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COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT IN CANADIAN
ADULT EDUCATION: LOOKING BACK AND
MOVING FORWARD

José Wellington Sousa

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COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT IN CANADIAN ADULT EDUCATION: LOOKING BACK AND MOVING FORWARD

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Abstract

The following content analysis aims to explore how community development has been conceived in Canadian adult education. The analysis is based on publications of the Canadian Journal for the Study of Adult Education (CJSAE) from 2009 to 2019. This article is motivated by the understanding that community development is an intrinsic part of Canadian adult education history. Thus, having reviewed the CJSAE publications, I have conceived community development within Canadian adult education in five ways: research-based and classroom-based community development, transnational feminist radical community-led development, feminist empowerment-focused community development, film festivals as community development, and queer activism and community development. I conclude by saying that despite community development being a terminology seldom explored in the articles analyzed, the commitment to building communities to liberate and transform society is still the driving force of our field of scholarship and practice.

Résumé

L'analyse de contenu qui suit vise à explorer la conception historique du développement communautaire dans le contexte de l'éducation des adultes au Canada. L'analyse est fondée sur les publications de la Revue canadienne pour l'étude de l'éducation des adultes (RCÉÉA) entre 2009 et 2019. Cet article est motivé par l'idée que le développement communautaire fait partie intégrante de l'histoire de l'éducation des adultes au Canada. Ayant consulté les publications de la RCÉÉA, je propose cinq conceptions du développement communautaire au sein de l'éducation des adultes au Canada : celle axée sur les recherches et la salle de classe; celle menée par la communauté et mobilisée par les féministes radicales transnationales; celle axée sur l'autonomisation féministe; celle véhiculée par les festivals de film; et celle liée au militantisme queer. Je termine en observant que malgré le peu d'exploration du terme « développement communautaire » dans les articles examinés, l'engagement à la création de communautés afin de libérer et de transformer la société demeure le moteur de notre champ d'études et de notre pratique.

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This article aims to celebrate the 40th anniversary of the Canadian Association for the Study of Adult Education (CASAE) by exploring how community development has been conceived within Canadian adult education based on *Canadian Journal for the Study of Adult Education* (CJSAE) publications from the last 10 years. I am motivated by the understanding that community development is an intrinsic part of Canadian adult education history (Welton, 1995, 2013; English, 2009) and that CJSAE is not only a symbol of the field of adult education in Canada, but also a representation of our beliefs and values (St. Clair, 2011). Therefore, I provide a landscape based on content analysis of papers published from 2009 to 2019 and using *community development* as a driving terminology. The analysis was assisted by NVivo, a data analysis software, to determine the presence of the term *community development*, followed by an inductive analysis of patterns and trends to determine how the concept has been perceived throughout these years.

I start by presenting different perspectives of community development and its interplay with adult education. Then, I provide a description of data collection and organization, followed by an examination of how CJSAE portrays community development. In an effort to make sense of this literature, I suggest five ways to conceive community development in Canadian adult education: research-based and classroom-based community development, transnational feminist radical community-led development, feminist empowerment-focused community development, film festivals as community development, and queer activism and community development. I conclude by stating that despite *community development* being a terminology seldom explored in CJSAE articles, the commitment to building communities to liberate and transform society is still the driving force of our field of scholarship and practice.

Community Development

The idea of community development involves two contested concepts: community and development. The former can be defined in geographic and non-geographic terms. As such, *community* may refer to a group or network of people tied to a place such as a neighbourhood or by a common experience or concern (Brown & Hannis, 1968). Yet community can also be defined in terms of perception, a process of creation, or a "made" experience that is here now but gone later. In this sense, community can be expressed in terms of an object, a noun, and a verb whereby subjects do community (Schenck et al., 2010). The last entails a psychological, social, economic, and environmental process of creating a disruption in an established reality to move toward a desirable one (Allen & Thomas, 2000). The nature of this disruption and the subsequent desirable development are informed by an ideological or discursive vision of society (Peet & Hartwick, 2015; Thomas, 2000). This feature makes development a political concept entangled in power relations.

Community development, then, refers to the process whereby people organize themselves to engage in action for change (Bennett, 1969; Hamilton, 1992), which reveals their hope and vision of a better world (Roy, 2016). Different visions of development can be categorized into two traditions: advances of/alongside capitalism and against capitalism (Thomas, 2000). The first position is often characterized as politically conservative. It is associated with Rostow's top-down modernization theory. Hence, this view of community development embraces Western values in combination with the usage of scientific and technical knowledge (Campfens, 1997; Thomas, 2000). Accordingly, community

development is an instrument used to mobilize local communities to participate in national efforts to implement and correct comprehensive planned interventions for socio-economic development (Campfens, 1997). Community mobilization and programs are intermediated by state agencies and non-governmental organizations. Moreover, the level of social reform promoted by these programs is less oriented toward the change of societal power relations (Campfens, 1997).

The second position, also defined as an oppositional movement, emphasizes bottom-up collective action for social change (Campfens, 1997). This position aligns with "the moral ordering of human life and the political practices of social emancipation and human liberation" (Campfens, 1997, p. 28). Campfens (1997) explained that, on one hand, efforts against capitalism are inspired by the Marxist idea of class struggle and the role of the state in organizing a more just society. Associated with these efforts are Saul Alinsky's community organizing techniques and the notion that social change is a result of an organized collective action led by marginalized groups. On the other hand, groups are also involved in promoting change driven by the power of alternative and self-governing communities. This is the case of the communitarian movement that inspired the creation of co-operatives. In addition, alternative movements seek to revitalize values of human life that break from the Darwinist understanding of society present in the foundation of both capitalism and Marxism. Alternative movements emphasize voluntary engagement, solidarity and mutual benefit encouraged in self-help groups, local economic development societies, and grassroots mobilization for social reform.

Embedded in these community development traditions are adult learning theories that provide a framework for learning and action, without which community vision could not be achieved (Hamilton, 1992). Therefore, learning is an intrinsic yet overlooked part of community development. In essence, learning provides a way for people to acquire new skills (Knowles, 1980), improve practices (Lewin, 1948), and develop critical thinking (Mezirow, 1995) and critical consciousness (Freire, 2005) fostered through relational dialogue and critical analysis that potentialize social transformation (hooks, 1994). One of the goals of this article is to revive the bridge between community development and adult education.

Community Development Within (as) Adult Education

The association between adult education and community development is commonly neglected. There is a misconception that adult education is a formal activity provided by formal educational institutions (Hamilton, 1992). Hamilton (1992) argued that this misconception is reinforced by the fact that "most of the contemporary models of community development are being influenced by the fields of economics, sociology, and political sciences" (p. xiv). Nevertheless, he clarified that even though people can organize themselves primarily for social, political, or economic action, learning is a fundamental aspect of the organizational and developmental process. Reinforcing Hamilton's position, Moreland and Lovett (1997) asserted that a lot of learning outside the formal education system occurs, but is frequently not recognized as education. However, new ways of learning gain relevance given the need to adapt to rapidly changing environments and the increasing struggle for a more just society. Examples of such new ways of learning are social movement learning (Hall & Clover, 2005), different forms of popular education such as

street theatre (Kotze, 2017), participatory learning through study circles (Patel, 2017), and lifelong learning in its critical action form (Grace, 2013).

Adult education is a field of study and practice that goes beyond the notion of schooling or formal education (Hall & Clover, 2014; Pyrch, 2012). Adult education encompasses non-formal, goal-oriented, and organized pedagogical efforts to facilitate the learning of adults (Moreland & Lovett, 1997). Adult education also involves informal learning experiences that take place in everyday life (Moreland & Lovett, 1997). Pyrch (2012) explained that even though adult education was meant to correct the inefficiencies of the formal schooling system, it advanced to a greater critique of society (Pyrch, 2012) that leads to "activist work which entails both learning and social justice concerns" (English & Mayo, 2012, p. 135). Part of it is based on the understanding that the dismantlement of unjust social structures is done particularly by adults who learned new ways of being in the world (Mayo, 1999). Thus, adult education provides ways for community building and fosters learning that leads people toward a critique of dehumanizing ideologies such as neo-liberalism. Adult education results in alternative forms of development.

The literature on adult education portrays different ways of referring to community development. For instance, community development is referred to as community-based education (Shaw & Crowther, 2013; Westoby & Shevellar, 2016), community education (Moreland & Lovett, 1997), popular and emancipatory education (Ledwith, 2016), community action (Hamilton, 1992), social movement learning (Hall & Clover, 2005), and so on. Community, popular, and social movement elements of these nomenclatures reveal the preference for learning activities that serve the interests of and are led by grassroots groups (Westoby & Shevellar, 2016). Depending on the community's vision, these activities may result in the acquisition of technical and practical knowledge. The former has to do with skills oriented to the accomplishment of a task, such as computer, organizational planning, and job-hunting skills. The latter refers to knowledge that helps people to work together, such as communication, conflict resolution, and community organizing skills. Furthermore, people can also come together to produce emancipatory knowledge, which comes out of critical analysis of people's subjectivities and social structures (Cranton, 2006). Critical analysis is commonly rooted in humanistic and, more recently, post-structural, feminist, and post-colonial theories.

Methods

To understand how community development has been perceived in Canada over the last decade, I performed a content analysis of articles published in CJSAE. Content analysis is a "data analysis process whereby researchers investigate content within a message or text" (Holman, 2017, p. 246). As such, content analysis is a helpful method to identify trends and patterns in a set of data (Stemler, 2001). According to Sekaran and Bougie (2016), the descriptive process can be done by employing conceptual or relational analysis. Conceptual analysis refers to identification of presence and frequency of particular words followed by the analysis of their meaning. Relational analysis, however, is a further process whereby researchers examine the relationships between different concepts (Busch et al., 1994–2012; Sekaran & Bougie, 2016). In this article, I performed a content analysis with the assistance of NVivo, a qualitative data analysis software created by QSR International.

I started the process by downloading editorials, perspective papers, and articles in the English language published by CJSAE from 2009 to 2019. One hundred and twenty-two items were downloaded and inserted into NVivo. The items were submitted to a word frequency query of the term *community development*. My interest in using community development as a driving terminology relies on the understanding that community development, and development in particular, is historically a contested concept—a site of discursive dispute between different projects of society (Thomas, 2000). It also rests on my interest in shedding light on the extent to which community development is still a meaningful concept within the field of adult education to express the idea of community organizing, learning, and action for change. Note that one of the limitations of this procedure is the omission of papers that employ concepts that evoke the idea of community development without making use of the terminology.

The NVivo query tool considers the entire item, including terms found in the reference list. As a result of the query, NVivo produced a list of items that mentioned community development at least once. The fact that an article mentioned community development at some point does not mean that the article was focused on community development. However, it shows that the article had some degree of relationship with the concept, which may indicate how the concept was conceived and in what context it was applied within the field of adult education. After screening the first list, I created a second list with articles that gave relative importance to the term. I reviewed these articles and drew conclusions.

Findings and Discussion

I found that the term *community development* was mentioned 52 times in all of the items published by CJSAE from 2009 to 2019 (see Table 1). It appeared at least once in 26 items published during this period, which corresponds to 21% of the total items inserted into NVivo. Out of the 26 items, none were editorials and only one item was a perspective paper. The rest of the items were reflective papers, research reports, and reviews. Issues published in 2014 had the highest number of mentions with a total of 14, equivalent to 27% of the total mentions of community development. The second highest number of appearances came in 2015, with a total of 12, which represents 23% of the total number of times community development was mentioned. Issues published in 2017 did not mention the term at all.

Considering the diversity of topics within adult education, the fact that 21% of the articles published from 2009 to 2019 mentioned the term *community development* is exciting for someone, like me, who is interested in community development. However, even though word frequency is only a first step in conceptual content analysis, it does not mean that the articles are focused on community development. In essence, word frequency is an invitation to take a closer look at the data, to take a qualitative look and to examine how community development is portrayed.

I found that of the 26 articles mentioning community development, 46% gave relative importance to the term. Another 46% used the term but it was poorly connected to the main purpose of the publication, or its use hardly allowed a more robust inductive comprehension of it. This was the case of Hyland-Russell and Groen (2011). They used the term to inform that community development was the focus in courses that non-traditional learners took in university-level humanities programs. Likewise, in Alfred and Guo's (2012) literature review on internationalization in Canada and the United States, they referred to community

Table 1: CJSAE Community Development Word Frequency and Percentage Table (2009–2019)

Year	No. of items published	No. of items mentioning community development	Percentage of items mentioning community development	Community development word frequency	Percentage of word frequency per year	Average of word frequency per article
2009	11	2	18	5	10	2.5
2010	11	1	9	1	2	1
2011	11	5	45	8	15	1.6
2012	10	2	20	3	6	1.5
2013	6	2	33	3	6	1.5
2014	22	4	18	14	27	3.5
2015	13	3	23	12	23	4
2016	5	1	20	1	2	1
2017	6	0	0	0	0	0
2018	12	4	33	4	8	1
2019	15	2	13	1	2	0.5
Total	122	26	21	52	100	2

Note. The number of articles published excludes book reviews and articles in French.

development as one of the topics covered in the conference proceedings analyzed. Shan (2015) is also an example. She mentioned community development while outlining areas within the field of adult education. Finally, the last 8% of the articles employed the term only in the reference list.

The articles in the first group, which gave relative importance to the term, are summarized in Table 2 according to the type of study, community development word frequency, and terminologies associated with community development.

A review of the articles listed in Table 2 gave me insight on five loose ways to perceive community development in adult education. Additionally, other sources were included to make it a coherent narrative. Community development is conceived as the following:

Research-Based and Classroom-Based Community Development

Looking back at the first half of the 20th century, the golden age of Canadian adult education, it is evident that community development is an inherent part of adult education (Welton, 2013) and is associated with Canadian socialism and social reconstructionism (Welton, 2011). Welton (2013) stated that "the educational goal was nothing less than a new and deeper justice and more co-operative way of life" (p. 117). The Antigonish Movement relied on community civic education endeavours to teach people how to think critically and act co-operatively to have greater control of their lives. Furthermore, the creation and work

Table 2: Community Development Word Frequency and Homologous Terminologies

Year	Authors	Type of study	Community development word frequency	Homologous terminologies
2009	Clover and Craig	Feminist arts-based adult education and research	2	Arts-based adult education
2009	Brann-Barrett	Reflection on ethnographic study	3	Community education
2011	Welton	Memorial reflection	4	Adult education; community action
2013	Mizzi	Literature review guided by post-foundationalism	1	Queer activism and queer adult education
2014	Hall and Clover	Reflection	5	Adult education
2014	Roy	Case study	6	Film festival
2015	English and Irving	Critical feminist analysis	5	Social movement; struggle; adult education
2015	Neustaeter	Feminist intersectional analysis	6	Community activism; community action
2018	Fox et al.	Description of a program evaluation process	1	Arts-based program
2018	Balyasnikova and Gillard	Examination of a community-engaged university language-learning program	1	Adult education
2018	Miller	Description of the effects of a social justice theatre program	1	Adult community arts program
2019	Zhu	Marxist-feminist reflection	1	Participatory action research

of the Canadian Association for Adult Education, along with the Workers' Educational Association of Canada, women's institutes, and other community-based organizations, created a countrywide network of learning for transformation based on progressive values and democratic methods (Welton, 2013). Non-formal adult education activities such as study clubs, farm circles, and radio forums were some of the ways to organize ordinary people for learning. In essence, these activities made exploring alternative practices possible due to the failure of the free-market discourse and in order to resist non-democratic capitalist advances. These movements were defined by Welton (2011) as liberatory and they provided

a great synergy between community development, adult education, and grassroots activism for social justice.

The social movement orientation of adult education, however, was weakened by a professionalized model. In Welton's (1995) review on community development in adult education history, he affirmed that "adult education had died as a movement only to be still born in the Academy. The poor, once mobilized for learning to be masters of their own destiny were now researched to death" (p. 49). An example of this model where the people become objects of study is found in Brann-Barrett's (2009) article. Brann-Barrett (2009) aimed "to investigate how socially and economically disadvantaged young people, living in a post-industrial Cape Breton community, experience and perceive social and economic health" (p. 54). Even though her study was methodologically based on a process of community building and the application of community development and participatory methods such as focus groups and photo voice activities to facilitate critical dialogue, the disadvantaged are portrayed as research objects. Thus, there is a dialectic relationship between the objectification of the disadvantaged and a desire to be in community. This is evident through Brann-Barrett's choice for humanizing research methods where relationships are valued. Therefore, community development is implicitly entangled in the research while also becoming the focus of the research. According to Brann-Barrett, community development has to do with education for individual "employment, citizenship, health, learning, and capacity-building" (p. 56). It has the potential to help people adapt to the rapid changes driven by globalization and neo-liberalism.

Participatory action research (PAR) is another example of a research-based model associated with community development. PAR can be situated in the tension between the social movement orientation of adult education and institutionalization. Originally, PAR was conceived as a "people's own independent inquiry" (Rahman, 1991, p. 17), a community development activity in itself (Stoecker, 1999) that involves raising people's critical consciousness, investigation, and citizen-led engagement for transformation of structures that lead to poverty and marginalization (Leal, 2011). However, in university circles, PAR is commonly framed as a collaborative approach whereby very often the people are invited by researchers as equal partners to engage in investigation and action for social change (Hall et al., 2016). Despite the attempt to break with the traditional subject/object dichotomy in research, Zhu (2019) contended that limitations imposed by institutions, the persistent unequal power relations, and issues around control and dissemination of knowledge undermine PAR's empowerment and emancipatory potential. Zhu's (2019) Marxist-feminist analysis of her own experience performing PAR with Chinese immigrant mothers led her to the conclusion that this handicapping process of PAR was due to the neo-liberal ideology engendered in the academic institutions and researchers' mindsets and practices.

Another tension is created by the ongoing trend of collapsing adult education into schooling (Hall & Clover, 2014). In his article, Hall mentioned his conversation with Paul Bertelsen, former head of adult education at UNESCO, who stated that if there is a place where adult education would gain more visibility and be more active, it would not be in ministries of education, but in "ministries of social development, community development, or rural development" (Hall & Clover, 2014, p. 2). Otherwise, adult education is like a "small cousin, the strange boat in a sea of schooling" (p. 2). This is because most of the adult education work does not align with the discourse of education as schooling, even

though its theory and practice are relevant for both schoolteachers and community-based practitioners. Clover suggested that adult education carries within it an urge to work in the community and through creating community. The emergent community then becomes the source of subversive creativity and imagination, which drives learning and is also driven by learning. People's subversive creativity and imagination are materialized into action that leads to a progressive idea of society (Hall & Clover, 2014).

Yet in the middle of the struggle between the social movement and transformational orientation of adult education and institutional arrangements, adult educators resist and reinvent themselves. Some of them try to create bridges between adult education and schooling. They make classrooms a community development experience (Butterwick, 2014). This is evident in Balyasnikova and Gillard's (2018) account of how they used storytelling and arts-based education to teach immigrant older adults. The authors explicitly said that "adult education [is] a form of community development" (p. 82). Balyasnikova and Gillard showed evidence that storytelling is a fruitful tool for language teaching and learning; it provides an opportunity for great diversity and connection among participants, increases language confidence, and motivates active participation of the students in their community. Therefore, research-based and classroom-based community development practitioners rely on the understanding that community development is a work philosophy—a humanized way of being and learning with research participants and students.

Transnational Feminist Radical Community-Led Development

Despite the tensions that adult education has been facing, feminist scholars and practitioners are part of the group who kindle the grassroots, community development, and liberatory flame of Canadian adult education. Neustaeter (2015) stated that women, particularly in rural settings, have a historical contribution of breaking "the isolation of rural and frontier life by putting their time and energy into women's organizations focusing on community development and social and political change" (p. 105). In a broader sense, the feminist struggle for a more just society involves cross-sector solidarity, which includes the community engagement and advocacy for "rights and protection in the areas of labour, First Nations, gender identity, anti-violence, anti-racism, and the environment" (English & Irving, 2015, p. 2). Feminism is alive, English and Irving (2015) claimed.

The statement that feminism is alive is particularly true in the community. Yet according to English and Irving (2015), feminist transformative goals and learning in the community have been overshadowed by a focus on personal and formal classroom-based learning experiences. In this sense, English and Irving explained that feminism goes way beyond classroom-based learning and individual empowerment; feminism refers to "communities working to change inequitable structures" (p. 12). In this endeavour, community education, popular education, and social movement learning, which are concepts rooted in the idea of adult education as community development (English & Mayo, 2012; Hamilton, 1992; Ledwith, 2016), are fundamental elements for organizing, educating in the community, and mobilizing for change; they bring learning to the core of community development. For instance, Ledwith (2016), based on a Freirean anti-racist feminism idea of community development work, argued that popular education provides a framework whereby people in communities are able to develop a critical consciousness. Through popular education, people learn how to question the contradictions of everyday life responsible for oppression

of different intersectional forms, places, and levels. In essence, a critical consciousness is developed through collective action-reflection that goes from local to transnational engagement for change.

Central to feminist learning and activism is the neo-Marxist Gramscian concept of organic intellectuals (Ledwith, 2016). Organic intellectuals are leaders or activists who are formed and nurtured by the struggle of their communities. They are responsible for organizing and facilitating processes of critical consciousness that lead to the dismantlement of hegemonic forces and the construction of a just society (Ledwith, 2011). According to English and Irving (2015), feminist frameworks such as Ledwith's bring forth a political learning and action agenda at the same time that they emphasize the role of feminist grassroots activism in influencing international policy making.

Fundamentally, English and Irving (2015) emphasized the role of feminist political learning as well as the fact that such learning takes place in the community, within social movements. It has the purpose of dismantling systems of oppression. This is why community development is defined here as radical. English and Irving suggested a synergic relationship between community development and learning, which echoes the golden age of Canadian adult education: a grassroots/citizen-led and liberatory movement.

Feminist Empowerment-Focused Community Development

Community-based feminist education is also performed by having individual empowerment as the main goal. Clover and Craig (2009) explored the impact of feminist arts-based adult education and research on 20 homeless/street-involved women, which I define as empowerment-focused community development. Different from English and Irving (2015), the authors placed a strong emphasis on women's individual empowerment, even though empowerment takes place in a community and to some degree contributes to social change. The project was the result of a needs assessment that indicated that a program for women was needed where they could explore their artistic side at the same time that the public could be engaged in discussions around homelessness and poverty. The women were able to explore their lived experiences and, as a result, produce individual and collective artwork to be exhibited to the public. The artwork workshops also aimed to train the women as artists who could use their skills as a source of income. The artworks produced were visual representations of topics discussed during the project, including violence, poverty, and motherhood.

As a feminist adult education project, the aim was to "work with marginalized and oppressed women to maximize their potential to develop new understandings and relationships, a sense of agency, and possible strategies for future change" (Clover & Craig, 2009, p. 22). At the same time, as an arts-informed research project, the artworks were a way to enhance personal and social development and socio-political learning, and to understand the human condition through an alternative form of representation. In addition, it was a vehicle to reach out to different audiences. According to Clover and Craig (2009), the exhibition brought together 300 people from different backgrounds, including homeless people, community practitioners, business people, and government representatives. The research explored the impact of the project not only on the women involved, but also on the university researchers, the artist educators, and those who attended the exhibition. The research methods included a focus group interweaving the artwork and dialogue, a

learning journal for all participants, individual interviews, and a guestbook available during the exhibitions.

Feminist arts-based adult education provides a great link between community development and arts-based adult education and research. Clover and Craig (2009) showed evidence of this link in the section of their article exploring the relationship between art and meaning. While art was an important component of the project by enabling the expression of abstract and lived experience and a humanizing component in itself, one of the participants questioned the place of the art in the project. This participant affirmed that the project was not about art, but "it's about empowerment and community development" (p. 27). According to her, a focus on artwork puts emphasis on the results rather than the process. English and Mayo (2012) supported this understanding by saying that art is one of the educational strategies of community development. In essence, English and Mayo affirmed that artwork is a popular education technique commonly used by community development workers to help people to express themselves.

Indeed, process is a fundamental element that enhances the sustainability of desired outcomes (Corbett & Fikkert, 2012). Clover and Craig (2009) showed that the project helped the women develop a sense of belonging, trust, and co-operation, which are characteristics of a strong community (McKnight & Block, 2010). To work as a community also allowed the participants to develop practical knowledge (Cranton, 2006). In other words, the women developed abilities to share ideas and communicate better with each other. Practical knowledge enhances the capacity of building connections that lead to and are fostered by dialogue, where people can listen, receive a response from the other, and respond to the response (Westoby & Shevellar, 2016). In addition, the women were empowered through embracing a new identity as artists and through acquiring skills and capacities. Clover and Craig explained that as the project unfolded, the women as artists and artist educators were able to engage in mutual teaching and learning. The process of gaining control brought forth political consciousness and a sense of power to act collectively to address community concerns, which echoes the emancipatory goal of the project. Putting their voice collectively out there and in a creative way was a starting point.

Collaborative adult education projects are a site of community building and learning for personal and social development. This idea is not only evident in Clover and Craig's (2009) research report, but also supported by Neustaeter (2015). Neustaeter stated that women's community involvement relates to opportunity for learning and building supportive communities. According to Neustaeter, it provides opportunities to develop a "sense of self and agency" (p. 112). Through community and non-formal learning, people have the means to develop new ways to perceive themselves and others and to learn technical, practical, and emancipatory knowledge (Cranton, 2006), which also have the potential to generate income. By focusing on women's personal development in community, Clover and Craig did not collapse individuals into the collective. In essence, through dialogue rooted in mutuality and reciprocity, individuals build community and move toward a collective project of change.

Film Festivals as Community Development

Film festivals are acknowledged as facets of Canadian community development (English, 2009). By exploring the role of film festival organizers and the impact of the events

on participants, Roy (2014) was intentional in employing the term *community development*; she associated it with the notion of social movement and struggle. In essence, Roy was one of the few authors short-listed by NVivo who made community development, and particularly development, one of the central aspects of her research report (see also English & Irving, 2015). Her case study analyzed two film festivals, the World Community Film Festival and the Travelling World Community Film Festival. The former is an "effort to link local and global development" (p. 2) and the latter is a way to promote community building and solidarity during international development week. Roy suggested that film festivals are places where stories of change are told and community development and social justice issues are discussed. Furthermore, the festivals are community development experiences in themselves.

The festivals provide a space where people with diverse backgrounds or identities or who are involved in different social movements can experience collective learning through attending film sessions together and dialoguing based on what they saw in a safe environment (Roy, 2014). Roy (2014) affirmed that the stories told through film very often are neglected by the mainstream media or provide an alternative view on personal and political issues. Furthermore, the author explained that organizers are intentional not only about bringing awareness and putting information out there, but also about the process of raising consciousness and hope for a better world. This process leads people to new ways to perceive themselves, others, and their world, which becomes a catalyst for action and transformation. For example, Roy mentioned that the World Community Film Festival led to the creation of the World Community Development Society, which is responsible for the promotion of Fair Trade. A participant declared that after attending a film, she could better appreciate nature and think about how she could be more environmentally responsible. This statement reveals that art is a powerful tool for transformative learning at the individual level (Miller, 2018) without losing the notion of collective.

Queer Activism and Community Development

The field of international queer activism, queer adult education, and community development is rising in Canada (Mizzi, 2013). Not that it did not exist; Chenier (2015) stated that "Canada has a long and rich history of queer organizing, and much of it has, until now, been untold and undocumented" (p. vii). Mizzi's (2013) literature review on "the notion of (dis)location with educators who cross borders for work" (p. 53) is not focused on community development per se. However, he indicated that queer activism and community development are associated with transnational grassroots organized efforts to build a society open to sexual diversity. He cited two Canadian organizations engaged in transnational initiatives: Queer Peace International and the Iranian Railroad for Queer Refugees. The former aims "to empower grassroots LGBTQ+ organizations in developing countries to educate their communities on LGBTQ+ issues and concerns, as well as learn the necessary skills to advocate for their rights" (Ontario Council of Agencies Serving Immigrants, n.d., para. 1), and the latter works to alleviate the poverty of LGBT asylum-seeking refugees by supporting them financially and in the resettlement process (Iranian Railroad for Queer Refugees, n.d.).

The need and notion of international queer activism are contextualized through an account of the struggle of sexual-minority immigrants when facing heteronormative

policies and practices and the denial that sexuality is not a concern in crossing borders. Among the issues that Mizzi (2013) pointed out are the challenges faced by transgendered people to sponsor partners, the room given to homophobia by detailed medical screening, including the description of lifestyle required in the immigration process, and the denial of origin and negotiation of different forms of oppressions and ethnocentric violence. Mizzi did not address how queer activism is engaged in transformation of these structures. Yet Mizzi's article indicates that the field of queer community development exists and must be represented in any account of Canadian community development, particularly within adult education.

Community Development: Looking Back and Moving Forward

In the last 10 years, Canadian community development has been conceived in different ways. Community development can be defined as a work philosophy. In other words, community development is a process in which educators or researchers facilitate the engagement of students or research participants in learning or knowledge-creation processes. Hence, community building is an essential part of the classroom or research experience. Yet this classroom- and research-based community development approach is more likely to be led by experts while people comply with assigned tasks. Feminist empowerment-focused community development also relies on the understanding that community development is about community building for learning and individual empowerment. In this approach, individual empowerment can contribute to, but does not necessarily imply, societal structural change.

Community development is also defined as a grassroots or social movement endeavour. This is the case of transnational feminist community development, film festivals, and queer activism. These three lenses suggest that community development is simultaneously a local and transnational process that involves community building, learning, and action. Furthermore, there is an emphasis on transformational learning and radical societal change, in which the latter is achieved in great part through collective action and advocacy. This is strongly evident in transnational feminist community development and queer activism, but less evident in film festivals. Essentially, film festivals create temporary diverse geographic learning communities where "seeds" of hope and transformative action are sown in people's hearts. Hence, these seeds have the potential to lead to different community organizing initiatives and action.

Overall, Canadian community development has evoked an oppositional development tradition (Campfens, 1997). However, this orientation and the lenses I used to make sense of the literature are results of an inductive endeavour. In essence, the term *community development* is seldom used as a driving concept, and most of the time is used in a peripheral way. Preference is given to homologous terminologies such as *popular education*, *community-based education*, *social movement*, *community action*, *arts-based community education*, and so on. On one hand, this could be explained by an emphasis on the learning aspect of community development. On the other hand, it makes me question if community development and development in particular are no longer enough to carry adult education's outrage with injustice, commitment with the less privileged, and passion and hope for a better world (Nesbit, 2006). Perhaps Canadian adult education has been slowly departing from the development discourse and taking post-development pathways. Indeed, a

broader literature review considering different terminologies that also imply the idea of community development would deepen or even broaden the perception of how community development is conceived and clarify the paths that it has taken.

Despite the limitation of this article, the CJSAE-based literature review suggested that community development seeks to resist dehumanizing neo-liberal policies and action and explore alternative ways to move forward as a society. Moreover, it indicated that Canadian community development is strongly oriented by neo-Marxist and feminist critiques of society and relies on arts and media to facilitate community building, empower individuals, and transform unjust cultural, social, economic, and political structures. Furthermore, the rise of queer theory and activism points toward a community development that leads to greater inclusion and diversity in society. However, little could be inferred about queer community development. This may suggest the need for more queer research under the community development rubric.

Adult education is well known for its commitment to diversity and inclusion. Nevertheless, it is important to notice that none of the reviewed articles explicitly suggested or were based on a non-Western perspective of community development. For instance, none of them expressed an Indigenous perspective of community development. This shows the need for more epistemological diversity. This is a gap that must be filled by community development scholars. Indeed, it indicates another way to move forward in the field of community development in adult education.

Final Considerations

The passion of social movements and the commitment to increase the capacity of the less privileged and build strong communities for liberation are still the driving forces of Canadian adult education. These driving forces were not extinguished by tensions and pressures of institutionalization and university arrangement. On the contrary, they have led adult educators to resist and reinvent themselves by keeping the flame alive and spreading the transformative heart of the field. Adult educators are turning formal classrooms into a lively community development and emancipatory experience. At the same time, they are joining the people in the community to co-learn and co-teach in order to liberate, transform, and create a more just society here in Canada and beyond. Indeed, community development in adult education is not only an object of study, but a lifestyle engendered in the way we teach, research, and are with others. This is what kindles the hearts of scholars and practitioners in the field and guides our way forward. Yet community development in adult education is still predominantly Western. This indicates that our way forward should be characterized by more diversity and inclusion not only as an outcome of our practice and group representation, but also in how we perceive and know the world around us.

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