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Between Dualism and Integration: Canadian Community Economic Development and its Implications for Future Development in the Slovenian Roma Community

Two different approaches to development in disadvantaged communities are represented. The first one, community economic development, which is widely applied in Canada, is a community-based approach with a relevant role of the state in supporting development activities within a disadvantaged community. The second one, the National Program of Measures concerning Roma Communities within the Period 2010-2015, was established by the Slovenian government and represents a complex, broad government strategy which tries to respond to acute problems of underdevelopment in areas inhabited by Roma peoples. However, there is no single answer about the level and mode of state involvement in development policies. The fact is, however, that power relations to a great extent create the possibility for more or less radical social action.

Keywords: community economic development, power, Roma, Aboriginal peoples, disadvantaged groups, Slovenia, Canada

Med dualizmom in integracijo: kanadski ekonomski razvoj skupnosti in njegova implikacija na prihodnji razvoj romske skupnosti v Sloveniji

Predstavljena sta dva različna pristopa k razvoju marginalnih skupin. Prvi, ekonomski razvoj skupnosti ima pomembno vlogo pri razvoju marginalnih skupin v Kanadi in predvideva sorazmerno vlogo države pri razvoju marginalizirane skupnosti. Drugi, Nacionalni program ukrepov za Rome Vlade RS v obdobju 2010-2015, pa predstavlja kompleksno vseobsegajočo vladno strategijo, ki skuša odgovoriti na akutne probleme nerazvitosti na območjih, kjer živijo Romi. Vendar pa ne obstaja enovit odgovor, na kakšen način in na katerem nivoju naj država sooblikuje razvojne politike, vendar pa je dejstvo, da obstoječa razmerja moči v veliki meri določajo možnosti za bolj ali manj radikalno družbeno akcijo.

Ključne besede: ekonomski razvoj skupnosti, moč, Romi, staroselci, marginalizirane skupine, Slovenija, Kanada

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1. Introduction

In the present paper we focus our attention on one specific problem which various economic development planners are usually faced with: the nature of different planning models for disadvantaged communities accompanied by a more or less intensive involvement by the state. Are contemporary approaches to integration into dominant capitalist mode of production sufficient to speed up the process of development in a particular disadvantaged community? Or, on the other hand, is it the case that early phases of development activities have to be carried out separately, in terms of preserving the internal economy from the operation of a free market? Having in mind the old-fashioned nature of dualist thinking with respect to the possible existence of the two economic worlds, and the modernity of any integration model, we are interested in the mode and possible level of integration into a dominant system of production, and in the possible existence of available alternative economic models in this context.

The present investigation is a comparison between the two different development approaches concerning the improvement of living conditions in disadvantaged communities. We do not deny the potential of either, but solely wish to show whether the Canadian model of community economic development (henceforth the CED) may offer some additional dimensions, to those originally defined by the Slovenian government's National Program of Measures concerning Roma Communities within the Period 2010-2015 (henceforth the National Program of Measures) (Vlada Republike Slovenije 2010). The CED approach highlights community-based initiatives where the role of the state is supposed to be an important one, especially in the sense of supporting communities with subsidies and acting as a controlling body. In its nature the CED approach may be classified as a bottom-up approach. On the other hand, the National Program of Measures is a conventional top-down governmental strategy, whereby interested subjects may be involved at different levels of multilevel planning, of course under the supervision of the whole policy process by the state.

The CED approach is one of a number of possible social economy solutions to community development. On the other hand, the National Program of Measures may support or be integrated with some development principles concerning the social economy platform.

In any case, the dualist or integrationist debate is intensive, especially in Canada, due to the nature of historical relations between Canada and Aboriginal groups. Dualism is rejected, of course, at the very beginning, but some additional insights

76

into the Slovenian context may be offered from Canadian development practice, especially in terms of different perspectives of possible integration concerning disadvantaged communities.

We investigate a possible model of integration between communities and state structures in terms of community development through the phenomenon of power. Specifically, one strong research focus is on the manner in which power transfer (if exists) may influence the structure of development strategies and possibly affect the establishment of alternative, hybrid policy spaces. In any case, the democratisation of economic and social planning is the main goal of many development approaches which address disadvantaged communities. For our purpose, we are interested in the politics of community economic development, specifically highlighting the nature and possibility of capturing the policy process by the state structures.

2. Research Problem and Methodology: Power, Public Policy and Political Economy

In one sense defining the role of the state concerning its relationship towards community organisations is, essentially, a question of political economy – bringing the notion of the political back into mainstream economics. In terms of establishing development strategies, the issue of power is often neglected among scholars who deal with development economics in the community context. As mentioned above, there is no dilemma about the involvement of the state in community development; what is problematic is the nature of collaboration with non-state policy actors. For our purposes it is of crucial importance to explain the relationship among different planning models, with different roles of the state, and consequently, make a note of reports of successful development in affected communities. What is more, we are interested how communities may affect public policies and become partners in development strategies. In this context, three models of cooperation in development activities between the state and community organisations are offered. Firstly, the social planning model presupposes that state bodies with associated experts have the leading role. In fact, according to this model, there is no transfer of power between the state and community organisations. Secondly, the locality development approach has a wider scope than technocratic social planning, where participation of communities is important but their involvement does not radically change power relations or produce conflicts (Sheldrick 2007, 91). In fact, in public policy terms, the affected policy process is highly controlled by state structures. Formally, the

gates are open to interested groups and communities; but the nature of a policy debate is largely determined by state agencies (Durnik 2008). In this case, the transfer of power is not a subject of debate. In any case, capacity-building in terms of community development largely supports existing relations and the status quo (Sheldrick 2007, 93). Thirdly, the social action model is the most radical of all three suggested. Relations between the state structures and community organisations are supposed to be the conflicting ones and hold a potential to transform society and communities. What is of real importance is that the transfer of power from the state to community organisations is performed separately. At this point it is necessary to distinguish between the rhetoric of change and a social action approach representing a potential reconstruction of power relations (Sheldrick 2007). When avoiding conflict, state-community partnerships often “hide power and interest” (Shragge 2003 in Sheldrick 2007, 93).

The above-mentioned community economic development evolution models are contrasted with Gaventa’s (2006) power cube approach, which combines different faces of power with levels of policy action and types of policy spaces. The *three faces of power* approach was originally established by Lukes’ (1974) explanation of the visibility of the power phenomenon. The first facet is in fact common to Dahlian’s (1961) vision of power as widely distributed and largely determined by public demands and opinions. In Gaventa’s (2006, 29) view, this is visible power where all procedures, structures and institutions operate for the “needs and rights of people”. The second facet, invisible power, shows that solely visible indicators are not enough to explain policy decision-making. For example, besides decision-making, also the making of a non-decision is a result of power relations. The non-decision is perceived as “demands for change / ... / can be suffocated before they are even voiced; or kept covert; or killed before they gain access to the relevant decision-making arena ...” (Bachrach and Baratz 1970, 44–45). In this context Lukes (2005, 27) explains that A “exercises power over B by influencing shaping or determining his very wants”. The sense of powerlessness may manifest itself as “extensive fatalism, self-depreciation, or undue apathy ...” (Gaventa 1980, 17). Or as Gaventa (1980, 208) points out, the hidden power is common to what he has named as “the culture of silence”.

Policy spaces are abstract, or more concrete, spaces where power relations in some sense create their existence. Gaventa (2006, 26) talks about “moments” and “opportunities” of decision-makers and community groups or individuals where they may confront their views concerning various policy problems. In the case of closed spaces, decisions are accepted without the voice of the public. Invited spaces, on the other hand, are those where the actual government (or international institution) or government bodies create policy spaces for a

particular public debate. That kind of invitation is oriented to one specific goal – the public debate is controlled by the government, and consequently, potential conflict is supervised (Durnik 2008, 2009). This kind of a policy space is common to some principles advocated by the social planning model and locality development approach. In reality, in invited spaces, there is little prospect for the occurrence of a potentially highly conflictual confrontation between policy actors. Claimed or created policy spaces represent the third option of entering affected communities into policy debate. The nature of space creation allows disadvantaged groups the creation of their own pressure centres from below.

Finally, regarding the power cube approach, opportunities for cooperation between policy actors have to be investigated at local (regional), national and international levels. Having in mind different levels of possible policy action, building pressure networks by non-governmental players may result in building a potential for transformation.

Table 1: Community economic development evolution models combined with the power cube approach (forms of power, levels of policy action and types of policy spaces).

	Social planning model	Locality development approach	Social action model
Forms of power (transference of power)	Visible, hidden, invisible No	Visible, hidden, invisible Barely exists	Visible, hidden, invisible Yes
Levels of policy action	National to local	Local to National	Local to international
Types of policy space	Closed/invited	Invited	Claimed/created

Source: adapted from Gaventa (2006) and Sheldrick (2007).

In the case of the CED approach, the Canadian hydroelectric development will be presented as a case study due to its strong validity with respect to Aboriginal community development (Durnik 2009; Martin & Hoffman 2008).

3. Theoretical Discussion

We are aware that there are important differences between the CED approach and National Program of Measures established by the Slovenian government. The CED case of hydro development highlights the long-term tradition in community development in Canada with different, more or less conflict-

bearing periods in relations between, for example, the Canadian government and Aboriginal communities. As we will see below, a whole series of different possible understandings and approaches describe those complex relations. Consequently, the CED approach is, then, the result of, and is based on, a rich academic background – at least, economics, political science and sociology support its platform. Besides those mentioned, Canadian economic history has found a special place in endorsing community development approaches. Finally, the contemporary doctrine of the CED is also one result of long-term Aboriginal experience in their resistance to (neo-)colonial politics by the Canadian government.

At this point it is necessary to point out that the aim of this text is not to make a judgement about the appropriateness of either approach, but solely to show what we may learn from the Canadian experience for the future development of the Roma community in Slovenia. In any case, there is no option for a direct mirroring of the CED approach in Slovenian reality, merely one of widening the debate about the improvement of existing development strategies.

3.1. Problem of Historical Dependency and Dualism

Dos Santos (1993, 194) points out that dependence is “a situation in which the economy of certain countries is conditioned by the development and expansion of another economy to which the former is subjected”. It is argued that the relation between two or more economies presupposes the form of dependence when “some countries (the dominant ones) can expand and can be self-sustaining, while other countries (the dependent ones) can do this only as a reflection of that expansion” (ibid.). Similarly, Frank (1967, 1975) in his metropolis/satellite model defines relations between the centre and periphery – the centre enters into this relationship as a dominant actor in economic relations. Furthermore, Watkins (1977) sees the relationship between the traditional and modern sectors in the sense that the former dictates the pace of development towards traditional modes of production. According to Watkins (1977, 93), the relocation of people to the modern sector is a relevant strategy avoiding underdevelopment. Additionally, the concept of internal colonialism has been used to explain the colonisation of the Aboriginal people by European settlers within their native territories (Churchill 1992).

An important criticism of dualism in development is made by Loxley (1981, 154) who argues that the dualist approach, besides being racist, is also “oversimplified, static and ahistorical”. Talking about racism, he warns that

80

the dualist explanation “equates white northerners with industrialisation and progress and native people with backwardness” (ibid.). The dual approach in his view explains the view that aboriginal population are “the native people [who] had no history and are living now more or less as they have done since earliest times” (ibid.).

Anderson (1995, 324) based his vision of aboriginal development in the Canadian north in the context of contingency perspectives. His main idea is that communities are one of the development partners of the global economy and have to be adapted to the “dominant regime of accumulation” (ibid.). Integration with the global economy processes may shape local, regional and/or national features. In Anderson’s view, the civil sector plays an important role in creating a development model arranging benefits for the public. What is more, as Anderson (1995, 325) states, the First Nations in the context of possible global integration try to build a “distinct mode of development” where “various forms of partnership and alliance (supply contracts, subcontracting, joint ventures, etc.)” may emerge. Similarly, the *La Paix des Braves* agreement in Québec guarantees that local aboriginal peoples will be a part of corporate development without ownership of provincial hydro development (Kulchyski 2004).

The Thomas Strategy, a modified development model proposed for Northern Manitoba, explains that the incompatibility of dependent economies with the dominant system of production has to be resolved by two strategies of convergence. The first step, as proposed by Thomas, is “the convergence of domestic resource use and domestic demand” (Loxley 2010, 110), and the next step is then the “convergence of domestic demand and domestic need”. Strategies of convergence at the same time presuppose “an end to the class forces underlying divergence and reproducing dependence” (Loxley 1981, 163).

3.2. Community Economic Development

The term community is slippery in its definition. As Loxley (2010, 22) points out, community development (henceforth the CD) literature presupposes a homogeneous entity which has “the potential for some economic, social and political cohesion” (Tudiver 1973 in Loxley 2010, 22.). The differences between the CD and the CED are as follows:

CD casts a wide net, covering social work, urban renewal, adult education and political organising. Its emphasis is, however, firmly on process, on how things are being or should be done, rather than on what should be done. Community economic development, on the other hand, focuses primarily on economic and material improvements in the lives of community members (Loxley 2010, 8).

There are several economic strategies which largely explain the nature of the CD approach. The issue of need may be the subject of directive approach (Loxley 2007a, 13) to basic needs in a particular community (as seen by CED employees) and the education role in a sense what may be included in future development. In our view, radical pedagogy assumes its essential role when development experts understand a relation between community basic needs and, at the same time, what can be done in terms of development strategies. In the context of ownership and control, small private enterprises are often the core for alternative development; many of them are organised on an ethnic basis (Light and Gold 2004). The other alternative is ownership in hands of the community (Loxley 2010) which, besides efficiency and growth, takes into account the question of democratic principles in the operation of the community also. The solution may also be a mixed model of economy where a part of the community business is collective in nature (i.e., cooperatives) and collaborates with some private initiatives in terms of small business. Subsistence strategies in their essence presuppose a direct use of what is produced within the community. In fact, there is no "market exchange or monetary transactions / ... / neither the export / ... / nor, in extreme cases, even the import of goods" (Loxley 2010, 35–36). Subsistence strategies are, according to Loxley (2010, 36), adaptable in the case of rich resources and are of limited usage concerning market implications. The problem of welfare or migration is evident when the location of the community is not attractive for the state or private investments. In this case, people also migrate out of the community, trying to find better life outside. Communities which largely operate on the basis of welfare-dependency show a low potential in economic activities and are isolated. The solution lies in incorporating strategies based from the very beginning on the self-sustaining principle. The question of convergence and dualism, as mentioned above, addresses a possible choice at which level the two economic systems (the dominant and the alternative one) have to be distinct, and, on the other hand, what may be a proper level of integration concerning alternative development. The convergence approach goes "well beyond a subsistence strategy to encompass production for monetary exchange and to suggest how this might be organized" (Loxley 2010, 47). Furthermore, and aside from domesticity, but still largely oriented to domestic production, some goods may be sold outside the community to satisfy external demands (Loxley 1981).

The contemporary logic of effecting community economic development in Canada is wide and complex at the same time. In its nature, even when predominantly planned from an economic perspective, it includes recommendations and solutions from various academic disciplines and possible mixed approaches among them. On the general level, the question which

irritate scholars on the field of the CED is the assumption that the approach to reconstructing marginalised communities may solely “fill the gaps” in development left by the dominant capitalist system or may become its alternative in the near future. In this sense, from the economic point of view, the question of subsidies is somewhere between the logic of community revitalisation in terms of the economy of survival and the transformative view of the CED. In fact, they are interrelated processes, usually having the survival pattern at the very beginning and a transformative component when development in community takes a more complex form. The timing of investments is crucial in terms of building a strong CED project. Several initiatives are based on networking between different CED projects, which has meant that creation of safety concerning the balanced operations of a particular project (Loxley 2007b, 110–114). Additionally, as Loxley (2007b, 114) explains, in the convergence context, maximising economic linkages is a preferential strategy. What is more, separate CED initiatives often prefer strengthening one development parameter and, when they are integrated into one network, these preferable parameters may operate between each other. Loxley (2007b, 114–116) also underlines a potential of different options for convergent development of the CED initiative, which can be analyzed using a commodity chain analysis or any kind of network analysis, such as actor network theory or cluster analysis. What is fundamental in this context, when building a CED approach, is the recognition of the necessity for more convergent relations between all subjects included in a particular CED initiative.

Following Lamb (2007), the economic approach to the CED is in fact an amalgam of regional economic theory and theories pertaining to sub-disciplines of economic development. Theories investigating the regional aspect are export base theory, location theory and attraction models. On the other hand, the sub-disciplines of economic development as staple theory, big-push theory, and the frequently above-mentioned convergence theory, additionally broaden the understanding of economic aspect of the CED. Regarding the export base theory, the advantage of a particular region is widely dependent on the exportation of a certain commodity. Higher economic growth is in large measure a consequence of improved export activities – the existing ones, or those that are extended by the diversification of the export base. In terms of location theory, some communities are in a privileged position with respect to others concerning labour costs or energy resources. On the contrary, information technology in some sense has relativised the meaning of location in the context of regional/community development. Attraction models, as understood in the CED context, explain the importance of subsidies and incentives in attracting new investments. The Innisian tradition is considered a fundamental thesis. According to Watkins (1989, 20), the essence of staple theory is based on the following determinants:

firstly, the extent of production around the resource base; and secondly, the level of control over local resources by capitalists from outside the community. In fact, society does not establish the kind of infrastructure that could serve “for the processing of the staple into the end products” (Prusnik 2005, 42). Big push theory also deserves comprehensive attention in the context of the CED advocating the importance of linkages through the system of “complementarity of industries” (Lamb 2007, 63). Finally, as also explained above, convergence theory focuses attention on minimising the divergence between a dependent economy and the mainstream dominant system of production. Furthermore, as Lamb (2007, 66) explains, the CED and convergence theory “have an inward focus with an emphasis on self-reliance, planned production, and the formation of linkages”.

3.3. Development Parameters in the National Programme of Measures Concerning the Roma within the Period 2010-2015¹

One of the biggest development issues concerning the Roma community in Slovenia is the improvement of living conditions in Roma settlements. There are various acute problems arising from unsatisfactory living conditions in the community. From the very beginning scholars had extensive difficulties in defining the area of Roma settlement. Even though these settlements have been formed in a disorganised way they share some common characteristics (Zupančič 2007, 224):

- ♦ the settlements emerged around central places where some chances of survival existed;
- ♦ they were formed also near landfills which might allow the collection of secondary raw materials;
- ♦ the locations were established near multiethnic environments;
- ♦ uninhabited places and partly devastated areas were also settled;
- ♦ settlements were established also in the vicinity of water resources.

Roma communities are dispersed in their nature, to some extent similarly to social ghettos or slums, and present the marginal position and poverty of community members. As Zupančič (2007, 225) shows, it is necessary to differentiate between the following types of Roma settlements:

- ♦ independent settlements which are part of administrative units but differentiated from them, often with different architecture that is common to rural settlements;
- ♦ those that are part of other settlements which are joined in one place (e.g., a village street). In these locations houses and infrastructure are usually of poor quality;

- ♦ urban districts located in older parts of towns or in less attractive places near industrial zones;
- ♦ single houses or other residential units in rural or urban areas.

The Government of Slovenia's National Program of Measures (Vlada Republike Slovenije 2010, 7–11) presupposes the improvement of living conditions in Roma settlements. The majority of possible solutions shape scenarios of abolishing or eliminating illegal Roma settlements. As always in terms of alternative models of development, some level of introducing positive discrimination is somehow welcomed. A real problem detected in the relationship between the Roma people and the majority of Slovenians is the level of possible ambiguous understanding of cohabitation. Future governmental measures shape three possible scenarios of integration and abolishment of Roma settlements: the rapid, the gradual and the conservative models (Zupančič 2010, 145–160). In fact, the expert group responsible for solving spatial problems concerning Roma settlements, working as a part of the National Program of Measures, has decided to implement the gradual model (Zupančič 2011, 13).

As is widely known, the Roma people in large measure suffer from a low level of education, and consequently, they are less competitive on the job market. As government measures written in the above-mentioned document (Vlada Republike Slovenije 2010, 7–16) have determined, specific attention in terms of Roma employment is given to equal opportunities in the job market, the intensive involvement of women, and a focus on social economy and development projects. Furthermore, additional measures are established that are oriented toward the problems of discrimination (Vlada Republike Slovenije 2010, 31–34).² In comparison with the CED, it would be necessary to plan additional job opportunities with respect to resources which are available in the community. There are several opportunities for members of the Roma communities: construction work in improving housing, the improvement of the existing collection system of raw materials in terms of better organisation of activities, etc.. Additionally, social policy has to be directed in such a way that it will guarantee for the local Roma people the possibility of finding jobs outside the community, also. This last option is especially reasonable in the sense that it involves the establishment of social networks between the community and members entering into the mainstream labour market. What is more, the existing debate continues among the general public about the low education and potential unwillingness for work among the Roma, who, it is believed, will not function in the context of regular workforce. This is a discriminatory view, where the measures of empowerment have to eliminate these voices from the street. A real issue is what kind of business is appropriate and may be accepted by the

Roma in the context of future community economic development.

A long-term life in poverty causes many obstacles for Roma children in their involvement in the educational process. The Strategy for Education of the Roma in Slovenia (Ministrstvo za šolstvo, znanost in šport 2004) and the above-mentioned National Program of Measures (Vlada Republike Slovenije 2010, 12–16) similarly highlight important development parameters for improving the educational environment for Roma children. Those measures comprise, for example, the integration of Roma assistants in the educational process, the early involvement of Roma children in the educational system, the provision of conditions for building confidence in the school, the establishment of networks of learning support for the Roma, teachers' education courses in Roma culture in primary schools, and so on. Canadian practice in terms of the CED initiatives takes care in a significant manner of the role of schools in community economic development. An approach called the community based schooling (Hunter 2000) informs a more intensive role of schools in fighting poverty. Again, this can be a complex set of different measures connecting families, schools and marginalised communities. As Hunter (2000, 116) expresses it, at the William Whyte Community School in Winnipeg (Manitoba) strategies concerning the more vitalising community were put into practice in two ways: the first approach was to strengthen the economic base in the neighbourhoods, the second was to open gates for participation of community members in school decision-making activities. To strengthen the economic foundation of the community, schools may hire assistants or other individuals to be involved in school work. Some kind of positive discrimination regarding the workforce is appreciated in the sense that members of the marginalised community receive the chance to work in the school context. Furthermore, a stronger community would be built, as mentioned, also through more a participative model of inclusion in school decision-making, involving especially those parents living in disadvantaged communities.

In terms of building community capacity development, the Health Promotion Strategy and Action Plan for Tackling Health Inequalities in the Pomurje Region (Belovi et al. 2005) was set up, with the aim of improving health conditions among the population in the region with special emphasis on vulnerable population groups. Health inequalities are defined "as the differences in some health indicators (mortality, morbidity, lifestyle, access to health services, etc.) between population groups, based on biological, social, economic and geographical characteristics. These differences may relate to inter-regional and intra-regional inequalities in health" (Belović et al. 2005, 6). The above-mentioned Strategy highlights the importance of the Roma

community in addressing specific health issues, by transferring responsibility to it, identifying the health needs of the community, recognizing culturally appropriate health promotion policies, and participating in programmes for preventive health care among the Roma (Belović et al. 2005). The Strategy underlines the importance of community action in empowerment strategies for the community, and its capacity is focused on four main domains (Belović et al. 2005, 56):

- ♦ network partnerships *qua* relationships between groups and organisations in the community or network, where the comprehensiveness and quality of the relationships are important;
- ♦ knowledge transfer in the development, exchange and use of information between the groups and organisations within a network or community;
- ♦ problem solving as the ability to identify and solve problems;
- ♦ infrastructure as the level of investment shaping investments in policy and protocol development, social capital, human capital and financial capital.

A part of government strategy is also a focus on cultural aspects of development in the Roma community. Pointing out cultural parameters in the development context may offer some important qualities to the building of new alternative developments. But what many scholars often forget is called a selective recognition, whereby cultural rights are seen as fundamental, whereas the right to their way of doing business for marginalised groups is often neglected as an important economic right (Coulthard 2003, 2007, 2009).

3.4. Social Economy Potential in Slovenia

Social economy, and subsequently, social entrepreneurship are constitutive elements of any community development. In Slovenia, there are problems with poor operational potential and political power of the social economy sector. Furthermore, there are serious grounds to doubt if government structures really understand how to approach alternative economic models prepared for marginalised communities. The fact is that social entrepreneurship at the European level is a kind of a fad, and in the view of many experts and social movements may be applied everywhere. In contrast to those simplified arguments, however, a coherent approach to development is much more complex and has to be imagined as a multidisciplinary project. It is of great importance to count social economy strategies as step-by-step models of development where, in the long-run, solutions would overcome largely short-term visions that alternative economic development may be solely understood in the context of the self-reliance economy.

The social economy sector in Slovenia faces many obstacles. With respect to Spear and others (2010, 5), one of them is an excessively intensive involvement by the state in producing public goods and in controlling the national economy. In this sense, state intervention would limit the potential of the social economy sector. On the other hand, that kind of vision of the state's role in social economy may respond to some development principles. The role of the social sector in Slovenia is not properly understood as a potentially important correctional mechanism and as such is highly neglected by state structures.

Another problem is evident when the level of job creation within the sector is taken into account. This is one of the main criticisms expressed by Spear and others (2010, 7), who put into effect the lower levels of the sector's contribution in the overall Slovenian BDP, given past misunderstandings of the role of the social economy sector. Many critics of the growth mantra (Loxley 1998) tend to warn that the rigidity of the growth in the global economy provokes greater dependency between world regions.

Social enterprises in Slovenia accomplish a variety of different services and activities but they are too dispersed and their role is not widely known and recognized (Spear et al. 2010, 10). Additionally, these organisations have been largely ignored in terms of carrying out certain activities. What is more, the state and general public have neglected also the potential of cooperatives in the system of social economy. Cooperatives were widely used only in forestry and agriculture. Recently no systemic innovations have been introduced in cooperative development. An additional problem in the stagnation of the social economy sector is also a kind of network support to social economy organisations. The domination of the state in the field of social economy and the rather fuzzy partnership between the state agencies and social economy organisations are the two parameters which tend to delay the development of a national platform of social economy (Spear et al. 2010, 13–17).

4. Case Studies – Analysis and Results

4.1. Canadian Hydroelectric Development in the Context of CED

Canadian hydroelectric development offers a clear picture of power relations with respect to the CED approach and the nature of possible power transfers

between the state and community organisations. As we have seen, there are several possible explanations of power (involving the visible or invisible context), but the real issue must be whether changing the power structure may importantly influence a particular development strategy. Furthermore, a real success in terms of fair development for a disadvantaged community results from a mutual pact between the community and the state. In any case, hydro development in Canada clearly highlights the relationship between successfully reconstructed power relations and the content of various agreements among aboriginal communities, provinces and the federal state. What is more, there is strong evidence to confirm a fully developed power transference and the success of community development and possible nature of integration. Moreover, there is no single understanding of integration of the two economies; there are, however, different approaches to explain economic cooperation.

If we follow the history of hydro development in Canada, we may discern three different periods showing changes in power relations. Looking, first, at the nature of the La Grande project in James Bay, Québec, the strong iron triangle that consisted of the Québec provincial government, the federal government and the provincial Crown corporation Hydro-Québec, assured that the local Cree finally accepted conditions offered by the provincial government for building the project (Rousseau 2000; Durnik 2009). Even though, in a sense, conflict existed at the higher levels, there was no power reconstruction in the relations among the policy actors. In real terms, throughout the history of hydro development, it is evident that if the above-mentioned triangle had not been somehow broken or softened, they would have been no major improvements in aboriginal community development. In fact, what is at issue is not only compensation for destroying the land and traditional way of life, but what is even more important, namely the mode of participation of aboriginal communities in future community economic development. Furthermore, the question is in what a way the aboriginal way of life might be preserved. Fundamentally, development strategies that were partially carried out in various agreements clearly express power relations facing the real nature of legal acts. Regarding the proposed research model, and with respect to La Grande project, negotiations took place primarily at the level of the province (Québec) with no visible role of the federal government acting as a neutral player (even fundamentally maintaining the power status quo). The changing role of the federal government in hydro policy sometimes crucially affected the strong alliance between provincial policy players. The policy space was partially closed for outside players and strongly controlled by the Québec government bodies in the case of the La Grande project. The social planning model, which is widely considered as having assured the James Bay and Northern Québec Agreement (JBNQA), in some sense meant an empowerment for the Cree and the “development of a strong

sense of Cree nationhood” (Martin and Hoffman 2008, 5). Power transfer would, in this case, have to obviate, for example, huge environmental damage caused by the proposed project. On the contrary, the Chisasibi community was largely affected by the La Grande project. Niezen (1993) reported family violence, suicide and high rates of alcohol and drug abuse within the community.

In contrast to the La Grande project, a strong international alliance affected the construction of the Great Whale River project in James Bay, which radically changed power relations in the region. The local Cree communities that were widely experienced with the La Grande case established a strong international network of important policy players. This was one of key moments in Canadian hydro development due to the real transference of power from the province to the Cree communities. This policy effect of internationalisation culminated in various ways. The local Cree acted on three different levels: with the New England States, with Europe and with the United Nations. Their interests were widely lobbied in the European Parliament, the International Water Tribunal, the Barcelona Olympic Games, at the Vatican, etc. (Rousseau 2000, 347). Maybe the most important view regarding the research model is the widening of the policy level – the move from the previously largely local and provincial level to global policy action. A policy space was created from below but included all possible levels of policy action. The social action model of community economic development did not result in an advanced level of possible cooperation but, on the contrary, it resulted in the cancelation of the Great Whale River project by the province of Québec.

Finally, the Wuskwatim Generation Projects in northern Manitoba present another view of possible cooperation among provincial Crown hydro corporations and aboriginal communities. Having in mind a potentially high level of conflict, provincial governments are strongly aware how important is to minimise these tensions. Hence the Manitoba government through the Environmental Assessment and Licensing Process verifies different angles of various developments which would presumably have important environmental effects on communities (Durnik 2009). Vast public debates are planned in the context of placing huge developmental projects into communities. What is especially interesting is the nature of those public debates. Largely established as invited spaces of participation, they are formally open to all interested public and affected communities and to potentially important policy issues. In real terms, and as is evident for the Wuskwatim Generation Project, the interests of the aboriginal communities are somehow captured in public debate procedures and their interests cannot be fully expressed due to the power of experts. Expert policy communities appear which largely determine the nature of policy knowledge. This type of power may be perceived as the product of a highly technical discourse. One of final results of

90

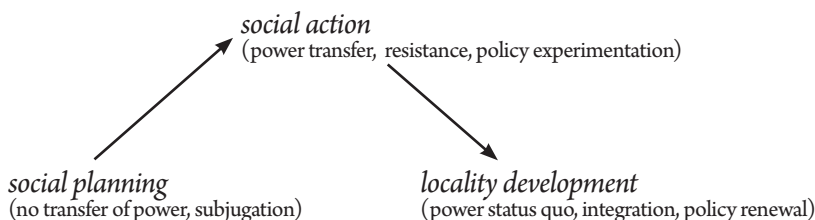
this complex process, also crucial in the evolution path of community economic development models, was the Government of Manitoba offer (in the form of sectoral support programmes) to aboriginal communities for ownership in hydro dams constructed by the Manitoba Hydro. The Nisichawayasihk Cree Nation of Nelson House decided to enter into a development agreement with Manitoba Hydro in the sum of 1.2 billion Canadian dollars (33 per cent of the shares) concerning the construction of the Wuskwatim Project (Loxley and Simpson 2007, 31). There were some concerns about the community share in the project and the type of jobs offered to community members (Kulchyski 2004). Following Kulchyski, accepting that kind of business share in the project may provoke significant changes in native economies and their potential destruction (for example, the loss of traditional hunting). On the other hand, the *La Paix des Braves* (the Agreement Respecting a New Relationship Between the Cree Nation and the Government of Québec), does not presuppose joint ownership but guarantees the right to traditional hunting and also jobs in hydro development without a business share (Loxley 2010, 146). Finally, the narrower level of policy action also confirms that the provincial governments may successfully lower tensions by involving policy actors and issues in public policy protocols.

The goal of power transference is the reconstruction of old power relations between policy actors. In fact, the process of empowerment takes place in the community and between non-state policy actors. Furthermore, we have to differentiate between the transference of power which results in changing relations between player A and B, on the one hand, and different forms of power as mentioned above, on the other. For example, power relations may be changed in the context of the first (i.e., visible) face of power. With respect to the Wuskwatim Project, the issue of compensation may belong to the first face of power as an example of trading with resources. In contrast, experts' power in public debate is more of a discourse phenomenon, and may only be measured with Foucauldian knowledge/power/discourse formations. In the case of the Great Whale River Project, there was also a transference in terms of power visibility – i.e., building strong alliances through networking. The role of the federal government in the case of the La Grande Project (that is, non-intervention) is somehow close to Bachrach and Baratz's (1970) conception of non-decision-making.

We may conclude that development strategies are captured by the policy process. It was mentioned above that political science has to be integrated with mainstream economics. Here, in methodological terms, we may speak about the politics of the economic policy process (similarly, see Howlett and Ramesh 1998). It is very evident that policy renewal is possible in the context of development strategies with a long-term tradition. Above all, policy renewal cannot be carried

out without policy experimentation. The following argument negates a linear option of community development evolution models as mentioned above. With respect to Canadian hydroelectric development, the social action model is a model intermediate between the social planning and locality development models, not the final community economic development evolution model.

Figure 1: Dynamic understanding of community economic development evolution models



4.2. Using Community Economic Development Evolution Models in the Case of the Roma and the National Program of Measures

We are aware that all three evolution models are hypothetical in their nature. An actually-occurring path of development planning is, of course, much more complex. As we have seen in the case of Canadian hydroelectric development, idealistic linear development from social planning to social action has not been confirmed. It is more useful to speak about the shedding of development principles from one model to another, visualising a dynamic multilevel process. Furthermore, as we may learn from the Canadian case, transference of power is a fundamental category with respect to the possible empowerment of a particular community. Following Mendell (2010, 1), empowerment must “result in a substantive transfer of resources”.

As for the research model, the proposed strategy in terms of future development for the Roma is a conventional top-down, state-centred approach to development, close to what we have defined as a social planning model. What differentiates the National Program of Measures from the locality development model is the absence of “common interest among groups in society” (Shragge 2003, 69). According to Shragge, in this case a broad consensus has to be expressed at the local community level in order that solutions for social problems may be imposed. The National Program of Measures certainly addresses a broad range of different state interventions and as such may be perceived as a strategy that may resolve acute problems of underdevelopment in the Roma community. On the other

hand, its conventionality limits its potential to be treated as a model of radical social change in the near future.

According to Mendell (2010) and Gaventa (2006), spaces of public participation create the path of community development. In the case of establishing the National Program of Measures, policy space has been created as the one preferred. Mendell (2010, 10) talks about hybrid spaces of participation, presupposing the negotiated planning model (*ibid.*, 2). A real difference between the policy space created by the Slovenian government in terms of the proposed strategy and Mendell's view is in the negotiated economy potential. In the case of a negotiated economy, community members actively cooperate in building future development and strategies. The fact is that the Roma community faces an important deficiency of policy knowledge regarding development policies. What we may suggest is the establishment of a permanent body of experts from different academic fields who could give advice to the Roma community in terms of future development and development strategies. Furthermore, that kind of body might have a representational function concerning community needs. Regarding the National Program of Measures, experts operate as advisors primarily to government.

In the context of the politics of community economic development, radical pedagogy (Freire 1970) directed at community empowerment is the urgent next step for the Roma community. Here are some policy recommendations:

- ♦ creation of policy spaces from below which would guarantee to the Roma community some visibility towards the other policy players;
- ♦ the knowledge of development has to be properly translated and represented in a form that is closer to the vision of community members;
- ♦ the government has to recognise the potential of radical community change and act differently from the mainstream conventional logic of vertical policy directions;
- ♦ as for potential power transference from the state to community, some level of politicisation of development themes has to be allowed;
- ♦ the political representation of the Roma in creating community economic development has to be widely publicised (about the construction of the Roma political representation see further Komac 2007).

The logic of pursuing community economic development, according to Sheldrick (2007, 90), from a political point of view, represents a possibility for establishing new models of cooperation between the state and the community. From our viewpoint, the "apathy" (Gaventa 1980, 17) and the "culture of silence" (*ibid.*, 208) in the Roma community as concepts related to hidden power have to become also the subject of power transference.

5. Synthesis

We have used a simple model of power visualisation with the aim of showing how different development strategies may be understood in the context of power relations among policy actors. It is evident that understanding community development is generally related to the question of power transfer from the state to community and even wider. In fact, there are important differences between the aboriginal case in Canada and the Roma in Slovenia. The aboriginal peoples in Canada have developed the issue of institutionalised resistance through many historical clashes with the English crown and the Canadian state. That kind of know-how is largely missing in the case of the Slovenian Roma. For this reason, it seems reasonable that development planners place an important focus in advance on re-building community enthusiasm for active participation in development. We tend to agree with Loxley (1981, 2010) that thinking about dual models in development is too conservative and even discriminatory with respect to disadvantaged communities. On the other hand, development planners have to understand that marginal communities may imagine and practise their own pace of progress, not out of a dominant mode of production, but in a way that may benefit from integration. In this sense, transference of power, as explained at length, is of crucial importance.

94 Notes

¹ Valuable reading regarding the Roma legal status in Slovenia is Klopčič (2007). Additionally, for the international context in Roma issues see Polzer-Srienz (2007).

² Discrimination in the job market is often a latent parameter. Becker (1957) points out that discrimination is an influence of something we may call “taste” and “behaviour” and would persist in the dominant (white) public and production forces. In fact, this type of production would force ethnic minorities to work more for the same money. Becker’s logic sees factors relevant for racism as external parameters regarding the economic system. In contrast to Becker, Reich (1971, 1981) sees racism as an “internal” problem of the economic system. In this sense, workers lose with respect to capitalist owners and racism goes hand in hand with capitalist institutions.

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