

A Dewian Social Capital Development Theory

by

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“The highest vocation in the world
is that of those who live in order
to serve God by bringing
good into the world.”

Leo Tolstoy

DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to my parents, Robert and Mary.

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

A Dewian Social Capital Development Theory

by

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In this report I present a theoretical model of social capital formation grounded in the social utilitarian philosophy of John Dewey. Consistent with Dewey's philosophy, the model employs a pragmatic action-based definition of social capital, rather than a conventional definition of social capital based on social relationships or the attendant norms or trust. Thus the model used herein defines social capital as instances where individuals take actions which appear to benefit the social system at personal cost. This model was developed during my UCLA doctoral dissertation research in education in a part of Mexico a few miles from the U.S. border. The focus of this study was to help establish a community computer learning center. Establishing the community computer center is used as a case study to examine the process of social capital formation.

This model contends that latent social capital can be activated through well-designed programs reflecting a clear understanding of the individual psychology behind voluntary prosocial behavior. This model is built around Dewey's concept of the "active self" as a theoretical framework for understanding uncompensated prosocial behavior.

Within this model individual acts of prosocial behavior are viewed as the basic wellspring from which social capital forms. Dewey's "active self" concept is illustrated through multiple examples from the fieldwork. These examples show how individuals actively assume social roles which leverage social resources along with their own efforts to shape the nature of the social organization of the computer center.

I go on to argue that development organizations need to be attuned to the active self process and work with it, not against it. As such, this model suggests that development can best be promoted by organizations which effectively manage common pool resources in the social domain and which have educational components designed to promote civil interaction between individuals who do not share the same subjective views as to how these shared resources ought to be employed.

A Dewian social capital development model

We are living in an age of marvelous advances in technical knowledge. Yet despite so many important technological developments in recent decades, progress in addressing our basic social problems seems as slow as ever; perhaps even slower than in some past eras. It may be this emerging disparity between technological and social progress which has prompted so much recent interest in understanding how effective communities develop. For example, the World Bank (2001) recently established a goal "to identify ways in which outside assistance can help the process of social capital formation". Yet at the same time the World Bank observed that "the social capital literature at large (has) been more successful at documenting the beneficial impact of social capital than deriving policy prescriptions and providing guidelines about how to invest in it."

In this report I present a theoretical model of social capital formation grounded in the philosophical writings of John Dewey. The objective of this document is to begin to lay out a Dewian model or framework for understanding the process of social capital formation in any setting. In other words it seeks to address the issue mentioned in the World Bank quotation above, i.e. to provide a basis for a conceptual framework for policy prescriptions or guidelines as to how to invest in social capital.

In keeping with Dewey's pragmatic philosophy, the model employs an action-based definition of social capital, rather than a more conventional definition of social capital based on social norms or relationships. Thus the model used herein defines social capital as instances where individuals take actions which appear to benefit the social

system at personal cost. In chapter two of this report I explain why from a Dewian perspective this action-based definition is preferable to the standard definition of social capital, and give multiple examples from the fieldwork of behaviors which I think illustrate this definition of prosocial behavior and its role in social capital formation.

The model presented herein was developed during my UCLA doctoral dissertation research in education in a part of Mexico a few miles from the U.S. border. The focus of the activity for this dissertation study was to help establish a community computer learning center. The community computer center is used as a case study to examine the process of social capital formation. I argue that social capital arises from individual acts of prosocial behavior as modeled by Dewey's theory of the "active self". I show how the computer center itself becomes a vehicle to facilitate the formation of social capital within the community. The presence of the community computer center places social resources within the community, and the availability of these resources creates opportunities for latent social capital which was already within the community to become active. I discuss how community organizations like the computer center help to make the prosocial efforts of any individual available for leveraging by other community members.

How does the Dewian model I present describe the process of social capital formation? The model is built upon Dewey's concept of the "active self" as the basic source of social capital formation. The central point of this dissertation is that development organizations need to be attuned to this active self process and work with it, not against it. This Dewian development model contends that sometimes it takes the special efforts of certain individuals to bring about real progress in a social system. This

is because sometimes situations occur which are not fair or efficient, but these situations are not going to change on their own. Someone has to work for change. In other words, the model says that social systems have a tendency of reaching equilibrium points or stasis at sub-optimal levels, i.e. a social system becomes established which isn't really fair nor efficient for the community members at large. For example, the area where I conducted my fieldwork had reached an equilibrium point at which the distribution of access to computer technology was inequitable.

The model argues that whenever a social system reaches one of these sub-optimal plateaus, an infusion of energy is needed to help the social system transition to an alternative configuration which will ultimately be more fair and efficient. However the required infusion of energy cannot be compensated for from within the system, given that the social system had already reached an internal equilibrium point or plateau based upon the existing political and economic forces at work within the system. Therefore in order for the social system to move ahead and reach a new plateau, some individuals have to be willing to make contributions for social progress which are not going to be compensated. In other words, social progress often depends on voluntary prosocial behavior. For example, prosocial behavior on the part of a number of individuals was needed to enable the formation of the community computer center. From a Dewian perspective these voluntary infusions of energy which cannot be compensated for by existing economic or political forces within the system are what is defined as social capital. So within this model social capital is required to help a system move to a higher level of equilibrium.

But why should any individual voluntarily behave prosocially in the absence of compelling rewards or sanctions from within the system? After all, voluntarily

contributing to the well being of a social system absent personal incentives or sanctions is seemingly irrational from an economic standpoint. This raises a dilemma. If social progress depends upon voluntary prosocial behavior, and if voluntary (i.e. uncompensated) prosocial behavior is irrational, how can the model explain social progress? This dilemma is resolved within the theory by resorting to John Dewey's model of the "active self". Basically, Dewey's "active self" model suggests that individuals are "social utilitarians" who develop their identities dynamically through social contexts. They do so by leveraging resources within the social domain along with their own contributions to steer the social systems and indeed their own social identities in desired directions. In order to form their own identities and the identities of their social environments in desired ways, the active self model holds that individuals are willing to voluntarily behave prosocially even in situations where such behavior appears to be contrary to their own interests. It is this basic mechanism of the active self, according to Dewey, which accounts for the voluntary prosocial behavior which ultimately makes social progress possible. Within my fieldwork I observed that the individuals who helped to create the community computer center appeared to be behaving in a manner consistent with Dewey's "active self" model. I argue that understanding this Dewian perspective of social capital formation has implications for the design of programs intended to promote its development.

The brief "thumbnail sketch" of this model presented above in the preceding paragraphs will be more thoroughly explained in this report along with illustrations from my data from the study I conducted in Mexico. I underscore through many examples the role voluntary prosocial behavior plays in helping social capital to accumulate. I also

show how individuals use the process to influence how the computer center will operate, and how they assume social roles vis-à-vis the computer center. These individuals, upon realizing that these resources are available in the social domain, undertake voluntary prosocial behaviors in which they expend their own efforts to leverage these social resources in certain ways. The presence of the community computer center creates the conditions for these individuals to develop for themselves more productive social roles, leading to social capital formation. In effect the presence of the community computer center creates a venue for social capital exchange.

A central theme of this Deweyan model of social capital formation is that voluntary prosocial behavior is the basic engine which drives the process of social capital formation. Dewey did not develop a model of social capital formation per se, but he did develop a model of prosocial behavior. According to Dewey voluntary prosocial behavior is attributable to a concept he called the "active self". Dewey's "active self" model of prosocial behavior represents the core of the social capital formation model presented in this document. I illustrate Dewey's theory of the "active self" with examples from the fieldwork. These examples show how individuals actively assume social roles which leverage social resources along with their own efforts to shape the nature of the social organization of the computer center.

According to this reading of Dewey, the individuals who volunteer at the computer center do so because they are interested in influencing the emerging social system. This illustrates Dewey's model of the "active self". Dewey felt that this in essence is how our identities and the identities of our social systems are formed. These emerging social systems are of interest to the individual actor and to the wider society.

Since the individual is interested in a prospective social system, I refer to this trait as "social utilitarianism". In other words since we are all fundamentally social beings, we could think of ourselves as "social utilitarians", i.e. beings who derive utility from social systems in which we will participate. As social utilitarians we are interested in helping to bring about desired social systems and to create desired social identities.

This penchant for being willing to exert ourselves in order to bring about our desired social identities and desired social systems explains prosocial behavior according to Dewey's "active self" model, and is seen within the model presented here as the basic wellspring for social capital formation. I show within the data from my fieldwork how individuals behave consistently with Dewey's "active self" model, in other words how they employ social resources within the computer center and their personal energies to shape both the social organization of the computer center and their own social roles within the center.

This Dewian social utilitarian perspective provides a new way of understanding voluntary prosocial behavior leading to social capital formation. It offers an explanation as to why individuals sometimes may act for the social good even in cases where these efforts are uncompensated. *What is considered unique in Dewey's social utilitarianism is that it argues that individuals are primarily motivated by interest in social systems in which he or she will be a part and which will be of interest to society.* Thus Dewey's social utilitarianism is seen as distinct from the utilitarian views of Mills and Bentham, who felt that individuals are motivated either by self interests or by a vicarious regard for the self interests of others.

It is argued that understanding social capital formation in this Dewian way has implications for development programs. According to this model, social capital formation can best be promoted by organizations which effectively manage common pool resources in the social domain and which have educational components designed to promote civil interaction between individuals who do not share the same subjective views as to how these shared resources ought to be employed.

The model developed herein has three components. The first two are the two inputs to social capital formation, i.e. the subjective visions of the members of the social system, and the social resources available within the social system to be leveraged in order to help those subjective visions come about. Community organizations, the third component part of the model, modulate the interactions between the two other parts, to help ensure that the prosocial efforts of individuals within the social system and the resources within the social domain do not dissipate.

The role of community development organizations, such as the community computer center, in this process of social capital formation is seen as crucial. These organizations provide a vehicle for the conversion and accumulation of social capital and serve a function similar to the function performed by commercial markets with respect to pecuniary capital. In other words, just as in a commercial market the capitalist must repeatedly buy inputs, sell product, and end up with more pecuniary capital after each conversion cycle, this model of social capital formation assumes that social capital must move back and forth from the social domain, (as a common pool resource), to individual control and back into the social domain. For example individuals who volunteered to teach classes at the computer center were temporarily taking control of computer center

resources to steer the social organization of the computer center in certain directions of their own design. Afterwards these resources moved back into the social domain.

I argue that community organizations like the computer center make these conversion cycles possible. Without this, especially in resource-scarce less developed areas, these social resources may quickly dissipate before accumulation can occur. Community organizations like the community computer center provide a vehicle by which the social capital created by the prosocial behavior of one individual becomes available for use by others. These social resources move back and forth between the control of individuals and control of the organization, just as a library book which circulates is sometimes in the possession of the borrower and sometimes in the possession of the library. Organizations manage assets in the social domain and hopefully enable this pool of assets, including both tangible and intangible assets, to accumulate.

This document develops the Deweyan model of social capital formation and describes my study in more depth. The remainder of this first chapter provides background information on the study I conducted and the location where it took place. In the next chapter I discuss the pragmatic definition of social capital I am proposing, and why I believe Dewey would have preferred this definition to the prevailing conventional definition of today which attempts to describe social capital in terms of social connections and the attendant norms and trust. In chapters three, four, and five I discuss Dewey's "active self" theory of prosocial behavior as the core of this theoretical model for understanding the process of social capital formation in any setting. In chapter six I discuss the relationship between prosocial behavior on the part of individuals and social

capital formation on the level of the social system. In the final chapter I discuss the role of community organizations in supporting social capital formation. All of these chapters make reference to my fieldwork in helping to establish a community computer center in a low-income area of Mexico. The remainder of this chapter provides additional background information about my study and the location where the study took place.

In conducting this study I used the Emergent Design approach which was developed by David Cavallo at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Cavallo created this Emergent Design approach in the hope that it would be effective in helping to unlock latent social capital in less developed areas of the world. Cavallo's idea is that to obtain social progress one must create the conditions that will allow new ideas to emerge spontaneously and develop. His theory is that social progress doesn't really come from trying to impose some mandatory, uniform system from the top down in an authoritative way. Rather progress occurs when people are free and new ideas are allowed to develop and grow from the bottom up. The good ideas spread on their own, and societies improve in a gradual and stepwise fashion, moving ahead slowly and steadily. The key is that one must create the conditions for these ideas to emerge, give people access to the resources they need, and not stand in their way.

Cavallo's studies in Thailand had established that the Emergent Design method could be very effective for unlocking latent social resources in less developed areas. Although Cavallo's study was much larger than the study reported on here, his study did not focus specifically on the social learning process behind the Emergent Design approach as did this study. In conducting this study I used an ethnographic, i.e. a descriptive approach to doing the research, rather than an experimental approach. I

selected this ethnographic approach because it is generally recognized within the social sciences that ethnography is a useful tool for developing theory. I developed this theory within the context of a practical situation in which I was working at the time. Hopefully this helped me to keep my theory building on track and more in contact with reality than had the theory been developed in a more remote setting.

In February 2003 I set out to conduct my dissertation study in a low-income area of Mexico chosen because I already had some contacts in that region. I selected a neighborhood which I thought would be an appropriate location for the study. I then arranged with a nonprofit organization already working in the area to conduct my study at their existing community center. I would help set up the computer learning program within the community center, and then use this project as the source of my data for my dissertation study. I rented an apartment in the neighborhood, which I will call "Colonia La Herencia", moved in, and began the work of helping to set up the center. I lived in the neighborhood where the community center is located for about ten months as I participated in and observed the development of the community computer center.

Colonia La Herencia is located only a few miles from the United States on the outskirts of a large Mexican border city which has been experiencing rapid growth in recent years. A little over a decade ago the sparsely vegetated rolling hills in this area were almost completely uninhabited. Today nearly 200,000 people live in the area around the community center, and movement into the uninhabited fringes of the community continues at a very rapid pace. The roads are unpaved, dusty in the summers and at times muddy to the point of being impassable during the rainy season. The most common modes of transportation are walking and riding in the old buses which regularly

traverse the bumpy dirt roads throughout the neighborhood. These buses trudge along at all hours of the day and night, as they take residents to and from work and on shopping trips to more commercial districts outside of the Colonia. If the rider wishes to go as far as the central business district of the city it will be a slow, bumpy and possibly very crowded two hour bus ride each way to and from the Colonia. One father in the Colonia once told me that he and his family had not visited his brother's family who live at the other side of the city for several years because the trip for he and his family on buses to get across the metropolitan area and back would have cost \$15 dollars U.S., which was a prohibitive amount. But the bus rides to the nearby maquiladora plants are free for those who are willing and able to work at these assembly plants for the low wages offered. These buses run around the clock, corporate buses sent by the large, new, modern and massive maquiladora plants which ring the Colonia. These assembly plants came from the leading industrial powers of the world to perch on the doorstep of Colonia La Herencia. Large, boxy, white, new and multiple-football-field-in-size, attractive if unsubstantial buildings, these neat and trim maquiladoras seem to rest just beyond the consciousness of daily life in the Colonia, like a vaguely remembered dream, modern buildings with manicured lawns behind the security fences. But generally the local streets and vacant lots of the Colonia are strewn with litter and the occasional item of discarded furniture or abandoned automobile. Graffiti is everywhere. Stray dogs peacefully roam in the streets. In the mornings and the evenings there is a bit more car traffic during rush hour, and the principle road in and out of the Colonia becomes clogged with traffic as residents drive or take the buses to and return from work. Some of the people who live in the Colonia work in the United States, leaving for work as early as

4:00 a.m. if they have to take a bus to the international border crossing, and returning in the evenings as much as 16 hours later to their homes. Some even send their children to school in the U.S.

Building construction is a very slow but never ending process in the Colonia. Many of the houses appear to be only partially constructed, and sometimes even late at night one hears hammering as some resident tries to complete some home construction task after a long day at work. Some of the houses are large, some are small stucco or concrete block buildings, and many others are small, provisional buildings made of used garage doors and other recycled materials. There is running water for cleaning available in the Colonia, but no one drinks this water, purchasing instead their drinking water in plastic 5-gallon "garafones" at the local shops. The neighborhood has electricity, but many of the residents obtain it via poaching, and at some points one can see dozens of illegally hung wires hanging off of the power lines laid along the ground and running into homes. On the Fourth of July, 2003 I was returning late to my apartment when I saw flashes of light illuminating the entire neighborhood. I thought that someone was celebrating our Independence Day, until all of the lights in the neighborhood went out and I realized that someone had shorted out the line in an attempt to tap into the electrical system.

There are a few small shops and food stands along the more heavily traveled streets, which meet the most pressing needs of the community, and several times each week large sections of certain streets are closed to make room for travelling "sobre ruedas" swap meets, where vendors sell groceries, hardware supplies, used and new clothing, Music CD's, cell phones and second-hand household items. Also within the

swap meets are food stands and even the occasional barber shop. A far greater variety of items can be found at these traveling swap meets than is available on a daily basis in the few shops of the Colonia, and the swap meets offer lower prices as well. There are also churches and schools in the neighborhood . One provisional school which was originally built with secondhand garage doors and is now covered with graffiti is being replaced by the government with an attractive new brick building.

Despite the pervasive impression of poverty which may occur to the unfamiliar visitor from a more developed area, the Colonia is in fact a vibrant area with very earnest hard working and friendly residents laying down roots and establishing stable lives. Because of the system for allocating land in Mexico many of the residents still do not have title to the land where their homes are located, and this fact may partially account for why so many of the buildings are not completed and made with less expensive materials. There is a strong entrepreneurial spirit in the area, and many small businesses are run by the local families. With the neighborhood being so new, one gets the sense that the residents are almost more like what we in the U.S. would call homesteaders than homeowners, and there is a positive and expansive attitude often in evidence around the place. The people who live there seem to understand the society in a way outsiders can't, and realize that while there is poverty in the neighborhood there is also opportunity and the chance of a much better future, at least for most of the residents.

Although the roads are bad, and the appearance of the Colonia seems depressed to the visitor from the U.S., I can honestly say it's the nicest place that I have ever lived. It is an area poor in its material and rich in its people. Although living under difficult

conditions, one meets the best people here. Being isolated, it is in some ways like a quiet small town.

This is a very brief introduction into the community where I lived and worked during ten months of last year. In the following chapter I begin discussing the study I conducted in this community. I will discuss the process of setting up a community computer center as interpreted through the lens of John Dewey's concept of the active self.

A Pragmatic Definition of Social Capital

In this chapter I discuss and illustrate the definition of social capital used in this study based on my fieldwork. I also discuss why I believe Dewey would have preferred this definition, which is based on overt action, to the conventional modern definition of social capital which is based on norms and relationships. I begin by describing some of the prosocial behavior which I encountered when I first entered the field and began to prepare the community computer center for use. As the reader will see, many wonderful individuals came forward to help with the task. I use these examples to illustrate the action-based definition of social capital I present. I then go on to explain why this is the more appropriate definition of social capital from the standpoint of Dewey's pragmatic philosophy.

When I arrived in La Herencia the room which was to be the computer learning center was unfinished, dusty and being used for storage. It was full of old furniture and miscellaneous materials and a lot of surplus junk. It had no lights, no electrical wiring, unpainted walls, and not a single computer that worked. It would take the first several months of my time in La Herencia and a lot of help from other people to get the room to the point where it could begin to be used as a computer center.

The transformation of this unused space into a community computer center would not have been possible without the generosity of many very good people who contributed the labor and materials to make the community center possible. They gave unselfishly from their hearts, not because they hoped to gain something but simply because they

hoped to help make Colonia La Herencia a better place for the children and families who live there.

It is the contributions of people like this, who give of their time, labor and financial resources, expecting nothing in return which in my opinion represent the true nature of social capital. There is a fair amount of discussion in the academic community and in the policy world about what social capital really is. In my opinion social capital is the value of what individuals are willing to contribute, be it in terms of labor, materials, expertise, or financial support, for the social good and for which they are not expecting compensation. Why individuals behave in this way has been a subject of philosophical speculation for many years. I will address this question in chapters three, four and five, explaining why John Dewey theorized that this behavior occurs. For now let it suffice to say that operationally social capital is defined herein as the provision of personal resources for social good in a way which is patently selfless. Individuals may usually derive some personal pleasure from their prosocial activity. However it is clear that the predominant economic effect of this behavior is frequently to benefit the social system at the expense of the providers.

Many people are willing to make contributions, at times very large contributions, in order to try and make the world a better place. And they clearly are not doing so with the expectation of receiving any earthly compensation. For example, soon after I got to La Herencia we received word that an anonymous donor had made a gift of a large sum of money for the computer learning center. This was enough money to finish remodeling the center, buy the needed computers, and to hire some local staff for the learning center. With this gift we were able to purchase a network of ten new computers and a network

server and also a high-speed connection to connect the network to the Internet. Someone else donated lights for the center. Another person donated the floor tile. Other people donated furniture for the center.

Over the next few months a number of different individuals and groups came to help get the center ready for use. They painted, installed the electrical wiring, moved furniture, cleaned, washed windows, and helped with uncounted small tasks which were necessary to get the center remodeled and ready.

I got to know a lot of good people during this process. For example it was during the remodeling that I learned about the Christian Family Movement. The Christian Family Movement is an organization of married couples who meet each week and participate in classes intended to improve their marriages and help them grow in their faith. Part of their philosophy is a commitment to doing service work within the community. Prior to coming to La Herencia I had never heard of the Christian Family Movement, but since then I've learned that it is an international organization which is particularly active in Latin America. In La Herencia when I began my study there was a neighborhood chapter of the Christian Family Movement consisting of four couples who met each week and were very active in the community. When they heard about the remodeling being done to prepare the computer center they volunteered to help. They came as a group several times and painted the center. They were a wonderful help and did a great job with the painting.

Another group that helped us was Young Neighbors in Action. Young Neighbors in Action is a service program in which teenagers and adult group leaders travel to different places to do service projects during the summers. While I was in La Herencia

several Young Neighbors groups helped out at our community center. The adult volunteers who lead the Young Neighbors groups hope to accomplish a dual social purpose. First of all, they want to help out in places of need such as at our community center in La Herencia. Secondly, they hope to instill within the young volunteers they travel with a deeper appreciation for the value of community service work.

Besides groups like the Christian Family Movement and Young Neighbors in action, a number of other groups and individuals came and helped us at different times with the work involved in preparing the community computer center for use. Groups came from different churches on various days to help out, and individuals sometimes came to work or to bring donations of materials or supplies. One retired accountant came twice a week to work as a construction volunteer either at the community center or at some other projects around the area. Several dedicated women from the neighborhood made the curtains for the center. Men from a local drug rehabilitation center came and helped with the construction. It would be impossible for me to provide a complete list of all the people who helped out. In fact undoubtedly many of the people who did the most were unknown to me, since the whole community center building was already nearly complete before I even arrived in the Colonia. All of these people who contributed in ways big and small helped to make the computer learning center possible which is functioning today and serving the community of Colonia La Herencia. They all gave of their time, their expertise and their material resources expecting no compensation for their generosity. And this was only the beginning. After the computer learning center open many more wonderful volunteers came forward and helped to make it possible, as I will describe later on.

So to me, this is the true definition of social capital. It is the value of the labor, the materials and the financial support which individuals are willing to give for the good of a social cause. This is not the definition that scholars conventionally use to describe social capital however. There has been a huge amount of discussion concerning social capital in recent years. As one might expect there have been a number of different definitions offered for social capital, but Robert Putnam's definition seems generally representative of the typical way of defining social capital. According to Putnam social capital is:

“...features of social life - networks, norms, and trust - that enable participants to act together more effectively to pursue shared objectives... Social capital, in short, refers to social connections and the attendant norms and trust”.

In essence then what basically constitutes social capital according to the commonly accepted definition are things like norms and relationships.

Defining social capital as norms and relationships, as Putnam and most others have done, may be very useful for some purposes. However for the educator or development professional interested in promoting social capital in a particular context, this high-level definition leaves something to be desired. It deals mainly in generalities, and therefore may not necessarily indicate what is actually occurring in any one particular context. The basic problem is that while norms and associations may increase the probability of prosocial behavior, its obvious that norms and associations frequently don't directly result in any particular behaviors. First of all individuals may have very different ideas about what behavior is expected in a given social context or social relationship. Secondly, people often behave much better than or worse than the behavior which is

expected within a given social context or social relationship. So the usefulness of defining social capital as based on norms or social relationships as capital is problematic.

Consistent with Dewey's pragmatic philosophy, this study uses instead the action-based definition described above. Social capital is defined herein as the labor, the materials and the financial support which individuals give for the good of a social cause. At first this action-based definition might appear quite a bit different than the conventional definition of social capital which is based on norms and relationships. However a moment's reflection will show that the action-based definition used herein is really not so different than the conventional definition. Actually, the action-based definition is only a subset or temporal qualification of the conventional definition. Clearly this must be so because presumably those who conventionally define social capital as norms or relationships do so with the tacit assumption that these norms and relationships will eventually lead to concrete positive action of some sort. The only distinction or qualification between this conventional definition and the action-based definition is that the pragmatic definition insists upon waiting for the action before recognizing the social capital.

The action-based definition is actually a subset of the conventional definition which seeks to exclude cases where norms and relationships are thought to exist, but in which these norms and relationships lack practical effect. This is simply a pragmatic way of looking at social capital. In fact, one could append the action-based qualification to the conventional definition and arrive at the same pragmatic result. In other words one could say that social capital is "... features of social life - networks, norms, and trust ... which are manifested in observed prosocial behaviors in a given setting". The difference

is that the expectation of action is implicit and assumed in the conventional definition, whereas it is an explicit criteria within the Dewian definition.

This action-based definition is consistent with Dewey's pragmatic philosophy. In developing his pragmatic ethical philosophy John Dewey often placed great stress upon the difficulty of isolating intention from action. Dewey challenged moral systems which attributed good to intention or motive. For example in his "Ethics" of 1908, Dewey stated:

" Overt Action Proves Will.--Again, under what circumstances do we actually "take the will for the deed"? When do we assume that so far as the will was concerned it did aim at the result and aimed at it thoroughly, without evasion and without reservation? Only when there is some action which testifies to the real presence of the motive and aim."

Dewey felt that any analysis of social good ought to be grounded in an understanding of good as manifested in action, rather than good intentions or supposed duty. In keeping with the general pragmatic philosophy, we are only concerned with things which have some practical import. A norm or a relationship only have import in a given situation if acted upon. Pragmatically speaking, norms or relationships not efficacious enough to result in action are of no particular concern to us. As Dewey said, overt action is needed to prove the real presence of an aim. For this reason the model of social capital presented here relies on an action-based definition of social capital.

Several other points may be worth noting about social capital. First of all if one uses this action-based definition of social capital, it may be more correct to think of social capital as a class of goods rather than as a type of goods. If someone does work for someone else without expecting anything in return, like the people who helped us

remodel the community center at Colonia La Herencia, that is really just "labor". It isn't a new kind of capital. What really distinguishes this labor from other labor is the property rights which pertain to it. Under this definition social goods would be the assets and resources voluntarily made available to a social environment without the expectation of recompense.

Another point is that, as Dewey frequently stressed that there are many occasions where "charitable giving" is potentially harmful even to the supposed beneficiary. For this reason Dewey stressed the importance of being "wisely generous". He stressed that charity per se is not to be viewed as a universal and absolute good, although perhaps a charitable disposition or a constant willingness to be charitable under the appropriate circumstances might be seen as an unqualified virtue.

Still though, social systems have a profound need for social capital. As John Dewey, (in commenting on Mills' utilitarianism), stated:

" Our social affections are direct interests in the well-being of others; their cultivation and expression is at one and the same time a source of good to ourselves, and, intelligently guided, to others. Taken in this light, it is sympathetic emotion and imagination which make the standard of general happiness not merely the "desirable end," but the desired end, the effectively working object of endeavor."

Much more will be said about the utilitarian dimension of social capital formation in the next chapter.

Dewey's Theory of the Active Self

Dewey's concept of the "active self" represents the core of the social capital formation model presented in this document. A central theme of this model is that social capital formation depends on voluntary prosocial behavior. In this dissertation I make the case that Dewey's model of the active self provides a useful and novel way of understanding voluntary prosocial behavior, which in turn can help us to understand the process of social capital formation. A better understanding of the process of social capital formation, in turn, may be very useful in helping us to design more effective programs for promoting the development of social capital in less developed areas.

Since Dewey's concept of the active self is the core of the social capital model I am proposing, in this chapter I will go into great detail in discussing what Dewey's active self model actually said. Following this, in the next chapter I will illustrate Dewey's theory of the "active self" with data from my fieldwork. In the following chapter I underscore through numerous examples how individuals seem to behave in a manner consistent with the active self model. I show how, in the process of setting up the community computer center in Colonia La Herencia, many individuals voluntarily step forward and make useful contributions to help to improve the computer center. I underscore through many examples the role voluntary prosocial behavior plays in helping social capital to accumulate. I also show how individuals use the process to influence how the computer center will operate, and how they assume social roles vis-à-vis the computer center. These individuals, upon realizing that these opportunities are available

in the social domain, undertake voluntary prosocial behaviors in which they expend their own efforts to leverage these social resources in certain ways.

However before discussing the fieldwork data it would be helpful to first talk a bit about what Dewey said concerning the "active self" model. Dewey's "active self" is a very simple but powerful concept which explains a good deal about how social systems develop. The "active self" describes how individuals sometimes step forward and take actions "above and beyond the call of duty", to help solve problems within their social systems, and to try to make the world a better place. It is a theory about social leadership where individuals try to do more than just "go with the flow", but rather step out and try to achieve positive change, not out of regard for themselves but out of regard for the world they wish to live in. We are all familiar with the basic idea of the active self, even if we haven't read Dewey's description of it. When Joseph Campbell wrote about "The Hero With a Thousand Faces", he was describing the active self. When Rosa Parks refused to be humiliated by giving up her seat on that Birmingham bus, she was exemplifying the active self. When we as educators work with young people and hope to pass along to them the best our society has to offer, because we know that they are the future, we are hoping to help our students become active selves in the world. So even if one has never read what Dewey wrote about the active self, we all already basically have a working understanding of the concept of the "active self", even if we have never read how John Dewey put the idea into words.

The central idea of this theory of the active self, as expressed by Dewey, is that the self is not a "fixed or isolated quantity" but rather is something "in a continuous formation through choice of action". Every individual is always in a process of change.

We create our social identities and our social systems through the actions we take and the efforts we voluntarily make, and in doing so each of us is engaged in his or her own way in trying to make the world a better place. In doing so, individuals are willing to make contributions to the social system even in cases where they are not being compensated to do so. In fact, and as most of us have doubtless observed in our own experiences, these individuals will at times be willing to make great personal sacrifices for a social cause. Within the model I am presenting I am arguing that these prosocial behaviors are the basic wellspring of social capital formation; and I use Dewey's active self concept as the conceptual basis to explain how this prosocial behavior comes about. Therefore before going any further it may be useful to say more about Dewey's active self model as I understand it based on what Dewey wrote.

Dewey talked about the "active self" theory and its relationship to prosocial behavior in Chapter 26 of his book "Education and Democracy". Although it was written over ninety years ago, his explanation still seems to me to be some of the best analysis done on understanding the voluntary provision of social capital.

Dewey starts out by dispensing with two common myths about why people behave unselfishly in social situations. The first myth is that people who appear to be behaving unselfishly are really doing so for intangible rewards such as social approval. The second myth is that they are behaving in this way because of a selfless lack of regard for their own interests. To illustrate these two common misconceptions Dewey presents a hypothetical illustration of a doctor faced with serving a community beset by a highly contagious disease. The doctor is faced with a serious dilemma. If she continues to treat patients she runs a high risk of contracting the disease herself and possibly dying. If she

isolates herself and refuses to treat patients during the epidemic many more people may die. Yet the doctor decides to continue to treat patients anyway. According to the two myths mentioned above, her prosocial behavior can be misunderstood in one of two ways. The first myth would have us believe that the doctor's behavior is really selfish, because she must be receiving intangible or psychic gratification for doing what she is doing. The second myth attributes the doctor's prosocial behavior to the opposite cause, saying that she is completely selfless and is not interested in her own well-being. Dewey highlights the error in each of these two myths and then goes on to present an alternative explanation based on his active self theory.

With regard to the idea that the doctor is motivated by intangible psychic rewards such as social approbation, Dewey points out that no amount of intangible rewards would really justify that sort of behavior. Similarly, the doctor's behavior could not be merely a question of unselfishness, because "why would any rational individual ever find it convenient to be that unselfish?". So Dewey dispenses with both of these common misinterpretations of voluntary prosocial behavior.

As an alternative explanation of prosocial behavior, Dewey proposes his model of the "active self". The "active self", according to Dewey, is not a "fixed or isolated quantity" but rather is something "in a continuous formation through choice of action". Rather than being something "fixed antecedent to action", Dewey says that the self is something which is constantly changing based on the choices that are made and on the self one prefers to be. In essence Dewey's active self is someone who is constantly answering the question "Who do I say I am?" by means of choice of action.

When the person is thinking about choosing between alternative courses of action, in essence each alternative course of action can be thought of as implying an alternate social system and an alternate social identity from within an array of possible options. What distinguishes one alternate social system/social identity from another is the extent to which certain interpersonal relationships are recognized versus denied, and the ways in which her personal resources and the social resources will be used. In deciding which path to select she tacitly must answer a number of questions, including "who do I say I am?", and "who do I say society is?" via a process of action involving continuous self-formation. Going back to the example of the doctor, Dewey says:

"When the physician began (her) career (she) may not have thought of a pestilence; (she) may not have consciously identified (her)self with service under such conditions. But, if (she) has a normally growing or active self, when (she) finds that (her) vocation involves such risks, (she) willingly adopts them as integral portions of (her) activity. The wider or larger self which means inclusion instead of denial of relationships is identical with a self which enlarges in order to assume previously unforeseen ties."

It is interesting to note within the above example how Dewey's model of the "active self" relates to the provision of social capital. Dewey says that:

"The generous self consciously identifies itself with the full range of relationships implied in its activity, instead of drawing a sharp line between itself and considerations which are excluded as alien or indifferent; (and) it readjusts and expands its past ideas of itself to take in new consequences as they become perceptible."

When Dewey says above that the active self "*readjusts and expands its past ideas of itself*", in essence this is what I have been referring to as the provision of social capital.

The individual in a given situation realizes a previously-unrecognized role or relationship, and she or he may step up to that relationship and be willing to assume the social role with its incumbent obligations.

The individual is not trying to maximize utility, but in effect deciding who she wishes to be, and she is also tacitly recognizing social relationships she might otherwise have denied and thus influencing the nature of her social system. She is thinking about being a doctor, but her role as a doctor is a social role which effects many persons beyond herself. She is deciding who she wishes to be in the context of an alternative social system. In deciding to interpret this role as involving service at a personal risk to herself, she is recognizing social relationships she might otherwise have denied. In essence it is via this process that our identities and the identities of our social systems are realized.

A key point in understanding this model is to realize that the individual does not effect this process of identity-formation in a vacuum. Rather we create ourselves through social systems. In this respect the social system becomes a medium for the individual. Dewey's solution is similar but not identical to common ideas of utilitarianism. It's important to understand that within this model what holds utility for an individual is a social system. The individual is not primarily interested in herself, and she is not primarily interested in everyone else. Rather, she is interested in a prospective social system into which she projects herself, and it is this system which is also of interest to the wider society.

As interpreted by Dewey, there are two common forms of utilitarianism which might be characterized as the "individualistic" form and the "universalistic" form. The individualistic or simple form of utilitarianism says that individuals act based on what is

pleasing to themselves personally. The universalistic form of utilitarianism says that we take into account the needs of others in determining what is pleasing to ourselves. John Stuart Mill, in his classic essay on the subject expresses this notion of universalistic utilitarianism as follows:

"I have dwelt on this point, as being a necessary part of a perfectly just conception of Utility or Happiness, considered as the directive rule of human conduct. But it is by no means an indispensable condition to the acceptance of the utilitarian standard; for that standard is not the agent's own greatest happiness, but the greatest amount of happiness altogether; and if it may possibly be doubted whether a noble character is always the happier for its nobleness, there can be no doubt that it makes other people happier, and that the world in general is immensely a gainer by it. "

So whereas individualistic utilitarianism suggests that we act for our own happiness, universalistic utilitarianism argues that we act in such a way as to maximize the aggregate happiness of everyone. Interestingly, these two forms of utilitarianism can be seen as corresponding to the two common misconceptions about prosocial behavior mentioned above by Dewey. Those who say that prosocial behavior is due to self-interest are arguing for individualistic utilitarianism; and those who see prosocial behavior as unselfish are ascribing it to universalistic utilitarianism.

Dewey's model of the active self may be seen as occupying a middle ground between individualistic utilitarianism and universalistic utilitarianism. The individual acts prosocially not out of self-interest and not out of a vicarious interest in the self-interest of others, but rather out of an interest in a social system into which she or he projects her or himself. The fact that a mutual interest in potential social systems connects the interests of the individual with the interest of the larger society is not

surprising, given that we are by nature social beings. In this sense the individual cannot think of her or himself except in the context of a social system. As Dewey said in commentary on Mill:

"We cannot think of ourselves save as to some extent social beings. Hence we cannot separate the idea of ourselves and of our own good from our idea of others and of their good. "

Thus we might refer to Dewey's active self model as a "social utilitarianism". When the person is thinking about being a doctor she is not just thinking about something that is of interest to her; rather she is thinking about something that involves a social system of interest to her and to society, where she will fit into society and it will be of interest to both her and society. She isn't thinking about her own interests per se, nor is she thinking abstractly about the interests of others per se. Rather, she is thinking about a social system in which she will be a part and which will be of interest to society. Hence I refer to this dimension of the active self theory as social utilitarianism.

Thus Dewey's model provides a way of understanding prosocial behavior which neither assumes that the individual is selfless, nor that they are driven by a desire for social approbation or other intangible reinforcements. Social utilitarianism thus provides a new way of thinking about social capital formation. In essence Dewey's model says that we act prosocially in order to realize previously denied relationships, assume a new social identity and to help to bring about a new social system more in keeping with our subjective vision of the way the world should be, (or to avoid losing these things if what needs to be done involves maintaining an already established identity).

As understood in this way, prosocial behavior occurs when we see a social system at hand which is possible and which is better than its alternative systems, based on our own subjective vision of the way the world should be, and we see that we have a part in the new vision or social system. For the active self, as defined by Dewey, these moments are golden because they provide an opportunity for actions which actualize parts of the self previously latent in the old social arrangement. They provide the self with the opportunity to become in some sense a different person, a better person than one had been previously, or to continue to be the person one wishes to be, and for this reason the self is willing to do what is necessary to bring about the desired state of affairs.

In the following chapter I use this active self model as an analytical lens to discuss my field experiences in helping to set up the community computer center in Colonia La Herencia. As I said above, I show how many individuals voluntarily step forward and make useful contributions to help to improve the computer center, illustrating the active self theory in a practical setting in many particular ways which I could not have anticipated prior to entering the field.

Illustrations from Fieldwork at Colonia La Herencia

This chapter will consider my experiences in working at the community computer center in Colonia La Herencia vis-à-vis John Dewey's theory of the active self. As stated previously Dewey's active self theory is a social learning model which explains voluntary prosocial behavior. I will discuss Dewey's social learning model in light of observations I made while conducting my fieldwork within Colonia La Herencia. The goal of this section is to illustrate how I believe John Dewey's theory of the active self can explain the individual psychology behind the creation of social capital and social learning. The events which I will be describing here took place between July and November of 2003, after the community computer center in Colonia La Herencia had opened.

For clarity of discussion I will divide the fieldwork into four phases, and I will discuss and analyze each phase individually. I've established these phases retrospectively based on the analysis of my data by considering what was happening during any particular week as the program at the center took shape. In other words these four phases are interpretive labels that I am applying to the data retrospectively. In terms of the actual operation and use of the community center, the process was a continuous operation. Each successive week was merely considered another week in the life of the community center, and we were not working to any particular blueprint or phase plan as to where we expected to be at a given time. However in retrospect it seems useful to think of the process as a preliminary phase, a initiation phase, a development phase, and a networking phase. Each of these phases of the fieldwork is described and analyzed

below. The goal of this analysis is to describe a theoretical explanation of social capital and learning which is grounded in Dewey's notion of the active or moving self.

The Preliminary Phase

The community computer center officially opened on July 1, 2003. However the first several weeks of operation were interrupted constantly as we were working out technical problems. It was frequently necessary to cancel the day's classes during this phase due to computer network or building related issues. As a result relatively little hands-on student workshop activity took place during these first few weeks. In retrospect however this phase seems to have been important to the way the study activity would later develop.

The remodeling had taken longer than expected and although there was still some remodeling work to be done I was happy to finally have reached the point where my formal study could begin. During the remodeling phase of my time in Colonia La Herencia I was worried that if something unforeseen should happen which would cause me to have to leave sooner than expected, I might end up with no data whatsoever, after having worked for nearly a year to propose and arrange for the study. So I was relieved in early July to finally begin working on the study. However during the first several weeks of operation various unexpected problems and interruptions arose and frequently made it necessary to cancel classes. Some of these class cancellations were due to construction activities still going on in early July which caused us to have to close the center on several days. At one point a truck from the electric company drove by and disconnected our power, which I was told was somehow related to the fact that elections

were being held the next day. It took a day to get the power back. Worse delays were caused by unforeseen computer problems. We thought that the computer network was ready to go on July 1. However it took us quite a bit longer than expected to get the Internet connection and local network functioning properly. The hard drive on the computer we had purchased for the Internet server was defective and had to be returned. After the server was again operational another problem surfaced which was preventing the network from functioning correctly. We were fortunate to have a local technician who was very committed to his work and came every day to work on the problems until the network was operating satisfactorily. He had agreed to set up the network for a small fee, and due to the fact that so many unexpected problems occurred he ended up making very little money in comparison to the large number of hours he had worked, but he never complained and he stuck with the job assiduously until everything was working properly. Still there were several weeks in July when the technician was there full time and the computers could not be used by students on those days. In addition the computers when delivered did not have the proper software installed as we had requested of the vendor, and the software was in English rather than in Spanish. Because I was also responsible for coordinating the remodeling work and the installation of the computer network I frequently had to close the computer center to students during these first weeks so that I could assist either the construction people or the computer technician.

Despite all of the delays and cancellations, some Emergent Design computer activities did take place beginning with the first week of July. Emergent Design is a very learner-centered approach where the actual activities to be undertaken are selected by the students, not the teacher or facilitator. The idea is that rather than to teach how to use a

particular tool, like a software program, the facilitator merely gives a very brief introduction to the program and the students on their own experiment with the program and later use these computer-based tools on problems that are of interest to them personally in their everyday lives.

Specifically in the hope of tapping into latent social capital, the Emergent Design approach is intentionally very unscripted. Therefore I did not come into the fieldwork with a fixed agenda in mind about what sort of activities I would be carrying out with the students. I hoped rather that this would emerge based on interactions with the students.

Many of the students in my first group were from the Christian Family Movement. Because they had been around a lot, and helped with the remodeling, they were often asking me when the classes would begin. At times when I walked down the dirt roads of the Colonia strangers would ask me about the classes. There was a lot of interest in both computer classes and in English classes. Being so close to the U.S. border and in an area where a lot of jobs involve English speaking, many people have more than a passing interest in learning to speak English.

Early in July when I was ready to start accepting students I knew that it would not be difficult to fill the classes. In fact, I held off advertising much the classes because I knew that with only ten computers it would not be possible to accommodate everyone who wished to attend at once when the classes first began. The first group of adults which I accepted was an evening class which I scheduled mainly for the people from the Christian Family Movement, who were often around the center working on activities related to their own program. This happened to be the time of the year when they were

recruiting for new members, so they were often around the church for planning and informational meetings.

When the first classes were held the Internet connection still was not installed and the only software on the computers was a version of Microsoft Windows in English. However at least with this I was able to begin to introduce the students to some of the rudiments of computer usage. The students themselves unpacked the computers and connected the keyboards, mice, and monitors, etc. and got them working. I periodically would give brief demonstrations of the limited software that was available, but I tried to let them as much as possible have "hands on" experience experimenting with the computers, although at first there was little they could do. In this day and age a standalone computer which is not connected to the Internet is almost an anachronism, although I think the students found the first classes interesting because for them having a computer to use was something novel.

The protocol for these early workshops was based on the Emergent Design curriculum developed by Professor Cavallo. It mainly consisted of brief software demonstrations followed by time for the students to work and experiment with the computers. I explained the study, explained that it was unstructured and not like traditional classes, and also that later on we would be doing projects based on whatever was of interest to the students.

With the first group, which met in the evenings at seven p.m., I also told them that although the teaching method was not like traditional classes, that first and foremost the classes were for them, and not for me. I stressed that if they wanted traditional classes, such as with a book where we worked through the book systematically, that would not be

a problem for me. I told them that if they would prefer regular classes with a book, in fact I wanted to know that. However no one said they wanted to use the other format. As it happened in a later phase of the fieldwork, once the lab was finally ready to go with all the bugs worked out, a direction did emerge more along the lines of traditional classes. However I will explain that later on. At least at first however, during the first few weeks whenever it was possible to have classes we followed the format of brief demonstrations and mainly hands-on practice time for the students.

One of the first things actually that they expressed an interest in was learning English, and we decided to dedicate the later part of every class to a brief English lesson. The first class was meeting in the evenings at 7:00, and we decided that at 8:00 we would begin an English lesson for anyone who was interested. At first nearly all of the students wanted to participate in the English classes. One of the students from this class, a young woman named Maritza, brought in a small English textbook which she recommended we use and I agreed to teach a daily English lesson from the book. This 8 p.m. English class actually continued for the next six months of my time in the Colonia, although the membership of students who attended the class was constantly changing.

On Friday July 18 the problem with the computer network was finally resolved, and after that point it was rarely necessary to cancel classes. Thus I consider July 18 to be the end of what I call the "preliminary phase" of the fieldwork.

Analysis of the Preliminary Phase

Not a great deal of social learning occurred during the preliminary phase. However events occurred during this phase which would afford a substantial amount of

social growth in subsequent phases. Most notably, a large amount of social resources came online. The community center, although not completely finished, was now available for use by the community. In addition, there was now a network of ten new computers with Internet access available for use by the social system.

The social system had not yet adapted to use these resources, however by the time of the completion of the preliminary phase the resources were available within the social domain, and the social system would quickly adapt to take advantage of the new possibilities at hand. Leveraging these new resources would entail the provision of additional social capital by individuals whose involvement in these activities would bring to light previously latent aspects of their social potentials. These pending changes of the social system would be enabled by the new social resources which came online during the preliminary phase.

Whereas not a great deal of social change or learning occurred in the preliminary phase, the acquisition of these common pool resources by the social system would lay the groundwork for the more substantial changes which would quickly begin to occur in the subsequent phase, as the use of the resources and the individuals roles and interpersonal relationships pertaining thereto, (i.e. the "active selves" to use Dewey's terminology), would begin to move and evolve.

The Initiation Phase

The first week after the Internet was set up in the community computer center proved to be a very important period for the development of the study. Although I did not realize what was happening at the time, during this first week patterns emerged which

would determine how the community computer center operated for the duration of the project. In this section I will describe the events of this first week, and then consider these events in light of John Dewey's model of the active self.

As mentioned above, I had come into the fieldwork with the intention of using David Cavallo's Emergent Design methodology, which is a very open-ended approach designed to follow the interests of the community. The intent of this approach is not to steer the community formation process in any particular direction, but rather to create conditions to allow latent interests related to authentic community problems to emerge.

At the beginning of this initiation phase the only students I had were the evening students. A few people had started to come to the day classes early in July, but the extended and frequent down times caused by the network problems had apparently discouraged them to the point where they gave up on us. The evening classes with the group mainly from the Christian Family Movement had been interrupted less because by 7:00 in the evening the building and computer work had usually finished.

Once the community computer lab was available full time it soon became apparent there was far more interest in classes for children than in classes for adults. Since we had only ten computers we could have kept them busy all day by enrolling only adults. Yet it was obvious that more children than adults wished to be enrolled. Usually when adults came into the center they were interested not in classes for themselves, but in enrolling their children in classes. Many children also came without their parents to use the computers. When word spread within the Colonia that the computer lab was open we quickly became inundated with children who wanted to sign up for classes. I had originally planned to conduct eight hours daily of Emergent Design workshops with

adults at the community computer center. However upon seeing the degree of interest in the community for children's classes it was at once apparent that the limited resources of the computer center would have to be allocated differently. Therefore I decided to make the center available for children during the day, and to limit the Emergent Design workshops for adults to the evening hours after 5 o'clock.

With so many children using the center during the day I realized that simply running the computer center classes for the children would be a full-time job. At that time the center still did not have any paid staff. If I did not have help running the community center classes for children I would have little energy left to conduct my dissertation study as planned. On the other hand after so much time getting the center ready I wanted the center to be well used. UCLA has a very rigid program for approving research and my research had been approved to conduct a study of the Emergent Design curriculum with adults. If I wanted to volunteer on my own time to organize computer classes for kids at the community center that was my prerogative. However I realized that if I ever expected to finish my dissertation study I would not be able to manage the classes for the children at the community center at the same time as I conducted my dissertation study. And at this point in time the community computer center had no other staff.

Actually, due to the generous financial donation to the computer center which I mentioned above, there would have been funds available at that point to hire someone to work at the center. But the nonprofit organization which would operate the program was still in the process of legal incorporation in Mexico, so they were not yet able to hire employees. It occurred to me that possibly we could find helpers from the community to

oversee the center during the day. I had the idea that even though we could not hire them as employees to work at the center perhaps we could offer them some other form of compensation. For example perhaps we could obtain gift certificates from a local market as an incentive for the persons working at the computer center. I thought we could offer these gift certificates in lieu of pay to persons working at the center until the non-profit organization was able to hire someone. This would enable the center to be available for children's classes and would free up my time to work with the adults for my Emergent Design dissertation study.

I decided to propose my gift certificate idea to the community members who were in my Emergent Design group. Since the purpose of the Emergent Design approach is to empower the community, I was very interested in knowing what the members of the Emergent Design workshop thought about my idea of how the community center and classes for the children could be organized. To my surprise, the people in my evening class did not favor the idea of using gift certificates or any other form of de facto pay to motivate volunteers. Although not unanimous on this point, the consensus seemed to be that it would be best to ask for volunteers who would not receive any compensation. Maritza, the young woman who had provided the English textbook, said that if people were given some form of compensation for working they would only come when they needed the compensation. She thought it would be better to ask for volunteers but not offer them anything in return. She felt that in this way we could be sure of more dependable people helping at the center. Montero, another member of my study group, (who also by the way seemed to be the informal leader of the Christian Family Movement group), agreed that it would be better to ask for volunteers but not to offer

them anything by way of incentive. So I asked them if they would make a flyer asking for volunteers, and several of them worked on creating one on the computer that evening. This flyer asking for volunteers was the first actual work produced on the computers at the community center. Maritza composed the flyer, which said that the volunteers would learn about computers while they were helping. The flyer did not mention anything about gift certificates. I had been overruled on that point, and after this the people who volunteered at the center were never paid.

After that time Maritza herself became by far the most active volunteer at the center. She came almost everyday and often stayed the whole day. Sometimes she brought her children with her. I asked her if it was not too much for her, and she insisted that it was not. She said it wasn't too much work and that she didn't have anything else she needed to do, and she preferred to be at the center. Another woman from the evening class also began to volunteer a lot, although not nearly as much as Maritza, and the two of them soon became the number one and number two people in charge of the community center during the day. For my own part I tried to be at the center to observe whenever it was open, but I always tried to not take a leading role in the operation of the center.

Almost from the beginning when Maritza began to come in and volunteer she began to set up procedures for the center which were different than I had done. Whereas I had made the center available on a drop-in basis, she began to set up class rosters for the children, to make ID cards, and to keep attendance records. I didn't realize it at the time, but this was the emergence of the basic organization structure which would characterize the community computer center for the duration of the study. All of this after all had happened within one week of the Internet being finally connected so that the center could

be open full time. I was still expecting other things to come out of the Emergent Design workshops I was conducting in the evenings, and I was at that time generally oblivious to the fact that the community process I was interested in studying was already well underway.

Analysis of the Initiation Phase

The most significant development of the initiation phase was the surfacing of a latent interest in classes for children in the community. During this phase and later on it was very apparent that many people within the Colonia were willing to work for this social end. We generally never had trouble finding volunteers to work at the community computer center. This latent social capital had previously been present but it took the presence of the operating community computer center to begin to activate this social capital. Of course this process of making the center available was begun by the nonprofit organization long before I ever arrived at Colonia La Herencia; however once the community computer center opened this began to activate the social capital within the community. The process moved in a chain reaction. For example, whoever it was that made the anonymous donation to finish the community computer center and buy the computers and Internet connection had contributed social capital to the system, which enabled the center to become open much more quickly and with much better equipment than would otherwise have been possible. This in turn created opportunities for others to volunteer and help the center.

In line with Dewey's theory of the active self, as individuals see possibilities for social systems to emerge, they become willing to contribute social capital to the process.

At the same time, they hope that the social system which emerges will be in accordance with their own views of how things should be done. Hence in line with Dewey's active self theory as discussed in the last chapter, they are involved in a simultaneous process of establishing their social roles and their social systems, using both their own energies and the resources available for this purpose within the social domain. Maritza vetoed the idea of providing gift certificates to the volunteers, and then became nearly a full-time unpaid volunteer at the community computer center herself. Maritza later became the central person in the whole operation of the community computer center, the person who was identified as "*encargada*", or in charge. Eventually she was offered the title of director of the center along with a modest salary when the non-profit agency was ready to hire someone.

Although of course no one can see with complete certainty into another person's reality, I think Maritza's early involvement and very active involvement in the community computer center could be interpreted as an illustration of Dewey's model of the active self. In other words the advent of the community computer center created for Maritza an opportunity to express latent parts of her personality which had not been active previously. When I first realized how much Maritza was volunteering I told her I did not think that it should be necessary for anyone to volunteer more than eight hours per week, and that we should look for more volunteers. Maritza seemed to completely disregard my idea about working only eight hours per week, and she kept coming in every day. I asked her on several occasions if so much volunteer work was not a burden to her, but she said her children were well behaved and that her older children were very responsible, so that she did not need to be home with them. She said that if she were

home she would not be doing anything. She also said that a doctor had recently told her it would be good for her to be more active.

The fact that Maritza worked so hard as a volunteer from the very beginning and that she had been vocal in vetoing the idea of gift certificates made me wonder if perhaps she hadn't been thinking all along about trying to obtain paid employment at the center. Maritza never inquired or expressed to me any interest whatsoever in paid employment at the community computer center. The subject was never mentioned with me even obliquely. But on the other hand it might have been easily inferred that the non-profit organization would eventually need to hire someone to work there, or she made have heard this from someone at the church. Maritza was already a very active volunteer at the church, being I understand the volunteer assistant to the paid director of religious education. She described herself to me as one of the "*servidores*", or one of about six persons within the church whom she named to me who were the very active workers for the community. There certainly would not have been anything wrong with seeking paid employment at the community computer center, if that was her intention. On the other hand I noticed that she also frequently volunteered with other work at the church from which paid employment was not likely to result, so I could infer at the very least that her motivation for helping went beyond hoping to acquire a job, if indeed that was part of her motivation.

At any rate as it turned out, quite surprisingly, several months later after several hundreds of hours of unpaid volunteer work at the center, when Maritza was eventually offered a very modest salary to direct the computer center by the nonprofit organization she immediately asked if she couldn't give half of the job to the other woman who had

been helping her. At Maritza's request, the non-profit organization agreed to split the small salary for what was going to be a full-time job into two half-time jobs, and give one to someone else. So even if one adopts the most cynical view that all of Maritza's efforts were self-serving and designed to get herself a job, she immediately gave half of her job away. In suggesting that half of the job be given to this other person, Maritza said that she knew the other person needed the money. However it was clear from knowing the family that Maritza could have easily said the same thing about herself. Since Maritza customarily did so much other volunteer work for the church anyway which she later continued, giving away half of a paying job seemed to imply giving away paid hours in exchange for volunteer hours.

At any rate, Maritza's strong interest from the beginning at the community computer center could be interpreted as an example of Dewey's model of the active self. Maritza's contribution to the computer center during the first months was huge, and she also had a huge influence in determining how the center would be organized. As I mentioned above, from the very beginning she changed the way the activities were organized, based on her subjective or personal view of the way things ought to have been. For example, she developed schedules of when kids would come in to use the center, made ID cards for the kids, and began to keep attendance - all things I had not done. So, in the process of contributing social capital to the center Maritza was also influencing how the social system was organized. By her actions, as opposed to merely her intentions, she was actively making a statement about who she was, and she was making a statement about how she thought the social system ought to be.

In this way, interpreted as per Dewey's model of the active self, the identity of the individual and the social system are both in a constant state of formation. The self within this model is seen as something which is active, not stable or ready-made. When viewed through the lens of Dewey's active self model, in deciding to take these actions Maritza was deciding what kind of person she wished to be, and she was at the same time influencing the kind of society she wished to be a part of. After Maritza had been working as a volunteer at the center for a few months I asked her what she thought about the Emergent Design method of learning computers, in which she had learned mostly by using the computers on an authentic task, i.e. running the community center, with very little direct instruction. Did she feel she had learned much, or would she have rather have had more conventional classes? "Oh yes", she said, she felt she had learned a lot with the Emergent Design method. She said "*Siento realizada.*", that is "I feel realized."

The Development Phase

During the next phase of the fieldwork, which I consider as having lasted for approximately one month, the education program at the community computer center was being continually developed by Maritza with the assistance of a growing cadre of new volunteers from the La Herencia community. For example, typing classes were added to the curriculum at the suggestion of one of the volunteers. In the evenings I continued to conduct Emergent Design workshops with adults, although these were gradually being reduced as the program operated by Maritza continued to expand. New students, mostly children, were signing up every day and our computer resources were quite limited.

Clearly the most active community issue at that moment was the development and use of the community computer center itself.

After the brief initiation phase the general pattern of operation for the community computer center was established. Maritza and several other members of the Emergent Design workshop became very active in running the program at the computer center. Other members of the original group drifted away, and new volunteers arrived and joined into the activity under Maritza's leadership.

Knowing a lot of people in the community Maritza seemed to be adept at finding volunteers. This was also a reflection of the community's interest in education. These volunteers were mainly mothers of the children taking classes or teenagers from the neighborhood. In one or two cases I think perhaps parents sent their kids to volunteer as a way to keep them involved in a constructive activity during the summer while school was not in session. Some of the volunteers did not last long whereas others stayed and eventually formed into a core group of "regulars" at the center.

There continued to be a great deal of interest in enrolling kids in the computer classes, and periodically the classes would fill up. However after a few weeks many of the children would stop coming, making it possible for others to enter the classes. At some point Maritza and Montero decided to reduce the class time in order to accommodate more students. Previously students had been scheduled for one hour daily, five days per week. Montero or Maritza had the idea of making it two or three hours per week, so that double the number of students could be accommodated. Soon there were about 200 students enrolled in the computer center.

Montero was not nearly as active in the computer center as Maritza. He worked outside of the Colonia and was never there during the day. However he would often stop by in the evenings and it was apparent he was interested in the progress being made at the computer center. On one occasion he made a comment to me that he thought we should say something to the other members of the original group who had drifted away, although I did not take it upon myself to do so.

The Emergent Design approach is based on "learning by doing" as is Dewey's pedagogy, and Maritza and the other volunteers had a lot of experience during this phase in using the computers for authentic tasks related to running the center. They made ID cards for all the students, flyers, attendance records and other documents as part of running the school. Occasionally Maritza would ask a question about how to do something on the computer either to me or one of the other volunteers who had more computer experience. However overall she seemed to need very little help and she seemed to manage quite well without the benefit of having had formal classes on computer use. In fact she mentioned to me once that a student had complimented her on her computer proficiency and been surprised to learn that Maritza had only been using computers for a few months.

Part of the process of community formation within the program had to do with establishing norms and procedures for the center. As I mentioned above Maritza was very involved in this from the beginning. She made a number of decisions in August such as to begin to have classes on Mondays. Previously the center had only been open from Tuesday through Saturday. There were also a lot of decisions to be made concerning community center rules, the use of the internet, care of the computers, and the

like. Maritza and the other volunteers made rules and printed them on the computers and posted them around the center. It was the kind of "learning by doing" that accomplished not only mastering the computer but also helping to address an authentic need in the community.

Not all of the new ideas which surfaced ultimately became norms or practices at the computer center. For example one day Maritza brought in a flyer she had come across from a psychologist who gave educational talks through a government-sponsored education program. She suggested that perhaps we could arrange for this psychologist to give some talks for the community at the computer center. Our room was very big and had movable dividers so that multiple activities could take place simultaneously. When Montero stopped by that evening I mentioned the idea to him, and Maritza showed him the information she had about the program. Montero felt that it would be better to find a psychologist through the church because he felt that the other psychologist might present views which were at odds with the churches views. Maritza acquiesced to Montero's objection and the idea was dropped.

During this phase while these day classes were going on largely under the direction of Maritza with help from other volunteers, I still continued to run the evening sessions with adults using the Emergent Design workshop format. However no other projects emerged from these sessions. People would come in and use the computers, but there seemed to be very little spontaneous interest among the participants in working together on topics of shared interest. On several occasions I conducted brainstorming sessions to make list of possible group projects. But afterwards none of these ideas were picked up by the students, who seemed to prefer to use the computers individually. I'm

sure that had I made it a requirement of the workshops the students would have readily worked on group projects. However it seemed to me that there was little point in organizing group projects if there wasn't spontaneous interest in doing so on the part of the students. I agreed on this point with something that I had read by L.J. Hanifan, the first major proponent of social capital theory. Hanifan had written that if a community center assists to prepare the proper foundation within a community, spontaneous community projects will emerge on their own when the time is right. However Hanifan felt that there is little to be gained by trying to promote the process of community action until such time as community members on their own begin to feel the need to act.

As it happened around the end of August some of the volunteers who were working with Maritza on their own initiative decided to organize formal computer classes for the entire day. Seeing this as an authentic community interest, I discontinued working with the evening classes and these hours of the computer lab time were taken over by volunteers, as I will described in the following section.

Analysis of the Development Phase

During this phase the process of social learning continued in a manner consistent with Cavallo's emergent design theory and Dewey's theory of the active self. The learning which occurred was an integral part of addressing an authentic social need, and was not something abstract or apart from the functioning of the social group. It was "learning by doing".

Just as the general decision whether or not to volunteer at the center exemplifies Dewey's model of the active self, so do the many different small decisions made in the

process of this volunteering. For example, during this phase one of the volunteers suggested that we ought to be teaching touch typing skills, something we previously had not been doing. She brought a copy of a typing book into the center, which showed the recommended finger positions for the keyboard and contained exercises for the students. We copied some pages from this book and began to use these lessons with the students. In this case the action of the volunteer was expressing her individual vision of how she thought the center should be organized, and at the same time she was implicitly making a statement about who she was or how she related to the social system of the community computer center. In fact this simple act of recommending the typing classes could be seen as not only an assertion about who the volunteer was, and what the volunteer thought the social system should be, but also implicitly as a tacit statement of the relationship between the volunteer and the social system.

When thus interpreted through the lens of Dewey's model of the "active self" both individual identity and the social system are seen as in a continuous process of development. All of this social and psychological process is fundamentally rooted in economics. The process implicitly hinges upon issues about how property within the social domain will be used. For example, in the case of the typing lessons, the volunteer was implicitly arguing for an alternative use for the computers, which were property within the domain of the social system. To the extent that the computers were used for typing lessons, this precluded their simultaneous use in other ways. Thus the individual who brought in the typing book and advocated for the typing lessons was leveraging her own time and resources along with the resources in the social system to help create a computer center more in keeping with her subjective vision of how the center ought to

operate. Achieving this end hinged on the use of social resources and the property rights defined for these resources within the social system.

The Networking Phase

One of the first and most surprising developments was the rapid establishment of regular computer classes within the center. One of the young volunteers, an outgoing high school student who had originally come to the computer center to do homework and then stayed to become a volunteer, decided apparently on his own that we ought to be teaching lessons on computer usage including lecture classes. He talked to several of his friends about this, and they organized this program among themselves. I first realized something was happening when I saw a notice posted on the wall that computer classes would be beginning the following Monday and that everyone should bring a notebook and a pen or pencil. I asked Maritza what was going on, and she told me that this young man said that he and several of the high school age volunteers were going to begin teaching classes.

The young people planned to teach the classes in the evenings and they had asked Maritza and another adult volunteer to teach the classes during the day hours. At one point I saw Maritza and the other woman going over the notes of the material the young man had asked them to present. They seemed a bit skeptical of the idea of these new classes, but I could infer from the fact that they were reviewing the material that they were willing to give it a try.

Although these computer classes seemed to take a little while to get off the ground, sure enough within a few weeks the young people had begun to teach daily

classes which continued throughout the duration of my time in Colonia La Herencia. At first there were three instructors involved, the young man whose idea I believe it had all been, and two other young women from the community who were friends of his. Later the group of instructors grew and began teaching in the mornings as well. I never saw Maritza or any of the adult volunteers teaching these classes, but Maritza clearly had accepted that the computer lectures by the young teachers were now an integral part of the functioning of the community computer center and everyone who came for classes after this time was signed up with one of the young instructors.

The computer center has movable room dividers and was arranged into a computer area, a waiting room area and three classroom areas. The young instructors, who were all around 15 years old I believe, would teach their classes every day in the classroom areas. From what I saw they taught the basics of Windows and Microsoft office as well as covering topics like the parts of the computer, types of memory, etc. Within a few weeks the instructors had created course manuals for their students. After the lectures they would reserve time with the computers so that the students could practice what they had been taught.

I was very impressed with them and the initiative they had taken to set up this program on their own, without being asked to do so, and how well they were teaching. They seemed very competent, intelligent and poised as instructors, and I was really impressed with the work they were doing for free to help their community. It was material that they had apparently learned in technical high school, and they were teaching it to students who were both much younger than them, and also to some students who were much older than them. I think too it was a great experience for them as instructors

and would probably help them later on as they went further in school. Much of the credit for these classes goes to the one young man who had apparently had the idea of starting the program, and had arranged it with his friends and with Maritza. Had this one individual not been willing to do this on his own initiative the program may never have happened. These classes could also be interpreted as another example of Dewey's concept of the active self.

In addition to the computer classes, there was a lot of interest in getting academic classes going at the community center. Mexico has a very active program of open classes for equivalency degrees which is known as INEA, representing what we would call the National Institute for Adult Education. INEA corresponds to the GED program in the States, although INEA covers not just high school but primary school as well. Persons 15 years old or older who haven't finished regular schools go to INEA study centers and study the material they would have covered in regular school. Then through a system of examinations they can obtain primary and secondary school completion certificates. At one of our evening sessions of the Emergent Design groups someone from the study group had suggested that we establish an INEA program at the community computer center. Maritza obtained a letter from the church office requesting the program, and after several trips to the INEA offices to finalize the arrangements the Colonia La Herencia Community Computer Center was established as an INEA program site.

Maritza made several posters promoting the INEA program, and volunteers were found who would work with the INEA students. In the case of INEA they have already a very well established program. It simply had not been active in Colonia La Herencia. INEA is also a free program, and my impression is that it is a very good program. When

it was established at the community computer center the INEA brought with it not only new volunteer teachers but also a large quantity of new books for the students. From the standpoint of the community, the INEA program could be considered a resource which had previously been latent in the Colonia, i.e. latent social capital for Colonia La Herencia. Many people if not most people in the Colonia already knew about the INEA program, and they knew that it was needed, but it took certain conditions to inspire several individuals who were willing to take voluntary action which was not going to be compensated in order for this program to come about in the Colonia. This again according to my definition, is an example of social capital.

It also illustrates the advantage of using a more pragmatic definition of social capital based on actions rather than based on prevailing norms or associations. Generally speaking INEA programs are normal in the metropolitan area where La Herencia is located. There simply did not happen to be a program in La Herencia. It took actions rather than a prevailing norm to start the process. I suspect that had these several individuals not taken it upon themselves to make the contact with INEA, the program most probably still would not exist in the Colonia. It took a certain amount of work to get the process going. In the case of the INEA program I would say it took perhaps 20 hours of work on the part of community volunteers to set up the program, prior to the actual starting of the classes. While this is a small amount of time in relation to the benefit it produced, the program in all likelihood would never have gotten off the ground had not several individuals from the community gotten behind it enthusiastically and made these initial efforts. Thus, as discussed in chapter two above, a pragmatic

definition of social capital based on what Dewey called "overt action" proving will seem the more relevant definition of social capital.

Several other educational programs were also added to the community center during this phase. During the summer prior to the opening of the community computer center I had met an individual who spoke English very well at a community event. I mentioned to him that the community center would be opening and that if he was interested we could use English teachers. I hadn't seen this person for a few months, but one day he walked in and told Maritza he would like to begin teaching. He offered to teach two hours daily, but we suggested he begin with fewer hours out of concern that he might rapidly burn out teaching two hours daily. He agreed to teach in the afternoons twice weekly, and his classes were very popular from the beginning.

Another teacher who used the community computer center on several occasions was a young woman who was a volunteer health promoter from a nonprofit healthcare organization based in another part of the city. This program trains health educators who work with different neighborhoods around the city doing community work. This particular individual had been running a group activity for senior citizens for some time in Colonia La Herencia, and on several occasions she conducted programs for the senior citizens in her group in one of the classrooms at the computer center.

Although the community computer center is a relatively new program, over time more and more individuals within the Colonia were making use of the center. These individuals were helping the community, providing social capital, and also in the process taking actions which expressed their identities and in large and small ways helping to create the kind of community they felt La Herencia should be.

Analysis of the Networking Phase

In the networking phase, as with the other phases of this fieldwork, we saw many examples of voluntary prosocial behavior apparently undertaken for the social good. We saw many examples of individuals who seemed to be behaving consistent with Dewey's model of the active self. Based on this review of my experiences in conducting the fieldwork in Colonia La Herencia, it seems clear that individuals do often act in ways consistent with Dewey's model of the active self. Basically this process can be seen as having three components. First of all, there is the subjective input of the individuals who undertake the prosocial behavior. Secondly there must be some resources within the social domain to be leveraged by these individuals. Finally, there must be some organizational structure to moderate the process.

Consistent with Dewey's model, and as the volunteers at the computer center illustrate, individuals are interested in social systems, in this case the system of how the computer center was organized. These individuals contribute their own efforts to leverage assets already within the social system to create social capital. Conceptually for example the individuals who were teaching were using social resources, the computers and the classroom space, along with their own efforts, to share their knowledge of computers with others. Although I did not measure this, it is clear that social capital was being created as more individuals gained knowledge about how to use computers. Prosocial behavior in the community was helping to create social capital within the Colonia, made possible by the presence of the computer center.

The Role of the "Active Self" in Development

My experiences in helping to set up the community computer center in Colonia La Herencia, as described in the preceding chapter, demonstrate several very important points about the relationship of Dewey's concept of the active self to social development. First of all, quite clearly there was no shortage of latent social capital in this neighborhood. Many people were willing to step forward and help, even without being asked to do so. They were acting out of their own desire to help, as implied by Dewey's model of the active self, out of their own interests in assuming useful social roles and to help to create a useful social system, which in this case was the community computer center. So as the fieldwork in Colonia La Herencia demonstrated, this "active self" model does seem to have implications for the design of programs intended to promote the formation of social capital.

If this interpretation is correct, a key point of this dissertation is that development organizations need to be attuned to this active self process and work with it, not against it. This model suggest that the whole process of development rests upon this psychological process of the "active self". The role of development organizations, according to this theory, is not to create fixed roles for the community members to fill. Rather, as Morton Kelsey has said, the goal is "to create the conditions which will allow the individual to perform to the maximum extent of her or his capabilities within the opportunities at hand". In the last chapter of this document I go into more detail regarding the ideal function of development organizations in this process, suggesting several possible avenues or strategies for achieving this goal. However at this point I simply want to underscore the central thesis of this research which is that development programs need to

understand and support this "active self" process as the origin of social development. According to this view, the role of development programs is to facilitate the "active self" process, rather than to supplant it. Development organizations need to be sensitive to the "active self" process and to design programs which can benefit from this process within the communities they serve.

It is more about creating opportunities for individuals to follow their own vectors. For example, I could not have predicted that the youth within the community would voluntarily establish their own program of computer classes. According to Maritza no one asked them to do so. It was done on their own initiative. However the approach that was used to develop the center, following Cavallo's Emergent Design method, did create the conditions to allow this spontaneous "active self" process to unfold. Ideally, once the process starts it can develop into a chain reaction, as indeed happened with the computer classes when the one individual who began the process moved away and other volunteers stepped in to keep the classes going. This sort of spontaneous prosocial behavior cannot be predicted, but it may be important to establish the conditions which will help this type of behavior be successful.

Dewey's model of the active self at first seems a bit far-removed from currently accepted ways of thinking about social learning. However there are indications that the psychological and sociological research communities are moving closer to Dewey's views. For example in his last book "Foundations of Social Theory" sociologist James Coleman dedicates a section to the topic of "Processes of Change inside the Actor" in which he seems to agree on several important points with Dewey's model of the active self, while stopping short of presenting a complete model of individual self change.

Coleman states as did Dewey that persons may make internal changes in order to alter their own utility functions. As Coleman notes:

"But might not the desired compatibility be equally well achieved by changing the internal structure? In other words, if the actor is engaged in the task of maximizing the satisfaction of his interests, the task can be accomplished in either of two ways: He may take action to restructure the outside world, by gaining control over certain events that are important to him; or he may restructure the internal self, by gaining interest in some events and losing interest in others."

Of course, these supposed internal processes of change cannot be directly observed, but we can observe how individuals actually behave. For example we saw in the last chapter how, in the course of setting up the community computer center, individuals like Maritza redefined their roles in order to express their interests in certain ways. According to the theory of the active self, these expressions of interests or recognitions of relationships with others in the community is integral to the process of self formation. Coleman also seems to agree with Dewey that the process involves expansion of the self to recognize social relationships differently.

Coleman recognized, as did Dewey, that this notion of the expanded self was related to the provision of social capital, or of acting for the social good without apparent compensation. As Coleman said:

" Acts of apparent altruism, acts which derive from sentimental attachments and appear to be against the actor's self interests narrowly defined, are explicable through such an addition to the theory, the use of the notion of an expanded object self."

Although Coleman does not adopt as complete a model as Dewey related to the theory of the active self as an explanation for prosocial behavior, he does confirm central tenets of

Dewey's theory which seem to suggest at a minimum that Dewey's notion of the active self is consistent with more modern understandings of these social processes..

Further research seeming to support Dewey's notion of an active self can be found in the psychological literature. For example Festinger's (1957) theory of cognitive dissonance and Flavell's (1977) concept of metacognition. Dewey described behavior, in which one is actively involved, in a metacognitive way, of creating dissonance and thus changing the self, as follows:

"In such crises of readjustment -- and the crisis may be slight as well as great -- there may be a transitional conflict of "principle" with "interest." It is the nature of a habit to involve ease in the accustomed line of activity. It is the nature of a readjusting of habit to involve an effort which is disagreeable -- something to which a man has deliberately to hold himself."

In other words the basic processes being described by Dewey's active self" theory could also be understood in light of the accepted psychological doctrines of today, e.g. as a metacognitively controlled dissonance process. This seems to imply at a minimum that Dewey's "active self" theory is not so far removed from currently accepted psychological theory as it first may appear. The apparent differences seem to relate more to terminology than to substance.

Prior to completing this review of Dewey's theory of the active self, several additional issues remain to be briefly mentioned. First of all, we should mention how Dewey's model of the active self relates to conventional theories of altruism or motivation. In general, Dewey's model of the active self can also inform research on altruism, because his model recognizes the metacognitive aspect of this form of prosocial behavior often overlooked in other altruism theories. For example, social learning theories of altruism recognize that this sort of learning is possible, but unlike Dewey's

model of the active self, the social learning altruism theories generally do not recognize the part the individual may play in deciding to behave prosocially. Similarly tension reduction theories of altruism recognize that internal conflicts may promote a tension-reduction, (what I have been calling dissonance reduction), effort. However these theories do not recognize as does the active self theory the metacognitive dimension of this process. At the same time, altruism theories of norms and reciprocity, while not inconsistent with Dewey's model, also do not recognize the volitional nature of deciding whether or not to conform with these norms. Thus, as this very brief survey illustrates, Dewey's model of the active self can also be seen as contributing to our understanding of altruism or motivation.

It might be well at this point to consider some final implications of Dewey's model of the active self especially in regard to how the fieldwork at Colonia La Herencia helps to inform our understanding of the active self. One element in particular of the fieldwork data from Colonia La Herencia does not seem to be well explained by Dewey's model of the active self. This concerns the role of resources in the social system to help to activate this latent social capital. Dewey's theory correctly notes, I believe, that individuals will act for the social domain, but it ignores the important role of available resources in the social system to help to elicit this untapped social capital. We saw above in the previous chapter that it took the presence of the community center and the computer lab to evoke much of the social capital we saw contributed to the system. The relative scarcity of resources in a social domain may be one reason much social capital remains latent. Each individual wishes to contribute latent social capital through the process which Dewey described as the movement of the active self. Yet physical

resources are limited in the social environment, creating a limiting factor on the active self process. This problem is especially pronounced in less developed areas. For these reasons it is vitally important that development programs use the limited shared social resources well, and that they help to ensure mutual respect for the individuality and vision of each individual within the social environment.

Finally to complete our brief survey of the active self, it should be said what has not been said about the self, which is infinitely more than what we have said. We have mentioned that the self adapts to more perfectly express who it prefers to be in light of the opportunities at hand. It must be said that though this be true, that saying this does not express the wholeness of the self, which is more than this and more than perhaps can be expressed. Every person is a world, almost. In Mexico they have a saying "Cada cabeza es un mundo.", or "Every mind is a world", and we must not imply that simply having said that the self adjusts or moves that we have said what there is to be said about the self. We have not said what there is to say about the self, as a theory, anymore than in saying that one person moves or adjusts we have said what can be said about that person - for in both cases much more remains unknown and unsaid than the little amount that we know and can say. The rest is a mystery, and what we see is like a mere sparkle upon the ocean compared to what we do not see or know, which may only remain known to the mind of God. In fact, it may be because so much is unknown that we do move, so that at least a little more can be expressed over time than what little we see in any given moment, like a cipher that unfolds through iteration or a symphony that unfolds in notes. Vygotsky, the influential Russian psychologist of learning has provided an interesting

analogy to the self as a funnel through which only a little of it's contents may pass at any moment:

“The purpose of our behavior is to keep our organism in balance with its surroundings. In nature the realized and executed part of life is but a minute part of the entire conceivable life (just as every life born is paid for by millions of unborn ones). Similarly, in our nervous system, the realized part of life is only the smallest part of the real life contained in us. Sherrington likens our nervous system to a funnel with its narrow part turned toward action, and the wider part toward the world. The world pours into man, through the wide opening of the funnel, thousands of calls, desires, stimuli, etc. enter, but only an infinitesimal part of them is realized and flows out through the narrowing opening.”

Or we may think of the self as an island whose main land mass remains ever submerged.

Sometimes there is less land mass visible, our unconsciousness rises, but through this taking and ceding of land to unconsciousness we actually become more conscious because the two are actually the same, or in opposition just as the seen and submerged parts of the island are both parts of the island. And there is a systematicity to it, such that as unconsciousness rises more stress is created, as we become limited in conscious thought, which in turn brings us more in touch with things that have been in our unconscious.

Therefore with the rising and ebbing of the tides we see a little more or a little less of it at times; but we never see most of it. James called our various selves "the nearest approach to an absolute many that can be imagined", and it may be so except that each one of those absolute many remains in a sense unimaginable and enigma. And so we can close this section on the active self saying at least with deference that we have left unsaid far more than could be said, and to make only one final epistemological point.

It is interesting, to me, to think about the role the physical world plays in separating out those absolute many's who we are. I have said above several times that the physical world cannot accommodate the subjective visions of all of us. It is interesting to think how this fact, this limitation of the physical world allows us to be, by limiting us, who we are. It is interesting to think that without that we could not know each other. I push for my vision; you push for yours. And in doing so we find that the world cannot accommodate the visions of both of us. We crash, we collide, as James has said:

“Our different purposes also are at war with each other. Where one can’t crush the other out, they compromise and the result is again different from what anyone distinctly proposed”.

And it is actually by this very process of the crashing and colliding that we come to know one another and ourselves. Were the world able to accommodate all of us, we would be unknown to one another like James' absolute many. By limiting us the physical world separates us, and in separating us we become identified. Each person in her or his mind can think they are whomever they please, but in the world we become limited, and in becoming limited we become who we are as knowable to one another and to ourselves. That was the epistemological point I wanted to make. It is the physical world which separates us which brings us together.

Social Capital Formation and the Micro-to-Macro Problem

In his "Foundations of Social Theory" educational sociologist James Coleman stated:

"The major problem for explanations of system behavior based on actions and orientations at a level below that of the system is that of moving from the lower level to the system level. This has been called the micro-to-macro problem, and it is pervasive throughout the social sciences."

This "micro-to-macro" problem according to Coleman relates to the common failure of social theories to adequately relate theoretical processes at the individual-level and the social-level.

Within the model I am presenting, social capital is defined at the micro level as voluntary uncompensated prosocial behavior, i.e. an individual level behavior. But I use it to explain social capital formation, which is a system process, so I have a "micro-to-macro" issue. In this chapter I'll address this "micro-to-macro" issue by trying to show logically that social systems sometimes need voluntary prosocial behavior by individuals to arrive at higher levels of fairness and efficiency.

Of course, in reality making this argument hardly seems necessary. Afterall, probably almost everyone would agree intuitively that social systems sometimes need people to voluntarily behave prosocially to function well. Think of Dewey's hypothetical example of the doctor and the epidemic discussed in chapter three for example. We just know intuitively that at times uncompensated voluntary prosocial behavior is needed to overcome pressing social problems. However still it's interesting to think about why this might be so. So in this chapter I try to make a logical argument that voluntary prosocial

behavior is sometimes necessary. Also, I'll try to show how the argument I make applies specifically to the situation where I did my fieldwork in Colonia La Herencia. The argument that I make in this chapter is based on the dichotomy between distributive and commutative justice.

According to St. Thomas Aquinas there are two types of justice. One is "distributive justice", which corresponds to charity or simply giving what is needed. The other is "commutative justice", which corresponds to the justice of a fair trade, or what in economics is known as "an arms length transaction".

Obviously for social progress both types of justice are necessary. For example, commutative systems are very effective for coordinating the needs of different people within a social system. So normally societies ought to function based on theories of commutative justice. Societies as they move ahead normally do so mainly based on commutative justice, and multiple trades and asset conversions repeated many times in succession. Fair trades between individuals help both individuals maximize their utility.

However commutative systems alone cannot be relied upon to always arrive at the best forms of social organization. In other words, commutative justice alone has its limitations. Once a basic injustice is established within a system, commutative justice alone cannot be counted upon to overcome it. Because commutative justice involves repeating the same transactions over and over again, injustices within a society become perpetuated through the same commutation systems, and they can be passed down from generation to generation.

Within the situation dealt with in my dissertation study, for example, based on commutative systems the social system had reached a point in which there was an

inequitable distribution of access to computer resources in the area. When I arrived in Colonia La Herencia the situation was as follows. Many people told me that most of the children in the area did not have access to computer training and that they did not have computers at home. I believe this to have been true because when we finally started our classes I was surprised to see how many of the children had no idea how to do the simplest operations on a computer keyboard, such as how to make a capital letter or how to insert a blank space between words. I also heard that some of the local families sent their children by bus to computers schools in other parts of the city, which costs about \$140 dollars per month, an amount far beyond the reach of the typical families of Colonia La Herencia. Other parents who could afford it paid for their children to go to a local Café Internet to do school homework. One mother told me she at times paid up to \$20 dollars per week for her kids to go to the Café Internet to do their homework. These were efforts to increase computer access grounded in theories of commutative justice. Yet despite all the money that was being spent on this purpose around the neighborhood, very many of the children in Colonia La Herencia still did not have access to computers.

So access to computer resources in Colonia La Herencia was clearly inequitable. An important point to realize about situations like the inequitable distribution of access to computers in Colonia La Herencia is that these situations clearly arise out of the workings of systems which basically operate on theories of commutative justice. Thus we can think of the inequitable distribution of access to computer technology within Colonia La Herencia as an example of a commutative system which had reached a plateau or an equilibrium at a sub-optimal level. Although this is a minor example of social injustice, it shows how commutation systems sometimes arrive at stasis at sub-optimal levels of

fairness or efficiency. Logically too it shows that once this happens, internal commutative forces alone are not necessarily adequate to remedy the injustice and inefficiency within the system.

Government policies in Mexico also seem to contribute to the lack of access to computers for school children in Mexico. Colonia La Herencia is very close to the U.S. border, and many very serviceable computers are available for donation to schools from the U.S.. It would be quite easy to bring in a large number of computers from the United States for schools in Mexico, but the government of Mexico would either forbid this or would charge such a large importation tax on the donated computers for schools that it would not be financially viable to import the computers. I have no idea why Mexican officials won't let nonprofit organizations bring in good used computers to give to their schools, but it is a perfect example of how social systems can arrive at states of equilibrium which are unjust and inefficient.

Another salient example of a system which is at sub-optimal equilibrium within Colonia La Herencia is the road system. The roads are terrible, and this results in the average driver spending a great deal more on vehicle and tire repair. Actually it would be much cheaper to improve the roads than for everyone to continue paying these extra costs of vehicle maintenance in perpetuity. However at the moment no individual has sufficient incentive to undertake the political effort needed to get the roads improved. So the road system can be thought of as being another example of a commutative system which has reached a sub-optimal equilibrium.

As these two examples from Colonia La Herencia demonstrate, systems operating commutatively are liable to go off track and arrive at sub-optimal equilibrium points in

which commutative systems cannot move them further. If the system is truly deadlocked based on commutation, actions motivated by distributive theories of justice may be the required corrective factor needed to correct the errors of the past.

For example, commutative justice was not going to resolve the inequitable distribution of computer resources in Colonia La Herencia. Prior to the study, a certain amount of access was available, and individuals who could afford it did have access. But many individuals did not have access to computers, and it did not seem likely that actions based strictly in theories of commutative justice were likely to yield this access any time soon. If it had been economically or politically expedient for all the children in Colonia La Herencia to have computer access, it would have already happened prior to the time of my study. However if the start-up costs can be overcome, greater levels of efficiency and social justice can be achieved. People will develop trust in the new system, see its advantages, and afterwards the new system becomes the norm. But in order to arrive at the new system there are start-up costs or entry barriers. Thus distributive justice is needed at times to help reorganize systems which cannot progress based on commutative systems.

According to this theory, each type of justice serves a particular role in social progress. Commutative systems are needed to coordinate the needs of different people within a social system, so normally societies ought to function based on theories of commutative justice. When societies operating commutatively go off track, charity is the corrective factor which corrects the egregious errors of the past. Charity is the consciousness that lets us see something is wrong, and if we don't have it then we are forced to inherit the errors of the past.

On the other hand, whereas distributive justice is necessary at times, it also has its limitations. As Adam Smith said in "The Wealth of Nations", no one wants to have to depend on charity. The reason for this of course is that there are a lot more needs than there are willing donors. Every person in the world has different ideals about the way things should be and the physical world simply cannot accommodate the ideal worlds of each of us. There aren't enough village greens, so to speak. Therefore a world run strictly on charity could never work. Also, every time you give something to someone you in effect are taking it from someone else, so distributive justice is a zero-sum game.

Thus the primary role of distributive justice is seen within this model as to transform commutative systems, rather than to take the place of commutative systems.

Based on this analysis, I theorize that social capital, (which we pragmatically defined in the second chapter as voluntary, uncompensated prosocial behavior), has a special role to play in system level social capital formation, although this role is often misunderstood and there are some things social capital can't do. I theorize that the role of social capital primarily ought to be to support transitions between various systems which are operated basically based on theories of commutative justice. Thus I see the micro-to-macro relationship between social capital and social progress as follows. *In order for an entrenched inefficient social system to move to a more efficient organization, an infusion of social capital, (i.e. uncompensated voluntary prosocial behavior), will at times be needed, precisely to develop the new institutional environment which is the embodiment of the automatization of the relationships between the people, i.e. that which coordinates their actions more efficiently.* In other words, the theoretical function of prosocial behavior is conceptualized as necessary to overcome the "start-up costs", (often

underestimated costs by the way), of going from the old customary and accepted ways of doing things to better, more efficient and more enlightened commutative systems of social organization.

This relationship is seen as a general relationship which applies in any particular situation or context. The social system reorganization which is being made may be a very big change, such as a national civil rights movement or agricultural reform, or more commonly it will need to be something minor, such as installing a needed drinking fountain, but whether big or small in scope the role of social capital in development is conceptualized within this model as always the same, and social capital is always needed for the same purpose. It bridges the gap to promote change where the existing equilibrium, i.e. the economic or political forces in commutation within a given context are not sufficient in and of themselves to bring about a positive social change.

Conceptually, this movement from a legacy system to an improved organization is equated with social capital formation at the level of the social system, assuming that the new system really becomes established. Normally once the new system has operated for awhile, if the new system is truly an improvement and once people see its benefits, they would not wish to return to the old system. At that point the system won't backslide. However people first need some experience working with the new system. Based on this experience with the new system they will adjust their expectations and trust levels. When this happens the new system is truly established, and at this point the system participants themselves will resist any effort to go backwards to the old commutative - system because they can see the new system is better. However the new system must

also be commutative, because resources to support the transition between systems are always limited.

As with the example of setting up the community computing center in Colonia La Herencia, making the transition between old and new forms of social organization involves cost, and these costs are not necessarily going to be compensated from within the system. As I said above, if it had been economically or politically expedient for all the children in Colonia La Herencia to have computer access, it would have already happened prior to the time of my study. However if the start-up costs can be overcome, greater levels of efficiency and social justice can be achieved.

If the change is indeed to a better organization, once it is established people will not want to return to the old system. Within our small project in La Herencia, the new system is far more efficient than the old form of organization for many reasons. First of all, since the computers and the Internet access is shared, a small number of computers can be shared by hundreds of people. This is inherently more cost effective than for each family to buy a computer for their homes. And practically speaking most of the families who use our center could not have afforded to purchase a computer for their homes, whereas at our center they and their children have access to the use of new computers and the Internet for free. At the center we have many active volunteers from the community teaching not only computers but other subjects as well. In addition to reducing the costs this helps to build community and provides a practical experience in civics education for the young people who help out with the work. The center is in a community space which is available for the community rent free. In many ways this new form of organization is more efficient than the prior system which only provided computer access to a lucky few.

More importantly the new system represents a greater degree of social justice, because so many more people have access to computers now than prior to when we set up our center. Of course ours was a very small project. But I believe the basic relationship, as illustrated by our project in Colonia La Herencia, reflects the general "micro-to-macro" relationship of voluntary prosocial behavior to social capital formation. In general this relationship is seen as follows:

In instances where the legacy system has developed inequities and inefficiencies which cannot be resolved through commutation, voluntary prosocial behavior based on theories of distributive justice may be needed to support the transition to an improved system also to be operated essentially based on theories of commutative justice.

This basic micro-to-macro relationship is seen as applying whether a project under consideration be big or small.

The Role of Organizations in Social Learning

I began this report by observing that despite so many marvelous new discoveries, inventions and technological developments, progress in addressing our basic social problems remains as slow as ever; perhaps even slower than in some past eras. Now, after having reviewed my experiences in setting up the community computer center in Colonia La Herencia and a theoretical model of social capital based on John Dewey's theory of the active self, it remains to be asked what can be concluded from this experience. Based on my fieldwork, I believe that if the experience of setting up the community computer center in Colonia La Herencia is any indication, much more can be done to promote social progress through the careful design of community education projects.

Certainly first and foremost it must be said that, as Professor Cavallo concluded based on his work in Thailand, I also found that there also seems to be no shortage of social capital in Colonia La Herencia. This social capital may at times be latent, but with properly designed community programs it can very readily be accessed for effective community development programs. The support that we received from the community in Colonia La Herencia was overwhelming. A very great number of people from within the community were willing to come out and help, and they were responsible for the success the program had in Colonia La Herencia. Also there were the donors, without whom the center could not have been built and the computers could not have been bought. There was a lot of social capital all in all that went into making the community computer center at Colonia La Herencia; it was ample and given without any desire of getting anything in return, and that was what made the community computer center possible.

What about the Emergent Design method? That too worked as intended. Being an open ended method, it was ideal for the circumstances. It empowered the people; tapped latent learning potential, and probably did result in some people learning quite a bit more about computers than would have been accomplished with traditional teaching methods. True, the classes eventually drifted back to the traditional format, but with the important difference of being so as a program run by the community and under their direction. The young people who taught the classes, and especially the young man whose idea I understand it was deserve a lot of credit for taking the initiative to set it all up, and it certainly was something I would not have expected and could not have predicted. They are fine young people and it augers well for the future of the Colonia to have this great network of individuals who are so confident, capable and willing to help with the needs of their community.

And it all I guess is a tribute to Dewey's model of the active self, which does seem to explain why individuals are willing to help with a social cause without expecting anything in return. Granted, they do probably usually receive some intangible gratification for helping, as I did and do when I can participate in something like the community computer center at Colonia La Herencia. We of course as Dewey knew receive psychic as well as tangible gratification from what we do, and even in the case when we are not getting paid monetarily we receive intangible rewards in place of money. But, as Dewey said and as the theory of the active self models, it is not necessarily true that these intangible rewards are sufficient justification for doing what we do when we help with a social cause at personal expense and without monetary recompense. We are all "active selves" and we know that we are in some control of our

natures, of ourselves while we are here in this world, and we know that we had better be smart about it and try to make of ourselves what we may when we can, because we are all too prone to slack off and make wrong turns when we are not paying attention. So Dewey's theory of the active self may indeed explain why we act well sometimes and try to do some good for a social cause when we are receiving nothing in return. If we could make any criticism at all of the theory it would be that perhaps Dewey could have stressed more the economic side of it, that when we are active we are not doing so in a vacuum, but that we must be able to leverage resources in the social environment along with our own efforts to achieve the ends which we hope will make us the persons we wish to be. But overall I think the theory of the active self is a fine theory, as theories go.

So what of the overall conclusion? Can we say it was a success, with the social capital, the Emergent Design, the Active Self, and all of that? Was it a success overall? Can we say that?

Unfortunately, I don't think so. At least not yet.

A lot of good has already come out of the community computer center at Colonia La Herencia. But a lot of resources went into it too. And the real question for progress is not whether something is received but whether there is a net gain. Adam Smith said that financial capital must be converted to grow. It has to stop being capital for awhile and then be transduced back to it's original species to result in being more than there initially was. And social capital is just the same way. Too many people think, as Dewey pointed out, that prosocial behavior or charity is an end in itself. We lose sight of the need for this prosocial behavior to result in long-term systemic change. Ultimately, the amount of social capital within a social domain has to increase. Development programs need to be

able to manage an ever increasing amount of resources within the social system for progress to occur.

Whether the amount of social capital resulting from what was done at the community computer center in Colonia La Herencia will end up being more than what was put in, I don't know. It's too soon to tell. Maybe so, maybe not, frankly. I hope so but it is too soon to tell, and it will ultimately probably depend most on the people who come later. But in closing this report I would like to talk a bit about the kinds of things that make projects like this really a success in the long run, because I think that is one thing about social capital that many people often confuse, or maybe all of us often confuse.

We saw in the previous chapters how the idiosyncratic processes which lead people to give things to the social good when they are not receiving anything in return unfold. We discussed how sometimes this is necessary because there are cases where social systems work themselves into a corner, where they become unjust and economic and political forces within the system aren't sufficient to budge them out of it; where they stop at equilibria which are neither fair nor efficient. We said that when this happens social capital is needed to get them out, and to help them move to better and more fair and more efficient equilibria. And basically, we saw that the two main things driving social capital are the subjective visions of the people within the social system and the available resources within the system that the people can leverage. Now I would like to talk about the last piece of the puzzle, which is the organizations that are available to mediate the other two and to help to coordinate the various desperate efforts of the well-meaning people within the system. It seems to me that organizations play a unique and

extremely important role in that they help social capital within a social domain to be converted and accumulated, which enables it to grow. Organizations really do for social capital what markets do for fiscal capital. Organizations it seems are what makes it possible really for me to benefit from your social capital and you from mine; they make social capital fungible.

And there are two major fronts I think upon which organizations fight this battle. First of all they help to manage the common pool resources that are within a social system. Secondly they help to make the members of the social system better "systems analysts" as it were, or better social utilitarians by helping them to understand better how their plans and "subjective visions" will mesh best with those of their peers - and this process we call "moral education". The remainder of this document will deal with each of these topics separately. I won't be able to talk about the community computer center at Colonia La Herencia here because it is so new, and I don't have the data on that, but I will make reference to several other organizations which are exemplary case studies of organizations which help to manage and develop social capital.

Organizations are what make social capital fungible. The value of the goods, services and information which any individual is willing to contribute to the social good needs to be leveraged and converted, and so it needs to be accessible to other persons. In this way organizations connect latent social capital within an environment with opportunities of usefulness.

Organizations are really what link everyone to everyone else. They mediate our experience. They bridge intentional and automatic action, cementing our intentions in ways that we could not do by sheer willpower. As William James has observed, our

thinking tends to follow a process of automatization. This process can also be thought of as occurring on the social level, where ideas which were first new and requiring a great deal of attention eventually become the automatic or normal way of doing things. On the social level this process involves trust-building.

In making an intervention for development, what we are basically doing is setting up a market for social capital, or a mechanism for the exchange and conversion of social capital. That is what effective development organizations do. In social work they talk about a "crowdad effect" wherein one persons efforts to move ahead may be overcome by the overwhelming needs within the social system. Organizations can work against this process and help to see that resources within the social domain are always available and growing. It is really like nurturing or starting a fire. The institutional environment needs to be such that the social capital which is contributed is nurtured and kindled, like starting a fire, so that it won't be lost. The problem is not so much creating social resources but pulling them together in a bricolage or an organizational fashion, in order to prevent the social capital provided by individuals within the system from dissipating before it has a chance to accumulate and be leveraged by others.

In the model of development which we have been forming based on Dewey's theory of the active self there are three components. The first two are the two inputs to social progress, i.e. the subjective visions of the members of the social system, and the social resources available within the environment which are available to be leveraged and help those visions come about, in whole or in part. It is a stepwise process. Organizations constitute the third part of the model, and they modulate the interactions

between the two other parts, to help to see that progress can occur and that the efforts of individuals within the social system and the social resources do not dissipate.

With respect to the management of resources within the social environment, the role of development organizations is to make these resources available to scaffold the process until they can be converted back into social goods. Generally speaking this means making available enough resources and at the same time making sure that what is attempted is not so ambitious as to waste the social capital. If people expect too much of the enterprise more than is able to be produced, it won't go. Development organizations have to make sure that the resources which are put into a social system are not overly extracted so that they can begin to accumulate and grow.

Managing resources in a development process for the accumulation of social capital is a tricky process. That is why there is so much general advice against merely distributing resources in situations where there is apparent need. In many cases merely giving out aid can cause more harm than good, because it may create dependence and other undesirable side effects. One finds advice from many thoughtful analysts, such as Andrew Carnegie or John Dewey, exhorting against a blanket policy of giving away resources. However programs which move resources into the social domain to be used and shared fairly, and then replaced may have a major positive effect on social progress. The outstanding example of a modern program which has done that successfully is the Grameen Bank, where social resources are accumulated, lent and then later largely repaid by the beneficiaries. Although the Grameen Bank is satisfied if it can merely on average recover the principle of the amount it lends, it still is in doing so building an

accumulation of social capital so that the efforts of the donors and program participants are not dissipated and wasted.

Managing resources in the social domain is one major role of development organizations. A second and by far more important role of development organizations is educational. We said, based on the Dewian model discussed above, that individuals function basically as social utilitarians. That is to say they attempt to actualize their subjective visions via the implementation of social systems. However their subjective visions often clash and this results in competition for resources. Given this, it is vitally important that development organizations participate in an educational process, to help each member of the social system understand how she or he can in effect become a better social utilitarian, or work to instantiate systems which are more mutually beneficial to all the members of the social system. This is a process which is sometimes referred to under the title of "moral education".

Probably the most important role of any development program, wherever it might be, is promoting civility. There needs to be a moral education and any sort of development program which is really going to help people has to promote this as a central focus of the program. It is the most important thing development organizations can do, and successful development organizations like the Grameen Bank do it well. In promoting these standards of civility this is not to say that we can always live up to them. We are all human and we often fail. No one can completely live up to the ideal. However while realizing this, we should at the same time maintain the goal of promoting civility, and promote it as a central part of any development effort.

This vision of a society of good is something that comes through in the writings of John Dewey . He recognizes that there is something in the social which transcends mere organization. Institutional environments form incrementally, subject to a fundamental tension between the idiosyncratic individual and the needs of the group, or the fact that everyone cannot have their way. Development organizations, as was noted by Hanifan, can provide the opportunity for trust building and forging bonds. As I saw in Colonia La Herencia, in this type of work one meets very exceptionally good people. What is really needed is the institutional support that can support people like this. That is why development organizations need to help in the process of promoting civility and a constant mores of respect for all individuals. This is not to say that we ought to attempt to make decisions for other people , but rather that we ought to try to support them in their own inclinations to choose rightly.

An organization which is a model of effective moral education is Alcoholics Anonymous. While not imposing any particular beliefs on participants or assuming a "holier than thou" attitude, AA shares wisdom with participants in helping them to see the social world more objectively, making them in effect better "social utilitarians". It doesn't impose a plan on them, but it gives participants rubrics and heuristics which can help them more effectively implement their own emergent visions of how to live better, one day at a time. AA provides its members with conventions to let the individual mark themselves against some fixed goal, and general advice on being responsible and caring for others. Thus AA is an excellent example of how a development organization can participate in moral education without imposing upon the beliefs of others.

Basically then organizations are the third component which is suggested by the Dewian model of social capital, the other two elements being resources in the social domain and the subjective visions of the individuals involved. Viewing development as a dynamic interaction of these three basic elements of any development effort, it is hoped, may help practitioners to analyze a variety of different situations.

As one final point, though, it should be said that the above is not meant to imply that forming an effective organization to accumulate social capital is an easy task. It is a difficult process and probably the organizations which really do it well are far fewer than those which attempt it. When it does happen it is a great credit to the dedicated individuals who have made the commitment to make it possible – by unselfishly giving of their own time, resources and energy for the social good and expecting nothing in return.

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