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Netzahualcoyotl

Photo by Sally W. Yudelman

A Popular Guide to Urban Living

Winthrop P. Carty
Vision, Inc.

Located on a dry volcanic lake bed, Netzahualcoyotl, or simply "Netza", is a suburb of Mexico City with over a million poverty-ridden inhabitants.

The Servicios Educativos Populares (SEPAC) is issuing a series of "how-to" booklets on living in Netzahualcoyotl, a huge poor suburb (*barrio*) of Metropolitan Mexico City.

Written in simple language and geared to the practical problems of residing in Netza, the booklets address such questions as health, education, available services and group action.

Many of the booklets have sold out their first run and are in second printing. And a second series of booklets will soon come out on such matters as

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Editorial communications should be addressed to the Editor, Journal of the Inter-American Foundation, 1515 Wilson Blvd., Rosslyn, Virginia 22209.

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sexual education, the role of women, the local tax system, educational systems and a history of Netza.

Located in the *barrio*, the cooperative publications workshop is manned by four staff members and is assisted by university volunteers. As a cooperative with less than ten members, SEPAC is legally defined as a "taller" under Mexican law. The Inter-American Foundation supported the book program with a \$27,000 grant in 1975.

Netza, named after an Aztec king, "the Hungry Coyote," holds a population of over 1.5 million inhabitants, many of whom are from the countryside. A vast majority of the dwellings were built by their occupants, mostly of cinder blocks and laminated steel roofing. The age profile, common to areas with a high birth rate, shows an average age of under 15 years old.

The *barrio* grows at a rate of 20,000 monthly or double the figure of a decade ago. The explosive growth far outstrips the government's ability to provide basic services. Built on the drained bed of Lake Texcoco and largely unpaved, the area is susceptible to blinding

dust storms on dry days and quagmires in the rainy season.

Populated by migrants from the rural sector and devoid of urban amenities, Netza understandably lacks community cohesion. By making basic information available, SEPAC attempts to make Netza less forbidding. And by using the workshop for some commercial jobs, it is hoped that the book program will become self-sustaining in the near future.

The SEPAC experiment may have world-wide application with regional adjustments. Netza is a microcosm of a world problem, the mass movement to the cities.

In roughly 25 years, it is estimated, man will make the historic shift from a rural animal who lives in the natural environment to a predominantly urban dweller who resides in the constructed environment. The transformation will be as historic as that misty moment in time when a majority of mankind changed from a nomadic life to the settled society of cultivated agriculture.

The surging growth of cities is amply illustrated by Mexico City. Metropolitan Mexico City had a population of 3.4 million in 1950 and the nation as a whole was roughly two-thirds rural. The capital city had 8.6 million in 1970 and the nation was 48.4% urban, as defined by the number of persons living in population centers of 20,000 or more.

And Mexico has now passed that historic point of becoming a predominantly urban nation. Metropolitan Mexico City, according to Inter-American Development Bank projections, will have a population of 13.6 million by 1980. The city's population increase in this decade alone, it should be noted, will be greater by far than the total population of the capital at mid-century. And by the end of the century, Mexico City will have a projected population of 31 million or more than the total population of Mexico in 1950.

Mexico, then, in the space of 25 years, has become an urban nation. By the continuing process of a high birth rate, a reduced death rate and a human flood to the cities, mainly the capital, the nation will be two-thirds urban by 1980 and the explosive growth of the cities is expected to continue through the next 25 years.

The small print shop in Netza addresses the realities of this traumatic change in the Mexican way of life and the "dual society" which dominates virtually every Third World society and exists in most developed nations. A minority of Mexicans live a life scarcely indistinguishable from that of affluent North Americans—cars, televisions, modern houses and all the luxuries of the consumer society. But the great majority pile up in shanty towns of their own making on the outskirts of towns. Most inhabitants of the world, it should be remembered, live in dwellings fashioned by their own hands.

Rather than waiting for the central government to wave a magic wand over Netza, SEPAC turns out booklets which deal with the specific problems of living in the *barrio*. The language and suggestions are in the context of the area. By way of contrast, many Third World nations have building and health codes, etc., which are literal translations of advanced Western techniques.

Netza presents both disadvantages and advantages for a newcomer trying to make the adjustment to urban living. In many swollen, poor *barrios* of the world, migrants gravitate to sections occupied by kinfolk or friends from the same rural area. And in Africa, urban communities are formed on tribal ties. The same processes don't widely apply in Netza, but the inhabitants are blessed by a relatively high literacy rate.

In a basic booklet, "The Netza Colony Manual," the point is made that "what characterized the birth of Netza-hualcoyotl was not a population (a hu-

man group) that made a city with the character of a 'place to live,' only the allotment of terrain to 'accommodate' migrants from the countryside." Incredibly, the vast city was a barren area in 1945.

To fill the information and service gap in the spontaneous, sprawling city, the booklets provide such basic data as a Netza map, the location of telephones, health centers, post offices, fire stations, public officials, police stations, etc., and a simple explanation of how people can take advantage of what services are available.

In the popular booklet, "Guard your Health . . . It's a Treasure," the people are warned about the dangers of limited trash collection, bad diet, polluted water, lack of plumbing and the rest. Antidotes are suggested. But the basic message of the booklet is simple, "Don't forget this: we are responsible for our own health . . ."

Oscar Maisterra, the cultured and perceptive director of the book program, is fully aware of the difficulties of "popular communications." Although three of the booklets have sold out their first runs of 1,000 copies and are in second printing, an "alternative outlet" must be found for the publications. Commercial stores are limited and greatly add to the sales price.

"Both Mexicans and foreigners, too, often come to 'study' the people," he says, "and return to their universities with enhanced prestige. But we need grassroots information, not theory, which answers the people's practical problems. We need, for example, a serious study of Netza's transportation problems. At five or six in the morning you can see thousands of people awaiting buses for a two-hour trip to work. When they finally return at night, it is no wonder that there are the problems of alcoholism and other signs of personal distress."

Slowly the taller is reaching a point of



self-sufficiency and a revolving fund is building for an increasingly varied series of practical booklets. The writing techniques are being improved through feedback from the readership. Maisterra is particularly proud of a history of Netza that is being written by a young man of the *barrio*. "His history is original and gives one quite an insight into how people see their world evolving around them," Maisterra adds.

The adoption of the well-illustrated booklets by local cooperatives, health clinics and the federal school system attests to the success of the SEPAC

method of practical education. Although the books are designed to meet the needs of a specific community, SEPAC well may add to the global knowledge of how man must deal with the harsh realities of his newly acquired urban existence. ■

Win Carty serves as Washington bureau chief of Vision, Inc., a Spanish language magazine, and editor of an English language newsletter on Latin American affairs, Vision Newsletter. An editorial consultant to the Inter-American Foundation, he recently made field visits to various IAF projects, two of which he writes about in this issue of the Journal.

Dyalog

William M. Dyal, Jr., President

"Two roads diverged in a wood, and I—I took the one less traveled by, and that has made all the difference."

Robert Frost's unique lines capture in a special way the experience of the Inter-American Foundation. Focusing on indigenous initiatives for change has led us down a unique road for six years. We have been involved with a rich and diverse array of people and organizations in Latin America and the Caribbean. In large part they are unknown to most North Americans. Their work is in the non-governmental sector, often invisible to the outsider. They seldom travel anywhere, and rarely have contact with other communities and regions.

Consequently, the participation of thirty-seven Latin and Caribbean representatives in a consultation ("*consulta*") with us in Washington was a big event. You certainly cannot say everything in a four-day setting. But the sessions represent a beginning of what we hope will be a continuing and enlarging dialogue, between them and the Foundation, as well as among themselves.

One of the purposes of this journal will be to provide an ongoing forum for the views and ideas about development, social processes, change efforts, and discoveries of the people of this hemisphere. Obviously this will not be for the Inter-American Foundation alone—but for everyone interested in man's concern about the quality and directions of life.

A clear message from our invitees at the *consulta* is their concern for an integrated, "wholesome" view of the development process. They believe communication and exchange is required among *all* its sectors and actors. To focus on any one group, area, or concept is to miss the richness and variety of people's initiatives to change their lives and their world.



Watching small farmers rehearse for Theater of Identity, Columbia, by Nereo

In this journal we will attempt to address this richness by soliciting and presenting a broad spectrum of views and experiences.

In a sense this is a new role for the Foundation. From day one we have tended to avoid anything resembling public relations or self-serving propaganda. This we will still avoid. Our emphasis will be on natural dissemination, on encouraging the interchange of ideas and experiences, on the mutual stimulation of self-reliance movements in the hemisphere and in the United States.

But it is time for us to "go public." The nature of an experiment is that it is open to all the world for critique and learning. In our five-year report, which we titled *They Know How*, we exposed our beliefs, our practices, our experiences, and our perceptions of "them",

the Latin Americans and Caribbeans with whom we have come in contact. We did it with a conscious sense of vulnerability, holding up a mirror, revealing warts, moles and all. We took our perceptions to our grantee-partners and asked for *their* perceptions of our perceptions. This reality testing taught us more than we had imagined and embarked us on a new quest to learn as we go. Just as we did not program or fund in isolation from the initiatives of the peoples of the hemisphere, neither will we learn in isolation.

In learning and in the vulnerability of openness we can all profit. New ideas and associations, insights, visions, and breakthroughs, can reshape our philosophies and our organizations, donor and recipient, North American and Latino and Caribbean. Truth and hope sit in no specific place or country. Man can profit from his brother's experience in success or failure, anywhere. The wholesome quality of partnerships in struggle and in learning will help to bring needed and wanted change everywhere.

As the consultation addressed human rights, this concept of "wholesomeness" became especially clear. A Caribbean voice urged, "let me struggle for my own human rights—just do not reinforce those who repress me and struggle against me." Others were concerned about linking bread to human rights, about the right to eat and the right to speak, to say "I'm hungry." One poignantly said, "you Americans sing 'this land is my land', but I can't sing that song."

Because *he* cannot, I find I am diminished that much in singing it myself.

But we would not be touched by his vulnerability if we had not made ourselves vulnerable in taking the road that led his way. That has indeed made all the difference—for the Inter-American Foundation. ■

Consulta- tion

Our grant recipients have frequently suggested to us that they could learn a great deal more about development processes if they knew more about each other's efforts. They, not surprisingly, look to the Foundation for assistance in their learning and in making outside contacts. They also have said that they would like to participate more in our internal learning process and analyses, such as our five year report, *They Know How: An Experiment in Development Assistance*.

Before actually publishing the report, we met with many of them throughout Latin America and the Caribbean to ask for their reactions. During these discussions, it became clear that they wanted to undertake cooperative learning efforts. Thus the idea of the "consulta", or consultation, was born: representatives of the various groups we have funded got together with Foundation staff and with each other, shared their experiences, and planned joint pursuits they deemed appropriate. And, not incidentally, they voiced some concerns they had about the past and future direction of U.S. development assistance and foreign policy.

"What does the new human rights thing mean? Will it be a new license for the U.S. to intervene in other countries?" some asked. Others unequivocally welcome this new U.S. initiative.

"The problem with U.S. foreign policy toward Latin America and the Caribbean is that there is none. What passes for such a policy is really recycled U.S. policy towards Eastern Europe: anti-communism," was a frequent observation made by *consulta* participants.

One remarked, "U.S. foreign policy changes about every ten years. The rhetoric is good to start with, but economic interests win out. Carter seems to offer a hope, however, at least in his rhetoric."

Another participant made a recom-



View of Indian community in the Paraguayan Chaco, by Anne B. Ternes

mentation that was voiced by many. "The United States needs to broaden the base of information upon which foreign policy is made. U.S. embassies, for instance, should get divergent views but they don't because in many cases they are not in a position to disagree

with the official country views."

When they arrived in Washington on February 28th, the representatives of IAF-funded organizations met first with each other to work out their agenda for the four-day conference. They formulated conclusions and recommendations

on future dialogue and their relationship with the Foundation. They then chose four major themes to be addressed during subsequent discussions with U.S. conferees: human rights, foreign policy, development assistance, and their own experience in a variety of non-public sector social and economic development initiatives and organizations.

Jonathan Silverstone, of the Agency for International Development, wrote an account of one of seven informal discussion groups consisting of the Latin Americans and Caribbeans and people from the U.S. government, international agencies, the press, universities, and private organizations:

"There was a range of views among the five Latin Americans, each from a different country, who were in the all-day discussion group I joined. But there were points, including those mentioned below, on which they appeared to agree.

"One of the chief problems the U.S. faces in Latin America is credibility, they noted. For each policy there appears to be a contradictory one. Is the U.S. down on Chile for human rights violations? Well, what about Somoza? Is the U.S. insisting on development policies to help the poor? Well, how does that square with the policies and practices of some corporations in Latin America that the U.S. Government supports?

"While they recognize the U.S. is a pluralistic society, and no one policy or approach meets the desires and needs of all interests in the country, we should not expect others to take moral or well-intentioned pronouncements seriously if we ignore the contradictions which are apparent to everyone else, they warned.

"The trouble with the AID program in Latin America, as they see it, is that we focus on the transfer of American ideas, which may not be appropriate to local circumstances, and we insist on the use

of American technicians and 'experts'. Also, while money is essential to any development program—and as grantees of the U.S. Government they did not want to discount that—they were troubled by our tendency to define and measure development in monetary terms.

"External aid agencies do not give enough attention to the real costs of the projects they sponsor, the visitors said. In Colombia, externally financed sugar mill programs have destroyed the capacity of local people to carry out subsistence agriculture. In Uruguay, a World Bank cattle development program consolidates large holdings—at the expense of small farmers.

"In Mexico, foreign experts and nationals working in agriculture who get their training abroad often refuse to understand that Mexico is not Wisconsin. The theoreticians are not ready to accept what their field workers tell them about local realities.

"The Inter-American Foundation guests are all actively engaged in the work of private voluntary organizations, and it was no surprise that they urged more attention should be given to programs that are outside the traditional official aid channels.

"On this point, however, I asked how can private organizations function effectively in countries ruled by repressive regimes. They said we must always remember each circumstance is different. In some countries, it helps to have the protection of the Church, although that is no guarantee of immunity. In others, it may be possible to take advantage of factional divisions within the military or of government inefficiency in the countryside. In general, however, there is a benefit if the regime knows that outsiders, especially Americans, have an interest in the work being done and that outsiders are watching what happens.

"These views are from only one of the seven discussion groups. So far as I

can tell, however, they are not unrepresentative."

The discussion groups formed the basis for later sessions that the grantees had with the Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs and his top staff, and with members of Congress. The substance of these discussions is, as much as is possible without jeopardizing some of the participants, reflected in selected remarks presented on the following pages of this *Journal*. ■

Luiz Ferdinando Torres Da Costa E Silva, President

Foundation for the Integrated Development of the Rio São Francisco, Bahia, Brazil

Development is a challenge, and it represents the main problem mankind has at the moment, with the complexity of all the elements it involves.

There are dozens of definitions of development, according to everybody's degree of awareness, or in accordance with the basic ideological or philosophical concept that each country or each institution has about man.

We have today a huge amount of financial and technological facilities; and, as a consequence, we have built a kind of society where each one is considered according to his bank record and not according to his personal values or what he is.

For this reason, I believe that all kinds of definitions and efforts of development that do not consider man as the subject, the goal, and the agent of any kind of development will represent the mutilation and even the destruction of mankind.

In our industrialized society, we are too sure of ourselves, and more and more there is an increasing frustration everybody feels because there is an

internal exigency for values other than material security.

We all hope for something new. We all believe and wish to build a better future. By my own experience, I can tell you that in the many years of close contact with men in the rural areas I have discovered that they represent a human raw material reserve that is not yet prostituted. From them we can learn a lot of the values we have lost. They are marginalized, they sometimes starve, they are dominated. But they can abide all these things because they believe in a better future, they believe in love, they have a hope nobody can destroy.

We may have science, money, power, and technology, but they have the basic wisdom we have lost. Sometimes what means weakness represents a strength, and our strength is our weakness. From you they can learn the meaning of freedom, the values of education and culture, the liberty you have to express your own points of view, to choose your own leaders and representatives, and that conscience you have of all the basic human rights.

Last week before coming to the U.S., people with whom we work told me, "please do not go there as a beggar of their money but ask them to give us back our own money they earn on our backs."

We hope that you all, in your contacts with our peoples, can destroy that distorted image people abroad have about the American people you represent.

I finish now by asking you, very informally, to have the humility to receive the learning this pure, marginalized people can give us, and to help us and them with your actual support to maintain alive their hopes. You in the U.S. have in your hands a unique chance, by changing yourselves and by feeding your own hopes, to help them and us not lose our hopes in freedom, in love and in human beings. ■

IAF Grantees Meet Congressional Leaders

Winthrop P. Carty
Vision, Inc.

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During the recent "consulta" in Washington, Sen. Lawton Chiles and Rep. Dante Fascell co-hosted a private congressional meeting with the IAF grantees from Latin America and the Caribbean. A wide range of opinions were exchanged at this informal hearing, principally relating to U.S. foreign assistance policy.

After the conference on the Hill, attended by various lawmakers and congressional staff members, Chiles and Fascell expressed some personal opinions about the IAF program, based in part on their talks with the grantees.

Sen. Chiles felt satisfied that the IAF "wasn't pressing programs on people. Our ideas simply haven't worked and it is time the U.S. assistance program permits the people involved to fashion their own solutions."

He found the "IAF's broad congressional mandate interesting and it could be a learning process for Congress."

Rep. Fascell emerged from the conference with the feeling that "the IAF experiment of participatory development is a demonstrated success."

He added, however, that Congress "has some real questions to address: should the level of grants continue at the present level? Should we make gradual or dramatic funding increases? Should we take another look at the self-starting concept whereby the grantee always takes the initiative? And should we consider longer term grants?"

"Now that credibility, interest and success are becoming established, we face the question of how to meet the tremendous and increasing demand. It is obvious that if we raise annual funding from \$25 million to \$100 million, we will receive \$2 billion worth of applications. My gut feeling is that the IAF

could not meet this kind of demand—but the whole subject is open to review. The IAF has proved its value as a stimulus, a catalyst. It is making an impact on congressional thinking and there is serious consideration of the creation of an African Foundation." ■

William Baez Sacasa

Executive Director
Nicaraguan Development Foundation

Oral presentation on March 3, 1977
before the House Committee on International Relations

We are a group of men and women who for years have been working in our own countries with people in the field of development. What we have to say is not part of a rhetoric or a production of our own imagination. It represents the feeling of many Latin Americans and Caribbeans who for years have been at the margin of the process of development.

We firmly believe that men are the subject and object of development.

Therefore, the majority of our efforts should be oriented to develop an integral man capable of achieving the needed changes in our countries.

Men should not only have more but be more.

We should not only provide him with material things but prepare him to achieve and defend his basic human rights.

Nobody can deny that the people of the United States have been generous through their program of foreign aid.

However, this aid has not brought about the necessary change in the quality of life of the poor majority of Latin America and the Caribbean.

The bilateral and multinational aid has not "trickled down." The needs of

governments are not necessarily the needs of the people; besides, too many decisions have been made at the top to benefit primarily a minority. The bilateral aid has always emphasized grandiose development, neglecting the satisfaction of people's basic needs.

Let's not forget that economic growth isn't enough to bring about development. We need a new strategy of development by which the poor majority share not only a more equal distribution of wealth but also an effective participation in the decisionmaking process.

Some of these ideas have been expressed in one way or another in several reports in the last five years: The Peterson Report, The Pearson Report, The Southern Connection Report, The Rockefeller Report.

We believe that now we are ready for action.

We all agree on the necessity of helping the poor. What is really needed is an efficient mechanism, a mechanism that will be flexible, respond rapidly, understand us and most of all, relate directly to the majority of Latin people—not only to governments.

The entrance of the Inter-American Foundation as a part of the mechanism of United States foreign aid has proved so far that through private development agencies and grass root organizations it is possible to reach the people's needs and bring about significant social and economic changes. The experience of IAF has also shown that the grassroots and private groups have enough capacity and honesty to develop programs and implement them, for the benefit of many people. Based on this, it is necessary to promote and implement a program that will provide direct aid to local indigenous groups that are, in the final analysis, the primary responsibility of a more just and human society. ■

The Learning Process

Arturo Espinosa
Mexican Development Foundation

There are many underdevelopment problems which have not been solved to date because we have not known how. This brings to light the need or necessity of developing a development methodology. To attain such a methodology, it would be necessary to have an experimental base which would allow reflection upon the same. For this reason, there are projects more important than others only because they incorporate a basic reflection process.

Social experimentation costs are duplicated within our Latin American and Caribbean countries when projects and solution-finding processes are repeated. A forum for exchange is required which would allow the communication of results and joint reflection.

The learning process can be undertaken at different levels. The first and most important is that of the base groups, a means through which they can begin their participation process and which generates their critical reflection capability and access to fundamental definitions. At this step, irreversible processes are begun, and their end cannot be foreseen.

The second level is that of a development agency which confronts the needs of personnel training, obtaining financial resources, and defining the promotional and educational lines. In this case, the process of exchange of information through international and regional mechanisms is valid.

On the third level are those support agencies, such as the Inter-American Foundation, which need to maintain their service lines adequate to the changing reality.

There seems to be some fear of the verification of results, of evaluation and theorization.

What is the real outreach of the Inter-American Foundation (IAF)? Is it conscious that it is engendering change processes which are irreversible and



which, at a given moment, can compromise the Foundation should such processes enter into conflict with political structure?

The change processes need a deep specialization which cannot be met with the superficiality and the spontaneity that the Foundation has had in accepting its projects.

The processes overflow the assimilation of knowledge and the intention of its promoters to become living things which create systems. To a certain extent, the IAF has acted as the spark for change processes which are in themselves irreversible. In what form can the IAF, which presents itself as an eclectic institution and one of great flexibility, participate in a development process which only has a concrete direction?

Who establishes the criteria and who approves the projects?

There are foundations which have national tutors or guides and which end up supporting only one group.

In other cases, the presence of the foundation awakens "cannibalism" between the different agencies and impedes the coordination which might be able to exist between them.

The approval of a project must be backed by the responsibility of leading to development.

The distinction between development agencies and projects should be made. A project is specific and quantitative while an agency is a local organization with its own institutional life.

The IAF has supported projects and development agencies, and some of

them have stopped at a certain stage of development because they require financing which is not obtainable from foundation sources. Could the IAF act as proxy before international credit resources, such as the World Bank, the IDB, and the Social Progress Trust Fund and become a financing channel for those projects which have grown to the point of becoming national development institutions?

Arturo Espinosa is Executive Director of the Mexican Development Foundation, established in Mexico City by a group of business and professional men. Its objectives are to provide credit facilities, technical assistance, and managerial advice to economically marginal groups and communities, and to encourage self-help efforts in rural Mexico.

The New Tragedy of the Commons

Csanad Toth

Inter-American Foundation

No one can doubt the reality and quasi-endemic dimensions of population growth, resource scarcity, unemployment, and hunger. But these real crises should not be used to excuse the single-mindedness, intolerance, and arrogance with which problems are defined and solutions imposed no matter what development theory happens to be in vogue.

The trickle-down theorists' optimism that growth would somehow lead to the economic emancipation of the multitudes is proving to be a global "tragedy of the commons." Even diehard supporters of this theory have disappeared into the woodwork. So the art of development management moves from the spontaneous spread of abundance to the wizardry of allocating scarce resources among ever-widening demands. The sole point of contention remaining in the new cause of more equal distribution is *how* the distribution is to be managed equitably and efficiently.

This wizardry of finite resource management among infinite demands has conjured up a relatively recent orthodoxy variously called global management, interdependence, and a new economic order. For want of heretics to this cause, the development debate has come to a screeching halt. Yet this may just be the right time for new heresies to raise their ugly heads.

It is not far fetched to assume that in the name of distribution, development will indeed become more than ever the prerogative of governments and not of people. This notion reinforces centralized planning, as if programs and schemes to alleviate the situation already existed in the minds of brilliant technicians, who only need the necessary material resources and political clout to launch their society toward a better future. This is a "Faustian obsession"—whether it builds dams or nursing homes. It suggests a closed, pre-ordained, pre-arranged future, where

people will always be clients, recipients, and objects of development, not the creators, originators, and protagonists of change.

Managers must manage and for this they need infrastructures, networks, layers upon layers of institutions. Ostensibly these are purely technological and managerial challenges requiring delivery systems, transfer mechanisms to move goods and services to places and people of greatest need. But in the final analysis, it is a political challenge, for distribution, equitable or not, requires authoritative decisions about who gets what, when, and how.

What control devices exist for the commons over who gets what? To whom are the global managers accountable? Whose values do they share, when they have the power to allocate them? What roles are left for the commons, but to be grateful and docile recipients?

The legitimacy of global management, it may be argued, is not in its means, but in its purpose, to reach the poorest of the poor with the greatest goods to the greatest numbers. But even assuming for the moment that ends and means relationships are for the moralizers and not the pragmatists, is distribution now the new excuse for defining development as a process whereby people receive more and become less? Can we speak of development merely as the more efficient and equitable delivery of goods and services to the neediest by the only authoritative agents, the governments?

Though needs are universal, solutions need not be uniform, nor grandiose in scale. Laudable as they may be, massive official programs to reach the poorest of the poor must, by the logic of scale, show efficiency and impact to the source of aid, accentuating centralization both in decisionmaking and implementation. Thus, when local capacity to absorb and administer such massive in-

Photo by Steve G. Vetter



2 fusions of aid is incipient, weak, or altogether non-existent, a potential pitfall exists. Huge increments of aid can lead to the mobilization of an ever-increasing bureaucracy, ensnared by the magnitude of its task instead of responding sensitively and sensibly to the peculiarities of local conditions and capabilities.

Since spaceship earth cannot navigate in a vacuum of spontaneity, a flight plan charted on universal and enlightened consensus is presumed. The plan, in turn, requires guidelines and rules to fit people into the rationality of global management. The presumed consensus is enforced by the powerful and their coteries of international and national technocrats and bureaucrats.

How this consensus is forged and articulated is, of course, the critical issue. If past precedents give the clue, there is no need to guess who is coming to dinner to this roundtable of collective accord. Only the holders of the purse and the omniscient and cognoscenti who can perceive the global agenda, the global needs, need RSVP the invitation. And this is the new tragedy of the

commons. While delivery systems become ever more sophisticated and aggressive, the values, ideals, and interests of each and every common person must yield to the imperatives of the presumed consensus.

When the survival of spaceship earth is at stake, the logic of command takes over. There is no time to search for or accommodate parochial views, to pit narrow interests against one another, to allow for errors, deviations, or unruly behavior. One need not long to restore the predominance of the "invisible hand" to see that problems will be defined at a level distinct from where they are felt, that predetermined priorities will stifle creativity and innovation and that people will be cogs in the machinery of problem resolution.

As long as the powers that be are crisis-managing in a situation of scarcity to meet increasing demands for goods and services, governmental expenditures may increase in the social sector, but problems and demands will multiply even faster. In the name of doing good, extraordinary powers will have to flow to the governments in order to raise

revenues to meet demands. The social and political costs of this are exorbitant.

The fact that multilateral aid institutions tend to shore up repressive and authoritarian regimes is only the tip of the iceberg of how arbitrarily priorities can be set. Who knows how equitable and just distribution is when, according to a recent study of the Center for International Policy, decisions in international financial institutions and banks are made behind closed doors, unencumbered by public accountability?

While this is the new tragedy of the commons, it is also a grand delusion. Delusion because development begins with a new perception of reality that permits hitherto unknown problem-definitions to emerge, new actions to come into play, and new relationships between people and their environment to appear. This cannot be done by fiat or decree, but only by involving the creative energies of people and communities in the planning and implementation of development. Practically all global-management prescriptions are top-down approaches that ignore the well-springs of creativity and innovation of the people to whom these approaches are ultimately directed. This at best leads to welfare, at worst it will bring forth or reinforce regimentation and, ultimately, repression.

Distribution cannot be the sole issue, with debate limited to who gets what, when, and how. There is something infinitely dehumanizing as well as impractical in this. A new dimension in global management should be the search for mechanisms and approaches that can accommodate and respond to the questions of who does what, when and how, and who creates and produces, as well as allocates goods, services, and values. ■

Csanad Toth, a political economist, formerly with AID and the Twentieth Century Fund, is Vice President of the Inter-American Foundation.

Profile

Edmund Benner
Inter-American Foundation

If you think Father Pablo Fink's name is unusual, you should meet the whole person. This young Italian priest has been working in both pastoral and social programs in isolated areas of Peru's sprawling Andes mountains for nearly ten years. He speaks Spanish with an inflection that is akin to the way Henry Kissinger speaks English. As a result, the Spanish language's usually crisp articulation emanates from Pablo in something of a muddled monotone.

And if his linguistic abilities are singular, his humor and comfortable perception of himself and his work in Peru are equally so. He can, refreshingly, joke about himself while taking his secular and non-secular chores very seriously. As for example in his definition of a priest, which he delights in telling: "A priest is someone everybody calls 'Father,' except his children who call him 'Uncle.'"

But far beyond Father Fink's ready wit, there lies a man concerned and involved. As parish priest in the distant mountain area of Chiquian, which is an eight-hour drive northeast of Lima, he is in daily contact with thousands of small farmers, artisans, and *campesino* (peasant) wives whose static sierra existence provides them with few alternatives, little hope, and negligible control over the decisions and relationships that affect them. But if, as has been axiomatically stated, people are the product of their environment, why should anything else be expected within the confines of a life in which every tomorrow is a carbon copy of today? Unless, of course, the environment itself can be given new dimensions and a new dynamic, which is exactly what Father Fink's work is all about.

Even in this "energizing" effort, however, he is unusual in his methodology. He involves himself in the change processes, rather than maintain the detached

position of hierarchy that frequently characterizes some of his colleagues. To do this, he engages in a continuing commitment to demystify the traditional perceptions of his priest-role through both actions and words. Even during the mass, not usually known as an exercise in innovation, he makes it a point to establish more horizontal, egalitarian relationships with the people by dialoguing with them, not just preaching to them. Further, he intentionally leaves the altar to place himself among them, rather than above and apart from them.

The formal church setting, oddly enough, consumes relatively little of this priest's time and energies. Much more is spent in efforts related to community meetings and projects that deal with problems of this world, which run a diverse gamut, from rabbit and guinea pig raising cooperatives, to worker-managed agro-industries.

In this regard, Pablo's demystification of his role as priest is a means, not an end. Only by entering into a more democratic and genuine relationship with the people, he feels, can he understand them fully and work with them to understand their perceptions of their problems and help them develop the confidence to voice alternative solutions.

And, just as Father Fink must relate sensitively to the base groups he works with, the people themselves, actors in the drama, must relate well to each other in a climate of mutual trust, confidence, and respect. To engender these concepts, community efforts are structured to assure participation in decision-making, continuing dialogue among project participants, and sharing in management and ownership of community enterprises that either have been or will be established in the Chiquian area.

At the moment, for example, Pablo is working with wives of the *campesinos* who are concerned that the wool their families produce is sold to intermediaries

who dictate prices to farmers unaware of current commodity rates in Lima. The wool is subsequently sold to coastal manufacturing plants, converted into thread, and sold back to the women at greatly increased prices. The thread, so essential to the *campesinos* for making sweaters and weaving ponchos, is thus the object of a type of internal colonialism, not between developed and underdeveloped countries, but between rural producers and urban processors.

Adhering strictly to the sensitive and democratic methodology mentioned above, Father Fink is now working with the wool producers and the women to establish a thread-manufacturing plant in Chiquian. The plant will be owned, managed and operated by the workers themselves and will, if all goes well, allow local dwellers to reap greater economic and social gains.

Machinery for combing and classifying wool, and vats to clean and dye it, have already been received from contributors. A building has also been constructed to house equipment and to provide common work-space for the nearly 100 women who will own and work in their associative firm.

Once the manufacturing enterprise is functional, and marketing mechanisms initiated, the women calculate they can save thousands of dollars each year, while providing employment opportunities for local dwellers. Importantly, these women, frequently excluded from participation in discussions and decision-making in this highly male-dominated society, will now begin to engage in social and political processes from which they were formerly excluded. It is hoped that in so doing, work will become a meaningful, humanizing activity rather than a demeaning one.

Degrees of experimental assertiveness training are already taking place with women. Father Fink and other parish staff are working hard to diminish any



Paraguayan Indians receiving land titles.

paternalism in their relationship. Ironically, it seems, there is more interest in involving the women on the part of the priest than there is interest among some of the women in accepting new responsibilities. "You must appreciate and be sensitive to the pace of change processes," says Fink, "and we must be careful not to force participation and liberation since it would be a contradiction in terms."

Though he has helped these campe-

sino-women organize their plant, he will end up owning nothing and managing no aspect of the operation. The processes of ownership and management, just like Chiquian, belong to the people. Anyhow, by the time this project is in operation, Father Fink will already be involved in a dozen new ones. ■

Ned Benner, an Inter-American Foundation Representative since 1972, met Father Fink during a recent field visit to Peru.

Doing It There

James T. Cotter

Inter-American Foundation

The Foundation's review time for project proposals averages about four-and-one-half months. Since IAF is committed to responding as rapidly as possible to new initiatives, the staff is constantly searching for ways to cut down even further on the time it takes to find, analyze, and review projects.

Every once in a while there is an opportunity to challenge yourself to find the limits of performance. It is an exhausting and exhilarating experience which tends to redefine the possible, leaving things never quite the same again. The Brazilian Field Review Team was that kind of experience.

The Inter-American Foundation does not have offices in the field because we believe that would result in an inappropriate presence, with the potential to influence projects or, even, to be influenced by them.

Our goal is a sensitive, effective and timely funding response to social change initiatives that are controlled by the direct "beneficiaries" to the extent and in the way they see fit. Ordinarily, Foundation representatives make periodic project-find and follow-up visits, gathering information for a review process that is centralized in our Rosslyn headquarters. The objective of the Brazilian Field Review Team experiment was to move the Foundation's decisional process to the action arena of project activity, but without establishing a permanent Foundation presence in the field.

There were two Brazilian Field Team visits to the greater São Paulo area, involving eight IAF staff members on the first visit and three on the second, plus outside consultants. Each trip lasted 10 days, during which time we reviewed a total of 59 projects. Twenty-four of these were approved for grants. Thus we reduced turn-around, or review time, to an average of less than 24 hours, which included all of the required paperwork and rigorous analysis.

Ed Dela Rosa, IAF Director of the Eastern Region, which includes Brazil, speculated on the possibility of reducing both decision time and paper flow as a result of this experience. "I think the Foundation should ask itself how much paper we really need to make a decision on a project," Dela Rosa explained. "I

would hope that, based on this experience, we can shorten the decisionmaking process to less than 90 days for large projects (over \$100,000) and less than 30 days for small projects (under \$25,000)."

The decisional elements required to approve or reject a project were isolated and incorporated into a streamlined field analysis form specially designed for the field review trip. We attempted to make the review a natural extension of the inquiry process so that Foundation Representatives knew how much of what kinds of information would be required for a decision.

"In this case there was no ego damage," said Brazil Foundation representative John Bums. "I don't know who had projects rejected and also don't have a feeling of who got more 'pelts-on-the-belt' (projects approved). Bringing the review process down here to Brazil made it clear and more honest because time and distance tend to distort project reality."

A shared observation was that project content and emphasis gave members of the Field Review Team a good overview of the types of social processes taking place in the greater São Paulo area.

Dela Rosa, who was reviewing these projects, explained, "this approach should stimulate thought about the advantage of reviewing a series of projects within a given geographical area or zone in a short period of time. My theory is that the projects may rapidly tell you something about what is going on in that area. This will require some reflection, of course, but it can establish trends or bring certain social phenomena to the surface much quicker than generally happens in the Foundation."

There was concern that such a high visibility funding presence by the Foundation might distort the social process by altering its pace or direction. There was also concern that groups in the São

Paulo area would anticipate what was required for funding and package projects accordingly. Other concerns centered around raising false hopes in groups that would later be found to be inappropriate for IAF funding at that particular time. We also worried about triggering a snowball effect which would produce more projects than could be adequately coped with in a work environment which had already reached 14–19 hours a day. Another concern was maintaining the quality of analysis and review in that high-stress, high-demand situation.

The feedback we received from the Brazilian social workers who assisted in the planning and implementation of this experience quieted many of our concerns. Their opinion was that “the experience represented for us an acceleration of the pace equal to 10 years work” because projects were funded which would not have otherwise received assistance. They felt that the Foundation’s presence did not interfere with the internal pace or direction of projects contacted. The questions asked by Foundation representatives were described as “thought-provoking ones which aided the grantees’ reflection and growth.”

A follow-up visit by John Burns revealed no snowball effect. Rising expectations of IAF funding were found to be within manageable limits. Burns also reported that the intensity of the funding experience in the São Paulo area has caused networks to form, which did not previously exist. Local social action groups have since adapted the Brazilian Field Review Team approach to their own needs and feel that it has significant potential.

An important consideration is whether or not the Field Review Team approach is effective when compared with the Foundation’s conventional methods of project find, analysis and review.



Twenty-four projects (totalling \$716,980) were approved during the two field visits. During the first visit, 38 projects were analyzed, of which 18 were approved (for \$557,980). On the second visit, 21 projects were analyzed and six were approved (totalling \$159,000).

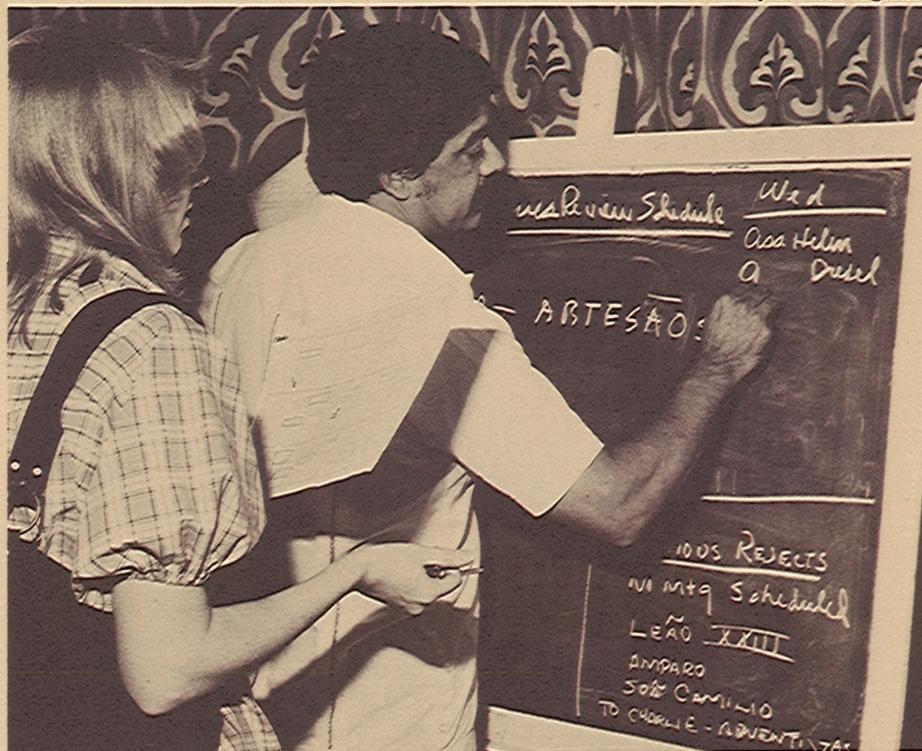
How does this compare with the Foundation's traditional handling of Brazilian projects? Over the past five years, the Foundation has funded 104 Brazilian projects, allocating a total of \$7,404,000. Yet, the Brazilian Review Team funded 24 projects in the equivalent of three weeks (over a three-month period). Dela Rosa estimated, "in terms of approved projects, it would have required the Foundation about three years to accomplish what was done during a three-month period."

The inevitable question is whether these projects were as good, better or worse than those funded in the conventional manner. That is largely unanswerable until we have comparable data on the impact of projects funded under both approaches.

However, an attempt was made by the Field Team to get a better handle on beneficiary need assessment and impact analysis along with an improved understanding of the context in which these project-related changes are taking place.

We wanted to determine the degree to which project beneficiaries can participate in impact analysis while maintaining their objectivity and credibility. We found that the beneficiaries were able to identify their needs and problems, rank them according to action priorities, evaluate alternative problem-solving methods, and supply indicators of reasonably anticipatable impact. These responses occurred within guided "reflection" interviews, in natural rather than forced or artificial dialogues.

We also contacted local people who



had expertise related to the project's objectives. They were not asked whether we should fund the project or how it should be designed or administered. They were asked for their opinion on the following impact assessment questions:

- What difference could this project reasonably be expected to make in the time and place in which it occurs?
- Do you believe that the project will make the beneficiaries' quality of life better or worse? How and why?
- Are there key contextual factors or sensitive issues which you believe we have overlooked or inaccurately interpreted in our analysis of the project's potential impact?
- How does this project fit into the "big picture" of trends and patterns on the

local or regional level?

These local experts were unpaid, yet very willing to participate in our experimental approach. They felt that their expertise was being acknowledged and utilized in a way that did not require unmanageable time commitments or paperwork.

Clearly, we have not found a panacea that can be applied equally well by all people in all situations. However, we remain convinced that at that time in the greater São Paulo area it worked very well. This generates justifiable optimism that foreign assistance can be done more cheaply and more rapidly without sacrificing quality control. ■

A participant in both field review exercises, Jim Cotter is a Senior Program Analyst with the IAF. He served previously with the U.S. Catholic Conference as Assistant Director, Division for Latin America.

Manos Del Uruguay

Winthrop P. Carty
Vision, Inc.

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Manos del Uruguay, a rare blend of talent from all strata of society, has created a new source of income for 1,500 underemployed women from the interior of Uruguay.

Combining the sophisticated designs of Montevideo's upper-class women and the innate weaving and spinning skills of rural housewives, the non-profit, civil association had sales last year of \$1 million, half of which represented exports to Europe and the U.S. The most popular items are sweaters, rugs and wall hangings in rich earth colors.

The IAF supported the artisans' movement with a \$88,104 grant in June 1976. Manos has evolved from haphazard and rustic handiwork into a highly proficient production and retail operation.

This association of cooperatives has its roots in Uruguayan history. Uruguay is populated by Europeans, mostly Spaniards and Italians, and doesn't have the Indian heritage that has given Guatemala, Mexico and Peru a vital, indigenous handicraft industry. But Uruguayan women, over 75% of whom are first or second generation Europeans, maintained old-world basic sewing skills, especially in rural areas. The rich backlands are three-fourths pasture, maintaining herds of sheep and cattle. Women have traditionally spun and woven practical products. Rough rugs, saddle blankets, and ponchos serve as the basis for stylish wall hangings, table mats, sweaters and the like.

The wives of large cattle ranchers purchased some of the better products for decoration, often for Montevideo town houses. "The rural population at first didn't value the women's work," notes Beatriz de María, the manager of the Centro Cooperativista Uruguayo. "Many women had the attitude that 'if nobody pays me for my work, it cannot have any real worth.'"

In 1968, however, the process of

refining and institutionalizing the disparate piecework began with the incorporation of Manos as a non-profit promoter of rural handicraft cooperatives. Initially, most of the decisions on design, production, publicity and sales were in the hands of the Montevideo-based Service Center.

But increasingly, the rural women are having a greater say in the overall operation. Roughly 115 handicraft groups, consisting of 1,500 members, have been organized in 14 geographic production zones. Many of the rural groups are applying for legal status as coops.

Coordinating the rural women with the demands of the international market and the activities of the Montevideo center still presents problems. "The rhythm of the export demand is not necessarily the rhythm of the rural life," observes Beatriz de María. As in the case of most large-scale exports of Latin American handicraft, there is the constant challenge of meeting export deadlines, quality controls and quotas. Meanwhile, the Inter-American Development Bank is financing a study of Manos' potential export market.

And Manos is organizing field training and, through the process of regional cooperative meetings, the rural women are gaining a firmer grasp of their complex operation.

As a business, Manos is expanding its sales, enlarging its outlets in Uruguay and the U.S., upping rural production, improving advertising and upgrading a variety of ingredients which go into a successful commercial venture.

But as a social process, the true importance of the movement, Manos del Uruguay has no hard and fixed goals. For the first time, heretofore isolated rural women are discovering a measure of economic independence. And more significantly, they are finding the force of union, the first step toward full participation in national life. ■

Free License: A Guest Column

Dr. Eugene J. Meehan
University of Missouri, St. Louis

*The Failure of Development:
What Lessons?*

By and large, two decades and more of sustained effort to foster "development" have failed, in American cities as well as in other countries. Yet intuitively the focus during this period on overall development seems wise. Significant improvements in the conditions of life of large populations are unlikely if not impossible without a major extension and improvement of the basic social, political, and economic structures. The reasons for failure cannot be found in this development focus; they lie in the inadequacies of the moral, intellectual, and institutional foundations from which the enterprise sprang. The prime lesson to be learned from the development experience is the appalling human cost of unconcern and ignorance among the population and of social institutions unable or unwilling to learn from experience.

Both at home and abroad, development foundered first on the absence of any genuine commitment to large-scale improvement at cost. Without a commitment, the resources available for the task were never sufficient to achieve the critical mass needed to set in motion irreversible and desirable changes. Those seeking to promote development were literally forced into tokenism, cosmetic actions, ceremony and ritual, and the use of lotteries and other distributive devices that could mask the inadequacy of the effort.

The concept "development" is too vague and ambiguous to serve as a useful tool for social action. In both technical and common usage, its meaning is disparate and even contradictory. Combined with the theoretical weakness of the social sciences (including economics), this conceptual inadequacy precluded the discovery of effective indicators and measures of progress in development. To be useful for action purposes, "development" must be linked to the conditions of life of specifiable

human populations; otherwise, it cannot serve to assess the significance of differences among societies or changes within a society. The impact of social change is ultimately measured in terms of specific individuals. But in most cases, the meaning of "development" has been discussed in terms of overall social features which are difficult or impossible to link to individual impact. Moreover, the concepts needed for a useful discussion of the conditions of life of the individual are as poorly articulated as the concepts needed to measure development—philosophy has failed as surely as economics or sociology. The resulting conceptual tangle is almost impossible to cut or evade: we don't know how to produce development; we have no way to recognize or measure development should it occur; we cannot measure the effects of particular kinds of development on the conditions of life of particular members of society.

The human situation is a function of large and complex interactions, many of them beyond human control. The availability of resources, capital, knowledge and technology, social organization, and so on, determines both the size and content of the social pie in which the individual shares. The distribution system and the rewards and penalties built into the prevailing institutional arrangement determine the share of the pie allotted to the individual. Management of the overall structure is a staggering task; the kinds of single-factor efforts to alter the size of the pie or the distribution of shares which have typified development are wasteful or futile. That is, construction of new mass transit systems does not, cannot, solve the problems of the inner city any more than massive transfers of sophisticated technology to other nations will lead to significant and useful development there. Given the sheer scope of the problem, improvements are likely to be slow and painful



even in the face of an all-out effort—which is extremely unlikely. Indeed, deterioration seems more probable than improvement over the short-run, particularly in the so-called “dependent” nations.

Finally, and perhaps most serious of all, the various institutions responsible for the development effort have failed almost without exception to learn from their experiences and thus improve their performance—the criticism holds for legislative and administrative institutions alike. The domestic record in housing, transportation, education, and so on is abysmal; the record abroad is no better. Our collective institutions simply do not learn or improve (although they sometimes ingest and employ improvements developed elsewhere). Action procedures followed in government most closely resemble Darwinian selection: a set of trials is launched, usually without much fanfare; little or nothing is heard about the trials but in due course a

second set of experiments is produced, different from but not improved by the earlier experience. The same agency that proclaimed the beauty and efficiency of high-rise apartment design in one decade will as blithely—and with as little reason—announce that such designs cannot succeed in the next. Agencies systematically mistake fatigue for accomplishment, difference for improvement, change for learning.

In an era when government is the primary force determining the conditions of life of most of humanity, the development effort and the reasoning on which it depended offer little room for optimism. The current human predicament demands optimization of its resources, whether the focus of inquiry is the single city or the whole of humanity. The need to reduce waste, to increase the availability of goods and services by more efficient use of resources rather than expenditure of additional resources, has been underscored by re-

cent energy scares, but has been obvious for decades. Human needs and expectations must be tailored to human capacity in the light of best knowledge. Such optimization is clearly inconsistent with existing norms, practices, and institutions. Selfishness must somehow be tempered by attention to others and willingness to share at cost.

The limits of knowledge must be identified and expanded systematically, and not in medicine or science alone. Social institutions must be designed to learn how to learn. The principal enemy is ignorance, whether normative or empirical, for it opens the door to selfish interest, charlatans, purveyors of patent medicine and fraud, and ideologues; it encourages ritual destruction of resources; it makes mock of the quest for social equity. The man who acts in ignorance and knows he acts in ignorance can make his actions an experiment and may learn. But ignorance unannounced, and the intellectual dishonesty it breeds, substitutes public relations for systematic experiment, glosses the discrepancy between promise and performance, between expectation and likelihood, between articulated ideals and everyday behavior—in private citizen and public official alike. Properly construed, knowledge is power but it must include the knowledge of how power should be used. Without it the optimizing strategies so desperately needed cannot be developed, applied, or improved. And without the capacity to optimize, particularly among those who control the lion's share of the earth's potential, the outlook for humanity is grim indeed. ■

Dr. Meehan is a Professor of Political Science and Fellow at the Center for Metropolitan Studies at the University of Missouri, St. Louis. Drawn by the problems of “thinking and learning”, he serves as consultant to numerous organizations and agencies, among them the Inter-American Foundation.

More Learning From Failure

Antonio Carmona
Grupo Teatro Aty-Ñe'e

Csanad Toth and James T. Cotter of IAF wrote an article, "Learning from Failure" (Focus 1976/2), in which they identified "syndromes" or warning signs of probable failure in development projects. These were shown to Latin Americans and Caribbean project participants who responded by adding to the list of syndromes.

Here are two new syndromes as described by Antonio Carmona, member of a traveling popular theater group based in Asunción, Paraguay.

The Don Juan Tenorio Syndrome

"You cannot complain about me
you, whom I have killed,
if I took from you the good life,
a better grave I gave you."

from *Don Juan Tenorio*
by Zorrilla

T [The scene takes place in a private cemetery, specially built to bury, in luxurious mausoleums, Don Juan's victims. This is his way of washing his hands of his deeds. Don Juan speaks to the dead buried there.]

The Don Juan Syndrome refers to forming organizations with fancy names and many luxuries. These are, in fact, large structures, devoid of any real content or purpose. Just like Don Juan, and just as irresponsibly, they do not work toward concrete goals for base groups, but rather seek objectives of personal satisfaction. By being excessively pretentious, they only serve to create risks for base groups, who don't have the possibility of confronting these at some later time. In this manner, the hopes and efforts of the base are buried, as in Don Juan's cemetery, in a grand mausoleum with a fancy name.

Projects are usually based on creating, "for the base," whatever the project's author pretends they need. He has a grand office, a large bureaucratic apparatus, great objectives, etc. This pretentiousness unchains and loosens a series of risks, usually paid for by the base.

The King Lear Syndrome

[Lear transfers the reigns of power of his kingdom to two of his favorite daughters. They are not, however, the ones most qualified to exercise such authority. Lear retires to a life of hunting, his hobby. The contradictions within the daughters' reign unleash a tragic war in the kingdom. Lear neglects his responsibilities by becoming insane as he real-

Photo by Maria Otero Fletcher



Small farmers from Durazno, Uruguay.

izes the error he has committed, one which his advisors had previously warned him about.]

This syndrome refers to projects where the author or leader of the project avoids his responsibilities by leaving them in the hands of the others he chooses. The leader avoids responsibility and commitment to the project, washing his hands of any problems that may arise by blaming either his subordinates (who don't have the necessary preparation to deal with certain types of problems) or the base groups, as incapable of managing their own development.

This syndrome is contrary to the norm: here responsibility is ostensibly left in the hands of the base groups, who have neither participated in the election of their representatives nor are favorably disposed to accepting such responsibility. They are then termed incompetent. This is the other side of the coin from paternalism, where responsibility is not given to base groups because it is felt they are incompetent. It is often heard: "I gave them responsibility and the power to make decisions, but they failed. They are not qualified to manage their own affairs". ■

The History & Development of the Federation of Southern Cooperatives

Charles O. Prejean

Federation of Southern Cooperatives

22

Many domestic efforts underway closely parallel foreign development initiatives. As underscored by the experience of a group of U.S. cooperatives, people everywhere who are engaged in development activities can help each other by sharing their learning.

The modern cooperative movement among low-income and black people in the rural South grew out of the community awareness and action generated by the civil rights struggles of the 1960's. Many cooperative originated out of the necessity to establish an economic-survival mechanism to preserve the land and livelihood of small farmers and other residents of the rural South.

The cooperatives were a reaction to the classic problems of underdevelopment, poverty and racism prevalent in the rural South.

Per capita income is an important statistic that summarizes the economic plight of the persons we are working with:

- In 1970, for the ten rural black-belt counties of southwest Alabama, per capita income was \$1,820, as compared to a figure of \$2,882 for the State of Alabama; \$3,223 for the Southeast; and \$3,921 for the nation as a whole. (Note 1)

Despite all the glowing reports you have heard about the recent fantastic economic growth of "the Sun Belt," bear in mind that, for those counties with a large ($\frac{1}{3}$ or above) or majority black population in the rural South, the picture remains "partly cloudy" (alarming growth, prosperity and population in migration have not yet reached or affected these counties). This is the area where the Federation is most heavily involved.

The rural poor people—small farm-

ers, pulpwood haulers, laborers and others who formed the cooperatives in the late 1960's—chose the cooperative method for several important reasons. Cooperatives were a mechanism that involved self-help and self-reliance, which were already part of the civil rights efforts. Cooperatives also had the attributes of group action and unity which were well understood as a result of previous struggles. They also made sense as a way for groups of poor people to come together and pool their resources and their labor to develop enterprises that could compete with the ruling groups in the Southern rural economy. The cooperatives were also viewed as a means of generating new and supplementary income through diversification, marketing and education.

In the spring of 1967, twenty-two cooperatives and credit unions serving primarily low income people in the rural South met at the Interdenominational Theological Center (ITC) at Atlanta University in Atlanta. This and subsequent meetings leading to the creation of the Federation were convened and supported by the Southern Regional Council, Cooperative League of the U.S.A., American Friends Service Committee and other similar regional and national organizations.

Out of these meetings grew a plan to develop a "federation of cooperatives that could represent, advocate and secure resources for the cooperative movement among low income people in the rural South." The Federation of Southern Cooperatives was chartered in 1967 as a "cooperative of cooperatives" under the District of Columbia laws. At the time, all we had was a commitment of \$15,000 "to develop a federation of low income cooperatives in the Southeast" from the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) through a subcontract to the Cooperative League.

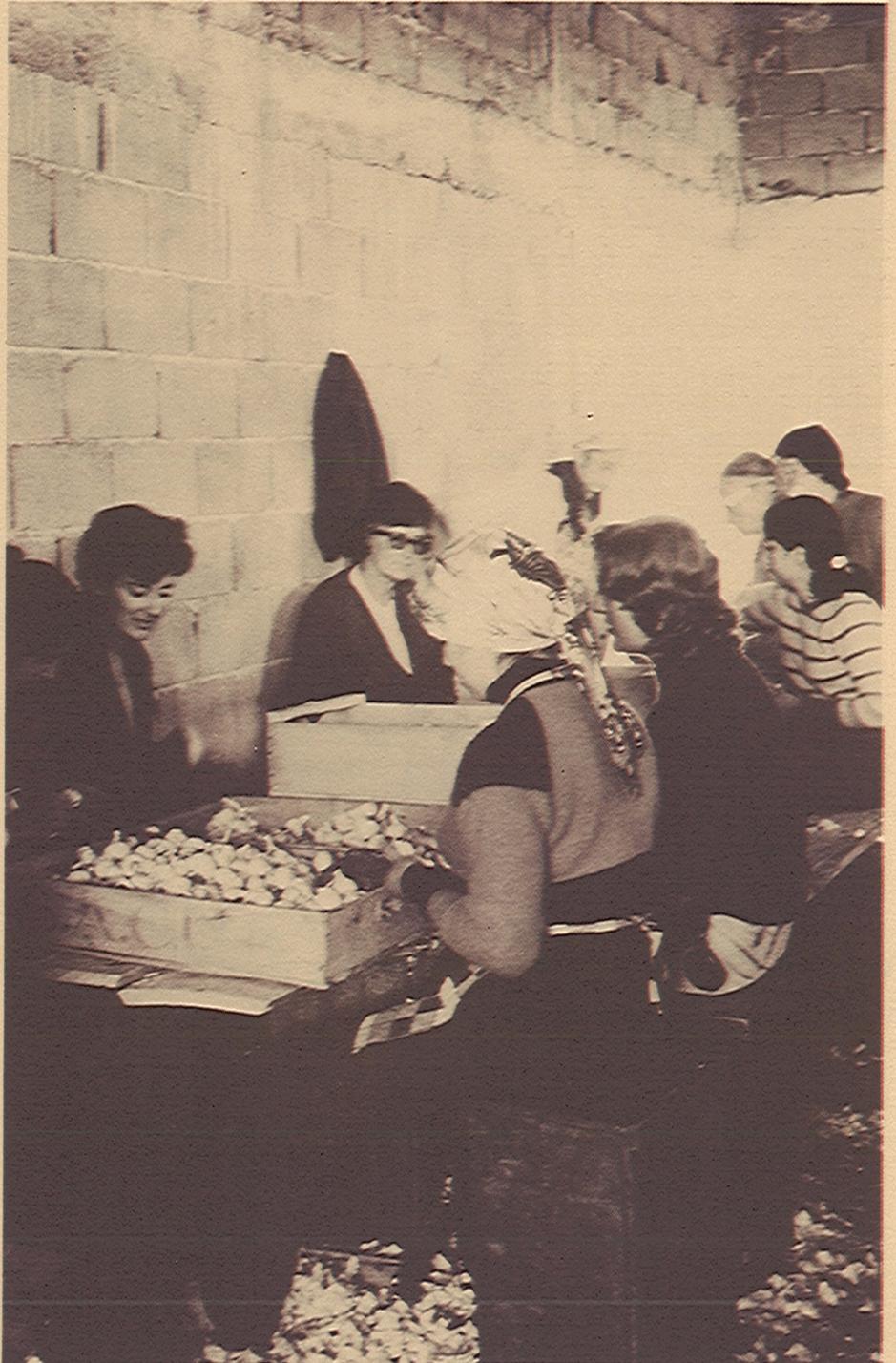
In some cases, especially at the local

community level, our efforts toward economic cooperation met with hostility and open opposition. Co-op members were threatened and evicted from tenant positions because of their participation in the co-ops. Cooperative-owned trucks carrying produce and fertilizer were stopped in the road for no apparent reason, causing spoilage and delays.

Loans and assistance from government agencies were tied up in interminable regulations and delays. A general viewpoint prevails in our nation that "people should do things for themselves", but in our case, when we formed a self-help movement for self-determination and economic justice, it engendered strong local opposition from the entrenched power structure.

Through this struggle, we understood and recognized more clearly our problem as underdeveloped people in a highly technological and capitalistic society. We saw the problem of underdevelopment among poor rural black people as not just an economic condition but a total situation of underdevelopment encompassing political, cultural, educational, health, environmental and other facets. From this recognition, we evolved a philosophy and comprehensive development program for the Federation which moved from strict advocacy for institutional changes to the creation of new and alternative institutions. These would provide services and benefits to our membership to serve as models of changes we would like to see enacted by existing institutions.

In accordance with this philosophy, in 1971, the FSC Board of Directors established the FSC Rural Training and Research Center, as a place to provide relevant and responsive training and technical assistance to small farmers and other rural residents engaged in cooperative and community development programs. The Training Center is located on 1,325 acres of land, near Epes, in



Preparing garlic for export, Uruguay.

Photo by Anne B. Ternes

Sumter County, Alabama, on the Tombigbee River, soon to be a channelized barge canal (more on this later).

The FSC-RTRC is centrally located within our membership area, which permits interchange among members coming through for training and staff going out to the field for instruction and consultation. A dormitory facility, cafeteria, classrooms, demonstration farming components (feeder pigs, beef cattle, irrigated crops, greenhouse), and a material production, printing and audiovisual center are all available to enhance the learning experience of members who come to the Epes Training Center. Most of our training is "competency based," incorporating techniques of in-depth participation of the trainee in the learning process. Training is directed at assisting members to be more knowledgeable, skilled and sensitive in areas of their interest upon their return to their home, farm, co-op situation. We have involved personnel from the land grant colleges and other educational institutions in our training programs to give them a feel and a sense for what we are trying to do and how it can be done.

In conjunction with the FSC-Rural Training and Research Center we have employed technically trained people to work in multiple roles. Our Agricultural Technical Resource Team, for example, includes an agricultural economist, agronomist-horticulturist, animal nutritionist, veterinarian, and an agricultural mechanical engineer, all of whom work as instructors at the Training Center; provide technical assistance, as a team, for agricultural co-ops and co-op members in the field; and develop experimental and income-generating projects on the FSC and cooperative-owned land.

In each state, the Federation has developed a "state association" of cooperative and credit unions. The purposes of the state associations are: 1) to develop

programs of mutual assistance among the co-ops in the state, and 2) to obtain resources for co-op development from federal and state agencies, especially the new decentralized federal resources such as revenue sharing, CD Block Grants, and CETA manpower resources.

This strategy is moving slowly, but particularly in Georgia and Florida, we have had some success. Recently, FSC was awarded a \$300,000 contract by Florida Office of Manpower Planning for training and development of cooperatives for small farmers in eight central Florida counties. This contract came as a result of three years of work with state and local CETA officials in the use of public service employees (PSE) to assist small farmers in watermelon and vegetable production and marketing. Two-thirds of the contract funds will be paid in direct training allowances to 160 small farmers and ten PSE sponsored rural community development workers.

The Federation helped to bring into being the Southern Cooperative Development Fund as a creative mechanism to provide credit to the member cooperatives. As originally envisioned, the SCDF involved interest and management subsidies coupled with a technical assistance program for the co-ops. Because of pressure from its funding sources and limited management insight, the SCDF has not realized its full potential as a credit institution for the cooperative movement among low income people in the rural South.

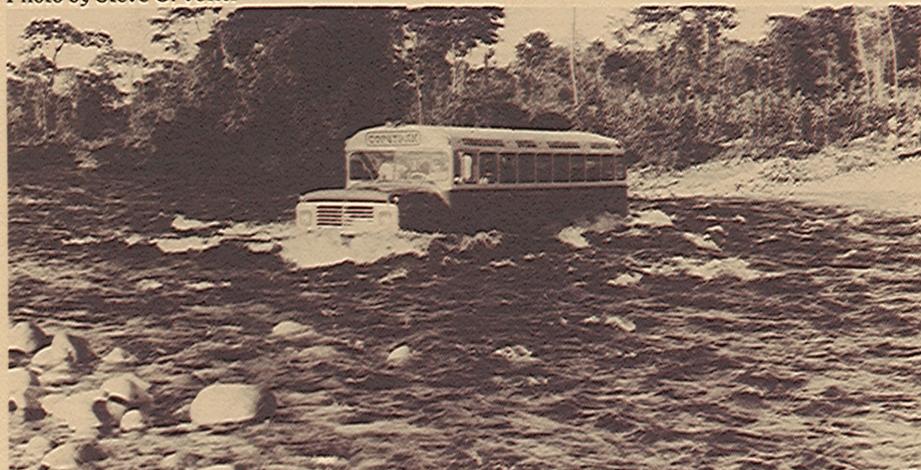
Due to critical shortages of health manpower and the scarcity of medical services in many rural areas, the Federation helped establish the Black Belt Community Health Center in Sumter County, Alabama. The BBCHC is a model rural health delivery system involving basic ambulatory medical care, back-up referral services, preventive care, health education and environmen-

tal health concerns. Among the environmental concerns are water, sanitation, and housing. FSC has developed self-help and cooperative housing programs in conjunction with several of our member cooperatives. We view decent housing not only as a critical need but also as a program that could lead to further development of cooperative and minority business enterprises such as building materials manufacture, component prefabrication and contracting companies.

Within a comprehensive rural development program, health care, housing, education and other factors are vital to the full development of a cooperative economic system. In recent years, the Federation has begun to look beyond agricultural development to the total development of rural communities. In doing so, we have found some alarming patterns of growth, relative to our membership and the direction of development. In an essay on economic growth, a publication of the University of Alabama indicates:

- Almost half of Alabama's manufacturing growth between 1969 and 1972 has taken place in rural white counties with less than 30% black population. Of the State's 3,345 new manufacturing plants and plant expansions, 1,425 have been located in the predominantly rural white counties. These facilities created 84,000 of 176,000 new manufacturing jobs in the State and gave the rural white counties a significantly stronger economic base. While in the rural black counties, those having a majority black population, the small gains in manufacturing employment were not even large enough to offset the decline in agricultural employment, much less to sustain the job needs of new entrants into the labor force. This pattern of industrial development favoring the rural counties with low black population repeats itself across the South. (Note 2)

Photo by Steve G. Vetter



Out of these concerns, we became interested in involving black and poor people in the Tennessee-Tombigbee Waterway project. The TTW is a major \$1.6 billion federally-financed Army Corps of Engineers project to channelize and link the Tombigbee and Tennessee Rivers. This will create an inland water route connecting the Port of Mobile to the coal fields of Appalachia to the east and to the grain fields of Indiana and Illinois to the west. The TTW is one of several major infrastructural projects occurring in the rural South which will lead to further industrialization and hasten the transition from an agrarian to an industrial society in southwest Alabama and northeast Mississippi. A large part of the government's rationale for building this Waterway was predicated on its impact in reducing poverty and unemployment in the area.

The Federation helped to organize the Minority Peoples Council on the Tennessee-Tombigbee Waterway to insure the involvement of black and poor people in the construction and subsequent development benefits of this major project. The Minority Peoples Council is working on a comprehensive program in ten areas: employment and affirmative action, economic development, land retention, community educa-

tion, participation on decisionmaking boards, involvement of educational institutions, health, housing, research and legal challenges to assure that black and poor people participate equitably in the Tennessee-Tombigbee Waterway project. We hope our work with MPC and its efforts can be replicated in other places and other situations where similar development is taking place.

I have attempted to review briefly the philosophy and programs of the Federation. We are working among a relatively small constituency—about 30,000 families—but the problems we have tackled have large and significant implications for domestic and international rural development policy. In our own country, a report of the General Accounting Office indicates that fully a third of all agricultural producers, some 600,000 families, are subsisting at or below poverty levels:

- From 1960 to 1973, the number of farms with gross annual sales under \$20,000 declined by 50% from 3.6 million to 1.8 million units. Using data from the 1969 Census of Agriculture, we estimate that 666,000 or 37% of those remaining were small farm operators, with little or no off-the-farm income. Available information indicates that many of these families may be subsisting on incomes near or

below the poverty level. (Note 3)

Internationally, the problems of small landholders are even more significant.

We have learned in the experience of developing the Federation of Southern Cooperatives that any program seeking to ameliorate these conditions should embody certain basic characteristics:

1. Small farmer cooperative development programs must be comprehensive in nature and must deal with the social, political, and cultural as well as the economic problems of underdevelopment.
2. They must include creative alternatives for credit, technical assistance, extension education and other services to the farmers.
3. Any small farmer cooperative development program must be soundly based on the needs and desires of the farmers, and soundly led by indigenous leadership of the farmers who must be allowed to formulate development strategies based on their own education and experience.

NOTES:

Note 1: U.S. Bureau of Census
"Economic and Social Characteristics
State of Alabama", 1970.

Note 2: Thompson, Arthur A.
"The Five Economics of Alabama: Pat-
terns of Urban-Rural Development",
Graduate School of Business University
of Alabama, 1974.

Note 3: General Accounting Office
"Report to Congress—Some Problems
Impeding Economic Improvement of
Small Farm Operations: What the
USDA Could Do", August 15, 1975.

Mr. Prejean, former manager of the Southern Consumers Cooperative in Lafayette, Louisiana, has served as Executive Director of the Federation of Southern Cooperatives in Atlanta since 1968. His article was presented at the Workshop on Cooperatives, Small Farmers, and Development of the Agricultural Development Council, Columbus, Ohio, January 1977.

IAF Grants

INTER-AMERICAN FOUNDATION GRANTS AS OF MARCH 31, 1977

Number of projects approved	522
Total grant funds approved	US\$ 58,100,013 ¹
Grantee and other contributions as percentage	55%
Fiscal Year 1977	7,537,352
1976T	2,517,547
1976	10,417,754
1975	13,165,635
1974	5,255,869
1973	2,428,963
1972	452,688

¹ Does not include Fellowships or Invitational Travel.

SUMMARY OF PROGRAM APPROVALS PRIOR YEARS

	No. of Proj.	% of total Proj.	AMOUNT
CENTRAL REGION ¹	195	45%	21,674,965
EASTERN REGION ²	114	26%	9,968,096
WESTERN REGION ³	100	23%	17,354,892
U.S. PROJECTS	28	6%	592,426
FELLOWSHIPS	—	—	255,482
INVITATIONAL TRAVEL	—	—	35,500
TOTAL	437	100%	49,881,448

FY 77

	No. of Proj.	% of total Proj.	AMOUNT
CENTRAL REGION ¹	21	25%	1,164,249
EASTERN REGION ²	42	49%	3,012,606
WESTERN REGION ³	20	24%	4,306,306
U.S. PROJECTS	2	2%	26,482
FELLOWSHIPS	—	—	34,973
INVITATIONAL TRAVEL	—	—	41,571
TOTAL	85	100%	8,585,187

¹ Caribbean, Central America, Mexico, and Panama.

² Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay, and Uruguay.

³ Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, and Venezuela.

Summary of Grants June 1976 - February 1977

Some recent grants:

BLACK CULTURE

Instituto de Pesquisa das Culturas Negras—BR—315
Brazil—\$90,000; 2/4/77

This volunteer organization will buy office space and some simple audio-visual production equipment in order to better carry out its educational and cultural programs. Through these programs, the Institute aims to assist Brazilian black communities to appreciate their own history, to achieve more effective participation in development, and a more just distribution of wealth.

A FARMERS' COOPERATIVE EXPANDS

People's Action Movement Farmers' Cooperative—DO—016

This grant provides start-up capital to enable a cooperative to expand its farming and marketing operations. The social gains already achieved by such cooperatives in the Caribbean have heightened their significance in the transition from a plantation society to a participatory society.

UNIVERSITY INVOLVEMENT IN SOCIAL CHANGE

Centro de Estudios de la Educación/Instituto Tecnológico de Santo Domingo—DR—029
Dominican Republic—\$8,000; 2/16/77

This project is a pilot program of research and investigation in two marginal communities in the Santo Domingo area. Relying on students from these same communities, CEDE/INTEC hopes to involve residents in an analysis of their community's problems as the basis for future community action. IAF believes that this integrated approach gives the project high potential for success.

INDIAN SOLUTIONS

Asociación de Parcialidades Indígenas—PY—024
Paraguay—\$1,333,000; 1/17/77

IAF is supporting local and national meetings of the Association (API) and an economic plan expected to benefit a minimum of seven Indian communities. These activities are part of API's ongoing efforts to unite communities within an independent Indian-managed organization that furnishes the means to improve the economic and social conditions of Indians while they retain their cultural identity. An analysis of foreign funding reveals attempts to resolve the problems of peoples and of countries by defining the problems for them and prescribing the solutions. The API is challenging this history of outside definition and prescription and, as the Foundation in the past has provided this group with an opportunity to prove its capability, we feel it deserves a

chance to prove that the Indians themselves can best define their problems and determine appropriate solutions.

LAW AND SOCIAL CHANGE

Latin American Council for Law and Development—PU—050—Peru
\$55,000; 1/21/77

The Council will develop the teaching materials and methods that are needed to prepare judges to interpret the law so that it reflects recent social and economic changes in Peru. This is part of an ambitious effort by the Judicial Reform Commission to determine ways of allowing Peruvians greater access to understanding of, and participation in their judicial system.

Other grants since June 1976:

Argentina

Cooperativa Agropecuaria y Artesanal de Comercialización y Consumo "Brea Pozo" Ltda.—AR—048
\$49,800; 11/17/76

For production and marketing programs planned by farm discussion groups. Since resources and local organizations are normally required for a responsive and growing system of community services, this project is expected to inject the economic fuel that will expand the radius of action of a community network.

Asociación para la Educación de Familias Agrícolas—AR—050
\$28,500; 2/3/77

To undertake a research study of a minimum of 20 non-formal educational institutions in up to 13 countries. Forms of research will be on practices which can help APEFA extend its rural services to attend the growing demands of rural youth and young adults.

Grupos de Voluntarios Río Negro y Centro de Investigaciones y Acción Social—AR—052
\$4,200; 11/18/76.

To assist Mapuche Indian families in forming a community organization in training an elected council, and in learning to read and write. If these resources turn out to be manageable and consistent with the pace of the community, it is likely that the families will move ahead to undertake the marketing of wool and the establishment of a school.

Barbados

Christian Action for Development in the Caribbean—BA—008
\$800; 10/5/76

Grant funds will enable CADEC to sponsor a conference on "The Role of External Funding in

Caribbean Development" in Bridgetown, Barbados. Delegates from Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago will participate to constructively examine and evaluate the role of foreign aid in helping promote social development and change in the Caribbean.

Bolivia

Cooperativa Integral Campesina—BO—053
\$162,000; 5/20/76

An educational, production, marketing and loan fund will include the training of promoters and para-technicians for the benefit of 230 farm families. Activities are based on the collective expression of needs and on an analysis of cooperative experience elsewhere in Bolivia.

Brazil

Centro de Estudos Sociais e Indígenas—BR—239
\$122,252; 10/8/76

For an intensive study of the living conditions, culture, language, and regional economic setting of three Indian groups. If representatives of academia, business, and government are able to coalesce their efforts with those of the Indian people themselves, it may furnish the Indians with a means of preserving their ancient cultural values.

Conselho Paroquial de Bom Jesus de Cangaíba—BR—252
\$24,000; 10/8/76

To equip a new community center with materials that would enhance the effectiveness of several activities already functioning in basements and garages: a clinic, a pharmacy, mother's clubs, literacy classes, and a service for orphans and abandoned children. A parish council is attempting to fill, in the lives of these migrants, the role that in rural life had been filled by the extended family.

Sociedade Amigos de Jardim Ana Rosa e Vila Ema, Departamento Feminino—BR—260
\$24,000; 9/7/76

Materials for a community center which will bring together a widely-dispersed education and youth program. During the past three years, five women have taken the initiative to change a male-oriented organization into an expanded group which represents the entire community.

Grupo de Trabalho de Sapopemba, Bairro de Sapopemba—BR—261
\$12,000; 9/7/76

Equipment for a day-care center organized by women in public housing who will provide daily supervision and some of the costs. This experience may lead to their assuming eventual re-

sponsibility for the administration of their public housing.

Associação Comunitária Agro-Pastoril, Comércio e Indústria Marajoara de Ponta de Pedras—BR—262
\$173,651; 10/21/76

This project seeks to turn clusters of people into cohesive communities by promoting self-help learning and such productive economic mechanisms as a community store and expansion of farm production. The result may be a new form of economy and society that would protect their independence and values from the excessive influence of outsiders.

União Nordestina de Assistência a Pequenas Organizações (UNO)—BR—263
\$32,962; 7/27/76

To stimulate the development of small businesses through training and dissemination programs in low-income communities. This should help remedy the isolation of small-scale entrepreneurs in an economy more favorable to large-scale industrialization.

Cooperativa de Consumo dos Trabalhadores de Nova Lima, Ltda.—BR—264
\$40,000; 11/10/76

This consumer co-op hopes to revitalize its service to a mining community, and to minimize its dependence on the mining company, by reducing transportation costs, by-passing middlemen, and diversifying products.

Diocese of Limoeiro, Itapipoca, & Quixadá, Ceará, Brazil—BR—266
\$63,382; 11/23/76

A training program that will bring change agents from about 30 rural communities together to promote learning about social action, to reassess current promotional programs, and to increase communication.

Cooperativa Mista Agropecuária de Manacapuru, Ltda.—BR—267
\$56,442; 7/21/76

For a program of community organization and marketing for Amazon jute farmers, which may enable them to reduce control of the local economy by middlemen.

Centro Comunitário de Cachoeira—BR—268
\$16,900; 7/21/76

Without the usual preconditions of ownership rights and outside promoters, 25 families, selected by their community, will experiment with new types of farm production on land which their landlord has given them permission to use.

Comitê Pró-Construção da Diretoria da Igreja de São Francisco—BR—274
\$10,000; 9/15/76

For materials for a community center to be built mostly by local volunteers. This group of former slum-dwellers has struggled for eight years to reorganize after a forced relocation.

Grupo Olorun Baba Min—BR—275
\$15,935; 9/15/76

This group will present Afro-Brazilian music and dances in neighborhood centers of Rio de Janeiro to help people experience the drama of their own history. It seeks to assimilate while retaining its Afro-Brazilian awareness; it seeks to build justice while not relinquishing its love for life.

Salesian Mission of Sangradouro—BR—277
\$95,500; 9/7/76

For health, agricultural, and educational facilities to benefit about 3,000 Xavante Indians, thus helping them move toward autonomy in the face of difficult relations with elements of the dominant society.

Movimento Mandacari—BR—280
\$41,060; 11/15/76

For an education fund, a development fund, and a social security fund to be sustained by 45 families working on experimental farms. These families have moved from a state of dependence (on a larger development project), through a state of isolation, to a state of interdependence among themselves.

Missão Anchieta—BR—281
\$120,000; 11/17/76

In order to prevent a culturally (and even physically) devastating encounter with encroaching Brazilian society, this mission will establish communication with isolated Indian groups, offering the option of a continued relationship. This relationship would include the mission's playing an intermediary role between the Indians and the government.

Families and Associates of Fazenda Gameleira—BR—282
\$20,000; 10/76

For a farm tractor which will allow a group of farm families to increase production and organize further development efforts. These families have already demonstrated boldness in negotiating improved work conditions from their landlord and establishing their own school.

Associação Santa Gema de Amparo à Família—BR—283
\$25,000; 10/15/76

This group of society women has taught embroidery to low-income women and marketed their products for the past 17 years, without seeking recognition as dispensers of charity or gratification from their role of patron. This grant will

permit the association to extend its work to more people and to help transfer decisionmaking to the beneficiaries.

Centro Social Nossa Senhora do Bom Parto—BR—284
\$43,446; 10/15/76

To improve a program sought by groups of women wishing to establish skills training centers. Originally conceived to fill the leadership void created by the long work hours of the male laborers, this effort lifts the income possibilities and self-confidence of these women.

Movimento Pró-Idosos—BR—287
\$33,330; 10/15/76

To establish an office and administrative staff for a group of older citizens seeking to develop humane, indigenous solutions to the problems of the aging in Brazil.

Associação dos Cavalheiros da Soberana Ordem Militar de Malta de São Paulo e Brasil Meridional (SOM)—BR—288
\$6,956; 10/15/76

For the building of a class room in which mothers can acquire marketable skills. This effort is seen partly as an attempt to prevent the possibility of abandonment of families by men due to economic pressures.

Obras Assistenciais São Pedro Apóstolo (OASPA)—BR—289
\$26,087; 10/16/76

Construction of a center for activities such as skills training, recreation, and youth meetings. This marks a departure from an era when community action was frequently derailed by the excessive influence of authority figures.

Centro Social Comunitário do Jardim Primavera—BR—290
\$19,708; 10/16/76

Materials for a community group to convert an abandoned school building into a day-care center. This project offers the grantee an opportunity to assert its capacity to set goals and to achieve them in an autonomous and participatory fashion.

Associação de Voluntários para a Integração dos Migrantes (AVIM)—BR—291
\$22,313; 10/16/76

Materials for building classrooms so that the grantee can offer additional courses in practical skills to more interested migrants from the countryside—migrants who have organized themselves to take advantage of work opportunities.

Centro Espírito Divino Amor—BR—292
\$21,740; 10/16/76

Construction and other costs involved in establishing a day-care center which involves the

mothers in its administration, and spares them the necessity of leaving their children in crowded, costly, more impersonal facilities.

Comissão Administrativa do Jardim Elba—BR—293
\$36,000; 10/16/76

For a small building to be used as a chapel and a skills-training center for recent migrants to São Paulo who are often isolated from sources of training. This self-help effort may prove more responsive to their needs in the long run than outside efforts.

Legião Mirim—BR—294

For a center that would house a program aimed at preventing juvenile delinquency, mainly through skills training and working closely with the families. The program seeks to address family, school, health, and economic causes of the delinquency problem.

Associação Cristã de Cultura Espírita "Os Caminheiros"—BR—295
\$19,218; 10/17/76

To rent and equip a social center in a slum where women who have already received help can assist their neighbors and eventually assume responsibility for the planning and administration of the center, thus bringing the program closer to those who need it.

Organização de Auxílio Fraternal (OAF)—BR—296
\$25,000; 10/17/76

For a staff of four social workers to establish a working relationship with abandoned youngsters who have come in voluntarily "off the streets." The grantee hopes to discover effective responses to this situation by learning from the people actually living there.

Ação Social Nossa Senhora de Fátima—BR—297
\$75,000; 10/19/76

For equipment and salaries for a skills training center—an attempt to develop a high level of interpersonal communication and participation among the students in the learning process and to develop interaction between the school and surrounding industries.

Movimento Amador de Expressão Cultural (MAEC)—BR—299
\$24,608; 10/19/76

Staying at least two months in each neighborhood, the grantee's amateur theatre groups will make presentations which encourage reflection on local values. Such a theatre group can be expected to become a focus for new neighborhood social initiatives.

Lar Redenção—BR—300
\$72,900; 10/19/76

Towards the completion of a well-equipped day-care center for families that have been raising money for over five years toward this goal. For slum-dwellers used to second-rate facilities, this has the potential to serve as a symbol of the quality that can be achieved through community effort.

Círculo de Trabalhadores Cristãos de Vila Ema—BR—302
\$26,100; 10/20/76

The community of Vila Ema was deeply affected by the discontinuation of support for a school that had served as a center for community activities. Since then, the effort to organize a new school has vitalized community morale. The groups anticipate even greater cohesion when activities are started again with the construction help provided by this grant.

Jardim Sabia—BR—304
\$26,087; 10/20/76

For materials that will enable a group of 60 unwed mothers to build a nursery. The community is attempting to compensate for the economic, social, and emotional problems inherent in being a single head-of-household.

Liga Feminina Israelita do Brasil—BR—307
\$4,717; 10/21/76

For some simple bench tools as part of job-skills training program for the developmentally disabled, hopefully imparting to them a degree of self-determination and self-esteem.

Grupo Tarefa—Sistema de Recursos Humanos—BR—311
\$21,913; 2/4/77

As one response to the serious problem of the spiralling rate of job-related accidents in Brazil, the Grupo Tarefa will research available job safety educational materials and develop new ones based on a more positive indigenous approach. Through filling this information gap, the Grupo Tarefa hopes to redirect government and private sector efforts to deal with the problem in a way which is more congruent with the positive values of Brazilian workers themselves.

Gran Escola de Samba Quilombo—BR—314
\$20,000; 11/18/76

For the equipment to make costumes and school uniforms and for a printing press to publish pamphlets on popular culture, in an effort to check the erosion of this form of Afro-Brazilian cultural expression.

Sociedade Camaluense para o Desenvolvimento da Educação e da Agropecuária—BR—317
\$14,639; 11/11/76

This grant complements local resources, permit-

ting a community to establish a garden, prepare a sports and assembly field, conduct a health and sanitation campaign, and hire an agricultural technician and rural promoters chosen from the community.

Irmãs de Santa Cruz—BR—318
\$27,500; 11/19/76

For a high school equivalency course leading to on-the-job training opportunities. The program is expected to attract support for future courses from local industry, and stresses that industry and labor will function most effectively in an atmosphere of mutual respect.

Casa do Artesão—BR—320
\$25,000; 12/8/76

To buy land, materials, and specialized labor for the construction of a regional center organized by a group of working-class, amateur artisans.

Lar de Assistência ao Menor (LAM)—BR—321
\$21,200; 12/8/76

LAM is seeking to establish a window-frame factory to serve as a professional training ground and a source of income for its program expansion.

Centro Cívico Social do Parque Santa Madalena—BR—322
\$28,100; 12/8/76

To build a community center where greater participation and integration of the community in the activities and programs of the Centro Cívico will take place.

Instituto de Reintegração Social e Profissional (IRESP)—BR—323
\$8,400; 12/8/76

To install a factory which will serve as a means of temporary employment for ex-prisoners in the IRSP program, and at the same time, support the general expenses of the program.

Centro de Promoção Humana de Vila Nova York—BR—324

\$24,885; 12/8/76

To provide capital for a home improvement program and to install a small concrete block production facility.

Jockey Instituição Promocional (JIP)—BR—325
\$51,400; 12/8/76

To construct a health clinic, giving the community access and control over its own medical facility, and to start a cottage industry that will also be a skills training device.

Chile

Instituto Chileno de Educación Cooperativa (ICECOOP)—CH—065
\$31,832; 7/22/76

For neighborhood groups to establish a consumer cooperative for 2,000 families. These groups see the cooperative not only as a means of reducing food costs but as a means of participating in the solution of problems that transcend neighborhood boundaries.

Centro de Desarrollo Comunitario (CEDECO)—CH—066
\$110,977; 10/29/76

CEDECO will assist women living in poor communities of Santiago to establish 100 artisan groups, provide training in producing and marketing wool garments, and to organize a co-managed commercial agency to market the garments.

Fundación Departamento Universitario Obrero Campesino (DUOC II)—CH—069
\$181,004; 10/14/76

This grant will allow DUOC to conduct a technical and social training program for Mothers' Centers. The type of training to be offered will be determined by the Center's membership.

Instituto Chileno de Educación Cooperativa—CH—071
\$294,620; 12/31/76

For a multi-media dissemination system for peasants, who will have the chance to learn how to use mass media to validate their culture and boost their farm productivity.

Oficina Coordinadora de la Fundación para el Desarrollo—CH—072
\$2,500,000; 12/31/76

To help the organized peasantry to control financial instruments which will allow it to become more competitive in securing production and marketing credit. If the peasants succeed in manipulating capital markets, they could begin to corrode the chains of subsistence farming.

Los Comediantes—CH—075
\$12,906; 12/10/76

To enable a theatre group to gather data from poor populations to be used in the creation of a theatrical work reflecting local realities. The reflection and communication thus stimulated may then lead to action on local concerns.

Centro de Estudios para el Desarrollo del Cooperativismo (CEDEC)—CH—079
\$5,500; 12/76

For technical and evaluation services to peasant cooperatives. The project design features a close welding of social and economic considerations, with peasant participation.

Instituto de Educación Popular (IEP)—CH—080
\$89,440; 12/76

To enable community groups to carry out micro-

development programs based on local initiatives and experiences in other parts of Chile.

Colombia

Fundación Colombiana de Investigaciones Folkloricas—CO—098
\$60,000; 12/31/76

For a network of radio forums, their content to be drawn from local cultures, based on the notion that the peasant has a great deal to offer to program formation and needn't be just a recipient or listener.

Fernando Isaacs—CO—108
\$30,000; 12/31/76

This is a project to survey the beneficiaries of leadership training programs as to how they feel about programs they have participated in, what they have done differently because of them, and what they think has happened as a result.

Cooperativa de Producción y Trabajo Agrícola de Bayunca, Ltda.—CO—109
\$14,866; 12/10/76

To give impetus to educational, production, and marketing programs. Students in this cooperative have already demonstrated ability to give direction to their own studies, and to use the school as an agent of social change.

Colonia Campesina Chicoralito y Zaragoza—CO—113
\$24,511; 12/31/76

For investments in a program of diversified community farm production. The Foundation has supported this communal farm because it seems deeply and authentically rooted in the particular experience of the peasants of Chicoralito.

Costa Rica

Instituto Superior de Adiestramiento para el Desarrollo, S.A. (ISADE)—CR—020
\$5,805; 2/4/77

In May of 1977, ISADE will hold a five-day seminar for about 10 Central American and Colombian groups engaged in training of campesinos in order to share their work experiences and to set up a system of exchange on a continuing basis.

Dominica

Castle Bruce Cooperative Society, Ltd.—DO—013
\$2,600; 8/23/76

To enable representatives of worker-managed cooperatives in the Caribbean to attend the inaugural meeting of the Dominica National Federation of Agricultural Cooperatives. The meeting is expected to complete plans for the participa-

tory ownership of a regional shipping service—the next step in a process in which laborers have gained control of their own farm land.

Dominica Community High School—DO—015
\$6,550; 1/12/77

Volunteer parents and students will clear and fence land donated by the Dominican government, then install an irrigation system and operate their own farm. Said a teacher involved, "We want to develop an individual creativeness and imagination, so that our young people work on new needs of our island life."

Confederación Dominicana de Cooperativas (CODOCOOP)—DO—020/E
\$28,104; 9/30/76

For research into the methods by which small farmers can strengthen their cooperative structure and their capacity to market coffee. This should provide co-op members with information on available resources, and heighten the long-run potential for cooperativism throughout the country.

Ecuador

Educación Campesina y Movilización Social (ECAMOS)—EC—037
\$65,752; 12/17/76

To fortify educational, organizational, and assistance programs related to legal problems confronting campesino groups, and to equip two legal aid centers, in Quito and in Guaranda, Bolivar Province.

El Salvador

CARITAS—ES—020
\$141,210; 7/13/76

To establish and give training to community organizations structured around health, nutrition, and agriculture in at least 20 rural hamlets per year.

Fundación Salvadoreña de Desarrollo y Vivienda Mínima (FUNDASAL)—ES—024
\$6,500; 11/19/76

This project will enable the sharing of information and collective experiences among IAF grantees throughout Latin America in the fields of housing and housing evaluation.

Guatemala

Centro del Desarrollo—GT—053
\$29,770; 6/15/76

The Center will conduct training courses on community organizations and legal rights for 150 rural leaders. Such courses should enable the communities to deal with the dominant society on a more equitable basis and make the legal

system work on their behalf by responding to their priorities.

Federación Nacional de Cooperativas Agrícolas de Guatemala (FEDECOAG)—GT—056
\$210,560; 9/7/76

Training for 1,500 members of cooperatives. By creating institutions which reflect their traditions, these under-educated highland people have begun to challenge the assumption that economic improvement must involve assimilation into the dominant society.

Consejo de Fundaciones Americanas de Desarrollo (SOLIDARIOS)—GT—057
\$1,614; 10/14/76

So that representatives from 12 national development foundations and this council of development foundations can meet with IAF staff members for a feedback seminar on IAF assistance. This is part of a search for advice as to how this assistance can be made more effective.

Comité Pro-Construcción del Puente—GT—061
\$1,000; 12/3/76

The funds from this grant will be used to enable the Committee to purchase the necessary additional cement to complete the construction of a bridge which will link the community to other communities in the area. The bridge will be a vital resource to the village as it is otherwise unreachable by vehicles.

Haiti

Movement de Développement Communautaire de Pilate (MODECOOP) and Société Coopérative l'Espérance—HA—031
\$175,405; 9/16/76

To enable a cooperative to buy coffee from small producers and then ship it directly to foreign purchasers; also to expand programs of social promotion and volunteer public works. It is expected that this attempt to remove the need for middlemen will succeed since it has been woven tightly into a well-balanced system of social services.

Animation Team for Community Groups of Le Borgne—HA—034
\$62,780; 1/10/77

To empower community groups to form a pre-cooperative with communal gardens, a savings club, and programs in education, marketing, and storage. By acting together, these subsistence farmers can expect to gain access to the range of resources that will broaden their choices in life.

Jamaica

Count Ossie M.R.R. Cooperative, Ltd.—JA—034
\$55,000; 12/23/76

This project would assist the grantee to complete and outfit a music recording studio and music school.

Institute of Jamaica—JA—037
\$128,400; 1/14/77

For a pilot program of learning, teaching, and research in the use of dance and other cultural expressions as a means of human resource development that bolsters self-confidence, discipline, and a sense of responsibility.

Latin America

SOLIDARIOS—LA—037
\$32,000; 11/29/76

This project enables the sharing of information and collective experiences among local development organizations in Latin America and the Caribbean.

Mexico

Instituto de Fomento de la Casa Mexicana, A.C.—ME—060
\$69,914; 7/1/76

To stabilize and expand a service center for low-cost housing materials, and to establish a department of planning and technical assistance for self-help house building. This center is also expected to stimulate the organization of other development groups.

Secretariado de Experiencias Nuevas de Educación Comunitaria (SENEC)—ME—061
\$10,000; 8/2/76

To expand a program that includes primary education, agricultural research, and a credit cooperative, thus helping widely-dispersed mountain dwellers to build the kind of united community that problem-solving frequently requires.

Grupo de la Petaca I—ME—063
\$22,000; 11/4/76

This project is the first request IAF has ever received from an *ejidal* community group in Mexico. This is a base group project, where the beneficiaries developed the proposal and are committed to helping other groups with a rotating loan fund.

Faculty of Intercultural Communication, University of the Americas—ME—067
\$2,500; 12/7/76

The grant will provide travel funds to send three people from the "Educación a la Distancia" program at the University of the Americas to visit the Radio School program, Radio Santa Maria, in the Dominican Republic.

Nicaragua

Cooperativa de Ahorro y Credito de Taxeros, R.L.—NC—021(2)
\$63,000; 12/76

To provide seed capital for a taxi drivers' cooperative in Managua and to develop a training program for its members and management.

Cooperativa de Servicios Múltiples de Cafetaleros del Norte, R.L. (COSECAFEN)—NC—023
\$136,212; 7/1/76

To enable isolated coffee growers to gain access to and control over agricultural technical assistance, credit, and marketing services, through the establishment of their own cooperative center.

Centros Familiares de Educación Rural (CFER)—NC—026
\$5,100; 2/9/77

CFER will organize six workshops to prepare educational and audiovisual aids for rural family schools in eight Nicaraguan communities. These schools represent an experimental approach to non-formal, rural education. Similar efforts are currently underway in Mexico, Brazil, and Argentina.

Panama

CARITAS de Panama—PN—032(2)
\$175,000; 1/13/77

To start a revolving loan fund to make credit available for communally-organized farming. This effort is made doubly auspicious by the presence of private service agencies that understand it and formal associations that add to its legitimacy as seen by the society at large.

Fe y Alegría—PN—034
\$37,000; 12/10/76

For a boat that will transport people and farm produce between a rural area and Panama City. This Sambu Indian group has chosen a cooperative pattern of change that may well clear the path toward legitimation in the dominant culture, but without forfeiting its values.

Peru

Centro de Estudios y Reflexión del Altiplano (CERA)—PU—043
\$208,529; 12/10/76

To develop a training center managed by several communities of peasants, particularly as a means of taking whatever advantage they deem appropriate of governmental policies and programs and their own capacities.

Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos—PU—051
\$3,000; 12/17/76

For the cost of printing papers emerging from the Third Peruvian Congress, which is expected to discuss, among other subjects, the relationship of anthropological research to Andean culture and development.

United States

American Society of International Law—US—102
\$11,580; 11/24/76

To finance travel and related expenses for approximately 16—20 persons from Latin America and the Caribbean to attend a three-day Conference on the Role of Law in Social Change in Latin America and the Caribbean.

Uruguay

Cooperativa Agropecuaria de Lecheros de Quebracho (COLEQUE)—UR—014
\$191,296; 9/16/76

For a milk-processing plant which is expected to encourage the creation of other industries in the area. Such industries could provide long-term employment possibilities for the youth of the region, many of whom have been migrating to urban areas.

They Know How . . .

The Inter-American Foundation's recently published book, *They Know How . . . An Experiment in Development Assistance*, can be purchased from the Superintendent of Documents, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402. Price: \$2.50. Stock Number 022-000-00137-0.

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