Educating for Democracy in Haiti:
Theoretical Considerations in Support of a Dialogic Model

by

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Abstract

Even before the catastrophic earthquake of January 12, 2010, Haiti was not responding to the educational needs of its school population. As USAID reported in 2006, "[w]ith an adult literacy rate of 52% and a primary school enrollment rate of 67%, education remains a key obstacle to social and economic progress." Today more than ever, in the absence of governmental, economic, and social service infrastructures to provide a quality of life to the majority of the country's citizens, Haiti remains dependent on foreign aid and international charity to achieve mere survival despite a tremendous popular will to advance. While decision-makers at funding entities revise reform plans to focus on survival-level sectors of the hierarchy of needs, the need for change is clear. This paper proposes a democratic and dialogic theoretical framework on which a workable education reform model might rest. Only by educating people to think critically and become problem-solvers in their own right might Haiti grow a virtuous, ethical leadership from the ground up rather than continuing to depend on charity and thus to be disproportionately influenced ruled by foreign economic interests. The solution for Haiti is not to eschew knowledge for practice but to shift the balance of power from authoritarian delivery systems emphasizing rote memorization and test preparedness to a more interactive model that would allow Haiti's next generations to provide thoughtful, ethical leadership at local and national levels. A dialogic model of education that encourages interaction can help learners learn to deconstruct their own social and personal identity frameworks in order to participate thoughtfully in the creating and sustaining of local and global economies but without wholesale subordination to them nor unthinking loyalty to their claims.

"Children don't learn from books, but from the life they are living"—Rabbi Roland B. Gittelsohn of New York in response to the Committee for Civil Rights report to President Truman 1947 (cited in Ravitch)

"All agree that the single most important element to development and to poverty alleviation is education"—James Wolfensohn, World Bank President

Introduction

In the absence of governmental, economic, and social service infrastructures to provide any true quality of life to the majority of the country's citizens, Haiti has depended on foreign aid and international charity to achieve mere survival despite a tremendous popular will to advance and thrive. Educational leaders in Haiti recognize the need for reform while struggling against seemingly insurmountable challenges that continually push education down on the list of social aid priorities. While decision-makers at funding entities revise reform plans to focus on survival-level sectors of the hierarchy of needs in Haiti, educational leaders such as Pierre-Michel LaGuerre, Deputy General to the Ministry of Education, have appealed to the Haitian Diaspora to help usher in the needed systemic change. Such change, it is clear, is contingent upon preparing an educated citizenry to accept the responsibilities of a democratic leadership. Only by educating people to think critically and become problem- solvers in their own right can Haiti grow a virtuous, ethical leadership from the ground up rather than continuing to depend on charity and thus to be disproportionately influenced or ruled by foreign economic interests. This paper proposes a democratic and dialogic theoretical framework on which a workable education reform model might rest—a sustainable model able to train and educate Haiti's teachers and students to become the change-agents on whose leadership Haiti's advancement depends.

Haiti's Education Crisis

Even before the catastrophic earthquake of January 12, 2010, Haiti was not responding to the educational needs of its school population. As USAID reported in 2006, "[w]ith an adult literacy rate of 52% and a primary school enrollment rate of 67%, education remains a key obstacle to social and economic progress." According to the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB), "around half the primary education age children were not enrolled in school" before the earthquake. For those who are currently enrolled in primary schools, "less than 30% . . . will reach 6th grade" (ctd. in Seele). Although Haitian families spend approximately 15% of household income per child on sending their offspring to school and believe strongly in education as a way out of poverty, the situation is dire.

Accordng to the IDB, “The resources needed to finance the reform will have to come from both the Haitian government’s budget and external donors. At present, Haiti spends only about 2 percent of its gross domestic product on public funding of education. The average in Latin America is close to 5 percent of GDP.” Clearly, what was already an intolerable situation, the earthquake has magnified to unimaginable proportions.

The solution, according to the World Bank Group’s Caribbean Education Strategy, is to steer education toward developing labor force competitiveness in Haiti by increasing both literacy rates and skills that are in demand in the labor market. To the degree that practical labor market skills do facilitate development of individuals who can participate in local economies, the emphasis on job-market vocational instruction is compatible with my argument that it will be only through grassroots, community-based and Haitian-led systemic reform that Haiti can learn to free herself from nearly exclusive dependence on outside assistance. I want to emphasize, however, that it is not only necessary to create educational options for preparing Haitians to participate in the vocations and professions; it is also essential to educate for democracy through a participatory form of education that teaches students to theorize, debate, and grapple with complexity. Providing the opportunity to practice these skills interactively in classrooms across the country will require drastic changes in the in the way teachers are trained and the way instruction is delivered.[1] The point is not to eschew knowledge for practice but to shift the balance of power from authoritarian delivery systems emphasizing rote memorization and test preparedness to a more interactive model that would allow Haiti’s next generations to provide thoughtful, ethical leadership at local and national levels. Widespread perspectives hold that such effective leadership does not currently exist at the national governmental level and that this lack leaves Haiti vulnerable to manipulation and exploitation.

In fact, Haiti’s dependence on outside assistance that keeps the country from advancing has led to what some critics are calling a "Parallel State" of NGOs in Haiti. *The Wall Street Journal* writer José de Codóba points out: “Haiti has more Non-Governmental Organizations than any other nation, as many as 100,000. The NGO aid groups and charities are as varied as the big names such as the Red Cross and World Vision to American churches who sponsor an orphanage.” Certainly NGOs are doing good; the problem is that over-reliance on their aid has led to competition with and/or cavalier disrespect for the government, which is widely seen from a best-case scenario as lacking efficacy and from a more critical view as being corrupt. “Another problem,” as de Codóba argues, is that with outside groups providing approximately 80% of the social services in Haiti, they “continually provide for the immediate needs of the people while not having the time or money to create long term solutions for food, sanitation or jobs.” The condition pre-empts change in the system by de-incentivizing Haitians from growing and supporting its own leaders:

> Jean Palerme Mathurin, economic adviser to Prime Minister Jean-Max Bellerive, says NGOs may account for as much as a quarter of Haiti's gross domestic product. He says the NGO presence has permanently "infantilized" the country, creating a vicious cycle: The government lacks the money—and historically, the inclination—to provide social services. Those services, therefore, are provided by NGOs, which means the government, in turn, has no incentive to improve. (de Codóba)

If it is idealistic to suggest that a competitive healthy society can emerge from the literal rubble in Haiti, it is also realistic to say that any possibility of that emergence rests on sweeping reform in educational practice that includes moving pedagogical practice away from its current focus on knowledge dissemination and toward preparing students for interactive participation in their own government. Some leaders of the Haitian government's Ministry of Education agree that the current crisis calls for a sweeping educational reform that is a matter not only of degree but of kind. Jacky Lumarque, Rector of *Université Quisqueya* and head of the Presidential Education Commission formed by René Préval in 2008, has called for a complete restructuring of the methodology on which Haiti's education system depends if the Haiti is to address its citizens' daily needs as well as to allow the country to compete in the world eonomies:

> This restructuring will lead to the establishment of a new method of operation . . . that will, on one part contribute to the various needs of growth of the citizens throughout the country, and, in another part, provide the Haitian society the tools and the technical and intellectual (professional) support that are necessary to take charge of her economic development and her fullest integration into the comtemporary world at the regional as well as the global level.

What this reconstructuring entails is a question debated daily in Port au Prince, Washington, D.C.,. and other localities large and small throughout the world. The Haitian government, numerous NGOs, and individuals have made various proposals to address the need for reform in both academic and vocational areas—reforms that have been slow to be funded or implemented but which are essential for preparing Haitian stakeholders to survive, much less to compete and to lead. For example, ReThinkHaiti, the non-profit organization I co-direct with Joseph Bernadel, whom President Préval appointed in July 2010 to the Interim Commission for the Reconstruction of Haiti (ICRH) to represent the Haitian Diaspora, proposes to develop a replicable, sustainable education system that is based upon the United Nation's Model Village concept and that is also rooted in the ideals of cultural integrity as the basis for developing Haitian-led reforms. In cooperation with the existing Education Ministry and National Education Plan, ReThinkHaiti would work with the Haitian Diaspora Federation (HDF) to establish an educational village in each of Haiti's 133 communes with each Department having both a Bureau of K-12, pre-School, and Vocational Education and a campus of the Enhanced State University of Haiti.

Each Educational Village would be designed to prepare its students to enter careers and/or college and, most importantly for Haiti's growth, to take part in the economic growth of the region and the civic life of their communities. Developing the workforce is a major goal while also providing opportunity for motivated students to pursue higher education. Vocational programs would provide training in the service industry, health care assistantships, construction and technology, among other essential areas. University tracks focusing on professional and scholarly development in all of the areas in which trained and educated experts will be needed to provide the ongoing oversight, development, and sustenance of Haiti in the future are key elements. ReThinkHaiti's plan to prepare local officials and residents to run their own affairs over a ten-year period answers, in part, the problem of Haiti's "infantilization" through dependence on foreign assistance. But there are many challenges in preparing a critical mass of thinkers equipped to distinguish between dependence and cooperative endeavors in the world markets, not the least of which is timely funding.

New Orleans Recovery School District Superintent Paul G. Vallas, who has worked closely with the Haitian Ministry of Education, in particular with Lumarque, and from whom IDB has sought technical assistance to provide post-earthquake educational leadership in Haiti, has called for an elimination of the "lag-time between when the donor funds are received and reforms are implemented." Vallas and contributing author Tressa Pankovits called in August 2010 for an 18-month "quick-start" plan involving the creation of an educational infrastructure supporting improvement of existing schools even as promised funding from donor countries is organized. Their follow-up report, "Implementation of the Major Objectives of the Haitian Ministry of Education in the wake of the 2010 Earthquake (October 2010)," envisions that the "startup/contingency plan would . . . be budgeted with real funds. These funds should be those already or likely to be secured by IDB and the Ministry of Education . . . . to bring The Haitian Education reforms to scale." As of this writing, funding is still pending.

Theoretical Underpinnings to a Dialogic Model of Reform

Regardless of which organization(s)' education reform proposals are able to be implemented in Haiti in the near future, it is essential that the they be dialogic rather than hierarchal in nature and that they embrace not only the vocational education as is so needed to grow Haiti's local economies but also a true commitment to developing the intellectual basis for sustaining them. In order to grow leadership capacity from the inside, education must facilitate 1) critical thinking through participatory reflective practice, 2) inquiry-based rather than primarily knowledge or fact-based pedagogical methods, 3) tolerance for what Mikhail Bakhktin calls alterity, or otherness, and a 4) systemic valuing of exploration that Noam Chomsky has called a groping for discovery, a focus on seeking understanding rather than a claiming knowledge. Drawing on the philosophical framework of early twentieth-century education reformer John Dewey, a dialogic model would recognize that preparing students to be part of a democracy requires they be provided the opportunity to interact and make discoveries.

While the emphasis of reformist thought regarding Haiti is on the preparation of students for participation in the economic growth of its society, we need to highlight Dewey's insistence that both individuals and democratic society as a whole are mutually served by an organic approach that allows balance among the individual and the collective. Such a system operates as an alternative to top-down hierarchical models based on entrenched concepts of class and a putative knowledge-based meritocracy that sustains the status quo by maintaining class separations between the haves and have-nots.[2] It protects against the tendency of states to reproduce themselves in their rulers' image whether those rulers are local officials or international corporate interests. A participatory model of education reform that draws on the philosophical foundation of the humanities--not just the sciences and technology--might also guard against what George Novak once referred to as a "distorted educational setup inherited from the past and the urgent requirements of the new era."[3]

Gunn outlines at least four areas of human organization where a dialogic humanities-based inquiry model is useful: culturally, socially, politically and religiously or metaphysically. Drawing on Bakhtin as the thinker most aligned with the culmination of centuries of humanistic thought on the issue of otherness, Gunn argues that cultural advancement is best achieved through a conversational model designed not to pinpoint a *fixed* truth or common agreement of what is best for a society. By contrast, it is designed for and capable of allowing participants to grow consciousness about individuals' relation to the society in which we live, creating what Gunn calls "something like a true democracy of individuals in which our shared life with others is the premise and possibility of our private lives with ourselves" (145). Gunn's view coincides with my argument that education reform is not just to train subjects for participation in a workforce for the purpose of enlarging the corporate profits of international bidders for pledged reconstruction funding but also to enhance the lives of individuals in order that they, in turn, can recognize and have a say in the conditions by which their economies are subject to and controlled by internal and external concerns. Idealistically education should prepare people to co-create a world they can believe in.[4] And in order to engage in such creation, we need to recognize the basis upon which any understanding can occur. Authoritarian systems that obstruct such understanding by restricting access to education are self-perpetuating when citizens are rendered unable to engage in critical conversations that expand consciousness and thus at least make possible something other than what is.

It is important to recognize that suppression of discourse is not always overt censorship but a systemic denying of resources that would make the discourse of change impossible. Gunn engages Bakhtin to highlight the political realm in which the dialogic approach is instrumental:

> Bakhtinism asserts any form of authority that frustrates dialogue within and among human communities must be resisted with all the cunning of what Santayana meant by "animal faith," and that the chief office of politics is to ensure that every party to all the conversations that constitute culture gets to contribute and to enjoy its fair share. (145)

Likewise, Kersten Reich's analysis of education reform in late twentieth-century Germany highlights the value of the dialogic in terms of what she calls a "constructivist interpretation of pragmatism" whereby learning is viewed as a cyclical process involving interactions that lead to experiences that inform future actions. Reich argues that to fulfill Dewey's call for making "the role of participation as large as possible" in order to "further the process of democracy, . . . educators and teachers. . . must provide good examples in participative communities is to give clear social models, orientations, and ways of critical reflection" (16). With Dewey, Reich posits that "Growth should be made the supreme principle of all learning" (11).[5] She continues: "For Dewey, communication within a supportive community of learning is the chief instrument of democracy in education" and rests on "lived relationships." (12) and on a "changed status of knowledge in postmodernity [that] has . . .altered our understanding of the learning and curricula" with more emphasis on "constructing knowledge instead of metaphysical notions about the fundamentals of learning" (Reich 8).

A shift from a practical/vocational/applicative model of education, whether that "applicability" is geared toward preparing students for vocational employability or toward passing the baccalaureate exams, to a dialogic model involves a valuing of the humanities, arts, and sciences as much as technology and the other applied sciences. It is also a move away from a content-centered pedagogical practice that "promotes the reproduction of knowledge and superficial observations" toward one that encourages shared inquiry-based collaboration.[6] Richard Rorty's suspicion of preconceptive models that speculate on how a culture should live (Reich 16) is apropos to the goal of a dialogic educational model designed to equip students with the skills they need to become decision-makers within communities, to strengthen their ability to operate as such, to establish such priorities and to defend their and others' right to do so. Rather than promoting a unified set of norms by adhering to definable values, a dialogic model wrestles, and prepares students to wrestle, with ambiguities, ironies, and contradictory but simultaneously held positions. "In postmodernity," writes Reich, for example, "the contradiction between freedom and solidarity has grown" (17). A practical application of this tension is the need to balance freedom with the participation under conditions of solidarity (cf. Rorty 1989; Reich 19) while also preparing individuals for leadership within conflictual settings.

This is why the humanities and the arts, as disciplines in which critical thinking and interactive decision-making are key, are as important to this kind of educational reform as the hard sciences, technological and vocational disciplines. Martha Nussbaum posits that a liberal education is conducive to deliberative democracy in which self-reflective citizens who eschew an unexamined life establish and guard their societies' democratic freedoms. Nussbaum defends a Socratic reasoning model toward advancing humanity and citizenship skills, which she sees as pivotal to any vocation. In describing the link between a study of the humanities and the ability to engage in self-reflection, Nussbaum mirrors Gunn's emphasis on Bakhtinian notions of alterity within a humanities-based curriculum. In this case the "Humanities" refer:

> on the one hand, to those traditions of inquiry and expression where our civilization, indeed any civilization, places its own presiding assumptions, rituals, and sentiments under the most searching intellectual scrutiny in the act of giving them formal realization; they refer, on the other, to those critical methods in which civilizations attempt to repossess those traditions of understanding inherited from the past and readapt them to the changing needs of the present and the future by developing the arts and sciences of appropriate response to them. (126)

Such development can occur only when critical conversations encouraging of reflection and of self-observation on both individual and societal levels result from educational practice to the point that emergent leaders can gain efficacy.

Alterity and the Question of Haitian-only Leadership

I have argued that Haiti can possess or repossess its educational priorities only by claiming and exercising its own ability to grow leaders and its own economy from within. This is not to say, however, that such conversations are to take place only between and among Haitians; on the contrary, a dialogic model includes the recognition of "otherness" (Bakhtin's alterity). As Gunn explicates:

> Bakhtin maintains that understanding is dialogical and that the aim of the dialogue is not to merge, or at least to integrate, self and other, subject and object, to differentiate and, in a particular way, to distantiate them. In sum, the key to Bakhtin's theory of understanding, and thus to his conception of those arts and sciences by means of which understanding is cultivated in behalf of a fuller humanity, is otherness. (133).

The call for this kind of philosophical approach is mirrored in classroom practice, for teaching empathy, especially when such teaching is practice-based (allowing students and teachers to experiment and to experience otherness and to develop a tolerance for difference of opinion, viewpoints, and others' priorities and perspectives) is an essential component of a reformative plan that would allow a developing country to grow its own leaders. Promoting and cultivating empathy in all students highlights that relationships are the key to effective education models and keeps in focus the reality that "[o]bservation and participation are culturally interwoven" (15).

Because developing relationships with members of one's own culture as well as those from outside it are important in the development of empathy, the question of whether "outsiders" such as born Westerners, members of the Diaspora(s), or members of races and classes that have traditionally been seen as the oppressive classes (ironically the classes toward which many outside them aspire and toward membership in which the current educational system purports to prepare its students) can contribute and/or play a part in the critical conversations that can lead to change is affirmative. A more complete answer requires analysis of what Bakhtin calls a dialectical exteriority (Gunn 142):

> Bakhtin . . . wants to use his historical perspective to cultivate a peculiar [relation] . . . to his subjects to that, instead of entering into them, he can, as it were, hold a conversation with them, or at any rate overhear the conversation they carry on among themselves. (Gunn 139)

Rorty has observed that we cannot help but be ethnocentric as Westerners, but the Western tradition also has a self-correcting questioning and awareness of the dangers of ethnocentrism in it (Staloff on Rorty). Similarly, we can note that it is the very process by which human cultures use language to apprehend what is external to them in order to understand what is internal. This is why I believe it is advantageous to a system to include voices from outside itself. As Reich puts it, "there is no ultimate or best observer . . . [nor is there] a comprehensive and complete knowledge. . . . We have to concede plurality and diversity, instead, although all observers at the same time are constrained by cultural conventions" (Reich 13). A polyphony of voices increases subjects' ability to imagine others, to take their needs and perspectives into account, and to grapple with the relation between their own consciousness and ability to express it. "In any case the tension between self- and distant-observing presupposes open-mindedness, self-criticism, tolerance of frustration and ambivalence" (Reich 13). As Jerome Bruner puts it, "It is the give and take of talk that makes [any] collaboration possible" (93), not the writing upon Locke's tabula rasa. As Bruner writes:

> Nobody needs to "go to war" over the multiple meanings, multiple perspectives, multiple frames that can be used in understanding the human Past, Present, and Possible. Collaborative narrative construal is not a zero-sum game. Making sense jointly need not be hegemony, just shoving the story version of the stronger down the throats of the weaker—even when tense political issues are at stake. (Bruner 96).

A Word about the Role of Teachers

While the subject of teacher preparation is too large to be treated adequately here, it is important that all reform-minded thinkers about Haiti recognize the necessity of preparing teachers for more than knowledge dissemination. Teachers must be supported in developing their ability to recognize alterity, to tolerate uncertainty, and to model cooperative dialogue. In addition, supporters of in the way teacher preparation and qualification are managed in Haiti must continue to recognize the necessity of ensuring these reforms be inclusive and imbedded in the culture itself. "Learning in its full complexity," writes Bruner:

> . . . involves the creation and negotiation of meaning in a larger culture, and the teacher is the vicar of the culture at large. . . .And a major task for any effort at reform . . . to bring teachers into the debate and into theshaping of change. For they are the ultimate change agents. (84)

No one knows better than Haiti's survivors of recent disasters that reality can disrupt them. A dialogic approach to teaching can allow for the very precariousness of Haiti's condition to be considered in the classroom in the sense of Bruner's call for schools to promote experimentation and discovery, that is, a place where teachers and students as mutual learners can "increase . . . awareness of . . . what they are doing, how they are doing it, and why" (84). As Reich suggests, "One of the preconditions of becoming an educator/teacher is precisely the ability to bear the precariousness—the contingencies and ambiguities—of learning and to resist the temptation of all too readily taking refuge only in stable orientations" (Reich 22). Thus a certain tolerance for uncertainty is helpful in moving away from an approach that supposes a hierarchy of knowledge holders wielding power over those who historically have been denied access to knowledge. The skills needed by future leaders in order to create an ethical, effective Haitian government are better promoted by a dialogic model than by the current system which has a tendency to reinforce existing class divisions. Within a classroom and education system that values interactivity and recognition of otherness, teachers trained in humanites-based models of inquiry can lead students to develop both the critical thinking and spirit of cooperation essential for self governance since democratic school cultures are those where, in Bruner's words, "being natively good at something implies, among other things, helping others get better at that something" (82). As Bruner's work shows, it is possible to teach the skills that are needed for leadership, for in the interactive classroom:

> The balance between individuality and group effectiveness gets worked out with the culture of the group; so too the balancing of ethnic or racial identities and the sense of the larger community of which they are part. And since school cultures of mutual learners naturally forms a division of labor within them, the balance between cultivating native talent and enabling all to move ahead gets expressed internally in the group in the more humane form of "from each according to his or her ability." (Bruner 82).

This is an idealistic vision for Haiti. But it is a vision worth pursuing, and it is based on researched methodologies that Haiti must be given the opportunity to enact if she is ever to develop beyond dependence on external systems.

Conclusion

The goal of a dialogic educational model is to prepare people for participation in problem-solving and decision-making at individual, familial, and social levels. Haiti's education system would benefit from the integration of interactive models that include character development to emphasize empathic relationship-building and offer students the possibility of discovering the self through reading not only texts but the world. Attention to process over product allows teachers to model and students to learn how to read between the lines to examine what Lacanian thought is called the real—that which is inarticulable but none the less palpable--in order that reductive trends toward co-opting the complexities of human consciousness might be resisted.

Why is this important? One might ask, and why should we give priority to the development of critical acuity when people are hungry and living in tents? One reason, perhaps the most important, is that consciousness itself is a resource that improves the quality of people's lives; the more conscious one is about one's life and relation to it and to others, whether one is living in poverty or in wealth, the greater the depth of lived experience of what we might consider the human capacity to embrace life. On the level of praxis, it is that being able to identify that resource allocation operates through status and power and to engage in a calling of those systems into question is at the heart of the matter and that the ability to engage in such questioning must be taught. A model that encourages interaction can help learners learn to deconstruct their own social and personal identity frameworks in order to participate thoughtfully in the creating and sustaining of local and global economies but without wholesale subordination to them nor unthinking loyalty to their claims.

Notes

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[1] That challenge is not easy in even affluent societies; in the United States, for example, debates have ensued for decades about whether high schoolers should receive practical and functional instruction or a more theoretical and classical knowledge-based curriculum (Ravitch 43-80).

[2] In my view and that of recent linguistic educators such as my colleague Gérard Férère, this would entail teaching children during their formative year in the native language rather than in a second language—a topic beyond the scope of this paper. It would entail moving away from a teaching-to-the-test mentality as is now the practice in Haiti (as well, in the United States under No Child Left Behind) and toward a dialogic model wherein people are not so much *trained* but given opportunities to develop what Chomsky calls an innate human ability to access consciousness linguistically.

[3] While the purpose of this paper is not to promote a socialist agenda for Haiti, it is instructive to note the dangers of "slotting children prematurely into grooves of . . . manufacture" or promoting a "too-early specialization the menace of uniformity" as the source of a new division into a master and a subject class" (Novak).

[4] Toussaint L'Ouverture High School for Arts & Social Justice (TLHS), the Florida charter school operated by the organization I co-founded and co-direct in Florida, has as its vision statement "to help youth acquire the skills they need to be successful in college and/or work and to have a voice in co-creating a world they can believe in" (www.toussaintlouverture.org).

[5] Similarly, Nicholas Maxwell argues in *A Revolution for Science and the Humanities: From Knowledge to Wisdom* that wisdom, rather than knowledge *per se* should be the goal of academic inquiry—wisdom defined as the capacity to contextualize knowledge and to apply it toward solving the problems of the lived world.

[6] This is not to suggest that norms should be established by replacing the narratives of a top-down model with equally normative but more liberal conceptions of what should be. People need to be provided opportunities to decide for themselves, individually and collectively, what systems and methods are needed to maintain and/or transform their cultures. Communities' needs themselves must determine the kind of education needed to support the local economy and the degree to which groups prioritize community needs over those of individual growth.

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