, 18.1, 19.1, 20.1, 21.2, 22.0, 23.0, 24.0, 25.0, 26.0, 27.0, 28.3, 29.3, 30.1, 31.1, 32.1, 33.6, 34.0, 35.0, 36.0, 37.1, 38.2, 39.5, 40.0, 41.1, 42.0, 43.1, 44.0, 45.3, 46.1, 47.0,

CASE ABSTRACT #24121

1. Religious Movement: The Old Order Amish Society.

2. Citations:

- Sharifah Z. Kabeer, "Educational Functions Within the Old Order Amish Society", unpublished case study, IDEP, University of Pittsburgh, December, 1975.
- Malcolm Lawson and Marvin Grandstaff, "The Case of the Old Order Amish", Study Team Reports: Historical Perspectives on Non-Formal Education, Michigan State University, East Lansing, Michigan, 1974, pp.103-110.

3a. Structural Bind: Preservation of religious and socio-cultural values of the community against the socialization/politicization processes of society.

Origins of the Movement: The Amish are a conservative, Anabaptist religious sect. Following religious persecution in Europe and consequent migration to the U.S., the Amish maintained a sectarian and isolationist position in order to protect their religious and cultural values.

Amish communities are made up of self-contained and self-governing farm communities (population, 65,000). These communities are located in the rural areas of the Midwest and the East Central United States. The dominant values of Amish culture include detachment from worldly affairs and concerns, and a simple agrarian life marked by discipline, humility and simplicity. Up until 1925, the Amish sent their children to rural

public schools, the educational system of which (including both curriculum and pedagogy) was compatible with Amish values. After 1925, the Amish experienced dissatisfaction with the growing trend in school consolidation, characterized by instructional specialization, stress on science and technology, etc.

3b. Educational Response and Rationale: The rationale for the development of Amish educational programs was expressed as the need to provide Amish children with an Amish education in order to preserve Amish values (simplicity, orderliness, humility). Education, as perceived by the Amish, is necessary for preparation, "for eternity and a simple life of humility and resignation to the will of God". Individual development is subordinated to the community and continuity of the culture. Traditional Western education is perceived as dysfunctional to the Amish community. Learning as an end in itself is considered detrimental as it does nothing to prepare individuals for the practical things in life. Schools established by the Amish extend only to the 8th grade level. Curriculum is limited to the basic skills of reading, writing, arithmetic and knowledge of practical utility. The school works as an extension of the Amish culture. Training past this level includes a non-formal program of vocational training schools teaching agriculture and home-making. Amish youth, between the ages of 14-16 spend ½ day per week with a teacher, and 4½ days participating in the

economic life of the community.

3c. Evaluation: The case of Amish education is in harmony with the values of the culture. Education serves well-defined but limited functions. Knowledge and values are transmitted with efficiency and at minimal costs. Through the vocational schools, "Amish youth are placed in productive and socially needed vocational roles so that the skills learned correspond to the actual vocational opportunities available to them".

Continued societal persecution/prosecution of the Amish continues. There have been varying degrees of alienation and out-migration to Latin America and Australia.

4. 1.3, 2.1, 3.1, 4.0, 5.1, 6.1, 7.0, 8.1, 9.0, 10.1, 11.1, 12.0, 13.0, 14.1, 15.1, 16.1, 17.1, 18.1, 19.1, 20.1, 21.2, 22.1, 23.0, 24.0, 25.0, 26.0, 27.0, 28.0, 29.3, 30.1, 31.1, 32.2, 33.6, 34.1, 35.0, 36.0, 37.1, 38.0, 39.4, 40.3, 41.0, 42.0, 43.1, 44.1, 45.2, 46.1, 47.4.

CASE ABSTRACT #34122

1. Religious Movement: The Unification Church: The Holy Spirit Association for the Unification of World Christianity.

2. Citations:
   - "Messiah From Korea: Honor Thy Father Moon", Psychology Today, January, 1976, pp. 36-47.
   - John D. Marks, "From Korea With Love", Washington Monthly, February, 1976, pp. 56-61.

3a. Structural Bind: Social disaffection with spiritual matters.

Origins of the Movement: Founded in Korea in 1954. Moon moved his headquarters to the United States in 1973 because he believed it to be the "chosen land". The Unification Church in America claims a following of 10-30,000 with a core of 2-10,000 full-time members. The mission of the Church is "to mobilize an ideological army of young people... to unite the world in a new age of faith". The Church offers a life of disciplined ascetisism, the comfort of belief with a theology of simple answers, the security of perennial childhood, a sense of belonging within a cooperative community, and a sexless world of militant puritanism.

3b. Educational Response and Rationale: The rationale for the educational response is the recruitment of new members for the movement. Initiated through street-corner evangelism, the educational sessions are carried out in several phases:
   - Introductory lectures at the Unification Centers.

- Weekend workshops: 6-8 hours of theology lectures based on Moon's Divine Principles, followed by discussion groups.
- Week-long workshops: workshops held at the Church's Training Headquarters at Barrytown, N.Y.; consists of serious indoctrination, rigorous study, a spartan life-style, followed by group pressure for commitment to full-time membership.
- Training seminars: This last educational phase is conducted for those committed to full-time Church membership. The seminars last for 3-16 weeks, with training including lectures on theology, fund-raising, sex, and anti-communist indoctrination.

3c. Evaluation: Researchers of the movement have noted that the cult primarily attracts individuals seeking total commitment. Membership demands insulation from the outside world, surrender of prior identity, strict dress codes and behavioral standards. It has also been suggested that the various educational phases are similar to brain-washing tactics: "isolating them from all past and outside contacts; surrounding them with new instant comrades and a new authority figure; wearing them down physically, mentally, and emotionally; then 'programming' them with new beliefs and pressuring them into total commitment".

The educational program seems to be geared to emphasis on sexual, political and financial matters. The Church's puritan attitudes toward sex permeate the training

of converts. By enforcing celibacy and permitting only a facade of marriage, the cult follows the pattern of American communes. Enforced celibacy inhibits the formation of family units that perhaps might threaten group solidarity and the authority of the leadership. Secondly, the political emphasis given to the training seminars gives support to the Church's political affiliate (Freedom Leadership Foundation) dedicated to the "ideological victory over communism in the U.S.". Lastly, the test of the convert's spiritual solidarity with the Church is his her success at fund-raising: "Most of the Church's resources are directed inward, producing more money and more members, who in turn will recruit more members and more money".

The particular educational method used to attract and gain converts has caused many difficulties. Moon has hired a P.R. firm to bandage the damaged image of the Unification Church in the U.S. "Moonie" parents have cast accusations branding Moon as a "brainwashing fascist". He has also been the target of the House Subcommittee investigations. The Moonies have themselves been kidnapped in the name of "religious deprogramming".

4. 1.3, 2.0, 3.1, 4.1, 5.0, 6.0, 7.1, 8.1, 9.0, 10.1, 11.1, 12.2, 13.0, 14.1, 15.1, 16.1, 17.0, 18.4, 19.0, 20.1, 21.2, 22.2, 23.0, 24.0, 25.0, 26.2, 27.2, 28.2, 29.0, 30.3, 31.1, 32.2, 33.0, 34.0, 35.0, 36.1, 37.1, 38.2, 39.4, 40.0, 41.2, 42.2, 43.1, 44.0, 45.3, 46.2, 47.1,.

CASE ABSTRACT #44123

1. Communal Movement: Bruderhof.

2. Citations:

- Benjamin David Zablocki, An Account of the Bruderhof, A Communal Movement Now In Its Third Generation, Penguin Books, Baltimore, Maryland, 1971.

3a. Structural Bind: Perceived that prevailing social conditions cause intolerable living conditions.

Origins of the Movement: The community was founded in Germany in 1920; with migration to the U.S. occurring in 1954. The Bruderhof consists of a federation of three colonies located in New York, Pennsylvania, and Connecticut: Woodcrest, Evergreen, and Oak Lake. The population of 750 is middle-class and college-educated. The people themselves are directly concerned with world problems and totally committed to bringing about radical social change. The community is held together by its common religion - a radical, fundamental, Anabaptist Christianity. The community is self-supporting, financed by Communal Playthings Industry.

3b. Educational Response and Rationale: The population of the Bruderhof community has been declining in recent years, in addition to a decline in the rate of converts entering the community. It is postulated that the community is devolving into a blood-related ethnic subculture, similar to the

Hutterites. As such, more and more attention is focused on Bruderhof children. Children are encouraged to train for and experience the outside world. Afterwards, the community takes only those who are "called".

Until high school, there is little unsupervised contact of the children with the outside world. The children spend two years in the preschool, and then attend eight grades of elementary school (which in New York, follows the approved state curriculum). Besides the academic curriculum, time is taken to integrate the children into the life of the hof; for example, children are assigned to work and assist adults in the various work departments.

3c. Evaluation: The movement went through a period of crisis from 1959-1962, causing ½ of the membership to leave. The hofs in South America and Europe were disbanded and consolidated in the United States.

Bruderhof solidarity is based on the assumption that individuals have internalized a particular set of attitudes. The normative system emphasizes attitudes, more so than behavior. As such, membership is based on freedom of choice.

There is heavy emphasis on protecting both adults and children from external and "impure" influences. However, individuals of high school and college age are encouraged to spend time on their own in the outside world. "There is a concern that Bruderhof children not simply

drift into the community because it is the path of least resistance. It is hard for them to join the community and easy to go into the outside world". The young adults who have returned have numbered about 75% in recent years, thus providing a relatively successful educational strategy. Other communities have found through experience that the second generation does not sustain the ideological commitment and enthusiasm of the first generation.

4. 1.3, 2.1, 3.1, 4.0, 5.1, 6.1, 7.0, 8.1, 9.0, 10.1, 11.1, 12.0, 13.1, 14.1, 15.1, 16.1, 17.1, 18.4, 19.1, 20.0, 21.2, 22.1, 23.0, 24.0, 25.0, 26.0, 27.1, 28.3, 29.2, 30.1, 31.1, 32.0, 33.6, 34.0, 35.0, 36.0, 37.1, 38.0, 39.3, 40.3, 41.1, 42.0, 43.0, 44.0, 45.3, 46.3, 47.0.

CASE ABSTRACT #44124

1. Religious Movement: International Society for Krishna Consciousness.

2. Citations:
   - Carol Kuperstock, "Krishna Women", The Pittsburgh New Sun, Issue #73, March 11-24, 1976.
   - Back to Godhead, magazine published by the Hare Krishna Movement.

3a. Structural Bind: Perceived that society is without spiritual direction; need for a peaceful, progressive society based on service to God in order to ameliorate societal problems and to counteract societal disintegration.

Origins of the Movement: The Society was first founded in the U.S. in 1966 by A.C. Bhaktivedanta. It is a world-wide community of devotees practicing bhaktiyoga, the eternal science of living service to God. Bhaktivedanta came to the U.S. a decade ago to spread Krishna's word to disillusioned young people. ISKON has 5000 members at one hundred centers around the world. The movement basically emphasizes a return to religious principles.

3b. Educational Response and Rationale: (The address of the Krishna's West Virginia Community is: ISKON'S VRNDAVANA Community, R.D. #1, Box 620, Moundsville, West Virginia). Krishna children are taught in Gurukulas, or private schools, one of which is located in Dallas, Texas, while

a smaller school has just been started in West Virginia. There are approximately 150 students between the ages of 8-15 that live and study at the school. Students are forbidden to leave; parents visit once a year.

The children are taught various subjects including Sanskrit and English; and the bare rudiments of geography, mathematics, and non-Darwinian history. The teaching staff is non-certified (12 teachers); certification for private school teachers not required by state law. "The devotees feel that they are protecting their children from the contaminated environment of American culture".

75% of the Krishna funds are channeled into printing books/magazines to spread Krishna's word. The movement's Back to Godhead magazine is perceived as an integral part of ISKON and has often been called the "backbone of the Krishna consciousness movement". The magazine was first distributed in 1944. The purpose of the magazine is "to present topics concerning Krishna, the Supreme Personality of Godhead, for the spiritual enlightenment of its readers".

3c. Evaluation: Although it is stipulated that devotees refrain from anything not associated with Krishna consciousness, devotees "still work to teach the public how to live and act... for the sake of educating people in general, you should perform your work". In the effort to educate the outside world - "to try to affect what we consider a

very degrading society" - to do this the devotees are camouflaging themselves. In distributing the literature, Krishna members have stood on city sidewalks; instead of wearing their bright suffron robes and shaved heads, Krishna members are now dressing to blend into the urban environment in order to better facilitate receptivity to the Krishna word.

The movement itself emphasizes a return to religious principles, as the age we now live in is seen and referred to by the Krishna movement as "kazi-yuga" or the age of forgetting God. Members believe that "it is the duty of governmental authorities to see that people are taught to be God-conscious".

4. 1.3, 2.1, 3.1, 4.0, 5.0, 6.0, 7.1, 8.1, 9.0, 10.0, 11.1, 12.0, 13.1, 14.1, 15.0, 16.1, 17.0, 18.4, 19.1, 20.1, 21.0, 22.0, 23.0, 24.0, 25.0, 26.2, 27.2, 28.3, 29.1, 30.1, 31.0, 32.0, 33.2, 34.0, 35.0, 36.1, 37.1, 38.2, 39.5, 40.0, 41.2, 42.2, 43.1, 44.0, 45.3, 46.3, 47.0.

CASE ABSTRACT #44125

1. Communal Movement: Oneida.

2. Citations:

- Maren Lockwood Carden, Oneida, Utopian Community to Modern Corporation, John Hopkins Press, New York, 1969.

3a. Structural Bind: Non-complementary of society with vision of the good life.

Origins of the Movement: 1848-1880: Instituted as a utopian community, Oneida was founded in 1848 by John Humphrey Noyes. The communal society was based on the theology of perfectionism. This belief system was based on two central values: self-perfection, i.e. the improvement of one's spiritual state, character, and intellect; and communalism, i.e, the practice of holding communal property, including people as well as material possessions. A utopian community is defined as "an organization founded specifically to implement in its social structure, a particular set of ideals".

By 1880, the community was coming apart. The Perfectionist ideology that defined community life changed in character as it became less religious and more social. This was further complicated by the disintegration of the charismatic leadership of Noyes, together with disagreement among community leaders about movement goals and strategies. Attempts at adaptation resulted in "violation of the ideals and the breakdown of members' united commitment to them". Utopia had been abandoned.

3b. Educational Response and Rationale: Members of the community were "encouraged to form groups and circles for intellectual improvement. In this way, the sciences, literature, music and the arts have been, to some extent, cultivated". The central objective, of course, is spiritual improvement. The community's perspective on education was broad, "more far-reaching, extensive, and practical, than the mere book-knowledge that passes for such in the world". More importantly, education was linked to self-realization, the "ability of doing everything within the range of human capacity". The following programs were developed:

- Group meetings or "home talks": These meetings were held nightly. Members gathered informally, at which time Noyes instructed his followers as to Perfectionist ideology, and how that ideology applied to everyday living. The home talks were written down, and when applicable, printed for a general readership. "The evening meetings did more than remind members of their ideals; it demonstrated how to practice them, and also helped to resolve conflicts. When members had participated in discussions, they were more committed to any decision that was made".
- Oneida newspaper: Circular.
- School was held daily for males between the ages of 14-26. The broad curriculum included "algebra and zoology to phrenology and man's future victory over death". A library (with over 4000 volumes) served as a resource center. The students were taught by older, educated members of the community. "Oneida was able to follow

the contemporary practice of preparing its own young people for their advanced education".

- Mutual criticism sessions: In these sessions, any member of the community could be selected to go before a committee of 6-12 people, and in serious cases, before the entire community. At these meetings, "a member's faults and virtues were systematically exposed with relentless candor". With the practice of mutual criticism, members had only their private thought or general community standards, by which to judge their actions.

3c. Evaluation: The community began with 87 people and grew by 200 within the next few years. It was soon found that public toleration was a necessary condition for community success. After 1850, Oneida was open to the visiting public, and the community contributed to the local economy.

The community's leadership had often been charged with despotism. "Some person decides what form the ideal society should take and imposes it on the utopians. Those who conform are rewarded; those who do not are punished". However, Oneida is often cited as an example of a successful movement as it came close to sustaining Noyes' vision of the ideal society for over 20 years.

One factor which contributed to constituency out-migration and movement failure was the "consistently strong emphasis on education which allowed children to follow a somewhat different course from that taken by their parents. To the detriment of their devotion to community

ideas, they grew up with an appreciation of literary scholarship, with scientific training, and a taste of the attractions of the outside world". Later, as the movement was failing, disharmonious elements were introduced as individual interests were sacrificed to the community good (whereas before, individual interests and community good were simultaneously advantageous).

The home talks assisted members in finding solutions to problems and also facilitated the growth of a feeling of participation in community affairs and a greater awareness of the relevancy of Perfectionist ideals to community life. The mutual criticism sessions acted to increase group solidarity, in that it "placed the community at large, not specific individuals, in the role of confidant".

4. 1.3, 2.0, 3.1, 4.0, 5.1, 6.1, 7.0, 8.1, 9.0, 10.0, 11.1, 12.0, 13.1, 14.0, 15.0, 16.1, 17.1, 18.0, 19.0, 20.1, 21.2, 22.1, 23.2, 24.2, 25.0, 26.1, 27.0, 28.3, 29.1, 30.2, 31.1, 32.1, 33.6, 34.1, 35.0, 36.6, 37.1, 38.0, 39.2, 40.1, 41.1, 42.2, 43.0, 44.0, 45.0, 46.3, 47.0.

CASE ABSTRACT #43126

1. Black Power Movement: Black Panther Party.

2. Citations:

   - Major A. Mason, "The Educational Programs and Activities of the Black Panther Party (1966-1971) - An Analysis and Assessment", unpublished IDEP paper, University of Pittsburgh, April, 1976.
   - Bobby Seale, Seize the Time: The Story of the Black Panther Party and Huey P. Newton.

3a. Structural Bind: "Attitude of white racial superiority called racialism, which in turn gives rise to the individual, collective, and institutional practices of racism by whites against blacks and other minorities".

Origins of the Movement: Movement developed in response to an expressed need for self-determination in black communities. "The consciousness of the victim (of racism) brought about the dramatic rise of the Black Panther Party". As a revolutionary movement, the Panthers originated in Oakland, California, conceived by Huey P. Newton and Bobby Seale.

The Panther Party Platform and Program expressed the objectives of the movement, and included demands for "freedom, full employment, freedom for black political prisoners, decent housing, education, exemption from military service, and end to police brutality, trial by jury of peers, and an international black plebescite.

The program was seen as a way to remedy oppression.

The Panthers were headed by a Central Committee which made decisions regarding policy. The organization changed focus several times: (1966-1969) the emphasis was on self-defense, revolutionary nationalism, and self-determination; (1968-1970) the focus changed to internationalism and socialism, at which time a coalition was formed with the Peace and Freedom Party; (1970-1971) intercommunalism.

3b. Educational Response and Rationale: Educational programs were established for the expressed purpose of meeting the needs of the people. During the first phase (1966-1969), with the focus on self-defense activities, the philosophy was that the "carrying of weapons constituted an expression of military power". Guerilla war training classes were held, in which members acquired guns, and took "classes in the care and use of weapons", and also took part in close order drills and marksmanship practice. Police patrols were established to assure legal protection of black people.

From 1968-1970, Free Breakfasts for Schoolchildren programs were instituted in 19 cities. "The youth we are feeding will surely feed the revolution". These programs were instituted for the children of welfare recipients, and were served in local churches. The program was used to inculcate a Panther world-view.

Liberation Schools were also started during this period, at which subjects

such as black history were taught, history reflecting the basic Panther outlook of society; other curriculum subjects included revolutionary culture, revolutionary history, current events movies, and field trips. Other community political education classes were initiated by the Panthers, teaching a history of the Party, class struggle, and sayings from Mao.

The Panthers published a newspaper, the Black Panther, and by 1970, 140,000 copies were published per week. Revolutionary cartoons, poetry, and articles about black people were printed. Revolutionary art was used to depict reality, "drawing in a form that people can relate to, to show them how to struggle against corrupt condition".

3c. Evaluation: A consequence of Panther gun policies was that the movement attracted fewer numbers, due to the probability of a threat of armed confrontation. In addition, "as the Party's community activities increased and its successes grew, so did the intensity of police harassment".

Breakfast programs were discontinued due to the lack of funds and/or program disorganization.

Historically, Black Panther ideology and activities changed as awareness grew. Initially seeing themselves as a colony within a country, the movement progressed to seeing themselves as part of a larger group of oppressed peoples. Stress was placed in uniting with other peoples struggling for liberation.

4. 1.2, 2.0, 3.1, 4.0, 5.1, 6.1, 7.0, 8.1, 9.0, 10.0, 11.0,
12.0, 13.0, 14.1, 15.0, 16.1, 17.1, 18.1, 19.9, 20.9,
21.2, 22.2, 23.2, 24.2, 25.0, 26.0, 27.0, 28.2, 29.3,
30.3, 31.3, 32.2, 33.6, 34.0, 35.0, 36.0, 37.0, 38.9,
39.4, 40.9, 41.0, 42.2, 43.0, 44.1, 45.1, 46.3, 47.4.

CASE ABSTRACT #11127

1. Community Movement: Delancey Street.

2. Citations:

- Grover Sales, "Delancey Street", New Age, May, 1976.
- Grover Sales, John Maher of Delancey Street - A Guide to Peaceful Revolution in America, 1976.

3a. Structural Bind: Restrictive social and economic opportunities preventing rehabilitation and integration into society.

Origins of the Movement: Delancey Street is an inter-racial community of 350 ex-junkies "living drug-free, non-violent, law-abiding, and productively-employed lives". Delancey Street was begun in 1970 by John Maher in a middle-class section of San Francisco. Half of the people at Delancey are black, the others are Chicano, urban Irish and Italian, and southern white.

Delancey Street was built independent of federal funds and large corporate and foundation money. Delancey's people work by organizing a chain of businesses (in 1975, grossed $2.7 Million): roofing company, advertising, a florist and terrarium business, construction and plumbing business, and a restaurant.

Maher has built this organization by "marshalling the support of the most diverse elements in a fragmented society", and in doing so, has developed an

"alternative to the drug-slum-prison-parole problem".

3b. Educational Response and Rationale: It has been observed that Delancey Street resembles a "halfway house", but "Maher is not interested in sending our kids back to the slums to drink wine, swallow methadone, live on welfare and steal cars. There's no point to our work, unless the world changes. We are the Harvard of drug programs; we are grooming leaders to go into unions, politics, religions, and business to change these institutions".

Delancey Street has an accredited high school, in addition to a vocational school to train computer technicians, real estate brokers and secretaries.

In addition, group encounter sessions, - known as GAMES -, are held daily as a part of the re-educative process. "The Game is what keeps violence out of our lives, where business is conducted, where the house is run. In Games all the emotional garbage gets dumped". The encounter sessions generally serve two functions: (1) a re-educative process where members are taught to regard themselves as human beings, and the fostering of a condition in which they are no longer economically or socially dependent; and (2) racial re-education begins immediately on entrance to the Center. "Since a large portion of black, labor, and women's history never filtered through our public school system, we teach our people that the interests of all oppressed groups are

identical".

3c. Evaluation: The educational processes of this organization are aimed at the causes of oppression in society with the result that hopefully "they are no longer children to be manipulated and tricked off against each other by the establishment". The organization works within the system for structural change. Combining an entrepreneurial work ethic with working towards less dependence on the federal bureaucracy, Delancey Street has been seemingly successful during its first four years of operation.

4. 1.0, 2.0, 3.0, 4.1, 5.1, 6.1, 7.0, 8.0, 9.1, 10.0, 11.0, 12.0, 13.1, 14.0, 15.0, 16.1, 17.1, 18.1, 19.1, 20.0, 21.0, 22.0, 23.0, 24.0, 25.0, 26.2, 27.0, 28.2, 29.2, 30.3, 31.0, 32.1, 33.6, 34.0, 35.0, 36.1, 37.1, 38.1, 39.4, 40.1, 41.9, 42.0, 43.0, 44.0, 45.3, 46.0, 47.1.

CASE ABSTRACT #33128

1. White Power Movement: Ku Klux Klan.

2. Citations:

- Albert S. Foley, "New Church, Old Klan", America, October 21, 1972, pp.321-322.
- Richard T. Schaefer, "The Ku Klux Klan, Continuity and Change", Phylon 32; No. 2.

3a. Structural Bind: Disintegration of that which had been traditionally viewed as "the American way" was recognized as a threat.

Origins of the Movement: "The KKK has seen as its mission the preservation of the institutionalized caste pattern of the South and the promotion of a patriotic ideology". Klan history may be divided into three periods: (1) Post Civil War period: Klan was organized in response to the threat posed by the newly freed slaves; (2) Post World War I: Klan again resisted the changes wrought by the waves of immigrants, together with the migration of blacks to the North; (3) Supreme Court integration decisions of the fifties again posed a threat.

Fourteen different Klan groups have been identified, with the largest recognized as the United Klans of America (under the leadership of Robert Shelton). Today the Klan claims a membership of more than 3000 and has organized principally in Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi, and North Carolina.

3b. Educational Response and Rationale: As a reaction against massive desegregation policies following the Supreme Court decision of 1954, the Klan initiated the white segregated academy movement. In Alabama, Mississippi and Georgia, the Klan has organized, using the Assembly of Christian Soldiers as a front for their organization. Children had been transferred to the all white academies, supported by the Church and a group organized commissary. Public announcements and dial-phone messages were made to rally people "round the Confederate flag as their forefathers had done in Reconstrction time to protect their white Christian children from assaults by the black savages".

3c. Evaluation: The semester long educational effort was ended after the government exposed the group's tie-in with the Klan. Financial difficulties hastened its collapse as the Church was no longer able to claim tax exempt status.

It has been suggested that the Klan "has undergone a change in its tactics and targets and can no longer be considered a viable social movement... It has changed in the 100 years of its existence from a social movement to a mentality". The organization of the Klan is no longer an effective and viable force; however, the Klan mentality, i.e. an acceptance of what is considered to be the Klan ideology, still remains.

4. 1.2, 2.1, 3.1, 4.0, 5.0, 6.0, 7.1, 8.1, 9.0, 10.1, 11.1, 12.0, 13.1, 14.1, 15.1, 16.1, 17.0, 18.1, 19.3, 20.9,

21.1, 22.2, 23.0, 24.0, 25.0, 26.2, 27.0, 28.2, 29.2,
30.1, 31.1, 32.0, 33.5, 36.0, 37.0, 38.0, 39.1, 40.2,
41.0, 42.2, 43.1, 44.3, 45.1, 46.2, 47.1.

# CHAPTER V: RESULTS AND CONCLUSIONS OF A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE CASE STUDIES OF MOVEMENT EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMS

The results of the analysis of the information on education within social movement organizations will be presented in three segments:

I. Frequency distributions of parts I-IV of the coding sheet: Observations will be made on the significance of each variable and groups of variables.

II. Frequency distributions of part V of the coding sheet: Observations are made on the cross tabulations of these six variables (movement capacity, opportunity, solidarity, program effectiveness, program success, and movement success) and the significance of the data relative to the hypotheses presented in chapter III.

III. Cross tabulations of significant variables: This section will deal with those variables which proved instrumental in providing explanations for program effectiveness/ineffectiveness and movement success. Basically, this section will deal with the reasons supporting the explicit relationships presented in section II.

## Section I: Frequency Distributions of Parts I-IV of the Coding Sheet

The purpose of the coding form is to analyze the content of case materials relating to education in social movement organizations, and to locate and identify factors which contribute to relative program effectiveness and ineffectiveness. These coded forms provide the data base from which assessments are made on the contribution of education to social movements. The following frequency distributions are the results of statistical tests made on the accumulated data.

I. INDICATORS WHICH FACILITATE/IMPEDE ORGANIZATIONAL EFFORTS, i.e. CAPACITY (V1):

Variable #1: Structural Bind

| Type of bind: | Number of movement organizations: |
|---|---|
| Political bind | 8 |
| Economic bind | 6 |
| Ethno-cultural bind | 7 |
| Socio-cultural bind | 7 |

Variable #1 represents a grouping of the movement organizations by the type of structural bind. If it may be assumed that education is a means of dealing with the resistance that movement activities inevitably call forth, then the perception by the movement of 'what is at issue' (the structural bind) is critical to the educational response.

Variables #2-5: Audience

| Audience: | Program | No Program |
|---|---|---|
| Organizational constituency | 16 | 12 |
| Organizational leadership | 7 | 21 |
| Children/youth | 15 | 13 |
| Public | 7 | 21 |

Variables #6-11: Educational Program Function

| Function: | Program | No Program |
|---|---|---|
| Building public support | 7 | 21 |
| Training for skill achievement | 17 | 11 |
| Leadership training | 8 | 20 |
| Politicization/socialization | 25 | 3 |
| Building movement solidarity | 15 | 13 |
| Creating a supportive setting | 8 | 20 |

Variables #12-17: Program Structure and Technique

| Structure/Technique: | Program | No Program |
|---|---|---|
| Schools | 26 | 2 |
| Classes, seminars, workshops | 9 | 19 |
| Group meetings | 6 | 22 |

| | Program | No Program |
|---|---|---|
| Newspapers | 9 | 19 |
| Theatre | 6 | 21 |
| Public educational programs | 7 | 21 |

The above variables provide descriptive information on the type and purpose of the educational program, and the target population. Obviously, educational programs are developed to address movement needs. The most salient needs addressed by the twenty-eight movement organizations (as delineated in Variables #6-11) are (1.) politicization/socialization of movement values and ideology, (2.) building movement solidarity, and (3.) training for skill achievement. With the first two educational functions, politicization/socialization and solidarity, unity is an extremely functional primary value. The trend with most of the organizations is movement away from goals of integration and toward the development of unity and solidarity. The concentration on problems of community integration is particularly noticeable with the ethnic and communal movements. The educational programs of these movements seek to provide re-enforcement and guidance in absorbing the attitudes, morals, values and lifestyles of the community.

> "It is obvious that unity is an extremely functional primary value... Not only does it serve the purpose of intensifying the collective behavior experience, but it also provides a value upon which to build consensus maintaining procedures and norms - thus serving the system of social control.
>
> (However) in any strongly value-oriented collectivity, it is important to ensure that adherence to the values does not conflict too much with the actions necessary to survival".[1]

It is to the need for survival that educational programs are also directed towards training for skill achievement. In some instances, e.g. the Black Muslims, adult vocational programs assist in the development of viable economic enterprises within the movement itself. Generally, the educational objective is geared to self-sufficiency rather than participation within the

larger society.

An educational structure utilized by nearly all twenty-eight movement organizations is the school. With the realization that the established formal school system has failed to meet the needs of various communities and minorities, movement organizations have organized their own schools to meet their own specifically defined needs. In the ethnic movements the educational response has been in resistance to the threat of acculturation; in many of the political movements (e.g. the women's movements) and the religious and communal movements, schools have been established to counter the socialization forces within the larger society.

Within all three variables, public educational programs are neglected by nearly three-fourths of the movement organizations. In the movements in which educational programs have been geared to the public (United Farm Workers', The Woodlawn Organization, Ku Klux Klan, The Unification Church, Hare Krishna Movement, Chicago Women's Liberation Union, Feminist Women's Health Center), the programs have functioned in most cases to inform the public for the purpose of establishing linkages, increasing movement legitimacy, and relieving structural binds.

Variable #18: Specificity and Scope of Educational Program Goals

| | |
|---|---|
| Specific, clearly defined goals with single issue demands | - 9 |
| Specific, clearly defined goals with multiple issue demands | - 7 |
| Broad, ambiguous program goals with single issue demands | - 1 |
| Broad, ambiguous program goals with multiple issue demands | - 11 |

Variable #19: Influence in Goal-Setting in Educational Programs[1]

| Decision-making structure: | Number of Movements |
|---|---|
| Exploitative, authoritative | 4 |
| Benevolent, authoritative | 9 |
| Consultative | 2 |
| Participative | 9 |

Variable #20: Nature of Perceived Goals

| Decision-making process: | Number of Movements |
|---|---|
| Negotiable | 14 |
| Non-negotiable | 9 |
| | (5 unspecified) |

Variable #18-20 indicate that movement organizations cannot be typically defined as to the decision-making structure/process of educational program goal-setting, nor as to the specificity and scope of program goals.

Variable #21: Availability of External Inputs

| | |
|---|---|
| Movements substantially funded | 6 |
| Movements with minimal outside resources available | 6 |
| Movements with no outside resources available | 16 |

Variable #22: Availability of Internal Inputs

| | |
|---|---|
| Movements with more thatn sufficient funds | 4 |
| Movements with sufficient funds | 18 |
| Movements with insufficient funds | 6 |

Variable #21-22 reveal the access to financial resources of the twenty-eight movements studied. Few of the movements are funded by outside sources. Although the data shows that 18 movement organizations are sufficiently funded, the term 'sufficient' has been defined as resources sufficient to prevent the organization from folding. Many of the organizations are continuously struggling for resources, and as such, severe financial constraints, outside funding is often seen as cooptation, with "government funding as the worst kind of cooptation. The assumption here is that either outside money is tainted or that the 'strings attached' are too overwhelming".[2]

Variable #23: Satisfaction with Educational Programs (long-term goals)

| | |
|---|---|
| Satisfaction | 19 |
| Dis-satisfaction | 3 |
| No perceived dis-satisfaction | 4 |
| | (2 unspecified) |

Variable #24: Satisfaction with Educational Programs (short-term goals)

| | |
|---|---|
| Satisfaction | 22 |
| Dis-satisfaction | 2 |
| No perceived dis-satisfaction | 2 |
| | (2 unspecified) |

Both variables #23-24 reveal a high level of satisfaction with the educational programs devised by the movements regardless of whether the goals are oriented towards an immediate reward structure or to a symbolic reward structure.

Variable #25: Function of Movement Ideology

| | |
|---|---|
| High level of integration in educational programs | 22 |
| Medium level of integration in educational programs | 2 |
| Low level of integration in educational programs | 4 |

As conveyed in the data, there is evidence of either a high level or a medium level of integration in twenty-five of the twenty-eight movements. This variable corresponds with variable #9 (educational program function) which shows that twenty-five of the movements have programs geared to politicization/ socialization of movement ideology and values.

An ideology or value-system is the motivating mechanism and the sustaining force for particular groups of people acting as a collectivity in response to bind conditions. Competition occurs in the process of actualizing ideology.

The question of the effectiveness of the ideological indoctrination attempted in movement educational programs is

dependent on whether movement needs demand behavioral conformity or simply ideological unanimity.[3] For many of the socio-cultural movements (both religious and communal movements) the indoctrination of ideology is vital in shoring up a life-style that sets the collectivity apart from society. Boundary maintenance itself is a major priority in the resistance by a movement to societal attempts at cultural leveling. Thus behavioral conformity is necessary to ensure community integration, a priority concern in separatist movements such as the Amish and Hutterites, and the Nation of Islam.

Variable #26: Degree of Parochialism of Movement Organization

| | |
|---|---|
| Movements where constituency is confined | 16 |
| Movements with little/moderate involvement by 'outsiders' | 4 |
| Movement not confined | 8 |

Variable #27: Range of Educational Programs

| | |
|---|---|
| Educational programs exclusively limited | 16 |
| Low profile effort to involve 'outsiders' | 4 |
| Intensive efforts to non-exclusive expansion | 8 |

Variables #26-27 show that more than half of the movements are limited in efforts to extend the movement to individuals and groups caught in similar bind conditions. Sixteen movements have an exclusively defined constituency, with activities limited to the organizational membership. Of the twelve movements which have acted to broaden the movement and to increase the educational range of activity, there are implications for movement strategy and tactics. For example, as shown in the case study on the United Farm Workers, the broadening of the functional definition of "la causa" to include concern for and identification with all farm workers has necessitated changes in movement strategies and the broadening of educational programs. The data on the range of educational programs may be related to variable #18: specificity/scope of educational program goals. Both the range and the scope of educational programs have broad

implications for the organizational capacity of a movement to deal with projected educational objectives.

> "The wider the scope of a project, the more various the inputs, the more numerous their sources, the more severe will be the problem of programming, communication, coordination, synchronization, and final implementation. To state this is merely to imply that if an organization does not enjoy a history (i.e. experience) of activity both large scale and complex, but also innovative, introducing new concepts, procedures, and institutions - then stringent caution should be expressed... Simultaneously, the implied demands for action, and especially for the orchestration of action, should be measured against the organization's capacity to command it".[4]

II. INDICATORS WHICH MITIGATE/AGGRAVATE SITUATIONAL FACTORS, i.e. OPPORTUNITY ($V_2$):

Variable #28: Intensity of the Movement Organization (defined in terms of perceived future opportunities)

| Perceived future opportunities: | Number of Movements |
|---|---|
| Negative with resignation | 2 |
| Negative with dis-satisfaction | 2 |
| Positive with dis-satisfaction | 18 |
| Positive with no dis-satisfaction | 6 |

Variable #29: Intensity of the Movement Organization (defined in terms of structural flexibility)

| Structural flexibility: | Number of Movements |
|---|---|
| Facilitation with public support | 3 |
| Facilitation with public opposition | 2 |
| Control with public support | 8 |
| Control with public opposition | 15 |

Structural flexibility, i.e. societal responses to articulated demands for change, influence both the intensity of the movement and perceived expectations of opportunity. Not only does

the socio-political environment influence expectations of opportunity, the group's perceptions of future opportunities influence the motivation of the group to engage in more intense activity. From the data available in variables #28-29, seventeen movements are met with public opposition. Combined with the fact that nearly three-fourths of the movements do not have any programs to educate the public (see variables #5, 6, 17), it seems there is a need to develop programs in this area.

Variable #30: Extent to which Movement Goals Threaten Power Relationships

| | |
|---|---|
| Movements with no existing threat | 2 |
| Movements with minimal threat | 6 |
| Movements with moderate threat | 5 |
| Movements with intense threat | 15 |

Variable #31: Description of Predominant Threat to Society (as embodied in goals and educational programs)

| | |
|---|---|
| Legal/political relationships | 7 |
| Socio-cultural norms | 14 |
| Economic patterns | 6 |
| Mixed | 1 |

Variable #30 shows a total of twenty movements that pose a serious or moderate threat to power relationships within the existing social infrastructure. The extent of the "threat" to society is somewhat explanatory for the inflexible social response to movement activity as seen in variable #29.

Variable #32: Legitimacy of Educational Programs as Perceived by Society

| | |
|---|---|
| Legitimate | 8 |
| Tolerable | 9 |
| Illegitimate | 11 |

Variable #33: Extent to which Educational Programs Succeed in Gaining Public Support

| Degree of Support: | Number of Movements |
|---|---|
| High with demonstrated effect on bind (Unification Church, UFW) | 2 |
| High with no demonstrated effect on bind | 0 |
| Medium with demonstrated effect on bind (Hare Krishna, LAFWC) | 2 |
| Medium with no demonstrated effect on bind | 0 |
| Low with demonstrated effect on bind (T.W.O., C.W.L.U.) | 2 |
| Low with no demonstrated effect on bind (K.K.K.) | 1 |
| Educational function excluded | 21 |

In light of the information in variable #32, (where educational programs are perceived as either legitimate or tolerable in eighteen movements), and the data in variable #33 (where the educational programs geared to the public succeeded in gaining at least some support), the development of public educational programs might prove a fruitful area to explore in easing bind conditions.

III. INDICATORS WHICH ENCOURAGE/DISCOURAGE PSYCHOLOGICAL COMMITMENT TO COLLECTIVE EFFORTS, i.e. SOLIDARITY ($V_3$)

Variable #34: Congruence of Program/Movement Goals

| | |
|---|---|
| High degree of consensus | 17 |
| Medium degree of consensus | 5 |
| Low degree of consensus | 4 |
| No consensus | 1 |
| | (1 unspecified) |

This particular variable is important to consider as possibly symptomatic of goal displacement and/or factionalization within a movement organization. Lack of congruence between movement and program goals may also be due to dis-satisfaction with

intangible rewards offered by a movement (see variable #23).

Variable #35: Constituency Participation in Educational Programs

| | |
|---|---|
| Long term participation | 18 |
| Moderate-little participation (financial problems) | 5 |
| Moderate-little participation (group conflict) | 3 |
| Moderate-little participation (morale problems) | 2 |

Variable #36: Constituency Support for Educational Programs

| Level of support: | Number of Movements |
|---|---|
| Willingness to risk life | 10 |
| Willingness to expend personal resources | 16 |
| Emphatic support | 2 |

Variable #35 shows constituency participation to be a problem in ten of the twenty-eight cases. Five movement organizations had financial difficulties (Brookwood Labor College, KKK, Commonwealth College, SNCC, Citizen's Council of America); three movements experienced factionalization (Danish Evangelical Church, A.I.M., CIO); and two movements had problems with morale (T.W.O. and the Nation of Islam). Variable #36 displays a high level of support for educational programs in nearly all the cases.

Variable #37: Control over Educational Programs

| | |
|---|---|
| Collaborative | 12 |
| Directed | 13 |
| (3 unspecified) | |

Variable #38: Existence of Stress Conditions

| | |
|---|---|
| Stress present and disruptive | 11 |
| Stress present and not disruptive | 2 |
| Little-no stress | 13 |
| (2 unspecified) | |

Variable #39: Limitations of Educational Programs

| | |
|---|---|
| Providing a supportive setting | 1 |
| Increasing constituency participation | 9 |
| Revitalization | 1 |
| Leadership solidarity | 4 |
| Public relations | 9 |
| No apparent program weakness | 4 |

There is a need for improvement in the development of educational programs in the areas of increasing constituency support (necessary for building organizational capacity) and public relations (necessary for increasing organizational opportunity).

IV. INDICATORS MEASURING PROGRAM SUCCESS

Variable #40: Increase in Organizational Membership

| | |
|---|---|
| Significant growth | 6 |
| Moderate growth | 10 |
| Little-no growth | 3 |
| Decrease in growth | 4 |
| | (5 unspecified) |

Variable #40 is significant in that it indicates a possible correlation between educational program effectiveness and a growth in organizational membership. Sixteen of the movements experienced either significant or moderate growth in the size of the organization.

Variable #41: Increase in Organizational Legitimacy

| | |
|---|---|
| Little-no changes perceived | 9 |
| Legitimacy increased | 11 |
| Legitimacy decreased | 7 |
| | (1 unspecified) |

Variable #42: Constituency Satisfaction with Educational Programs

| | |
|---|---|
| Satisfaction | 17 |
| Dis-satisfaction | 0 |
| No dis-satisfaction | 8 |
| | (3 unspecified) |

Variable #43: Program Flexibility

| | |
|---|---|
| Adaptable | 17 |
| Rigid | 7 |
| | (4 unspecified) |

Variable #43 indicates that seventeen of the movement organizations are adaptable to demands for change, although variable #42 indicates that there is no dis-satisfaction in any of the movements studies.

Section II: Frequency Distributions of Part V of the Coding Sheet

Part V of the coding sheet deals with the assessment of the contribution of education to (1.) movement capacity, (2.) movement opportunity, (3.) movement solidarity and the relationship of these variables to (4.) program effectiveness, (5.) program continuity and (6.) movement success. This section is geared directly to proving the validity of the hypotheses:

- The utilization of education tends to increase the capacity or group resources of a movement.
- The utilization of education to establish social linkages tends to increase the opportunity of a movement.
- The utilization of education acts to create conditions promoting solidarity.

The following table presents the data from part V on the twenty-eight case studies and is organized to facilitate accessibility to the data on each movement organization. The range of each variable is from 0-2 (low to high). Using an ordinal level of measurement, judgment is made on each variable

according to the information indicated in previous sections of the coding sheet. For each movement, an assessment is made on the contribution of education to movement capacity, opportunity and solidarity based strictly on the coded information available for each case study.

TABLE 5: DATA FROM PART V OF THE CODING SHEET

| VARIABLES | #48 | #49 | #50 | #44 | #45 | #47 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| MOVEMENTS | | | | | | |
| #11101 Breakaway | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| #11102 SNCC | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| #11103 COFO | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| #21104 A.I.M. | 0 | 0 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| #31105 Citizen's Council | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| #41106 L.A.F.W.H.C. | 2 | 0 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 1 |
| #41107 UFW-AFL-CIO | 2 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 1 |
| #12109 C.I.O. | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| #22210 Manitoba Federation | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 |
| #32111 Rural Advancement Fund | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| #42112 Commonwealth College | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| #42113 Brookwood College | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| #13114 Crusade for Justice | 1 | 0 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| #13115 T.W.O. | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| #23116 Nation of Islam | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 |
| #23117 Danish Evangelical Church | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| #23118 D-Q University | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| #14119 Mormons | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| #24220 Hutterian Brethren | 2 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 |
| #24121 Amish | 2 | 0 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| #34122 Unification Church | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 1 |
| #44123 Bruderhof | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 |
| #44124 Hare Krishna | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 |
| #44125 Oneida | 1 | 2 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 2 |
| #43126 Black Panthers | 2 | 0 | 2 | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| #11127 Delancey St. | 2 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 1 |
| #33128 Ku Klux Klan | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |

The organization of the previous statistical information (variables #44-45, #47-50) is presented in the following frequency distributions:

Variable #44: Extent to which Program Goals Realized: Program Effectiveness

| | |
|---|---|
| Low effectiveness | 7 |
| Partial effectiveness | 11 |
| High effectiveness | 10 |

Variable #45: Program Continuity

| | |
|---|---|
| Low level of success | 11 |
| Partially successful | 8 |
| Highly successful | 9 |

Variable #47: Movement Success

| | |
|---|---|
| Low level of success | 11 |
| Partially successful | 11 |
| Highly successful | 6 |

Variable #48: Effect of Education on Movement Capacity

| | |
|---|---|
| Movements with low capacity | 8 |
| Movements with moderate capacity | 9 |
| Movements with high capacity | 11 |

Variable #49: Effect of Education on Movement Opportunity

| | |
|---|---|
| Opportunity levels low | 12 |
| Opportunity levels moderate | 10 |
| Opportunity levels high | 6 |

Variable #50: Effect of Education on Movement Solidarity

| | |
|---|---|
| Low level of solidarity | 6 |
| Moderate level of solidarity | 5 |
| High level of solidarity | 17 |

In the analysis below, the hypotheses are presented, followed by observations on research results:

Hypotheses 1: Inter-relationships between education and capacity: The utilization of education tends to increase the capacity or group resources of a movement, facilitating self-sustained growth.

The overall index of association between the realization of educational program goals and increases in movement capacity suggests a strong relationship (chi square significant to 0.0000 level, with V=.69988). A strong relationship also exists between program continuity and movement capacity (chi square significant to 0.0001, with V=.63962).

TABLE 1

REALIZATION OF PROGRAM GOALS
BY MOVEMENT CAPACITY

| | Capacity | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Program goals | Low | Moderate | Self-sustained |
| Low effectiveness | 21.4% (6) | 3.6% (1) | 0.0% (0) |
| Partially effective | 7.1% (2) | 25.0% (7) | 7.1% (2) |
| Highly effective | 0.0% (0) | 3.6% (1) | 32.1% (9) |

The relationship supports the suppositions of Alinsky's community organization theories that education as a mechanism within an organization functions to facilitate the acquisition, elaboration, and the actual use of power (i.e. power through organization). As such, a movement functions to organize participation, interest and action for the self-realization of organizational goals. It is through the organization for power that education becomes fundamental for organizational viability

and goal achievement. With the basic problem defined as powerlessness, the role of education within a movement is to assist individuals in articulating needs, mobilizing resources in order to meet those needs, in addition to the organization of constituency participation, interest and action.

The relationship between movement capacity and movement success suggests moderately strong relationships (chi square significant to 0.0388, with V=.42460), with indications that other variables might possibly influence the outcome of movement change efforts.

TABLE 2

MOVEMENT CAPACITY
BY MOVEMENT SUCCESS

| | Capacity | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Movement success | Low | Moderate | Self-sustained |
| Low success | 21.4% (6) | 10.7% (3) | 7.1% (2) |
| Partially successful | 7.1% (2) | 17.9% (5) | 14.3% (4) |
| Highly successful | 0.0% (0) | 3.6% (1) | 17.9% (5) |

One of the most obvious possibilities affecting the relationship between increasing levels of movement capacity and goal achievement (i.e. movement success) is the structural flexibility of a society (i.e. opportunity). As previously defined, structural flexibility is the socio-political context pre-conditioning the possibilities of structured societal responses to social movements. The structural bind (discrepancy between capacity and opportunity) created by societal responses to articulated demands

for change, influence organizational development and levels of movement capacity. The index of association between capacity and opportunity is moderately strong (chi square is significant to 0.0532, with V=.40830). As postulated in Chapter II (p.11) when structural flexibility decreases (defined by a societal response of 'control') two situations are possible. (1.) Confronted by societal forces aimed at containing the movement, in the short run the movement will tend to radicalize with increasing levels of intensity (i.e. bind conditions) and solidarity. (2.) In the long run, continued efforts at controlling movement forces might possibly lead to the destruction of the movement.

Although the data supports the hypothesis that education tends to increase the capacity of a movement, it is not quite as simple to assert that therefore, increased movement capacity generates successful movements. Other intervening variables (the 2nd hypothesis will examine the influence of movement opportunity relative to movement success) such as opportunity levels may act to impede organizational efforts.

Hypothesis 2: With the increasing intensity of structural binds and the probable increase in movement solidarity, the utilization of education tends to relieve the structural bind by equalizing movement capacity and opportunity, i.e. education acts to increase self-generated opportunity as a result of increasing capacity.

The utilization of education to establish social linkages, i.e. to maximize the leverage of the social movement and its legitimacy, enhances movement goal achievement and relief of the structural bind.

Simply stated, the hypothesis asserts that education utilized within a movement setting mitigates societal attempts to contain and control the movement, either by increasing movement capacity or by educating the public. By collapsing the categories of movements with moderate and self-sustained capacity, we find that 50% (14 cases) of these movements are operating within moderate to high opportunity levels.

TABLE 3

MOVEMENT OPPORTUNITY
BY MOVEMENT CAPACITY

| | Opportunity | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Capacity | Low | Moderate | High |
| Low | 21.4% (6) | 7.1% (2) | 0.0% (0) |
| Moderate | 10.7% (3) | 17.9% (5) | 3.6% (1) |
| Self-sustained | 10.7% (3) | 10.7% (3) | 17.9% (5) |

Another 21% (six cases) with low capacity are operating within low opportunity levels. The index of association between these two variables suggests a moderate relationship (chi square significant to 0.0532, with V=.40830).

One of the difficulties with substantiating the relationship between capacity and opportunity is in assessing the six case studies having moderate to high capacity levels with low opportunity levels (L.A.F.W.H.C., Crusade for Justice, Mormons, Amish, Black Panthers, COFO). For these six cases, it is significant to note that except for the Amish, all five movements are perceived as an intense threat to societal power relationships (see variable #30 in coding sheet). Furthermore, the educational programs of all six movements are perceived by society as illegitimate (see variable #32). These two considerations might be somewhat explanatory for the inflexible societal response to the activities of these particular movements. In examining the other twenty-two cases, it is found that in most instances, not only is that threat less intense but the educational programs are also perceived as legitimate or at least tolerable.

In dealing with these additional influences it is suggested that the hypothesis be ammended as follows: The utilization of education tends to relieve the structural bind by equalizing movement capacity and opportunity (i.e. education acts to increase self-generated opportunity as a result of increasing capacity), unless prohibitively influenced by the intensity of the movement threat to society and the perceived legitimacy of movement programs.

For the above six movements that displayed moderate to high capacity levels with low opportunity levels, it is also significant to note that four are classified as "low success" (Black Panthers, Mormons, Amish, and the Crusade for Justice); with two classified as partially successful (L.A.F.W.H.C., COFO).

The index of association between movement opportunity and movement success suggests a strong relationship (chi square significant to 0.0001, with V=.66705).

TABLE 4

MOVEMENT OPPORTUNITY
BY MOVEMENT SUCCESS

| | Opportunity | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Success | Low | Moderate | High |
| Low | 32.1% (9) | 7.1% (2) | 0.0% (0) |
| Partial | 10.7% (3) | 25.0% (7) | 3.6% (1) |
| High | 0.0% (0) | 3.6% (1) | 17.9% (5) |

With moderate to high opportunity levels, 50.1% (14 cases) of the movements were partially to highly successful. Experiencing low opportunity levels, 32.1% of the cases were categorized

as having a low level of success. These statistics suggest that movement success is dependent on movement opportunity.

The previous pages have dealt with increases in opportunity as a result of increased capacity. The following analysis will deal concretely with the contribution of educational programs themselves to increased opportunity. Previous coding variables have dealt with movements that have geared educational programs to the public. In an effort to build linkages, public educational programs maximize the leverage of the social movement and its legitimacy. Five of the seven movements which have developed public education programs fall within the movement categories which have moderate to high capacity and experiencing moderate to high opportunity levels. Of these seven movements, six are listed as partially successful, and one as highly successful.

Although inconclusive, these statistics on movements which have tailored programs to educate the public suggests that this type of program accounts at least partially for movement success.

In an effort to ascertain the value of education in increasing opportunity levels, it is helpful to look at the cross tabulations of movement opportunity by the realization of program goals, and also by program continuity.

TABLE 5

MOVEMENT OPPORTUNITY
BY REALIZATION OF PROGRAM GOALS

| | Opportunity | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Program Goals | Low | Moderate | High |
| Low effectiveness | 17.9% (5) | 7.1% (2) | 0.0% (0) |
| Partially effective | 21.4% (6) | 17.9% (5) | 0.0% (0) |
| Highly effective | 3.6% (1) | 10.7% (3) | 21.4% (6) |

TABLE 6

MOVEMENT OPPORTUNITY
BY PROGRAM CONTINUITY

| Continuity | Opportunity Low | Moderate | High |
|---|---|---|---|
| Low success | 28.6% (8) | 7.1% (2) | 3.6% (1) |
| Partially successful | 10.7% (3) | 17.9% (5) | 0.0% (0) |
| Highly successful | 3.6% (1) | 10.7% (3) | 17.9% (5) |

These cross tabulations deal with the degree to which the movement and movement programs are subject to external pressures which tend to diminish the capacity of the movement organization to autonomously direct and control movement activities. The hypothesized relationship between educational contributions to movement opportunity, and program effectiveness (chi square significant to 0.0038, with V=.52588); and educational contributions to movement opportunity and program continuity (chi square significant to 0.0061, with V=.50736) are supported by moderately strong indices of association as evidenced in tables3-4.

The table shows that 50% of the educational programs are either partially or highly effective with increased levels of structural flexibility. When comparing program continuity with opportunity, three cases which were listed as 'partially effective' in table 5 shifted to the 'low success' category in table 6 (Black Panthers, Mormons, and COFO). In these cases, societal pressures severly curbed movement activities.

Although there is a high inter-relationship between education and movement opportunity, some important qualifications must be made. Obviously, movement capacity affects the viability

of the movement regardless of the level of structural flexibility. However, movement capacity appears critical to movements operating within low opportunity levels, unless societal forces act to crush the movement.

Hypothesis 3: Inter-relationships between education and solidarity: Education serves to enhance internal movement linkages which in turn acts to foster movement solidarity.

This hypothesis posits a positive relationship in the capability of educational programs to foster movement solidarity. Again, the emphasis is on the functional value and need for unity in any movement.

The cross tabulation of movement solidarity and the realization of program goals shows a weak association (chi square significant to 0.0806, with V=.41329). There is a stronger index of association existing between the contribution of education to movement solidarity, and the resultant effect on program continuity (chi square significant to 0.0484, with V=.41329).

TABLE 7

MOVEMENT SOLIDARITY
BY PROGRAM CONTINUITY

| | Solidarity | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Continuity | Low | Moderate | High |
| Low success | 14.3% (4) | 10.7% (3) | 10.7% (3) |
| Partial success | 7.1% (2) | 3.6% (1) | 21.4% (6) |
| High success | 0.0% (0) | 3.6% (1) | 28.6% (8) |

Although there is a high level of integration of movement ideology in twenty-two movements (variable #25 on coding

sheet), other organizational factors may affect program effectiveness (e.g. the prevalence of stress conditions, variable #38). Movement solidarity however, proves to be a vital factor in its affect on program continuity. Variables #35-36 of the coding sheet show a high level of participation in eighteen of the case studies, with constituency support ranging from a willingness to risk life and/or to expend personal resources in twenty-six movements. Thus the level of constituency participation and support advances the chances of increased levels of program continuity, provided opportunity levels are not restrictive.

The index of association between educational contributions to solidarity and movement opportunity is quite low (chi square significant to 0.5993, with V=.22188). Although seventeen movements are categorized as having a high level of solidarity, there seems to be no apparent effect of solidarity on the structural flexibility of a society.

TABLE 8

MOVEMENT SOLIDARITY
BY MOVEMENT OPPORTUNITY

| | Solidarity | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Opportunity | Low | Moderate | High |
| Low | 10.7% (3) | 7.1% (2) | 25.0% (7) |
| Moderate | 7.1% (2) | 10.7% (3) | 17.9% (5) |
| High | 3.6% (1) | 0.0% (0) | 17.9% (5) |

In correlating solidarity with movement success, there is again a very weak correspondence (chi square significant to

0.6349, with V=.21358). The evaluation of the negative associations between movement solidarity and opportunity levels, and also between solidarity and movement success is indicative of one important precaution relative to movement concern with movement solidarity (unity). Although a general warning, it is critical to guard against a preoccupation with defensive and inward-directed attitudes and activities while ignoring those movement activities necessary to ensure movement survival. This precaution necessitates developing the capacity levels of a movement. The index of association between solidarity and capacity indicates a moderate relationship between the two variables (chi square significant to 0.0409, with V=.42196).

TABLE 9

MOVEMENT SOLIDARITY
BY MOVEMENT CAPACITY

| | Solidarity | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Capacity | Low | Moderate | High |
| Low | 14.3% (4) | 3.6% (1) | 10.7% (3) |
| Moderate | 7.1% (2) | 10.7% (3) | 14.3% (4) |
| High | 0.0% (0) | 3.6% (1) | 35.7% (10) |

In assessing the relationships of table 8, it may be asserted that as education acts to create conditions promoting solidarity and in all probability as it acts to accelerate the intensity of the movement, the capacity of the movement also has a tendency to increase. Simply stated, the above table proves the basic supposition of the hypothesis that education tends to strengthen internal movement linkages, an effect that not only creates

conditions promoting solidarity but also acts to promote movement capacity.

Section III: Cross Tabulations of Significant Variables

The major focus of this study has dealt with the question of the relationship between education, social movements and social change. Specifically, the empirical analysis of case studies of educational programs developed within a movement context deals with the capability of education to develop and enhance movement capacity, opportunity and solidarity. The above analysis ultimately and challengingly probes whether there is a direct and explicit relationship between education and movement success. Cross tabulations between program effectiveness and movement success (chi square significant to 0.0215, with V=.65227), and program continuity and movement success (chi square significant to 0.0325, with V=.63359) shows a moderately high index of association between variables.

Obviously there are both tangible and intangible influences affecting movement success, education being one. The problem is not ascertaining the degree of the relationship between education and movement success. This empirical study has shown that there is such a relationship. If it is enough to state that a relationship exists between education and movement success, and furthermore that the statistical data supports the hypotheses which posit that education contributes to movement capacity, opportunity and solidarity - then the problem is one of defining specific variables that have affected program effectiveness and ineffectiveness. The section will assess the degree to which some of the variables have been influential, and how they have influenced the effectiveness and continuity of programs within the context of the twenty-eight case studies.

In assessing program effectiveness, 'effectiveness' is measured by a discernible correspondence between the intended and actual outcomes of movement educational programs. In an attempt to isolate variables which tend to significantly influence educational program effectiveness/ineffectiveness and program

continuity, cross tabulations are tested on relationships between program effectiveness/continuity and those variables which might be expected to influence the outcomes of movement educational programs.

Program Effectiveness/Continuity and Educational Program Goals

The evaluation of educational programs takes into account the question of the extent to which educational programs succeed in reaching goals. Evaluation literature emphatically specifies the need and advantage of clearly stated, specific program goals. The extent to which clearly defined goals are vital to program effectiveness is statistically tested to assess whether differences in the scope of goals and the effect on program development account for program effectiveness (see variable #18).

TABLE 10

PROGRAM EFFECTIVENESS
BY SCOPE OF GOALS

| Effectiveness | Scope of Goals: Specific Single-issue | Specific Multiple-issue | Broad Single-issue | Broad Multiple-issu |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Low | 14.3% (4) | 3.6% (1) | 0.0% (0) | 7.1% (2) |
| Partial | 10.7% (3) | 7.1% (2) | 3.6% (1) | 17.9% (5) |
| High | 7.1% (2) | 14.3% (4) | 0.0% (0) | 14.3% (4) |

As indicated, the scope of educational program goals has a low index of association with both program effectiveness (chi square significant to 0.3983, with V=.33344). A similarly low index of association exists between congruence of movement and program goals.

Thus for the twenty-eight case studies analyzed, neither the specificity of educational program goals, nor the congruence between movement and program goals, significantly influence program effectiveness.

Program Effectiveness/Continuity and the Decision-making Structure and Process (Goal-Setting)

Variables #19-20 refer to the decision-making structure and the decision-making process relative to goal-setting for educational programs. The decision-making structure deals with the source of influence in goal-setting and includes 'controlled processes' (including authoritative-exploitative and authoritative-benevolent) and 'collaborative processes' (including participative and consultative). The improvement of predictions about program effectiveness and the decision-making structure are confirmed as having a low index of association (chi square significant to 0.2171, with V=.41574). Although there is no signigicant relationship between the decision-making structure and program effectiveness, there is a moderately strong association to program continuity (chi square significant to 0.0867, with V=.47989).

TABLE 11

PROGRAM CONTINUITY
BY DECISION-MAKING STRUCTURE

| | Decision-making Structure | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Continuity | Authoritative Exploitative | Authoritative Benevolent | Consultative | Participative |
| Low | 12.5% (3) | 8.3% (2) | 4.2% (1) | 8.3% (2) |
| Partial | 0.0% (0) | 4.2% (1) | 4.2% (1) | 20.8% (5) |
| High | 4.2% (1) | 25.0% (6) | 0.0% (0) | 8.3% (2) |

Evident in table 11 is the observation that authoritative-benevolent decision-making structures (relative to goal-setting) are more highly associated with highly successful cases. As movement development is crucial to survival and relief of the structural bind, the need for leadership to define and focus the goals and ultimate direction of the movement seems both advantageous and desirable. Further inquiry questions whether the control over the educational programs themselves should be also directed, or whether more participative orientations would facilitate program effectiveness/continuity.

Program Effectiveness/Continuity and Control over Educational Programs, Constituency Participation and Support

Variable #37 cross-tabulated with program effectiveness questions whether directed control over educational programs are more conducive to effective programs than programs which are collaborative or participative in nature. A collaborative orientation actively emphasizes purposefully increased involvement by the movement constituency in movement activities and specifically in control over educational programs. Directed orientations involve unilateral control over educational programs by movement leadership with the movement constituency exercising little real power in controlling and directing the development of educational activities. The analysis of data in table 12 below suggests a strong relationship between directed control over program development and effective change efforts (chi square significant to 0.0251, with V=.54302).

TABLE 12

PROGRAM EFFECTIVENESS
BY PROGRAM CONTROL

| Effectiveness | Program Control: Collaborative | Directed |
|---|---|---|
| Low | 8.0% (2) | 12.0% (3) |
| Partial | 32.0% (8) | 8.0% (2) |
| High | 8.0% (2) | 32.0% (8) |

Likewise, the index of association between program control and program continuity also exhibits a strong relationship (chi square significant to 0.0401, with V=.50717).

TABLE 13

PROGRAM CONTINUITY
BY PROGRAM CONTROL

| Continuity | Program Control: Collaborative | Directed |
|---|---|---|
| Low | 16.0% (4) | 20.0% (5) |
| Partial | 24.0% (6) | 4.0% (1) |
| High | 8.0% (2) | 28.0% (7) |

There are a few possible reasons indicating why directed control over educational programs is more conducive to program effectiveness and continuity than collaborative control. Leadership plays an important role in any social movement. There is a continuing need to crystallize and redefine movement perspectives on bind conditions in order to prevent movement collapse. As in goal-setting, leadership serves this function in addition to directing and organizing participation, interest and action for movement activities and programs. Needs assessment, goal formulation and program strategies need to be articulated for the movement to develop.

If directed control over educational programs is conducive to program effectiveness, is there any evidence that directed control also increases the likelihood of constituency participation? In comparing movements with long-term participation in educational programs to movements with moderate to little participation (due to financial, group conflict, or morale problems), collaborative or directed control has little significant influence on constituency participation in educational programs.

| | Participation | |
|---|---|---|
| control | long-term | short-term |
| collaborative | 8 | 4 |
| directed | 9 | 4 |

However, the level of constituency participation in educational programs is highly correlated with program effectiveness (variable #35) (chi square significant to 0.0002, with V=.77811), and program continuity (chi square significant to 0.0386, with V=.48212).

TABLE 14

PROGRAM EFFECTIVENESS
BY PARTICIPATION

| Effectiveness | Participation: Long-term | Participation: Moderate-little |
|---|---|---|
| Low | 0.0% (0) | 25.0% (7) |
| Partial | 32.1% (9) | 7.1% (2) |
| High | 32.1% (9) | 3.6% (1) |

TABLE 15

PROGRAM CONTINUITY
BY PARTICIPATION

| Continuity | Participation: Long-term | Participation: Moderate-little |
|---|---|---|
| Low | 14.3% (4) | 25.0% (7) |
| Partial | 21.4% (6) | 7.1% (2) |
| High | 28.6% (8) | 3.6% (1) |

The level of constituency support (variable #36; support with willingness to risk life, to expend personal resources, empathic support) however, is not influential in accounting for program effectiveness or continuity.

## Program Effectiveness/Continuity and Movement Intensity

In questioning the influence of movement intensity on program effectiveness and continuity, it is necessary to examine the two variables that define organizational intensity in terms of opportunity: structural flexibility (variable #29) and perceived future opportunities (variable #28). It is expected that a group's perceptions of future opportunities will influence the motivation of the organization relative to the organization and development of educational activities and programs. Although the chi square shows a significance only to 0.0826, the strength of association (V=.44705) may indicate a moderately strong relationship between organizational intensity and program effectivenes

TABLE 16

PROGRAM EFFECTIVENESS
BY PERCEIVED FUTURE OPPORTUNITIES

| | Perceived Future Opportunities | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Effectiveness | Resignation (negative) | Dis-satis. (negative) | No dis-satis. (positive) | Dis-satis. (positive) |
| Low | 0.0% (0) | 3.6% (1) | 3.6% (1) | 17.9% (5) |
| Partial | 7.1% (2) | 3.6% (1) | 0.0% (0) | 28.6% (8) |
| High | 0.0% (0) | 0.0% (0) | 17.9% (5) | 17.9% (5) |

Table 16 shows that with increasing organizational intensity (defined in terms of perceived future opportunities) educational program effectiveness also tends to increase. Movements ranging from moderate to high intensity levels have a higher level of program effectiveness (35.7% of the cases are categorized as highly effective).

Relative to program continuity, movement intensity has a higher degree of correlation (chi square significant to 0.0549, with V=.46932). With increasing intensity levels, 53.6% of the movements have educational programs which are highly or partially successful in terms of program continuity.

In measuring the second indicator of movement intensity, structural flexibility is found to have a strong index of association with program effectiveness (chi square significant to 0.0191, with V=.52027). The lower the level of structural flexibility, the lower the level of program effectiveness.

TABLE 17

PROGRAM EFFECTIVENESS
BY STRUCTURAL FLEXIBILITY

| | Structural Flexibility | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Effectiveness | Facilitation Public sup. | Facilitation Public oppos. | Control Public sup. | Control Public oppos. |
| Low | 3.6% (1) | 0.0% (0) | 7.1% (2) | 14.3% (4) |
| Partial | 0.0% (0) | 0.0% (0) | 3.6% (1) | 35.7% (10) |
| High | 7.1% (2) | 7.1% (2) | 17.9% (5) | 3.6% (1) |

Seventeen movements are met with public opposition, with fourteen movements listed as low (4) or partially (10) effective. When cross tabulated with structural flexibility, program success further declines in degree. Of the seventeen movements met with public opposition, seven movement educational programs are listed as partially successful and eight programs have a low level of success.

It is quite noticeable that more than half (53.6%) of the movements are met with societal responses of control and

public opposition. Of the 28.6% of the movements that have managed to capture and maintain public support, 17.9% are categorized as having highly successful educational programs.

With structural flexibility presenting serious obstacles to both program effectiveness and program continuity, the results of statistical analysis of the correlation of organizational legitimacy (variable #41) with program effectiveness/continuity produces some interesting insights. The index of association between organizational legitimacy and program effectiveness is moderately strong (chi square significant to 0.0359, with V= .43645); for program continuity (chi square significant to 0.0434, with V=.42659).

TABLE 18

PROGRAM EFFECTIVENESS
BY ORGANIZATIONAL LEGITIMACY

| | Legitimacy | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Effectiveness | Decreased | Little-no change | Increased |
| Low | 14.8% (4) | 11.1% (3) | 0.0% (0) |
| Partial | 3.7% (1) | 18.5% (5) | 18.5% (5) |
| High | 7.4% (2) | 3.7% (1) | 22.2% (6) |

TABLE 19

PROGRAM CONTINUITY
BY ORGANIZATIONAL LEGITIMACY

| | Legitimacy | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Continuity | Decreased | Little-no change | Increased |
| Low | 18.5% (5) | 18.5% (5) | 3.7% (1) |
| Partial | 0.0% (0) | 11.1% (3) | 18.5% (5) |
| High | 7.4% (2) | 3.7% (1) | 18.5% (5) |

Two inferences may be drawn from the data. (1.) An increased level in organizational legitimacy as perceived by society tends to increase the possibility of program effectiveness. Public education may play an important role in increasing legitimacy levels. (2.) Increasing program effectiveness tends to increase the degree of organizational legitimacy as perceived by society. Obviously for either inference, the 'image' of the movement organization is all important. The movement image may be transmitted either through public education programs or picked up directly from the appearance and example of the movement itself.

As observed in table 19, with little change or a decrease in organizational legitimacy, 37% of the cases have low program continuity, contrasted with 37% of the cases which have high program continuity when legitimacy is increased. In table 18, with increased program legitimacy, 40.7% of the cases are highly or partially successful.

In light of the above assessment of structural flexibility, and the constraining effects of heavy-handed societal responses to movement change efforts, it seems that movement efforts to increase organizational legitimacy would be an advantageous

objective for movement educational programs.

Program Effectiveness/Continuity and Movement Resources

Financial resource availability (variables #21-22) is a problem confronting most organizations, but it is a problem which causes restrictive and debilitating effects on social movement organizations. Only six of the twenty-eight movements are substantially funded by outside resources. Thus the data shows a low index of association between external resources and program effectiveness/continuity (chi square significant to 0.6290, with V=.21497). Although few of the movements have even a possibility of access to finances, twenty-four of the movements have managed to raise sufficient funds to support the organization.

TABLE 20

PROGRAM EFFECTIVENESS
BY INTERNAL RESOURCES

| | Internal Resources | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Effectiveness | More than sufficient | Sufficient | Insufficie |
| Low | 0.0% (0) | 10.7% (3) | 14.3% (4) |
| Partial | 0.0% (0) | 32.1% (9) | 7.1% (2) |
| High | 14.3% (4) | 21.4% (6) | 0.0% (0) |

In the table above, 35.7% of the movement organizations that have sufficient internal resources have educational programs that are highly effective. In collapsing the data on internal resources that are either sufficient or highly sufficient, it is found that 67.8% (19 cases) are classified as having educational programs that are highly or partially effective.

## Program Effectiveness/Continuity and Movement Ideology

As conveyed in the frequency distributions, there is evidence of high and medium levels of integration of movement ideology (variable #25) in the educational programs of twenty-five of the twenty-eight movements. Ideology serves as the motivating factor for any collectivity of people seeking change in the social system. Serving to bind the value-system and the collective behavior of a movement, ideology acts as a foundation on which to build and develop educational programs.

Ideology appeared to be a serious factor for consideration in the ethno-cultural movements. It functions primarily as a defense mechanism in avoiding exploitation by individuals and groups in the dominant society. These movements are directed towards self-determination and solidarity rather than greater participation in society.

In many of the ethno-cultural movements, educational programs are directed towards building group consciousness. There are two assumptions underlying the ideology associated with ethnicity and the concept of cultural pluralism: equality within a democratic and pluralistic context, and social mobility. Ethnic identity, fostered as part of movement ideology, is used as a tool in bringing about the requisite change needed to relieve bind conditions.

In providing the value base necessary for building group cohesion, ideology also serves to define boundaries between the movement and the society. Particularly in the communal and religious movements, boundary maintenance is important in providing the re-enforcement necessary in absorbing and learning the attitudes, values and role expectations of the group.

Although it seems probable that a strong ideological base enhances program effectiveness, the index of association between movement ideology and program effectiveness is low (chi square significant to 0.5251, with V=.23901). A second prediction might further assume that ideology might tend to affect program continuity. Again however, the index of association is low (chi square significant to 0.8436, with V=.15832). As the

cases available have well-integrated ideologies in movement programs, this low index of association may be due to the lack of case studies with either medium or low integration of ideology in movement educational programs.

This chapter has been concerned with research dealing with the question of "under what conditions have educational programs contributed to movement efforts at social change?" Research results of the twenty-eight case studies have indicated that education developed within a movement context has functioned to increase the capacity for collective action, to increase movement opportunity, and to increase movement solidarity. In addition to analyzing the above relationships as stated in the hypotheses, the research study also analyzed why the observed results occurred. Which educational programs worked or did not work, how and why? Through evaluative research, the study was able to locate and identify factors which contributed to program effectiveness and ineffectiveness.

The following two chapters deal with two of the previous case abstracts and provide an intensive perspective of education functioning within a movement setting. These intensive case studies are presented together with the case study survey with the expectation that the methodological objectives involved in each approach are mutually re-enforcing. The chapters serve to elucidate many of the research findings, and hopefully will facilitate a deeper understanding of how education functions within a movement organization.

# CHAPTER VI: CASE STUDY:
# FIGHTING FOR OUR LIVES:
# EDUCATIONAL CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE UNITED FARM WORKERS

Stated emphatically, the struggle of the United Farm Workers is not simply a fight between labor and management, nor between union, the farm workers are "fighting for our lives".[1]

> "Until we are recognized. Until our humaness is not denied by the wretchedness of our lives. And then - we will return, in peace as we have fought in peace, to the shared task of providing for the sustenance of all".[2]

This chapter will describe and assess the contribution of education in the struggle by farm workers for the above stated movement objectives.[3] The UFW has generated nationwide attention to its cause through the demonstrated capacity of farm workers to organize for the purpose of relieving perceived oppressive conditions. Significant achievements have been accomplished in little over a decade. A description and analysis of the educational programs and theories used by the UFW should be of value to other individuals and groups in similar "bind" conditions.

The following pages of this chapter will be organized according to the following divisions:

Part I: Origins of the Movement: What is the relationship to and the context of the UFW within the Chicano movement? What is the structual bind?

Part II: Educational Response: What is the perceived need for education, i.e. expectations and rationale? What are the pedagogical aspects of the educational programs utilized by the UFW? The description of this particular section will involve program parameters (whether the program functions to increase movement capacity, opportunity and/or solidarity); program structure and technique, purpose and goals; and organization (the control aspect relative to decision-making).

Part III: Evaluation of Education: The evaluation of the educational contributions will be made in terms of outcomes, including stated goals, anticipated outcomes, and

unanticipated outcomes. Consideration will be given to success in meeting program goals, and the impact on movement goals and movement strategies, in addition to the effect on "binds".

## Part I: Origins of the Movement

On June 5th, 1975, the California Agricultural Labor Relations Act was passed by the California legislature. The following months brought secret ballot elections throughout California, with lines of farm workers (Chicanos, Filipinos, Punjabi Indians, Arabs and Anglos) exercising their legal right to opt for union representation. The new law has established guidelines for elections to be held at all California ranches; and an Agricultural Labor Relations Board (ALRD) to supervise the elections.

Previous attempts at farm worker organization during the 20th century, seeking guarantees of economic stability and agri-business recognition of the union as the farm workers agent for collective bargaining - have failed. In vivid contrast, the United Farm Workers under the leadership of Cesar Chavez, has succeeded in less than a decade in focusing the national eye and involving the political machinery in large-scale labor problems that go beyond specifically Chicano issues.[4] The UFW as a labor movement developed as a raction to the economic deprivation of the Chicano farm workers (primarily throughout the Southwest) and is easing into a movement representative of the economic deprivation of poor farm workers all over the country. The UFW is making great strides in trying to enfold the country's 2,809,000 farm workers within its union organization.

> "A poor Black worker in Florida hurts me as much as a poor Chicano workers in Texas. Now the union has a Chicano thrust, but that will change as we spread to other areas. This is an economic movement by poor workers and it will stay that way as long as I'm around to influence it". (Cesar Chavez)[5]

The oppressive constraints and conditions affecting farm workers bear on Chicano, Anglo, and Black workers alike: critical

health and housing needs, low wages, seasonal work, limited cover under labor legislation, in addition to increasing agricultural mechanization, the lack of alternative job opportunities, lack of alternative marketable skills, and limited education. Nevertheless, the UFW still has a distinctive Chicano identity. The Chicano population in the United States is approximately five million, of which approximately 34% are farm workers and laborers. Of this number, statistics show that the life expectancy of the Chicano farm worker is 49 years, with an average educational level of the fourth grade, an average annual income of $1,378.00, and an infant mortality rate 125% higher than the national average.[6] The UFW originated in response to these economic deprivations. It is in this sense that the UFW is identified as part of the Brown Power movement: "The roots of the Brown Power movement lies in the fields." La huelga generated la causa, i.e. a labor dispute over the wages of migrant farm workers generated into a movement to redefine the Chicano identity and to establish civil rights.

> "This is the beginning of a social movement in fact and not in pronouncements. We seek our basic God-given rights as human beings. Because we have suffered and are not afraid to suffer in order to survive, we are ready to give up everything, even our lives, in our fight for social justice! We shall do it with out violence because that is our social destiny.
>
> We have learned the meaning of unity ... The strength of the poor is also in union. We know that the poverty of the Mexican or Filipino worker in California is the same as that of all farm workers across the country ... That is why we must get together and bargain collectively. We must use the only strength we have ... the force of our numbers ...
>
> We want to be equal with all working men in the nation; we want a just wage; better working conditions; a decent future for our children." 7

The ultimate impact of the farm worker movement might well be established in the barrio as well as in the field (80% of the Chicano population is urban). Chicano cultural and ethnic pride is flourishing in contradiction to assimilation policies which are perceived by the people of robbing them of

their identity and leadership, seeking only to keep the Chicano people at the lowest stratum of society. In East Los Angeles there are signs that state:

> "'Es mejor morir de pie que vivir de rodillas' - It is better to die standing than to live on your knees. The words are those of Emiliano Zapata but the spirit that wrote them there was fired by Cesar Chavez." 8

Chavez is the "manifestation of la raza. He has forged in the 'smithy of his soul', as Joyce said, the creative consciousness of a people." 9

As noted by many authors [10], some Chicano groups are becoming impatient and dissatisfied with old ideas, and are taking on a different perspective than the nonviolent philosophy adhered to by the UFW. Organizations such as the Crusade for Justice and the Brown Berets are two such organizations trying to attract more of the Chicano people to its separate and radical movement.

Nevertheless, the focus of attention for the past decade has been on the struggle of the UFW and 'la causa'. The historical aspect of the struggle has involved the power relationships in agriculture, a struggle to radically shift the balance of power from agri-business managers to a union of farm workers. The structural bind involves the centralized power of the agri-business managers which has resulted in the exploitation and economic deprivation of the farm workers. The stress conditions created by this structural bind have been caused and aggravated by many factors.

1. The 1935 National Labor Relations Act (Wagner Act) gave workers the right of collective bargaining, provided safeguards for union workers, and provided for arbitration of labor disputes (ARLB). Agriculture and farm workers fell outside the realm of this protective legislation and thus facilitated farm worker exploitation. [11] The seeming irony of the present struggle is the support of agri-business for legislation including farm workers under the protective umbrella of the NLRA. Chavez and the UFW is opposed to such legislation.

The reason: the Taft-Hartley and Landrum-Griffin Acts amended the Wagner Act and place limitations on the conduct of trade unions in labor-management disputes. These restrictions include secondary boycotts and organizational strikes, two of the vital tactics which the UFW has utilized.

2. By 1970, California agri-business alone was a $4 billion per year business. Seventy per cent of the farmland in California is owned by four per cent of the growers. Agri-business has been able to grow simply because of the availability of an excess of cheap, unskilled labor and the lack of restrictions on labor management relations. Through vertical integration, the one hundred largest agri-business corporations have monopolized the market to capture 71% of the profits of the U.S. food industry.[1]

3. Wage levels have been kept at low levels by Mexican aliens imported for temporary labor under the "bracero program" (1942-1964). There is the same effect on UFW efforts today caused by the presence of illegal aliens (430,000 cross the Mexican border annually) with resultant effects on wage levels, additional labor added to the already existing surplus of semi-skilled and unskilled labor in the Southwest, and the effect of an abundance of low-cost labor on the picket line.

4. The transience which characterized the conditions of the lives of migrant workers, and caused by structural conditions, further aggravated the "bind". Poverty has been caused by a structured exploitation of laborers forced to migrate to find work. The average farm worker works approximately eighty days at $13.20/day for an average annual wage of $1,160. In addition, the same farm worker works and average of thirty-nine days doing non-farm labor for an additional $698. Less than ¼ of all farm workers are employed full-time with an average annual wage of $4,358.

Thus in the face of powerful agricultural monopolies, whose interests are supported by local, state and national governments, and further complicated by the heavy-handed interference of the Teamsters - the UFW has forged ahead in its union organizing drive of the Southwest and West coast migrant farm labor. The

immediate organizational goals have been relative economic stability, i.e. a guarantee by contract (through collective bargaining between laborers and employees) of improved living and working conditions. But perhaps equal in priority, the organization carries the banner of "la causa": a broad social movement in the interests of the Chicano people, a vehicle for the expression and articulation of the Chicano identity, and the achievement of social justice.

Part II: Educational Response

It is contended that one of the reasons the UFW has been relatively successful in its change efforts (i.e. in working for organizational goals) is because the organization has addressed itself to the threefold educational functions throughout the development and growth of the UFW. The following chart delineates these educational functions and describes the programs, program purpose, and content.

TABLE 6: EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMS OF THE UFW

| EDUCATIONAL FUNCTIONS | EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMS | PURPOSE AND PROGRAM CONTENT |
|---|---|---|
| Education functioning in the internal learning processes of the organization | House meetings (Alinsky community organization theory): building block of the organization. | Program geared to building trust and solidarity, and cultivating self - determination, via a supportive setting that facilitates articulation of perceived grievances. |
| Education functioning to increase organizational viability (capacity, opportunity, and solidarity). | Training sessions run by the Director of Organization (Fred Ross). | Need for trained organizers: sessions conducted on UFW history, training in legal rights, the technique of the house meeting, and the administration of labor contracts. |
| | Nuestra Señora de la Paz Educational Center. | Created in response to functional problems within the union: courses on the philosophy of the farmworker movement, contract enforcement, consumer education, language training, citizenship preparation, cross cultural training, nonviolence, and training for the campesino centers. |
| | Campesino Centers. | Service-oriented, advocacy role in dealing with government: campaigns conducted to teach people about their legal, economic and political rights; campaigns go to the people. |

TABLE 6: (continued)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | Mobile Educational Units | Need for skill development: educational teams travel to farm worker areas. Short term evening classes held to teach needed skills. |
| | Huelga School | Need for alternative education: serves school-age children in Delano, Calif. Curriculum includes creative writing, reading, math, Mexican history and culture, UFW history; dance troupe, theatre group, adult literacy classes. |
| | El Malcriado | Newspaper, "voice" of the farm workers. |
| | El Teatro Campesino | Farm workers theatre (includes plays, skits, puppet shows, films and dramatic literature). Used to build participation, enthusiasm, solidarity, and pride: "must educate the people towards an appreciation of social change". |
| Education functioning to inform the public. | Boycott Center | Need to create linkages; to increase movement legitimacy. Organized to channel existing and latent public support, and to harness the power of public opinion. House meetings used as a mobilization mechanism: to provide an informal atmosphere for communication, to convey information on farm worker problems, and to stimulate motivation. |
| | Informational picketing | Building of public awareness through leaf-letting. |
| | | |

1. Education functioning in the internal learning process of the organization: An examination of this functional process relative to the UFW involves an examination of the theoretical premises underlying the movement organization. This specifically involves an assessment of:

a. The role of leadership and the application of the training experience of Cesar Chavez in the Alinsky-sponsored Community Service Organization, to the UFW.

b. The application of the educational assumptions implicit in Alinsky's community organization theories to the development of the UFW.

One of the more significant aspects in the study of the role of education in the UFW is the influence of Alinsky's community organization theories. The link between Alinsky's theories and the UFW lies in the participation of Chavez as an organizer in the Californiz based Community Service Organization.[13] Established with the assistance of Alinsky's Industrial Areas Foundation and organizer Fred Ross, the CSO is an organization serving the Chicanos throughout the barrios of the Southwest. It seeks to advance three objectives:

a. To guarantee self-determination.

b. To guarantee constitutional rights.

c. To coordinate community activities.

As the guiding force of the UFW, Chavez' participation in the CSO laid the groundwork for the growth and organization of the farm workers' union. It is Alinsky's educational theory and practice as embodied in the CSO, which has had a significant influence in fusing the backbone of the UFW.

> "Nothing I know of in the history of labor in America shows as much sheer creativity... as much respect for what people, however poor, might make of their own lives once they understand the dynamics of their society".[14]

It is exactly this sense of self-determination, brought about by an educational process geared to an understanding of the dynamics of society, which are the roots from which the UFW has grown.

In developing the CSO, Fred Ross used an educational/ organizational technique - the "house meeting" - which was adopted

by Chavez in organizing the farm workers beginning in 1963. As an organizing technique, the house meeting also has implicit educational functions. Individuals in a community are identified who have grass-roots leadership capabilities, and a suggestion is made to have friends and neighbors to their home. The gathering seeks to identify and pinpoint problems, assess needs, and devise a strategy for collective action to alleviate perceived injustices. The membership of these established house meetings gradually forms the framework for the organization. Basically the house meeting is a mechanism intended to provide a supportive setting to facilitate the articulation of grievances. But the overall concern of the effort is aimed at planting and cultivating a sense of self-determination, thus facilitating functional social learning. Education in this sense, and as utilized by the UFW, is needed to counteract the sense of powerlessness felt by the oppressed people, thus facilitating cooperative efforts and enabling a group of people to independently seek to bring about change. The over-riding concern for education then is directed towards the acquisition of power, as existing power arrangements as established in the agri-business industry can only be altered by power. The basic theory is that "power is not a mysterious force, that it develops naturally as large groups of people work together"[15], and that some of the people's problems can be solved through organization. In this sense, the house meeting (and more generally, the organization) is a mechanism for the articulation of resentments and frustrations, and for the translation of these articulated feelings into problems, i.e. as a condition which people can do something about.

The house meeting remains a vital aspect of the UFW movement. It is geared to farm worker participation in the union organization and towards building trust. As stated by Chavez: "You must stay with the people. If you go too fast, then they lose sight of you and you lose sight of them".[16]

2. Education functioning to increase movement capacity, opportunity and solidarity: This function serves to increase organizational viability. An examination of the

educational programs within the context of this educational function necessitates a look at the role played by Fred Ross, Director of Organization; the Nuestra Señora de la Paz Educational Center; mobile educational unit; the campesino centers; the Huelga School; the UFW newspaper, "El Malcriado"; and the Teatro Campesino, the Workers' Theatre.

As the Director of Organization, Fred Ross is responsible for training organizers. The training sessions involve disseminating information on the history of the UFW, and the issues; the technique of the house meeting; information on legal rights, and the administration of labor contracts. The need for this particular effort has been of immediate necessity. The hiring hall (replacing labor contractors), the seniority system, and the ranch committees are three specific union structures devised by Chavez to seize control from the labor contractors and growers and place it within the union. These structures have effectively diminished the concentrated power of agri-business managers, but in their wake they have also created difficulties for the functional operation of the union. There have been problems in equitably establishing work patterns and seniority procedures (further complicated by the farm worker turnover rate), and encouraging the ranch committees to deal with problems and grievances themselves rather than handing the matter to Chavez.[17]

In order to better prepare the union members for handling these problems, the UFW created the Nuestra Señora de la Paz Educational Center (Keene, California). Renovated by farm workers during the off season, the administrative complex at Keene involves approximately sixty farm workers in seminars on skill development which last several weeks. The curriculum includes courses on the philosophy of the farm worker movement, contract enforcement, consumer education, language training, citizenship preparation, cross-cultural learning, nonviolence, and training for the campesino centers.

Eleven campesino centers are in operation in California and Arizona in farm worker communities. The centers, run by farm workers, provide campesinos with legal, economic and social services. In addition to assuming an advocacy role in dealing with

governmental agencies, the centers also function to teach people about their rights through "campaigns" conducted by farm workers. The "style of operation is to go out to and with the people, not wait for them to come".[18] Based upon the same operational methods, the Mobile Educational Units are designed to bring requisite skill development to the people. The educational team travels to farm worker towns and holds short term evening classes.

Catering to the children of farm workers, the National Farm Worker Ministry sponsors the Huelga (Strike!) School. The school serves school age children of farm workers in the Delano area. The curriculum focuses on creative writing, reading, math, Mexican history and culture, and the farm workers' union. Recent additions to the program include a children's dance troupe and theatre group. The program has also been able to expand to include an adult literacy program.

The UFW also utilizes the media. One avenue is the newspaper, "El Malcriado: La Voz del Campesino" (The Voice of the Farm Worker). The paper publishes the day-to-day struggles of the UFW, and reports of the strikes and organizing drives launched by the UFW in its struggle to end the exploitation of farm workers by agri-business. A second avenue is "El Teatro Campesino" (The Farm Workers' Theatre), born of Lusi Valdez in 1965.[19] The theatre has been used as a mechanism to build participation and enthusiasm, solidarity and pride among the farm workers. Luis Valdez has expressed the essence of the theatre relative to its educational context:

> "Chicano theatre must be popular, subject to no other critics except the pueblo (community) itself; but it must also educate the pueblo toward an appreciation of social change, on and off the stage".[20]

El Teatro produces full length plays, skits, puppet shows, films, and dramatic literature. But more importantly, it is a theatre by and for farm workers. Its initial focus was on the 1965 grape strike, where skits were presented along the picket lines in order to maintain morale and to provide a type of relation for the strikers. It later attempted to inform the people of the

progress of the strikes through various mimes and ballads.

Developing through 1967, El Teatro broadened its focus to include all Chicanos:

> "El Teatro saw its primary audience grow from the campesino to all Chicanos; its rallying cry was no longer 'la huelga' but 'la raza'. The political aim was put into perspective: in this larger arena, the social struggle is seen in terms of spiritual awakening".[21]

3. Education functioning to inform the public, for the purpose of establishing linkages, increasing movement legitimacy, and relieving structural binds.

The role of the boycott center: It soon became clear that the strike in itself was not enough to shift existing power relationships according to UFW demands. The need was apparent: to create additional linkages for the purpose of relieving perceived bind conditions; the problem was to delineate a strategy that would increase movement legitimacy and add additional stress on California agri-business. This strategy involved the energizing and channeling of existing and latent public sympathies and support so as to re-enforce the strength of UFW demands.

> "The Chavez plan was to develop and harness the power of public opinion; once stimulated, such power could make itself felt both politically and economically. Because economic pressure appeared to be the fastest and the most direct route to agri-business collective bargaining agreements, Chavez launched the consumer boycotts".[22]

The boycott has essentially worked to break the resistance of the growers to movement demands. The boycott center is organized on the premise that developing and harnessing the power of public opinion, involved capitalizing on the hope that people could be mobilized to support the UFW if they could be educated on the farm worker problems. "The more people you educate, the more people want to help".[23] The functional need to educate the public is also based on the conception that people have to be told how to help. This need again called forth the utilization of the "house meeting", the building block of the effort to educate the public. The basic concern of the house meeting is focused

on a continual effort for personal contact, in addition to the functional educational goals:

1. To provide an informal atmosphere for communicatio
2. To convey information on farm worker problems.
3. To stimulate motivation in order that the people may plug into farm worker efforts.

When boycott centers are first set up in a community, contacts are made with individuals with expressed interest in the farm worker movement, e.g. members of the clergy, students, etc. These people are encouraged to have house meetings at which they invite friends interested in learning about the movement and the issues, in an effort to "spread the news". The individuals attending the initial house meetings hold house meetings of their own. Besides the building of public awareness, an expected output of the house meeting is the setting up of semi-autonomous committees to do consumer organization.

Whether the boycott is primary (urges customers not to buy specific products) or secondary (urges customers to boycott an entire store), the educational strategy involves informational picketing. Specific tactics include the use of leaf-letting and bill-boarding outside of stores and markets, thus serving as a "reminder" to the consumer. The leaflets pointedly summarize the appalling conditions characterizing the farm workers' lives, the objectives and problems of the UFW, and the need for the support of the people in the boycott ("a small change in your life can make a big change in ours".)

A third tactic is the use of the "media event"[24] to place the boycott squarely within the public conscience. Examples include the 1968 fast by Chavez and the 1966 march from Delano to Sacraments. A fourth tactic is the utilization of consumer newsletters, and documentary farm worker films.

The boycott is a nonviolent tactic, involving masses of people in active participation and self-determination, a participation in which the people educate themselves. But most basically the boycott challenges the people with a moral decision: they either support the boycott (and the farm worker struggle) or they

buy head lettuce, grapes, and California wines (and enhance the power and profits of the growers).

Part III: An Evaluation of Educational Programs

An evaluation of any movement educational program necessarily takes into consideration the discrepancy between defined program goals and actual outcomes, both anticipated and unanticipated. Which educational programs worked or did not work, how and why? What is the effect on the bind, and movement goals and strategies? This section will address itself to the above questions.

An evaluation of programs oriented towards building union support: A major educational program used to organize and build union support has been the house meeting. An assessment of this particular program will be made according to the defined functional goals of the house meeting.

1. A specified goal of the house meeting is to provide a supportive setting, an atmosphere comfortable enough so that people can come together to articulate their frustrations and problems. Based upon Alinsky's community organization theories, the house meeting is a mechanism intended to "provide a channel into which they (the farm workers) can angrily pour their frustrations of the past; to create a mechanism which can draw off underlying guilt for having accepted the previous situation for so long a time".[25]

Efforts to build farm worker unions in the past have failed presumably, because farm workers were not yet 'ready' for a union organization. In order to overcome this sense of historical determinism and to build the foundation for the union, Chavez conducted a series of house meetings, "but never talked about forming a union, just an association of concerned people. There had been unions and strikes, and all of them had failed".[26] In this sense, the house meeting has essentially served as an effort to build a basic sense of trust among people with similar bind problems. The house meeting has proved successful in this particular functional role in that it has provided a base of support

for the union organizational structure and the mobilization of farm workers.

2. A second purported goal of the house meeting is the extension of ideology, including conceptions of social justice, nonviolence, and union representation. As the UFW has been the Chicano voice and in effect representative of "la causa", education utilized within the structure of the house meeting has served an important function: the extension of consciousness of the farm worker struggle within the constituency of the Chicano movement. An outgrowth of this effort which has greatly affected movement strategies and goals, has been the broadening of the functional definition of "la causa" to include concern for and identification with all farm workers, regardless of geographic distance and more importantly, regardless of Chicano identity. Functioning as the voice of the Chicano, Filipino, Arab and Anglo farm worker, the UFW is engaged in a struggle not only for union representation and associated benefits, but also a sense of dignity and social justice. In this important sense, the UFW has extended itself to enfold all oppressed farm workers in the movement.

One area in which this position has influenced union strategy involves the battle over the "illegal" Mexican workers in the Southwest. Widely used as strikebreakers in the field, the situation pitted "illegal" against "legal", and thus posed two alternatives for the UFW. The first alternative called for the deportation of the undocumented farm workers, and has been a persistent UFW demand until the recent elections. Consequences of these actions led to the weakening of the credibility of the union by the Chicanos, and disenchantment among partisan public support around the country.[27] Only recently, the UFW began to organize these farm workers.

3. The third goal of the house meeting has been the education of the people as to the dynamics of society and the conditions creating the bind for the farm workers. The house meeting, in providing a proper setting for the people to articulate their problems, has also promoted a recognition of the fact that these problems can be solved. Thus as an educational mechanism,

the house meeting has acted to counteract perceived feelings of powerlessness; and altered these attitudes as a basis for co-operation and confidence in their own capacity to determine the outcomes of their lives.

> "I feel like everything is connected - the oppression of farm workers and the oppression of everybody. If you're going to deal with a strike, you have to deal with why there is a strike. It makes you question."
>
> "Like Cesar says, it's a movement for dignity... Not to think that because you're a farm worker, you're dirt. For it to be a respectable kind of living, not looked down on as it always has been in the past... It helps the whole psychological thing about what you are - if you are Brown or poor white or Black." (Chicano farm worker)[28]

The functional goals of the house meeting are specifically geared to gaining farm worker support for the UFW. Thus, an assessment of the effectiveness of this particular educational appraoch may include a look at the latest union election results in California. As of February 6th, 1976, there have been 382 elections, representing 59,856 farm workers (45,915 voting). The UFW has won 205 elections (30,804 workers); the Teamsters have won 102 elections (11,179 workers).

An evaluation of programs oriented towards building public support for the UFW: Other than organizing farm worker support, the house meeting has also been used to organize public support. Because of the recognition of the need for public support, specifically consumer support, there has been little union resistance to the recruitment of outside help. The need for this support has been demonstrated throughout the history of farm worker attempts at union organization.

> "There wasn't a picket line in the world that could force a grower to agree to a contract. Workers pulled out on strike were readily replaced by scabs and green-carders, foreign nationals with working permits."[29]

As the strike in itself was not enough to achieve defined organizational goals, the nationwide consumer boycott has been of

significant influence in gaining UFW victories in the field. Its intrinsic educational function has been to educate the public on farm worker problems and to stimulate motivation. Whether the educational method included the use of the house meeting, informational picketing, the media, newsletters, or documentary films, the intent has always been to increase movement legitimacy and to increase the stress on agri-business.

Since the boycott has been a continuous event since 1967, a major problem has been the confusion among the public as to what to boycott and when. Nevertheless, according to a nationwide Harris poll (1975) of 1,507 adults, 12 (17 million) of the adult population do not buy grapes; 11% (14 million) no longer buy head lettuce; and 8% (11 million) are not purchasing California wines (in spite of increasing media advertisement by the Gallo corporation). One very significant and unintended consequence of the American boycott, is that it has forced California produce to seek new markets in Europe and Japan. However, the educational efforts of the boycott centers have succeeded in influencing the market place in other countries as well. The boycott has followed the grapes and head lettuce, as thousands of individuals and groups are giving their support for a "shared cause".[30] Chavez has stated:

> "The boycott is the most nearly perfect instrument of nonviolent change, allowing masses of people to participate actively in a cause. Even if people cannot picket with us or contribute money or food, they can take part in our struggle by not buying certain products. It is such s simple sacrifice to make."[31]

Evaluation of educational programs focused on increasing organizational viability: As the UFW advocates militant nonviolence as the means of social revolution, it has been necessary to educate the people as to the necessity of nonviolent action by the UFW. During the late 1960's and early 1970's, volunteers from SNCC and CORE conducted classes in nonviolence, improvised from their Civil Rights experience in the South. Today, classes on nonviolence are held at the educational center at La Paz.

As Chavez has stated, "nonviolence is more than academic

theory, it is the lifeblood of our movement."[32] A determined nonviolent struggle by the masses of farm workers who intend to change the existing conditions within the agri-business system is seen as the only alternative, not only in the quest for union victory, but also union survival. Violence initiated by the UFW would only provide justification for the triggering of organized violence against the UFW.

A second educational alternative which has shaped union strategies is the emphasis placed on the "practical" training of farm workers. Chavez believes that the picket line is where organizers are schooled.

> "If a man comes out of the field and goes on the picket line, even for one day, he'll never be the same. The picket line is the best possible education. Some labor people came to Delano and said, 'Where do you train people? Where are your classrooms?' I took them to the picket line - that's where we train people. The picket line is where a man makes his commitment, and it's irrevocable; and the longer he's on the picket line, the stronger the commitment."[33]

An unintended consequence of this orientation came about as changes were made in the field (e.g. hiring hall, seniority system, and the ranch committee). The UFW found that the farm workers were inept at operationalizing these institutions.

> "...The UFW brought many of its problems on itself. Its staffers, skilled at organizing, lacked the professional union man's sense of living with contracts and processing grievances short of strikes they were set up to 'be advocates rather than bureaucrats'."[34]

Another problem in this particular educational response to structural innovation within the union is encouraging the farm workers to function effectively without the direct supervision of Chavez, i.e. to handle problems themselves. The problem has been further complicated by the unwillingness of many growers to deal directly with the ranch committees. The ranch committees (consisting of five members) are elected on each ranch under contract. These committees, meeting at scheduled conventions, design the operating policies for the hiring halls and the union administration.

In attempting to surmount these difficulties, the UFW began the La Paz Educational Center, and included instruction on contract enforcement and other skills necessary for the effective functioning of the day to day affairs of the union. In addition, other training classes were organized under the supervision of Fred Ross. Thus, these programs were developed as a response to the functional problmes resulting from a farm worker controlled union.

Where does a union begin? A union of farm workers has been in the making for over one hundred years, trying to win the right to organize themselves for a better deal. Wages and fringe benefits for California farm workers have doubled in the years marking the first grape strike and consumer boycott. As of 1975, wages of California farm workers are $2.64 per hour. (However, some migrant workers in California and other states receive as little as $.65 per hour).

The struggle still continues... The landmark legislation enacted in the summer of 1975, was the first law to guarantee union elections for agricultural workers. The elections which began on September 9th continued until January 25th, the date marking the demise of union elections. In effect, the law, which guaranteed California farm workers union representation and the right to vote, lasted a mere five months.

The elections were halted becuase the funding for the Agricultural Labor Relations Act was exhausted. A refunding measure was blocked by the growers (led by the coop growers of SunMaid and SunSweet) in the California legislature. The growers do not like the existing election law as farm workers have overwhelmingly chose the UFW to represent them.

Chavez again responded by taking the farm worker campaign out of the California valleys where agri-business has controlled politics. La Causa again was taken to the people. The international boycott began in February against the growers who led the fight against a $3.8 million appropriation to sustain the farm labor board through June.

Failing to gain needed funding through the legislature, the UFW began a drive in April 1976 to put an initiative on the November state ballot to reenact the farm labor law. With the initiative requiring some 312,404 signatures to qualify for the ballot, the UFW faced a difficult task. Nonetheless, by April 30th, 750,000 signatures had been collected.

The struggle continues... Has the role that education has played in the UFW been significant in contributing to the achievement of movement objectives? As the above section on evaluation has suggested, educational programs have been instrumental in building constituency support for the union, increasing public support and movement legitimacy, and in increasing organizational viability. The educational programs developed in the context of the UFW struggle have proven a valuable asset in strengthening the position of the Union and life conditions of the farm workers.

# CHAPTER VII: CASE STUDY: THE FEMINIST WOMEN'S HEALTH MOVEMENT: EDUCATIONAL CONTRIBUTIONS IN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST A RADICAL MONOPOLY

## Introduction

Building a health care system in any country is a problem-oriented task, with solutions shaped by the national context. The provision of health care within a specific context is usually determined by the priority given to health care, the availability of financial and material resources, and the design of the health infrastructure i.e. the source of health care.

The obvious objective is to establish a health system that can provide needed services at affordable costs. The basic problem confronted by those seeking to meet this objective is the existing inadequacy of health services. This inadequacy ranges on a continuum from maldistribution of health services resulting in inaccessibility to health care - to health care priorities that exclude needed services.

The health care crisis continues to worsen. Fewer and fewer individuals have accessibility to health services for minimal survival needs. Increasing costs for health services have not resulted in correspondingly higher quality care; higher costs have facilitated higher profits. "The profit motive is at the root of much of the poor health and inadequate medical care in our society." As a result, quality care is sacrificed and needed services are excluded.

The causes for the current health situation are threefold:

1. The lack of priority given to health care is due to the questionable correlation between health care and economic development.

2. At the root of inadequate and inaccessible health services is the profit incentive. "It distorts health care, thereby lowering its quality and accessibility."[2]

3. A dependency situation of people on the medical industry further exacerbates health problems. It is caused by the concentration of medical knowledge, information, and resources

within the medical community and related drug industry.

Ivan Illich in Tools For Conviviality,[3] has labelled the dependency problem as a 'radical monopoly', i.e. the "existence of exclusive control over a pressing social need... which imposes compulsory consumption of a standard product that only large social institutions can provide." Increasing financial resources serves only to "strengthen the hold of the health industry over public resources and heighten its prestige and arbitrary power. The situation serves only to increase the power of a minority of professionals to prescribe the tools which men are able to use in maintaining health, healing sickness, and repressing death. The most trivial needs can be satisfied only through commodities that are scarce by professional definition." Put quite explicitly, professional medical competence is organized as a monopoly and sold as a commodity."[4]

It is this third factor that will be expanded in this case study, specifically as to how a collectivity of people deal with the dependency situation within the health care system. While the trend today is increasing dependency (the average family in the U.S. today pays approximately 10% of their annual income on health care), some social movements are seeking individual competence in self-care rather thatn a growing dependence on the health community.

The following pages will examine the specific educational responses of a social movement to the perceived structural bind - the radical monopoly imposed by the health care system. A description and an assessment will be made of how education contributes to the prescribed goals of a particular collective seeking change in the health care system - the Feminist Women's Health Movement. The specific rationale for detailing the description of the utilization of education within the movement is to elucidate the effectiveness (or ineffectiveness) of variant conditions within movement educational programs to the social movement organizations and its environmental context. The following pages will be organized according to the following sections:

Section I: Origins of the Movement: What are the assumptions and the specific concerns of the Feminist Women's Health Movement? What is the structural bind?

Section II: Educational Response and Rationale: What is the perceived need for education, i.e. the rationale and the expectations of the educational programs? What are the pedagogical aspects of the educational programs utilized by the FWHM.

The description of education within this section will include program parameters (whether the program functions to increase movement capacity, opportunity and/or solidarity); program structure and technique; purpose and goals; and organization (the control aspect relative to decision-making).

Section III: Evaluation of Educational Programs: The evaluation of educational contributions to the organization will be made in terms of outcomes, including stated goals, anticipated and unanticipated outcomes. Consideration will be given to success in meeting program goals, the impact on movement goals and strategies, in addition to the effect on 'binds'.

The educational programs devised by the Feminist Women's Health Movement are intended to radically reform medical institutions and also to develop an alternative to the existing structure of health care. It is perceived that the specific needs of women are not being answered by the medical establishment in the areas of gynecological and obstetrical health care. The major emphasis within the movement is directed towards eliminating the depersonalization and impotence women confront when seeking health care; in addition to establishing alternative methods and infrastructures oriented towards self-help.

## Section I: Origins of the Movement

Both the quality of health care and the quantity of services have long been attacked; and today the Women's Health Movement is challenging its "social and political style" as well.[5] The movement is founded on the perception that the

specific needs of women are inadequately provided for within the health care system. The movement, composed of numerous health collectives and clinics around the country, is an example of a collective group seeking individual competence in self-care and self-help, rather than a growing dependence on the medical community. Women, as a political force, are demanding this type of change.

As such, the structural bind is fundamentally of a political nature. As shall be described in this paper, the stress conditions, resulting in the upsurge of the health movement, are characterized by the insulation of women from decision-making in the area of women's health care.

> "The very term 'health care' has come to mean a definite kind of politics. It implies a carer and a cared-for. It implies a relationship like that of parent to child: of strong to weak, of giver to recipient, of active to passive. The rejection of this traditional model is at the heart of the new health revolution."[6]

The resultant struggle is between institutional power bases (the medical establishment and the related drug industries) and peripheral groups (the women's health collectives or clinics) organized to divest institutions of control over information, technology, and decision-making relative to women's health care.

The movement itself is based on two fundamental assumptions: (1.) the American health system is essentially inadequate for all people; and (2.) that women's health care in inadequate, expensive, and unresponsive to women's health needs. As such, the women's health movement is organized to demand that health care be more than a response to crisis situations - "crisis care", and that it must be designed for preventive care, self-help, health education, patient participation, and community service.

Some of the specific problem areas of concern to the Feminist Women's Health Movement are illustrated as follows:

1. Medical sexism: The last century has witnessed the dominance of males in the field of gynecology and obstetrics: 93% of doctors are male, and in the field of gynecology, 97% are male. As a result, most women receive gynecological and

obstetrical health care from male doctors. Coupled with the fact of this statistical imbalance, women are forced to rely on the expertise of doctors also because of their lack of knowledge of their own body functions. The problem lies in the perception of medical sexism conditioning the doctor-patient relationship, i.e. "the physician as god and the patient an ignorant guinea pig."[7]

2. Experimental contraceptive research: Research on birth control and access to brith control information is controlled by male dominated institutions (particularly drug industries). In review of the competitive research taking place on contraceptives, it seems that the greater concern is in protecting the profits ($120 million annually) of large drug companies rather than consumer health and safety needs.[8] As an example, many women use birth control pills that contain more than .05 milligrams of estrogen in each tablet. As only .05 milligrams are necessary to insure contraceptive protection, in addition to the fact that medical studies have shown estrogen to cause most side effects (some involving serious complications) of the pill - it is important to question the availability of high dosage brands of oral contraceptives.

3. Unsafe drugs: Clinical evidence exists today that the use of the synthetic drug 'diethylstilbestrol' (DES) and all estrogens are responsible for the increase in breast and genital cancer. During the 1940's and 50's, DES was used as an anti-miscarriage drug, and was recently linked to 100 cases of vaginal cancer. Today it is being used to fatten beef cattle and in the 'morning-after pill'. Steps are being taken by the FDA to ban DES as an additive to cattle feed, since DES residues show up in beef. However, DES is still being used as a synthetic hormone in the morning-after pill. The pill contains 835,000 times the amount of DES found as a residue in beef, an amount which is being determined as not fit for human consumption.

Another unsafe drug is found in certain types of spermicides, mercury (in the form of phenyl mecuric acetate).. Results have shown that "mercury can be absorbed through the vaginal walls and that some injury to the kidneys may occur by the

repeated use of PMA as a contraceptive".[9]

4. Unnecessary surgery: Approximately 89,000 women (U.S.) in 1976 will develop breast cancer, and these women will be affected by one of three kinds of surgery: simple, modified, or radical mastectomies. At present statistical trends, one out of every fifteen women will develop breast cancer within their lifetime; more than one-fifth of the cancer occurring in women is breast cancer.[10]

With current indications revealing that tumor removal is as successful with the simple or modified mastectomy as compared with the radical mastectomy, it can be questioned why doctors continue to perform radical mastectomies, the most common treatment for breast surgery. Gynecological surgery, i.e. the removal of breasts, uterus and ovaries has only recently been questioned as to its necessity. Some statistics purport that up to one-half of the hysterectomies in the U.S. are unncesaary.

5. Unnatural childbirth: Another problem area is the fact that pregnancy is treated as a disease, and childbirth becomes a problem to be dealt with only by medical men, drugs, hospitals, and technology. Women are now looking for new alternatives to a situation in which 30 out of every 100,000 pregnant women will die. The maternal death rate in 1968 was 24.5, while the death rate for the general population was 9.7. The U.S. ranks fifteenth in infant mortality and has one of the highest rates of obstetrically-caused infant brain damage.[11]

6. Abortion and sterilization: Both abortion and sterilization are areas in which women have traditionally had no control. Even today, a matter of choice in the decision to have an abortion is preconditioned by the ability to pay. Even more revealing, according to the American College of Obstetrics and Gynecology, no woman has the right to decide not to have children unless she is poor... a woman of 25 may be sterilized only if she has five children, of 30, only if she has four, etc. In other words, in order to have the right not to have children, a woman must first do her "duty".[12]

The Feminist Women's Health Movement began in the late 60's in response to the above specified problem areas, and in

response to the growing recognition that the medical system is the "keeper of the keys" of the medical technology relating to the medical problems and diseases of women, and to their specific needs: particularly relating to the reproductive technology on contraception, abortion, and safe childbirth. Women began asking the question of: "Whether the quality of women's health care is lowered by the fact that the male half of the human race legislates, dictates, administrates, and implements health care for the female half of the human race?"13 The answer was an emphatic 'yes', and the Women's Health Movement organized as both an alternative to existing health care for women and as a force for structural change in the quality, substance, and style of the medical establishment.

Section II: Educational Response and Rationale

Women's health collectives and clinics are organizing all over the country as a response to perceived structural bind conditions. As the organizational effort is based primarily on self-help and self-knowledge, the movement itself is geared to performing an educational function. The rationale for this educational response is multi-faceted, with each of the specific areas of concern conditioning the educational programs established by the movement organizations. These areas of concern are listed as follows:

1. Problem with the fragmented infrastructure of public health services for women.

> "The fragmented pattern of public health services for women - here a VD clinic, there a Planned Parenthood Clinic - shows that they are still treated more as public health problems than as human beings needing individualized medical care."1

Need for comprehensive, low cost medical care cent

2. Problem with the total dependence of women on medical information and technology dealing with women's fundamental needs and freedoms. Women's dependence on these medical establishments is witnessed by the fact that women can only turn to these

institutions for contraceptives, abortions, antibiotics, surgery, and education on preventive care.

> "Doctors moved in on each sexual or reproductive right as soon as it was liberated; they now control abortion and almost all reliable means of contraception".[15]

Need to decentralize the control over information and technology, via a self-help movement guided by the fundamental ideas of self-knowledge and self-examination.

3. Problem of economics. The dependence of women on the medical profession has facilitated the growth of a lucrative business. Many women cannot afford routine preventive care and minimal survival services.

Need for low cost services.

4. Problem with medical sexism which has historically acted as a social force in shaping the availabilities and possibilities of social options and roles.

> "The medical system is not just a service industry; it is a powerful instrument of social control... What is amazing about medical 'science' as it relates to women, is that the theories change so neatly to fit the needs of the dominant male ideology... We can only marvel at the endless plasticity of a medical science that can adjust its theories for age, sex, or social class, depending on the needs of the time".[16]

Evidence for this particular perception is enhanced by the statistical data of unnecessary hysterectomies and mastectomies, in addition to the callousness and lack of empathy displayed by professionals in dealing with the psychological repercussions of such surgery.

Need for an approach to women's health care in which decisions about health needs and consequences, determinations regarding the availability of options and alternatives, and control over the social context of health needs - are placed squarely in the hands of the consumers of gynecological health care: women.

The Women's self-help movement can be defined by these four needs; specifically, the organizational objectives include the following:

1. The provision of a comprehensive health infrastructure designed to meet minimal survival needs by providing services and routine preventive care.
2. Growing competence in self-care in gynecological health rather than a growing dependence on the medical establishment.
3. Provision of low-cost services to meet requisite needs.
4. Emphasis on self-help and self-knowledge, with efforts geared towards using the technology, without buying the ideology.

As the organizational effort is based primarily on self-help and self-knowledge, the movement itself is geared to performing an educational function. In order to examine this specific function, three Feminist Health Collectives will be described and evaluated in the following pages: The Los Angeles Feminist Health Collective; The San Francisco Women's Health Center; and The Los Angeles Radical Feminist Therapy Collective.[17] A description of the educational programs within these three case studies will facilitate an understanding of the contribution of education to movement objectives.

## The Los Angeles Feminist Health Collective

The structural bind that exists for this particular organization with the movement in general, is the perception that the specific needs of women are not being answered by the medical establishment, that women's health care is inadequate, expensive, and unresponsive; and secondly that women are insulated from decision-making in the area of women's health care. As a pioneer in this movement, the Los Angeles Health Collective developed as a self-help movement designed as an "alternative to the authoritative treatment women receive from male doctors, and also to change women's consciousness about their bodies".[18] The specific objectives of this Health Collective can be identified through the educational programs devised in response to perceived "bind" conditions.

Of fundamental importance to the functioning of the organization is the consciousness-raising techniques utilized within the context of a group situation, i.e. of women interacting with each other. Within this supportive environment, discussion is developed around each woman's personal experiences relative to obstetrics and gynecology. The "health collective departs from all other existing traditional medical services which keep women in a dependent position by the health authorities... In addition, the educational self-help clinic is demystifying the long kept secrets by the sharing of information and experience".[19]

In the process of consciousness-raising, the organization provides the participating women with the "tools" necessary to overcome their perceived sense of helplessness in regard to their own health care. The health collective originated for the purpose of providing alternative health services and self-help education. The center states that "as both the consumers of our health care (as women) and as providers of that care, we are in a far more realistic position to determine relevant health care for women".[20] The center provides free, on-going self-help courses in which women learn self-examination (pelvic and breast examinations), use of the speculum, and in general learn about the physical, mental and emotional health of the human female. A woman who has a gynecological need is scheduled to come to the clinic along with other women with the same need. Each woman receives treatment for her individual problem (in a group situation), but is also able to observe treatment on other women. It must be emphasized that the basic difference between the health care offered by the women's health center and traditional health services is process. Essential services are offered - pelvic and breast examination, VD diagnosis and treatment, pregnancy detection, birth control counseling, and abortion counseling and referral - but these services are provided within the context of health education, i.e. education for self-help.

The training of staff members for the health facilities is held at the center during seven-week summer sessions. Classes are conducted on practical training and experience in : telephone counseling, working in a woman's medical clinic, hospital

counseling, and business skills. In addition, educational workshops are conducted on health care and self-help clinics.

In an effort to broaden the movement, the collective conducts speaking engagements and cross-country tours in order to assist other women in other parts of the country develop self-help clinics.

Similar in purpose to the Los Angeles Feminist Health Collective is the San Francisco Women's Health Center. Located in a San Francisco storefront, the clinic was organized in 1971, and essentially deals with the same organizational objectives as the Los Angeles Center.

## The San Francisco Women's Health Center

The organizational efforts of the health center are based on the concept of "self-health": "learning from our own bodies what is unique and normal to each of us, and supplementing this knowledge by researched medical information. The self-health model is based on sharing knowledge and making choices".[21] This approach, focusing the activities of the health center, is based on the perception that women have been excluded from knowledge concerning their own bodies. The particular educational programs of this organization are described in chart #1.

TABLE 7: EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMS OF THE WOMEN'S HEALTH CENTER

| AREA OF CONCERN | EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM | SCHEDULE | COURSE FUNCTION AND CONTENT |
|---|---|---|---|
| Self-health | Introduction to self examination | Weekly | Introduction to basic self examination. |
| | Self-health course | Six-session course | Self-health: cervical self examination, menstrual cycle, breast examination, common infections. |
| Prenatal/postnatal care | Birth Center program | Six-session workshop | Pregnancy and birth: physiological changes of pregnancy, knowledge of pregnancy and birth process. |
| | Birth Center groups for pregnant women and couples | Ongoing program | Providing a supportive setting in which women can share emotional/physical experiences. |
| Menopause | Menopause Center program | Workshops | Group workshops provide a supportive setting. Information is discussed relative to physiology, myths, alternative methods of treatment, societal problems of aging. |
| Public Education | Community Outreach | Ongoing | Film: "Self-health"; speakers. |
| Political Education | Women in Health Care | Five-session course | U.S. health care system and its deficiencies; community control of health services. |
| Nutrition | Nutrition course | Five-session course | Nutrition; politics of food. |

The variety of educational programs offered by the health center is easily observed. Educational programs range from courses on the medical tools and information relevant to preventive health care, to courses functioning essentially to provide a supportive setting for the sharing of problems and experiences, to courses oriented towards political education. The political education courses involve discussion on topics such as: the consideration of health care as a right or a privilege; why women are dissatisfied with the existing health care system; why "women's health centers" were started; and the inter-relationships between medicine and sexism.

The last case study deals with a health clinic devoted to mental health care. With the emphasis also on the process of providing adequate health care to meet the health needs of women, this center deals with the mental health concerns and problems of women.

## The Los Angeles Radical Feminist Therapy Collective

The L.A. Therapy Collective, an organization active in the field of mental health, is a "non-certified, anti-professional, radical feminist group who have pioneered in developing radical therapy techniques as political action tools".[22] From the perspective of this group, psychotherapy is seen as another means of social control, as a medium to sell the message that the psychological and mental problems of an individual results from personal inability to properly "adjust" to society, societal expectations, and social roles. Thus psychotherapy is essentially conservative and is seen by the health collective as a defender of the status quo and as an instrument of oppression.

Positing an alternative to this traditional orientation, the collective assumes the following assumptions as the foundations of radical therapy:

1. "that people are oppressed, not sick".
2. "that therapy should work to promote social change, not adjustment".

3. "that therapy methods should be utilized to help disempowered women take back their power, both individually and collectively".[23]

The members of the collective work with the L.A. feminist movement, the women's center located in Santa Monica, California. The group operates three types of programs functioning on various levles:

A. "Contract raps": Open invitations are extended to women to meet and talk with other women at weekly sessions. The purpose of the sessions is basically to provide a supportive setting, "in which a woman can find out, perhaps for the first time, that she is totally O.K.".[24] The contact raps are designed to promote an awareness that counteracts the messages that reassure a person's self-perceptions of inadequacy, (e.g. commercial messages that promote goods marketed to make a woman feel perfect). "The realization that you are fine just as you are strikes at the very heart of consumerism."[25]

B. "Closed problem-solving groups": These groups, composed of eight participants and two facilitators, are similar to task force committees. Radical therapy techniques are applied in solving specific individuals problems, i.e. the focus of each committee, through collective action.

C. "Meditations": Skill training is offered to other feminist groups (external to the organization) to assist in solving internal organizational problems. These sessions include teaching (1.) how to communicate with each other; (2.) how to equalize power relations within organizations. Training sessions are also offered to feminist groups for those interested in radical therapy techniques.

## Section III: Evaluation

Feminism, as utilized within the context of the Feminist Women's Health Movement, is a force for (1.) liberation in that it seeks to unlock human beings from rigid social stereotypes, in addition to equalizing power relationships. The Women's Health

Movement organized as a reaction to the perceived inadequacy of the medical care system. The medical establishment is perceived to program women to be helpless - powerless - in the area of gynecological and obstetrical medical care. Developed in response to this bind condition, the self-help movement works to generate self-confidence, fostered by women controlling their own bodies.

Feminism is also a force for (2.) diversifying the medical health care alternatives available to women. One outgrowth of the movement's educational programs, both consciousness-raising and skill training, has been the emergence and proliferation of women-controlled health centers, abortion clinics and hospitals. Women are organizing as health workers, and medically aware consumers offering alternatives to the existing health care system.

The Women's Health Movement seeks to educate the public of these alternatives, in order to increase solidarity and to gain adherence to movement objectives, through movement "outreach programs". The objective of these programs is to communicate movement resources to as wide an audience as possible. In addition to speakers' bureaus, movement health literature, (such as The New Woman's Survival Sourcebook, The Survival Catalog, and The Monthly Extract) functions to 'spread the word' on the self-help movement. For example, The Monthly Extract, a monthly newsletter, has sections dedicated to a "global communications network for gynecological/midwife self-help". Letters and news articles are printed from various countries relating progress and experiences in organizing self-help clinics.

However, the basic thrust of the educational programs is directed towards building movement capability. The health movement organized in reaction to the inadequacy of the medical health establishment; the objective being total structural change of the existing health care system. The educational programs of the self-help clinics are directed towards developing an alternative to the existing structure of health care, in order to disperse the depersonalization and impotence felt by women in seeking health care. Although the organizational objectives are defined by structural change, the self-help clinics educate to facilitate

movement capability, not opportunity (within the larger social context). More specifically, education for consciousness-raising and skill training facilitates the growth of the self-help clinics as an alternative, but does not directly involve the movement in bringing about structural change. There is an obvious need to focus on developing programs geared to clearcut change of the medical establishment.

> "The self-help clinics, in their very real and legitimate disgust with American doctors, seem to be mainly focusing on this aspect of the problem, while ignoring the need for institutional change. Feminist politics cannot be divorced from other political realities, such as health care and safety... Doctors, hospitals, and drug companies are not going to be affected by having small groups of women learning how to examine themselves".[26]

It is important to ask the following questions:

- Is the educational experience (of the self-help programs) relevant to women with no movement experience?
- Is the educational experience relevant to women too poor to have accessibility to self-help services
- Is the educational experience relevant to women too sick to utilize self-help services?

> "A movement that recognizes our biological similarity but denies the diversity of our priorities cannot be a woman's health movement, it can only be some women's health movement... For example, for black women, medical racism often overshadows medical sexism. For poor women of all ethnic groups, the problem of how to get services of any kind often overshadows all qualitative concerns. And for all of us except the most affluent, there is the constant worry about whether the care we are getting meets minimal standards of technical competence - never mind the amenities of dignity and courtesy".[27]

These specific priorities ought to be given consideration in the evaluation of movement educational programs.

However, in light of these criticisms, it must be emphasized that self-help is critical to collective efforts to bring about social change. It is of vital importance for the self-help

movement to assist women in acquiring knowledge relative to their physical and mental health, and to combine this educational effort with activity highlighting governmental responsibilities in providing minimal survival services.

The Women's Health Movement, with an inherent self-help orientation, threatens the traditional power and centralized authority of the medical establishment and the related drug industries. Women want far more than "control over their own bodies"; they want "control over the social options available to us, and control over all the institutions of society that now define these options".[28] For this reason, societal response has been heavy-handed; counter threats have been the trend and may be expected in the future. For example, Carol Downer - co-director of the Los Angeles Feminist Health Center - was arrested in 1972 and charged with "practicing medicine without a license". The law has been vague in this area, and it took a test case to assess the legality of this type of health care. Carol Downer was acquitted, and this case should serve as a legal precedent for the activities of other self-help groups.

Another example illustrating the effects of adverse societal response, involved the incident at the Birth Center in Santa Cruz, California.[29] The Center was raided and closed in Spring, 1974, by the State Department of Consumer Affairs. This particular incident illustrated that a legal precedent was not established by the Carol Downer case, as the Center was closed for "practicing medicine without a license"; the charge defined as "diagnosing, treating, prescribing medication, or performing surgery for a condition of ill health".

In addition to the fact that there were no fees for services (obstetrical health care), it also should be mentioned that that infant mortality rate at the Center was 3.2/1000 live births compared to a U.S. national average of 27.1/1000. Today, the Center functions as a national resource center to educate women interested in home births.

These are just a few of the examples which illustrate repressive societal response to the Feminist Women's Health Movement; and also highlights why the Women's Health Movement sees

that it must continue to struggle for freedom of information which acts to alleviate dependency relationships within health care: for control over alternatives and options, needs and consequences in the area of women's health, which would eradicate the medical sexism which gives support to the existing medical infrastructure; a struggle based on a system of self-help clinics seeking to provide comprehensive, low cost medical care for women. Through the above defined effort, self-help is critical to social change.

## CHAPTER VIII: FINAL REMARKS

The efforts of the social movements examined in this study have been geared to the transformation of situational conditions of powerlessness to empowerment. The objectives of many of the movements have been literally defined in terms of "power" and more often than not, in terms of "self-determination". With the bind condition defined basically as "powerlessness", then the role of education within social movements is to assist individuals in articulating needs; in mobilizing resources to meet those needs; and the organization of participation, interest and action for the self-realization of organizational goals. Is it possible to affirm the contention, through the intensive case studies presented on the Farm Workers Union and the Women's Health Centers, that education has been useful in meeting the above specified role of articulating needs, of mobilizing resources, and organizing for power?

The educational programs developed within the context of the struggles of both the UFW and the FWHC have proven a valuable asset in fulfilling the above specified role. Both movements are dealing foremost with existing power relationships that serve as the causal factor in dependency relationships. In the UFW movement, the struggle is concerned with wresting power from agri-business monopolies and shifting this power to a farm workers' union. The Women's Health Movement deals with a monopoly in the area of health care, and comes to terms with the dependency situation by developing competence in self-care. Educational programs developed within the context of both movement situations have proven valuable and indispensable to the development and growth of the movement and to the advancement of movement objectives

The key to the development of any social movement organization is the development of individual, group, and organizational competence. The Women's Health Movement is built on the concepts of self-care and self-help, i.e. the acquisition of knowledge relevant to physical/mental health as a basis for alleviating the destructive tendencies of a dependency relationship. The development of a farm worker's union rests on the growth

of organizational competence in numerous technical skills associated with union management. For both organizations, the role of education in building competence is of indisputable significance.

> "What is required for psycho-social development is the broadest possible synthesis of competences including political, moral, economic, persuasive, benefactory, physical, technical, and organizational competences... All these kinds of competences must be integrated and fused if development is to take place".[1]

The most obvious evidence of the influence of educational programs on the movement organization is the development over time, of the functional capabilities (or competences) of the organization itself. The educational programs at La Paz Educational Center have been critical in operationalizing the necessary structural innovations instituted by the Union. These innovations (the hiring hall, the ranch committee, and the seniority system) and the other skills necessary for the day-to-day functioning of the union has prompted the development of educational programs to meet these functional needs. The subsequent ability of the Union to function successfully over a period of time is an indication of the success of these educational programs in meeting specific organizational needs.

In the women's health movement, the most salient outgrowth of the movement's educational programs, both consciousness-raising and skill training, has been the emergence and proliferation of women-controlled health centers. Developed in the context of a self-help movement, these programs have been successful in creating a viable alternative to existing health care for women, a result that has been accomplished strictly on the efforts of its educational programs.

The educational programs developed within these movements have not yet resulted in relief of the structural bind nor complete satisfaction of movement objectives. However, it is apparent from both comparative case study analysis and intensive studies of social movement education, that educational innovations

have been extensively developed to meet numerous categorically defined movement needs and have functioned in many of the cases in building viable organizations.

In the introduction, it was stated that the need for a study of this type is prompted by the neglect of academic research on social movement education. As the reader has been able to note, out-of-school education can become a dynamic force, i.e. education utilized within the context of a social movement in order to facilitate change from below. At this point, it is necessary to emphasize that the purpose of this study is not merely to gather information on a neglected subject matter in the hope of arousing research enthusiasm for the accumulation of greater quantities of more conclusive data. The intention and the expectation of this study is to incite active support with oppressed people in efforts to bring about social change.

There is valid justification for the resentment, suspicion, and anger expressed by many movement against the educator, the sociologist, the social scientist, etc., who come "in" to do "research". Jonathan Kozol, recognized for his involvement in the freeschool movement, has aptly commented on this point:

> "It is difficult, often impossible, to raise the money to feed people who are starving. It is much easier to obtain sufficient funds to maintain twenty pink and plentiful research scholars in the style to which a research scholar learns to be accustomed in order that they may spend six years or more compiling evidence and statistics to the 'possible ill effects' of mass starvation.
>
> The seeming paradox, is, of course, no paradox at all as soon as one begins to understand that research of this kind does not exist in order to diminish pain or alleviate despair... but to extend the barriers of knowledge, to expand the frontiers of pure learning...
>
> The research process, in the field of social change and social struggle in the present period of the U.S., is the weapon of choice by which the privileged classes have been able to postpone almost all solemn, honorable, risk-taking action in the guise of gathering 'further information'... precisely in those areas in which they already have a high degree of certitude but little will to pay the price that transformation calls for".[2]

It is required that the process of research - of scrutiny- be done with dispassion, detachment, and objectivity in order to insure valid research findings. This study poses that it is not possible to evaluate the historical struggles of oppressed peoples with rigid dispassion. A plea is made to the researcher to be less, rather than more detached in the hope of ending the indifference to oppression and unfreezing the potentiality for active commitment to social change processes.

Thirdly, together with the statement that this study is not intended to be research for the sake of research, it is also not intended to facilitate political maneuvering for the purpose of wresting initiative and momentum away from social movements. The research findings of this study, especially the insights into social movement education, are not presented in order to enable oppressive forces to 'leap-frog' the movement. To the contrary, the underlying rationale for this research study on social movement education is to provide a source of practical and experiential (based on case study analysis) information for developing a movement organization in every possible sense as an educatioal mechanism. The intention is to build movement capability, to counteract the perceived sense of powerlessness, through a reliance on the social movement to provide the impetus for change. As the most salient aspect of oppression in any society is the powerlessness of the oppressed, the obvious need is to transform the movement from one of powerlessness to one of empowerment. This study does not provide conclusive and definite answers to this need, but it does provide some significant data on how education feeds into a social movement and an indication of the key factors that influence the innovation, the operation and the outcomes of movement educational programs.

## APPENDIX I

### CONTENT ANALYSIS OF CASE MATERIALS OF EDUCATION IN SOCIAL MOVEMENTS: DEFINITIONS AND CODING INSTRUCTIONS

The purpose of this coding form is to analyze the content of case materials relating to education in social movement organizations, and to locate and identify factors which contribute to relative program effectiveness. This form will contain:

1. Definitions of key variables to be located in case materials.
2. Operational measures or scales of these variables.

Each coded sheet will be attached to a case abstract providing a succinct description of the following information:

CASE ABSTRACT

1. Social movement and name of organization.
2. Data sources (primary and/or secondary); citations of the books, articles, pamphlets, and reports from which the information is extracted.
3. Abstract information:
   a. The structural bind and the origins of the social movement.
   b. Educational response and rationale.
   c. Evaluation.
4. Coded information.

These coded forms and case abstracts will provide the data base from which assessments will be made on the contribution of education to social movements.

# CODING SHEET

MOVEMENT IDENTIFICATION NUMBER:

1st digit: Primary movement objectives
- 1: reformist
- 2: separatist/isolationist
- 3: reactionary
- 4: transformative

2nd digit: Dominant structural bind
- 1: political
- 2: economic
- 3: ethno-cultural
- 4: socio-cultural

3rd digit: Country
- 1: U.S.
- 2: Canada

4th and 5th digits: case study I.D. numbers (01-25(

***

I. INDICATORS WHICH FACILITATE/IMPEDE ORGANIZATIONAL EFFORTS, i.e. CAPACITY ($V_1$)

1. Structural bind: What is at issue, i.e. the organization's perception of what's wrong. It also reflects the orientation of the organization to the type of problem, its intensity, and the rationale for the educational program.

1.0 Political bind.
1.1 Economic bind.
1.2 Ethno-cultural bind.
1.3 Socio-cultural bind.

2. The audience to which the educational program is directed.

2.0 Organizational constituency.
2.1 No program developed for this audience.

3.0 Organizational leadership.
3.1 No program developed for this audience.

4.0 Children/youth within the organizational constituency.
4.1 No program developed for this audience.

5.0 Public.

5.1 No program developed for this audience.

6. Functional responses of educational programs, i.e. the specific functions to which the educational programs are oriented in response to the structural bind.

6.0 Building public support (public education; missionary activity).

6.1 No program developed in this area.

7.0 Training for skill achievement (adult education, literacy training, apprenticeships, vocational training, self-help programs).

7.1 No program developed in this area.

8.0 Leadership training.

8.1 No program developed in this area.

9.0 Politicization/socialization of movement values and ideology (education geared to indoctrination of ideology).

9.1 No program developed in this area.

10.0 Building movement solidarity (programs particularly geared to creating a community consciousness, cultural revitalization, and fostering self-esteem. Program basically counter-acculturative).

10.1 No program developed in this area.

11.0 Creating a supportive setting (the setting being particularly important for the airing of grievances, and/or the articulation of change strategies to alleviate grievances).

11.1 No program developed in this area.

12. Educational program structure and technique.

12.0 Schools.

12.1 None.

13.0 Classes, seminars, workshops.

13.1 None.

14.0 Group meetings.

14.1 None.

15.0 Newspapers, magazines.

15.1 None.

16.0 Theatre, music.

16.1 None.

17.0 Public education programs.

17.1 None.

18. Specificity and scope of educational programs relative to movement goals.

18.0 Specific, clearly defined program goals with single issue demand

18.1 Specific, clearly defined program goals with multiple issue demands.

18.2 Broad, ambiguous program goals with single issue demands.

18.3 Broad, ambiguous program goals with multiple issue demands.

19. Influence in goal-setting in educational program: who defines the problems, needs, and goals?, i.e. the decision-making structure. (Likert's four systems, p. 280)

19.0 Exploitative, authoritative.

19.1 Benevolent, authoritative.

19.2 Consultative.

19.3 Participative, group.

19.9 Unspecified.

20. Nature of perceived goals: decision-making process or style.

20.0 Negotiable: determination of problems, needs and goals mutually assessed and determined.

20.1 Non-negotiable: no discussion as to assessment; one party forces goals on the other.

20.9 Unspecified.

21. Availability of external inputs: extent to which external inputs (e.g. time, money, etc.) are available.

21.0 Substantially funded.

21.1 Minimal outside resources available.

21.9 Unspecified.

22. Availability of internal resources.

22.0 More than sufficient funds to sustain organization.

22.1 Sufficient funds to sustain organization.

22.2 Insufficient funds to sustain organization.

22.3 Unspecified.

23. Satisfaction with educational programs oriented towards achieving long-term goals (with an inherently symbolic reward structure).

23.0 Perceived satisfaction of constituency demands.

23.1 Dis-satisfaction.

23.2 No perceived dis-satisfaction.

23.9 Unspecified.

24. Satisfaction with educational programs oriented towards achieving short-term goals (with an immediate/tangible reward structure).

24.0 Perceived satisfaction of constituency demands.

24.1 Dis-satisfaction.

24.2 No perceived dis-satisfaction.

24.9 Unspecified.

25. Function of movement ideology relative to movement survival. Relevance of this variable necessary as to the functional purpose of the educational program, and program structure and technique.

25.0 High level of integration of ideology in educational programs.

25.1 Medium level of integration.

25.2 Low level of integration.

25.9 Unspecified.

26. Degree of parochialism of movement organization.

26.0 Organization constituency defined, and activity confined to a specific group.

26.1 Little to moderate involvement by individuals external to the organization.

26.2 Effort to extend the organization membership to groups/ individuals in the same "bind".

27. Range of educational programs.

27.0 Educational programs exclusively limited to organization constituency.

27.1 Low profile effort to involve individuals external to the organization.

27.2 Intensive efforts to the non-exclusive expansion of constituency in educational programs.

II. INDICATORS WHICH MITIGATE/AGGRAVATE SITUATIONAL FACTORS, i.e. OPPORTUNITY ($V_2$)

28. Intensity of the movement organization, i.e. the intensity of the stress conditions defined in terms of perceived future opportunities.

28.0 Resignation with perceived future opportunities negative.

28.1 Dis-satisfaction with perceived future opportunities negative.

28.2 Dis-satisfaction with perceived future opportunities positive.

28.3 No dis-satisfaction with perceived future oppostunities positive.

28.9 Unspecified.

29. Intensity of the movement organization, i.e. the intensity of the stress conditions defined in terms of structural flexibility (societal responses to articulated demands for change).

29.0 Societal response, facilitation; partisan public support.

29.1 Societal response, facilitation; resistant public opposition.

29.2 Societal response, control; partisan public support.

29.3 Societal response, control; resistant public opposition.

30. Extent to which movement goals, as specifically reflected in educational programs, threaten societal power relationships and the control of resources, i.e. the extent to which goals seek a redistribution of rewards, status, and other privileges.

30.0 No existing threat.

30.1 Minimal.

30.2 Moderate.

30.3 Intense.

31. Description of threat to society as embodied in goals and educational programs.

31.0 Legal/political relationships.

31.1 Socio-cultural norms.

31.2 Economic patterns.

31.3 Mixed (specify).

32. Legitimacy of educational programs as perceived by society.

32.0 Legitimate.

32.1 Tolerable.

32.2 Illegitimate.

33. Extent to which educational programs succeed in gaining public support.

33.0 High degree of support, with demonstrated effect on binds.

33.1 High degree of support, with no demonstrated effect on binds.

33.2 Medium degree of support, with demonstrated effect on binds.

33.3 Medium degree of support, with no demonstrated effect on binds

33.4 Low degree of support, with demonstrated effect on binds.

33.5 Low degree of support, with no demonstrated effect on binds.

33.6 Existing programs exclude this educational function.

III. INDICATORS WHICH ENCOURAGE/DISCOURAGE PSYCHOLOGICAL COMMITMENT TO COLLECTIVE EFFORTS, i.e. SOLIDARITY ($V_3$)

34. Degree to which program goals/methods and movement goals/methods are commonly perceived.

34.0 High degree of consenses.

34.1 Medium.

34.2 Low.

34.3 No consensus.

34.9 Unspecified.

35. Constituency participation in educational programs.

35.0 Continued or long-term participation.

35.1 Little to moderate participation: financial difficulties.

35.2 Little to moderate participation: conflict situation characterized by contradictory interests of different groups.

35.3 Little to moderate participation: problem with morale, lack of interest and/or lack of identity with program objectives

35.9 Unspecified.

36. Level of constituency support for educational programs.

36.0 Support with willingness to risk life.

36.1 Support with willingness to expend personal resources such as time, money, etc.

36.2 Empathic support (passive).

36.3 No apparent support for educational program objectives.

37. Control by the people over the educational program.
37.0 Collaborative: mutual, participative effort.
37.1 Directed: responsibilities delegated.
37.9 Unspecified.

38. Existence of stress conditions within organization, as reflected in educational programs.
38.0 Stress conditions present and disruptive.
38.1 Stress condition present but not disruptive.
38.2 Little/no stress conditions visible; minimal diruptive effect.
38.9 Unspecified.

39. Limitations of educational programs most apparent in:
39.0 Providing a supportive setting.
39.1 Increasing constituency participation/support.
39.2 Revitalization efforts.
39.3 Leadership solidarity.
39.4 Public relations.
39.5 No apparent program weakness.
39.6 Other (specify).

IV. INDICATORS MEASURING PROGRAM SUCCESS

40. Extent to which educational programs succeed in increasing organizational membership.
40.0 Continuing, significant growth in size of organization.
40.1 Continuing, moderate growth in size of organization.
40.2 Little/no significant increase in membership.
40.3 Decrease in membership (out-migration).
40.9 Unspecified.

41. Extent to which organizational legitimacy is increased as a result of educational programs.
41.0 Little/no significant changes perceived.
41.1 Legitimacy increased.
41.2 Legitimacy decreased.
41.9 Unspecified.

42. Constituency satisfaction with educational program outcomes.

42.0 Satisfaction.
42.1 Dis-satisfaction.
42.2 No dis-satisfaction.
42.9 Unspecified.

43. Program flexibility relative to adaptation to perceived need for change in program structure and/or goals.
43.0 Adaptable to change.
43.1 Structure rigid and not amenable to change.
43.9 Unspecified.

44. Extent to which program goals realized.
44.0 Program highly effective.
44.1 Program effective.
44.2 Program ineffective.
44.3 Program highly ineffective.

45. Program continuity.
45.0 Program unsuccessful: rejected.
45.1 Program unsuccessful: cooptation; societal or intra-organizational demands for change.
45.2 Program moderately successful.
45.3 Program highly successful.

46. Movement objectives:
46.0 Reformist.
46.1 Separatist/isolationist.
46.2 Reactionary.
46.3 Transformative.

47. Relative degree of movement "success": assessed in terms of distinguishable outcomes, both intended and unintended, as a result of movement activities, measured from one time frame to another.
47.0 Movement objectives realized.
47.1 Partial realization of movement objectives.
47.2 Little/no realization of movement objectives.
47.3 Movement coopted.
47.4 Containment, as a result of repression, with little/no changes achieved.

47.5 Movement destroyed.

47.9 No existing time frames for evaluation.

V. INDICATORS ASSESSING THE VALIDITY OF THE HYPOTHESES: THE CONTRIBUTION OF EDUCATION TO MOVEMENT CAPACITY, OPPORTUNITY, AND SOLIDARITY

48. Effect of education on movement capacity: does education contribute to increasing the capacity of the movement?

48.0 Low capacity.

48.1 Moderate capacity.

48.2 High capacity.

49. Effect of education on movement opportunity: does education contribute to increasing the opportunity of a movement?

49.0 Opportunity levels low (little structural flexibility).

49.1 Opportunity levels moderate.

49.2 Opportunity levels high.

50. Effect of education on movement solidarity: does education contribute to increasing the solidarity of a movement?

50.0 Low level of solidarity.

50.1 Moderate level of solidarity.

50.2 High level of solidarity.

## NOTES

### CHAPTER I

[1]Discussion on many aspects of this question took place during an IDEP seminar (IDEP 294, Winter term, 1975) on Educational Social Movements. Besides assessing the role and contribution of education within collective change efforts, various case studies were written to provide specific examples of how education functions within a movement setting.

[2]Saul Alinsky, Reveille for Radicals, Vintage Books, New York, 1969, p. 198.

[3]Ibid, p. 185.

[4]See Blumer, "Collective Behavior", New Outline of the Principles of Sociology, ed. Joseph Gitter, Barnes and Noble, New York, pp. 127-158. 1946

[5]Charles Silberman, Crisis in Black and White, Random House, New York, 1964, pp. 309-355.

[6]Ibid, p. 314.

[7]See Rolland Paulston and Greg LeRoy, "Strategies for Nonformal Education", Teacher's College Record, Vol. 76, No. 4, May, 1975, pp. 560-596.

### CHAPTER II

[1]See Richard Appelbaum, Theories of Social Change, Markham Publishing Co., Chicago, 1970.

[2]Tullis, Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1973, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1970.

[3]See Tullis, p. 65: describes the notion of "gaps" as the basic origin of collective protest, regardless of motivational assumptions.

[4]The relationships between these variables has been tested by Tullis in a case study analysis of Peruvian villages. The study focused on why social movements arise, and what conditions foster intensity.

[5]For a discussion of the concept of structural flexibility, see E.A. Havens, "Quest for Social Development", in G.M. Beal et al eds., Sociological Perspectives of Domestic Development, State University Press, Ames, Iowa, 1971, pp. 70-93.

[6]Tullis, p. 281.

[7]Rolland Paulston and Greg LeRoy, "Strategies for Nonformal Education", Teacher's College Record, Vol. 76, No. 2, May, 1975, pp. 569-596.

[8]Marvin Grandstaff, Study Team Reports: A Summary View of Research and Analysis on the Concept of NFE, Institute for International Studies in Education, Michigan State University, 1974, p. 77.

[9]Paulston and LeRoy, p. 587.

[10]J. Ohlinger, "Is Life-long Education a Guarantee of Permanent Inadequacy", Convergence, Vol. 7, No. 2, 1974, pp. 47-59.

[11]Paulston and LeRoy, pp. 587-596.

[12]Paulston and LeRoy, pp. 588-589.

[13]See Rolland Paulston, Folk Schools in Social Change, A Partisan Guide to the Literature, University Center for International Studies, Univeristy of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, 1972.

## CHAPTER III

[1]Saul Alinsky was the founder and the director of the Industrial Areas Foundation, a Chicago-based organization. The organization has devoted its energies and resources in assisting people in over fifty communities organize to find solutions to social problems; among them the Woodlawn Organization (Chicago), the Community Service Organization (California), and the Back of the Yards Neighborhood Council.

[2]Saul Alinsky, "From Citizen Apathy to Participation", Industrial Areas Foundation, Chicago, Illinois, October 19, 1957.

[3]Saul Alinsky, Reveille for Radicals, Vintage Books, New York, 1969.

[4]Saul Alinsky, From Apathy to Participation, Industrial Areas Foundation, Chicago, Illinois, October, 1957, p. 10.

[5]Ibid, p. 8.

[6]Hillel Black, "This is War", The Saturday Evening Post, 1964.

[7]See Carol Weiss, "Utilization of Evaluation: Toward Comparative Study", Evaluating Action Programs: Readings in Social Action and Education, Allyn and Bacon, Inc., Boston, 1972.

[8]Ibid, p. 324.

## CHAPTER IV

[1]Ole R. Holsti, Content Analysis for the Social Sciences and Humanities, Addison Wesley Publishing Co., 1969.

[2]F.L. Tullis, Politics and Social Change in Third World Countries, Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1973, p. 66.

[3]See Chapter I, p. 2.

[4]Joseph R. Gusfield, "Social Movements", International Encyclopedia of Social Sciences, p. 445, 1968.

[5]For a similar theoretical classification, see: David F. Aberle, The Peyote Religion Among the Navajo, Aldine Chicago, 1966, pp. 315-317. Classifies social movements as transformative, seeking total change in the supra-individual systems; and redemptive, seeking total change in the individual.

John Wilson, Introduction to Social Movements, Basic Books, New York, 1973. Classifies movements as transformative, reformative, redemptive, and alternative.

## CHAPTER V

[1]Benjamin Zablocki, An Account of the Bruderhof, A Communal Movement in Its Third Generation, Penguin Books, Baltimore, Maryland, 1971, p. 167.

[2]David Garson, Handbook of Political Science Methods, Holbrook Press, Inc., Boston, 1971, pp. 117-120.

[3]The New Woman's Survival Cataolg, Berkley Publishing Co., New York, 1973.

[4]See Edgar Schein, "The Passion For Unanimity", Studies in Social Movements, ed. by Barry McLaughlin, The Free Press, New York, 1969, pp. 279-289.

[5]See Oxenham, "NFE and Literacy", Michigan Study Team Reports, p. 12

## CHAPTER VI

[1]"Fighting For Our Lives", a Farm Workers Documentary Film, 1975.

[2]Ibid.

[3]Data on the role of education in the UFW obtained from both primary and secondary sources (interviews), and will be acknowledged as such throughout this chapter.

[4]For Example, there has been a great deal of publicity given to the use of pesticides (DDT, DDD, endrin, aldrin, parathion, dieldrin) and its effects on farm workers and consumers. See The New American Movement, October, 1975, p. 5.

[5]Tony Castro, Chicano Power, The Emergence of the Mexican American, E.P. Dutton and Co., Inc., New York, 1974, p. 93.

[6]See ED 092281, James M. Pierce, "The Condition of Farm Workers and Small Farmers in 1973", Report to the National Board of the National Sharecroppers Fund, 1974; John R. Howard,. The Cutting Edge, J.B. Lippincott Co., New York, 1974, p. 81; and Peter Matthiessen, Sal Si Puedes: Cesar Chavez and the New American Revolution, Random House, New York, 1969, pp. 71-72.

[7]Chicano Student Movement, Vol. 1, No. 6, November, 1968, p. 4.

[8]John Gregory Dunne, "To Die Standing: Cesar Chavez and the Chicanos", The Atlantic Monthly, 1971, p. 45.

[9]Ibid, p. 45.

[10]James Mencarelli and Steve Severin, Protest: Red, Black and Brown Experience in America, William Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1975.

[11]One explanation of the exclusion of farm workers from protective legislation was political bargaining: "It had been necessary to attract a few Southern votes if pro-labor legislation were to pass in the Congress, and Southern agrarians would not toss even a bone toward labor unless farm workers were excluded from all provisions of any proposed bill." See Dunne, "To Die Standing", p. 4.

[12]James M. Pierce, The Condition of Farm Workers and Small Farmers in 1973, Report to the National Board of the National Sharecroppers Fund, 1974.

[13]Fred Ross, IAF organizer, recruited Chavez in 1952. Chavez' participation extended over a decade, and in 1958 became the National Director of the organization.

[14]Matthiessen, p. 85.

[15]Ronald Taylor, Chavez and the Farm Workers, Beacon Press, Boston, p. 84.

[16]Matthiessen, p. 172.

[17]For and enlightening descriptive analysis of the UFW organization and specific structures (hiring hall, seniority system, and ranch committees), see Taylor, Chapter 2.

[18]"Programs Farm Workers Have Made For Themselves", National Farm Worker Ministry, November, 1975.

[19]"Nonformal Education at Work in the U.S.; El Teatro Campesino, Farm Workers Theatre", Instructional Technology Report, No. 12, September, 1975.

[20]Ibid, p. 8.

[21]Ibid, p. 5.

[22]Taylor, pp. 209-210.

[23]From an interview with Gary Cappy, Co-Director of the UFW-AFL-CIO Boycott Center, 217 N. Craig St., Pittsburgh, November 14, 1975.

[24]Taylor, p. 174.

[25]Saul Alinsky, "From Citizen Apathy to Participation", Industrial Areas Foundation, Chicago, Illinois, October 19, 1957.

[26]Matthiessen, p. 57.

[27]"Where the Farm Worker Struggle Stands Today", The Militant, December 5, 1975, pp. 26-27.

[28]"Interview at Gallo: Chicanos Explain What UFW Means To Them", The Militant, Vol. 39, No. 36, October 3, 1975, p. 29.

[29]Dunne, p. 40.

[30]"The Market Place: Poor World Within the Rich World's Walls" in the publication, Yes, But What Can I Do?, 1975, p. 15, published by Jon Danzig, Old Stage House, High Street, Benson, Oxon OX9 6RP, UK.
Articles included relate to individual and group support, citing examples in Switzerland, Sweden, Germany, and France. As an example, approximately 80% of California's imported lettuce, and 50% of the grapes go to Sweden.

[31]"Chavez Speaks on UFW Fight: Reports of Our Death Have Been Greatly Exagerrated", El Malcriado, January/February, 1975, p. 11.

[32]Ibid.

[33]Matthiessen, pp. 83-84.

[34]"Labor: Cesar's Share", Newsweek, September 22, 1975.

[35]"The Market Place: Poor World Within the Rich World's Walls".

## CHAPTER VII

[1]Billions for Bandaids, San Francisco Bay Area Chapter, Medical Committee for Human Rights, San Francisco, California, 1972, p. 125.

[2]Ibid.

[3]Ivan Illich, Tools for Conviviality, Harper and Row, New York, 1973.

[4]Ibid.

[5]Ellen Frankfort, Vaginal Politics, Bantam Books Inc., New York, 1972, p. XVII.

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[7]The New Woman's Survival Catalog, Berkley Publishing Corporation, New York, 1973, p. 89.

[8]Vaginal Politics, p. 23.

[9]Survival Catalog, p. 78.

[10]See Newsweek, March 1, 1976, p. 59; and Vaginal Politics, Chapter 12; and Kathleen Barry, "The Cutting Edge", Know Inc., Pittsburgh, Pa., pp. 12-14.

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[16]Ibid, p. 81.

[17]For additional information on health centers and collectives, and a listing of centers, see the Survival Catalog, and The New Woman's Survival Sourcebook, Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1975, pp. 32-65.

[18]Survival Catalog, Chapter III, p. 71.

[19]Ibid.

[20]Ibid.

[21]San Francisco Women's Health Center pamphlet, 3789 24th St., San Francisco, California.

[22]Survival Sourcebook, p. 60.

[23]Ibid.

[24]Ibid.

[25]Ibid.

[26]Vaginal Politics, p. XI.

[27]Complaints and Disorders, p. 86.

[28]Complaints and Disorders, p. 89.

[29]Survival Sourcebook, p. 83.

## CHAPTER VIII

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