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EDUCATION, DEVELOPMENT AND THE REBUILDING OF URBAN COMMUNITY

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ABSTRACT

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The paper asks what are appropriate policies for urban school reform in the context of global transformations affecting cities in both developed and "Third World" countries. Features of this transformation include growing population diversity, a semi-permanent underclass, and the informal economy. Comprehensive community development (i.e. economic, socio-political, and cultural) must promote alternative forms of integrating communities into the larger whole, in ways that emphasize "indigenous" knowledge and problem solving. Urban school reforms that promote culturally relevant education and community partnerships can make a contribution. However, the connections between school and community and school and work need to be rethought. The paper provides examples of strategies to convert new economic forms into life-sustaining opportunities and new social forms into structures that sustain the community.

INTRODUCTION

Whether one accepts the tenets of post-modernism or other post-industrial "isms" presently swirling around us, it is incontestable that we stand at the threshold of an important, global transformation. This qualitative shift is about economics, culture, and epistemology, about how we live, what we think, and what passes for knowledge. Our paper examines the link between education and development in this new context. We consider the role of schools in promoting development in a particular social setting: the inner cities of both developed and underdeveloped countries.[1] Our focus, then, are those segments of the population who at present have only limited or seemingly tenuous links to both the modern urban economy and the formal educational system.

As will become apparent, we do not accept the standard, narrow definition of development as the growth of the Gross National Product and other similar economic indicators. These were always problematic for us and the new context--of which limits to such growth are an important part--confirms us in our views. Rather, we view development as a multifaceted process in which human and social factors, the quality of life and of social connectedness, are raised above narrowly quantitative economic growth (see, for instance, Estes, 1988). For us it is the former, not the latter that constitute the appropriate framework against which to measure development. Of necessity, speaking of the link between education and development (as defined above), in the context of urban poverty, leads to a focus on the development of community strengths, geared toward the meeting of the cultural and social, as well as material needs of that community.

Advocating development as the multifaceted growth of community strengths does not imply an autarchic self-help model, existing in isolation from larger social contexts. Our premise, supported by the vast literature on center-periphery relations, is that inner-city populations are already integrated, albeit in disadvantageous ways, into larger systems; their poverty and wants are not primarily and fundamentally the result of personal or cultural *omissions,* impediments blocking their integration into the social mainstream and formal economy, but of particular acts of systemic *commission.*[2] The necessary task, then, is to promote alternative forms of integration premised on community development rather than community impoverishment. An important aspect of such alternatives is the legitimation and institutionalization of what we term "indigenous knowledge" and "indigenous problem solving," that is, local understandings and practices emerging from non-dominant cultures and subcultures.

The dominant perspective contrives to label these seemingly marginal practices "informal;" they belong, for instance, to the unregulated or underground economy and generally utilize knowledge and cultural forms that are not part of mainstream Western institutions. However, they are becoming more visible and influential owing to trends such as global communication and increased international migration and social diversity, as well as weaknesses in "modern" societies arising from fissures in the modern project.[3]

We think our approach has relevance for both developed and underdeveloped countries. This is so not because we adopt a postmodern equivalent of modernization theory (viz., the West as *the prototype for change)* but because we see evidence of a

convergence between the two blocs, brought about, in part, through the increasing globalization of economy and society, and the inherent limits of Western models (Keith, N.W., 1994). One pattern consistent with such convergence is the spreading of the informal economy, in response to global trends similarly affecting both blocs (Mingione, 1983; Smith, 1984; Portes, Castells & Benton, 1989). First to feel the effect of this shift--and the need to address its ramifications--are the "Third World" and subordinate peoples in the urban centers of these countries.

Our aim in this paper is to explore this new context, the meaning it imparts to education for development, and the ways urban schools might contribute to the process. The paper is divided into two sections. In the first part, we detail the main contours of the global shift and its implications for the population of interest. We have already alluded to the fact that this analysis will focus on informalization and indigenous problem solving. In the second section we outline a new role for education in this context. Here we will focus on local knowledge, community strengths and resilience, and mutually beneficial interaction blurring the divisions between school and community. We will also illustrate the programmatic implications of the analysis by discussing a number of possible models. The paper is part of our ongoing work, and thus is exploratory in nature, rather than definitive.

GLOBAL TRANSFORMATION AND THE URBAN POOR

There is little doubt that qualitative changes having implications for global transformation are upon us. Helped along by their own inherent tensions and the push of antagonistic social movements, market relations, market-oriented technologies, and

Western ideologies appear to be reaching their limits. Glaringly exposed stand the fallacies of models assuming unending resources and perennial growth, and their epistemological and cultural underpinnings. Once the standard bearers of modernity, these models are fast unraveling: market relations and their cultural counterparts, never fully ensconced in the Third World, are finding their limits in the developed countries; and an upsurge of diverse worldviews and epistemologies results in the post-modern questioning of heretofore dominant Eurocentric ideologies.

In these emergent social conditions, developmental models which assume the ongoing expansion of "modern" economic relations come increasingly into conflict with the reality of co-existence of "formal" (viz., modern) and "informal" economic forms. One of our main arguments is that the global convergence currently underway is favorable to the creation of indigenous, locally-based forms of knowledge and models of development in poor urban communities. This is partly the result of need: while social and economic reconstruction calls for massive efforts, fiscal and political weakness inhibit the state from playing its traditional liberal role. Community-based activities and indigenous problem-solving, then, are a virtue emerging out of necessity, since it is unlikely that any government programs and the market will favor the bulk of subordinate and "Third World" peoples (Portes, Castells, & Benton, 1989).

The Informal Sector

The informal sector is a concept which has largely been associated with backwardness and non-modern economic and social relations. Basically, it is characterized by undeveloped production, exchange, and consumption mechanisms

which impede the development of full-fledged markets. People functioning in the informal sector engage in practices, utilize ideologies, and use inputs and services that are quite at variance with those encountered in the modern capitalist sectors of these economies. Remarkably, the sector contributes to stable milieus, even though the social conditions in which it flourishes suggest that the opposite should be expected.

Once existing primarily in the overpopulated cities of the Third World, the informal sector is now increasingly encroaching on modern market relations in the advanced economies. This fact is verifiable in theoretical as well as in empirical terms. Accumulation under capitalism logically and naturally breeds a residual sector, as competing economic theorists acknowledge. For the neo-classical, it is created by the social displacement caused by competition; for Marxists, it rises from capitalism's natural tendency to uneven development, which creates a reserve army of labor whose survival is often dependent on informal sector activities. Differences in the levels of market skills and resources and non-economic variables such as race, gender, and ethnicity, then, serve to create two coexistent sectors within the economy.

These tendencies, always a part of capitalist development, are heightened by the advancing globalization of the economy spurred on by technological advance: increasingly, economic transactions can overcome the limitations of place and rely on linkages that bypass the locality. Indeed, just as the concept of the "national economy" ceased to make sense for the Third World, the same applies increasingly to industrialized countries. U.S. cities, for instance, are no longer sites of manufacturing activities; they are now variously specialized centers for the provision of services. While

a few succeed in attracting and retaining lucrative services such as legal, financial, commercial, and insurance transactions, others must settle for services at the lower end, including, for some, a "specialization" as waste disposal sites (Logan & Motloch, 1987; see especially ch. 7). To aggravate conditions, American cities have gradually lost federal support, particularly over the past decade or so: federal aid to cities declined from $47.2 billion in 1980 to $21.7 billion in 1992 (USA Today, May 5, 1992).

All these processes cause havoc to employment, as evidenced in a deteriorating job market, lower wages, fewer well-paying union jobs, increasing percentage of involuntary part-time work, and job-displacement. The process was further aggravated by the hostile takeovers of many of the remaining family-owned or locally-based firms during the 1980s (Barlett and Steele, 1992). Indeed, Saskia Sassen-Koob (1984) has termed this the "peripheralization of the core."

Informalization is occurring on two different but interrelated planes. One relates to the internal economy, comprising activities such as street vending, collecting and selling empty soda cans, dealing in illegal substances, and a host of informal exchanges not necessarily restricted to the poor. These economic activities are complemented by a variety of non-economic informal exchanges and mutual assistance including child care, instruction (i.e. apprenticeships), lending societies, burial societies, and the like.

The other side of informalization involves links between underdeveloped and developed countries, as practices such as small-scale import-export and manufacturing and service subcontracting draw the two kinds of economies into a more symbiotic relationship. In subcontracting, production of goods and services for the international

market is broken down into small units, which allows "modern" as well as informal practices, and metropolitan as well as dependent economies to participate (Sanderson, 1985; Froebel et al, 1980).

Informalization tends to be concentrated in urban areas; in large Third World cities, as much as 70 percent of the working population may be so involved. According to Drakakis-Smith (1987:86), this figure may go up to 90 percent if we take into account the part-time informal activities of persons (including professionals) with full-time occupations. Thus the sector is not the sole preserve of the poor.

Although these activities have been seen as a stepping stone into the modern sector, current research shows that the movement also goes in the opposite direction, as participants are attracted to informal-sector activities by the freedom of self-employment and higher earnings (Lubell, 1991:111-12; Davies, 1979:95). As Portes, Castells and Benton note, the informal sector "is a specific form of relationships of production, while poverty is an attribute linked to the process of distribution" (1989:12).

The informal sector is also flourishing in major North American and European cities. As Goldsmith and Blakely assert, the ability of these cities to maintain a sound economic base through the current transition is due in part to their having "internalized the world economy by shifting some workers into Third World competition" (1992:107). Sassen-Koob's (1989) study of New York City revealed informalization in key economic sectors, such as apparel, construction, furniture, and electronics. Other studies, conducted in Los Angeles, Miami, Detroit, and Europe, share her findings. The research shows a combination of the following features: (a) providing higher profit

margins to large corporations through the use of backward linkages (cheap labor in sweat shop arrangements); (b) providing employment, thus relieving pressures on city government; (c) structurally rehabilitating depressed areas, which would normally be the responsibility of city government; and (d) providing goods and services inadequately or too expensively supplied by the modern sector (Redclift and Mingione, 1985; Offe and Heinze, 1992).

Earlier analysts tended to emphasize the informal sector's role as an impediment to the spread of the market economy, as a source of lost revenues, and as a deterrent to vitally needed governmental regulation (Lubell, 1991; Connolly, 1985). This pattern still continues in the developed countries, where the informal sector is seen as little more than a temporary aberration, the province of foreign migrants or "culturally" and "economically deprived" local segments of the population. The posture is perhaps best exemplified by President Reagan who, in a television message to the nation, accused the informal sector (the "underground economy") of damaging the economy and preventing economic recovery (Mingione, 1983:334). This was a time when estimates had the sector accounting for 10 to 20 percent of all activity in the U.S. economy (Denton, 1985). Senior government officials and other influentials also gave clear hints that blacks and other minorities, chiefly Latinos, were the architects and beneficiaries of these dismal conditions. Much has also been made of immigrants' role in those areas and the model which the informal practices they bring from their home countries provide for host communities.

In underdeveloped countries, the sector's record as a source of employment

gradually brought it recognition. The changed status was reflected in changing conceptualizations: from "marginality" (Quijano, 1974), to "form of production" (LeBrun and Gerry, 1975) or "subordinate mode of production" (Davies, 1979), to substantial acceptance born not out of liking but out of necessity. Informal economic activities are now supported by the World Bank, the United Nations, and the International Labor Organization (ILO)--in Kenya and Afghanistan, for example (House, 1984; Lubell, 1991). These agencies often tie their assistance package to self-help schemes linked to the informal sector (Drakakis-Smith, 1987:67). These trends have led, in turn, to its organizational strengthening, encouraging efficiency, self-reliance, and the spread of projects (see Sethuraman, 1985:727-729; deSoto, 1989:73-74). Ironically, the sector was strengthened in part by the effects of rational planning imposed by the structural adjustment programs of the International Monetary Fund (IMF): restrictions on fiscal and monetary policies, for instance, undercut one crucial function of the formal sector--importation. The informal sector, largely through the activities of women, was inserted into this breach, supplying goods and services and creating employment.

The contrasting characteristics of the informal and formal sectors, sketched in Table 1, help explain the continuing vitality of the former.

TABLE 1: Formal and Informal Sector Characteristics

Informal sector	Formal sector
Ease of entry	Difficult entry
Indigenous inputs	Imported inputs
Family property	Corporate property
Small scale of activity	Large scale of activity
Labor-intensive	Capital-intensive
Adapted technology	Imported technology
Non-formal skills base	Formally acquired skills
Unregulated/competitive	Protected markets (e.g.tariffs, market quotas, licensing arrangements)

Source: Adapted from Drakakis-Smith, 1987:65.

Thus, while analysts from within the modern paradigm anticipated the demise of the sector, actual patterns belie these assumptions: as national economies grow, a greater portion of the labor force gets absorbed into the informal sector (Sethuraman, 1985). Increasingly, the process involves, if not a frontal attack on the formal (modern) sector, certainly agreeable accommodations between the two.

We would be remiss if we failed to note that the informal sector displays much that attracts censure. Portes, Castells and Benton capture the criticism: the sector, simultaneously encompasses flexibility and exploitation, productivity and abuse, aggressive entrepreneurs and defenseless workers, libertarianism and greediness. And, above all, there is disenfranchisement of the institutionalized power conquered by labor,

with much suffering, in a two-century-old struggle. (1989:11)

These and other criticisms notwithstanding, there is no gainsaying the growing importance of the informal sector in both the developed and the underdeveloped world. Our sketch supports the assertion that it serves as "a panacea for the growing unemployment problem" of both regions (Todaro, 1989:268).

The Urban Poor and Indigenous Problem Solving

The evidence strongly suggests that informalization is not anchored to a transitional phase of capital accumulation. Rather, the probability is that the global economy will experience a very long period of zero or slow growth in which informalization will be entrenched. Although these circumstances affect large segments of the social class structure, it is those at the bottom that are more seriously affected. This phenomenon is seen in the rise and feminization of urban poverty and, in particular, the urban underclass.

The underclass, to use Wilson's (1987:8) definition, are those who are not members of the formal labor force, lack necessary training or skills to participate in the formal economy, or are engaged in crime or other forms of "aberrant" behavior. It also includes families experiencing long-term poverty, who have become dependent on welfare. In fact, a large portion are young children. As Wilson observes, the increasing segregation and concentration of this population in "new" ghettos has several serious repercussions, including social and cultural adaptations that are increasingly at variance with the mainstream. Not all the inhabitants of inner cities are members of the underclass, of course, but in the most depressed areas the class may account for 50

percent or more of residents. Minority group status is an important part of the problem: details pertaining to five of the six largest US cities (New York, Los Angeles, Chicago, Philadelphia, and Detroit) show the underclass as represented mainly by African-Americans (32 percent) and Latinos (39 percent), with poor whites accounting for 7 percent.

Development models need to take the semi-permanence of the underclass and its encompassing of different sectors of the population (viz., women, children, young men) into account and bring it into new and reformulated social networks. Given the poor performance of the formal economy with regard to employment creation, the informal economy, with its easier access, should figure prominently in such reformulations. Community development should thus be geared to elevating coping mechanisms into viable exchanges integrated into informal economic and social networks, and operating both at the local level and in the wider social structure.

While it should be expected that the levels of need and deprivation found in the inner-cities will trigger many coping mechanisms (see, for instance, Warren, 1981), there is one particular development which reinforces and gives new life to informalization: immigration from the underdeveloped world. With current immigration policies ensuring the continuing flow of these populations into the U.S., inner-city areas may become a more stable environment in which informalization will thrive. As the host community progressively loses faith in old formulas (including the ability of education to "pay off") and witnesses the success of these practices, there may be a tendency to follow suit. There is support for this statement: the most successful

forms of entrepreneurship in inner-city areas of New York, Los Angeles, and most large cities are found among immigrant populations (Offe and Heinze, 1992).

We have already seen that informal exchange relations from the underdeveloped world have caught on in the U.S. Practices of a more substantial and sophisticated nature have also made their appearance. Among these are informal banking, known to flourish in immigrant communities (Jamaicans in Hartford, Connecticut and New Brunswick; New Jersey and Koreans in Detroit; see Goozner, 1987). Informal exchanges (living accommodation for a variety of chores) seem also to be spreading, especially in college environments. There is every prospect, then, that many progressively disenfranchised groups will become more enmeshed in informalization.

As our paper is prompted by concerns for development, our analysis of informalization must, in the end, relate to broader questions of equity and social justice. Our agenda must thus be directed at expanding the developmental potentials of informalization, as against opposing tendencies pushing toward greater social exclusion and deprivation. Rather than integration in a hierarchical global process leading to the "peripheralization of the center," we need to focus on horizontal processes and linkages strengthening local efforts at problem solving. We term these new, generative community efforts, indigenous problem solving. One of the issues, thus, is how urban schools can help push the process along in ways that contribute to development of these communities.

Linking developmental formulas more legitimately with indigenous problem-solving requires a change in perspective, endowing local social actors and their

discourses with sufficient legitimacy to raise questions about dominant ideologies and the conventional wisdom of economic theories that attempt to describe their lives. It also requires linking the new perspectives to developmentally directed action. As we see below, this is certainly a task to which urban schools can contribute. They must be aided by critiques of development formulas and their not-so-disguised exploitation: dependency critiques from the underdeveloped world (Beckford, 1972; Amin, 1976) need to be joined to an equally compelling critique of the effects of deindustrialization and globalization on the economic and socio-cultural fabric of inner-cities in the metropolis (Wilson, 1987, 1988; Logan and Molotch, 1987).

The attempt to ground or reinforce self-reliance will depend largely on factors linking the Third World and the United States (as well as other industrialized societies) in a new pattern of interdependence. The new habits of thought above will become more convincing with structural changes, through which we might begin to entertain an "inclusively internationalist" ideology, one which "promote[s] the common human characteristics of all those who share the planet" (Sklair, 1991:24).

The next section focuses on the ways education can contribute to this process. We will focus on two aspects. The first relates to cultural relevance--here we speak of the legitimation of indigenous knowledge and cultural forms, serving, in part, to shore up the shaky legitimacy of urban education in the eyes of many of its constituents, as well as to revitalize and empower the community. The second aspect pertains to the economic and social relevance of education for development, referring in particular to

the need for links between schools (including at the level of curriculum) and selected community informal activities. Recognizing the power of activities such as social networks for informal exchange, informal community banking and the like, schools need to find ways to legitimize them and build on their potential contribution to community social and economic development.

Our discussion here is informed largely by research on the education of minorities in the U.S., to be supplemented, in future writings, with comparative studies. We are far from suggesting that these findings, preliminary even in the the U.S. setting, are universally applicable. However, for historical reasons, the debate on "diversity" in education seems to have proceeded further in this country than elsewhere. And, to the extent that complex post-colonial and class societies accord a "minority" status to indigenous knowledge, the U.S. experience may serve as a useful starting point.

EDUCATION FOR DEVELOPMENT: RECONFIGURING OLD PATTERNS

During the modern era, the strong focus on material plenty and individualism meant that the market, with its penchant for reducing human action to rational calculation and self-interested choice, progressively encroached on all human endeavors and eroded community. The personal sphere, in which "sympathy," altruism, cooperation, and the ties of community might once flourish, shrunk and withered under the onslaught of commodification. One can understand, then, how development could come to be equated with economic growth, and education could stand largely as preparation for employment in the formal economy. Even as we speak, education is being urged into narrow service to the U.S. national agenda: "if America is to succeed

as a nation, education will be the linchpin to it all.... It's going to take brainpower for us to compete in world markets" (in Marchese, 1988).

Throughout the modern period, education has played an important systemic role supportive of social, economic, and political development of a particular kind. Accordingly, education was said to promote social mobility and equity by providing access to valued resources for meritorious segments of subordinate groups and classes; to facilitate the creation and dissemination of Knowledge (i.e. the canon), and thus also of the technical and human "resources" needed by the market economy; and to prepare the ground for civic participation and democracy. The lure of "solid book learning"--part of what Bourdieu and Passeron (1977) term "cultural capital"--played an important part in channeling social pressures and aspirations "from below" into socially acceptable avenues.[4] And a strong strain of "mimic men"--to use V.S. Naipaul's term--in political and policy positions, continued to affirm Western definitions of development and the dominance of hegemonic forms over indigenous knowledge.

The relationship between education and development is nonetheless caught up in the systemic crisis and transformation. As the modern era wanes, old economic, political, and cultural forms lose momentum and legitimacy, while new patterns are yet forming (Falk, 1992). This shift portends the increasing failure of education, as currently structured, to fulfill its systemic role with regard to the generation and dissemination of knowledge forms appropriate for the times, and the preparation of a significant portion of young people for responsible and productive roles in adult society. Existing "modern" problems such as the disaffection of youth from adult society, youth

violence, and the marked failure of urban schools, are therefore compounded. And, to the extent that they follow the Western model, Third World countries are similarly affected.

The current crisis, which weakens two central institutions of modernity--the market and the state--creates new possibilities for development structures based on networks of local communities. In the United States, the call for change has focused on the one hand on social service, community and family responsibility, and volunteerism, and on the other, on multiculturalism, community schools, democratic education. In different ways, these speak of attempts to revive communal self-reliance and to reactivate and restructure the private sphere, so as to fill the voids left by the retreating state and stagnant economy. Some of these calls seem self-serving and callous-- those cast out to sea (viz., the underclass) are urged to a quick do-it-yourself course on swimming. It is unquestionable, however, that circumstances are pushing us in these directions.

Dependency theorists in underdeveloped countries have, for some time, embraced similar views. However, the overriding preoccupation with economics moreso than culture in these countries has contributed to the tendency for Western models of education to persist even if out of phase with development needs. For instance, the education of professionals (many of whom still receive advanced training in metropolitan universities) continues to favor Western technological and cultural biases; at the other end of the social spectrum, mass education--what there is of it--persists in downgrading indigenous forms that could contribute to development.

Education for Cultural Relevance

The increasing influence of postmodern thought in general, as well as in the area of Third World development, is contributing to a revisioning of modern culture. Perhaps the most important feature here is the postmodernist's influential criticism of the domination enjoyed by a single, logocentric epistemology under the control of the West. Instead, there is support for a kind of epistemological diversity, preparing the way for a plurality of knowledge-claims (Lyotard, 1984): the world consists of "meaning-generating agencies" which are "self-sustained and autonomous" and "armed with their own facilities of truth-validation" (Bauman, 1992:35). Already this new approach has been applied to many areas of Third World research, such as peasant studies (Scott, 1976; 1985; Knight, 1988).

In the United States moreso than in underdeveloped countries, the battle is being fought more keenly at the cultural level. Here, the effect of the transition (more as a tendency at present than a full-fledged movement) is that standard or mainstream educational structures and practices are eroded on two counts. First, the economic and fiscal crisis--and the accompanying crisis of legitimation--are pushing large urban school systems toward decentralization, both in the attempt to manage the attendant conflicts and to cut expenditures: for example, a recent movement toward school-based management in Philadelphia was accompanied by a 38 percent cut in the central office budget. Second, the erosion of Eurocentric cultural hegemony opens the way for alternative curricula and pedagogies, defined as "multicultural" education or, more recently, as education for diversity (see, for instance, Pignatelli and Pflaum, 1993;

Phelan and Davidson, 1993).[5]

Combined, these two trends evoke the possibility of a variety of local public schools, attuned to the cultural preferences and socio-economic needs of particular segments of the urban student population. The growing demand for Afrocentric curricula and emergence of Afrocentric schools is a case in point. While vital to providing the supportive climate these students need, such schools also raise another important issue: how to create a new universalism out of the mosaic of many particularisms. This is an important aspect of education for development in the context of a multicultural world.

Although still influential, traditional views of the underclass and minorities stressing cultural deficits and compensatory education are beginning to give way to models that focus on cultural difference, culturally relevant education, and resilience or strengths (Wehlage et al, 1989; Jacob & Jordan, 1992; Bernal, 1992). For instance, Lisa Delpit reports on the way a Native Alaskan teacher of Athabaskan Indians introduces her students to standard English:

> We listen to the way people talk, not to judge them, but to tell what part of the river they come from. These other people are not like that. They think everybody needs to talk like them. Unlike us, they have a hard time hearing what people say if they don't talk exactly like them. Their way of talking and writing is called "Formal English." ...We're going to learn two ways to say things. Isn't that better? One way will be our Heritage way. The other will be Formal English. (Delpit, 1988:293)

Along with others who share similar approaches, this teacher communicates a strong understanding and appreciation on one's own culture and knowledge, thus providing a context for understanding the "Other" and stripping the usually dominant cultural expression of its definitional power. At the same time, the approach does not fall into the trap of promoting cultural exclusivity, such as may foster ethnocentrism or, worse, xenophobia.

Of course, Athabaskan villagers benefit from relative isolation from the dominant culture--an advantage that minorities in urban environments lack. Especially vital for these settings is a focus on changing not only the discourse of minorities but also engaging in a similar effort to change elite discourse (Van Dijk, 1993). We need to learn more about ways to promote strongly held "particularisms" while at the same time moving toward Sklair's "inclusive internationalism" in ways that avoid the elevation of particularisms into hegemonic universals.

Education for Economic and Social Relevance

In spite of their advantages, the above and similar approaches are limited, in our view, if they fail to take into account the new economic realities which are likely to be the norm for decades to come. Immediately, this creates the need for at least two modifications. First, the new cultural strains should be inserted into developmental agendas featuring the larger community. Second, the connection between school and work needs to be rethought. Success stories featuring school-business partnerships, internships, and other approaches introducing youth to the formal economy fail to take into account the fact that the formal economy simply cannot accommodate all urban

youth. And, increasingly, contributing to the delegitimation of education, the prize at the end of schooling is a low-wage service job. Increasingly, fresh energies and creativity will be needed to convert new economic forms into life-sustaining opportunities and new social forms into structures that sustain the community. This caveat is more crucial for minorities but applies also to all at the lower reaches of the social structure: racism still creates obstacles, but structural factors of the kind we have discussed will, surprisingly, create a leveling effect. Success will then significantly depend on one's preparedness for this new environment.

We will briefly highlight some models that pursue directions we consider worthwhile.

Community Schools

We think we have sufficiently made the point that education for development requires new links to be built between schools and communities. Further, such involvement needs to be informed by an understanding of broad socio-economic trends, as well as the culture, history, and social dynamics of a particular community. The "Comer model" of community schools for poor urban areas (Comer, 1990; Payne, 1991) begins to address some of our concerns. Briefly, the model is based on interventions in the area of human relationships both in the school and the community. These are designed to restore adults' lost power to influence children (a loss that, with Comer, we may consider crucial) and the sense of connectedness, nurturing, and participation that are part of an organic community.

Suspicion of power holders abounds in inner-city communities and among the

underclass. The Comer model aims to improve these relationships and lessen suspicion by erasing the power differential between parents and professional educators. This is achieved through three organizational structures: a governance team of all adult stakeholders in the school; a parents' program; and a mental health team which "encourages both teachers and parents 'to think developmentally, to think relationships" (Payne, 1991:13). These groups operate according to a set of important guidelines: discussions focus on problems, not blame; the parties agree not to paralyze the principal's authority; and decisions are reached through consensus.

For us, a crucial aspect of the Comer model is its role in revitalizing community social networks. These richer social relations can then provide the framework for increasing and sustaining the kinds and levels of community exchange that can contribute to community development. A recent addition to this model, implemented through the Urban Schools Service Corps (USSC), calls for establishing greater linkages to the community, broadly aimed at community development. Corps Members (usually community members or college students) facilitate access of community members to various resources by bringing them into the school, which becomes a community center. Activities may include literacy programs, after school programs for children and others, health services, training programs, and so on. Visits to USSC sites (currently in formation) by one of the authors reveal promising high levels of community involvement and the blurring of school-community boundaries.

School-sponsored Barter

As discussed above, community development in the era of informalization needs

to find ways to support and build on informal exchanges. One promising avenue is through barter networks, which can both increase school resources as well as community self-reliance. The authors have developed a model that makes of barter a sophisticated development mechanism (Keith and Keith, 1994).

Barter, or moneyless exchange, enables people and organizations to obtain needed goods and services without any cash outlay. Through barter, such economic "negatives" as unproductive use of time (as in un- and underemployment), down-time, excess industrial capacity, and excess inventory become tradable commodities. Persons in need of services but without the wherewithal to pay for them in cash can now exchange them (i.e. one person shops and run errands for a homebound person, in exchange for the latter's cooking, sewing, or other in-home activities). For participating businesses, the combined effects of constant overheads and underutilized machinery drastically reduce the cost of goods produced for barter (i.e. printed advertising), while these same goods generate revenue ("trade dollars") that would otherwise not be generated.

Barter is far from a backward or waning practice. Two common types of barter exchanges form the background for our our model: (a) community-based, non-profit barter clubs and (b) corporate, for profit barter exchanges. As discussed above, the "neighborhood economy" in many urban communities features formal and informal barter clubs, through which members exchange all sorts of services, such as babysitting, repairs, tutoring, and so on. These frequently involve community businesses.

A model for increasing services to the elderly through "service credits" (vouchers) has received considerable support in the United States (Cahn, 1987). Community-based

and service-oriented barter models range from little more than "bulletin-board" operations to more sophisticated ones combining the features of banking and marketing. For-profit barter transactions ("countertrade") account for one-fourth of world trade (Gershman, 1986).

Our model is designed to empower students, teachers, and community members to develop local solutions to meet school and community needs, as well as to foster a sense of community and reciprocal assistance among the school, local residents, and community organizations. The barter network fosters development in the inner-city by promoting the viability of the informal sector and providing participants the opportunity of translating skills and experiences acquired in it into credentials and formal qualifications facilitating a transition into micro-businesses and, if desired, the formal economy. In addition, it can help students acquire skills and knowledge outside the school, by exchanging their services for experiential learning experiences such as apprenticeships and internships with businesses and other organizations in the local community (see King, 1979).

The potential benefits of the model go beyond the expansion of educational and economic opportunities for the urban poor. By increasing social interaction between the school, the local community, and organizations in the surrounding area, it enhances mutual trust and cooperation and opens up new avenues for creating micro-businesses and self-help projects in the community. By helping disadvantaged participants identify the skills and services they can offer for barter exchange, the project fosters their self-confidence and bargaining power and thus help them move toward self-reliance.

Further, by providing opportunities for mutually beneficial exchange among community members and representatives of the public and private sectors, it contributes to the strengthening of social networks and the development of community leadership for self-reliant development.

CONCLUSION

We began this paper by discussing vast global changes and their repercussions for altering the meaning of development and the role of education in fostering development. Obviously, this is a monumental task, both in the extent of its ideological reformulation and in its implications for changing school organization and relationships between school and community. Limitations of time and space do not allow us to address many crucial aspects of the task--for instance, we have not broached how community efforts might be linked through horizontal mechanisms that eschew new forms of domination; or what education for development, as we describe it, would mean for professional educators, and how they might be induced to participate in rather than resist such change.

This is, thus, only the beginning of a discussion, partial and tentative in nature. Nonetheless, we need to remind ourselves that the changes providing the foundation for our analysis and strategies are structural in nature: we cannot prevent our world from changing, but we may be able to influence the final outcomes. Education can and should be a participant in the process.

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FOOTNOTES

1. Terms used for the two blocs include, for the one, developed, industrialized, Western, modern, metropolis, center, First World, and North; for the other, un-, under- or less-developed, developing, traditional, periphery, Third World, and South. All these terms have some problematical connotation, not the least of which is that the dichotomous treatment leads to a mystification of the differences within each bloc. Since there is no problem-free concept, we note our preference for "underdeveloped" and "Third World" to describe those countries, mostly in the Southern hemisphere, which were colonies or neo-colonies of Western powers. These concepts highlight the fact that this link of dominance-dependence created distortions in social and economic processes, which are still with us.

2. The literature on the underclass in the U.S. bears out our thesis. See Wilson (1987, 1988); Jencks and Peterson (1991). A good summary of center-periphery relations is provided by Sklair (1981); Drakakis-Smith (1987).

3. Briefly, modernity is characterized by the belief in science, progress, rationality, individuation and, often, the liberal state and the "free," ever growing market economy. Many of these tenets have come into question as we have come to understand the limitations (and negative aspects) of technology, exponential economic growth, the individual, and so on. See Lyotard, 1984; Bauman, 1992; Bruyn, 1991; deSoto, 1989.

4. Our historical research on Jamaica reveals the importance that yearning for education played in refocusing and stymieing the masses' disaffection with the system. Of course, education also produced many of the system's critics (Keith & Keith, 1992: 78-81, 184-86).

5. See Watkins (1989:A41) for a discussion of the need for American teachers to become "bicultural, bilingual, and bicognitive" in anticipation of the entry of large numbers of immigrants' children into the school system: by the beginning of the next century, some 40 percent of students are expected to be "minorities." The magnitude of the problem, however, is indicated by the additional expectation that 95 percent of teachers will be white.