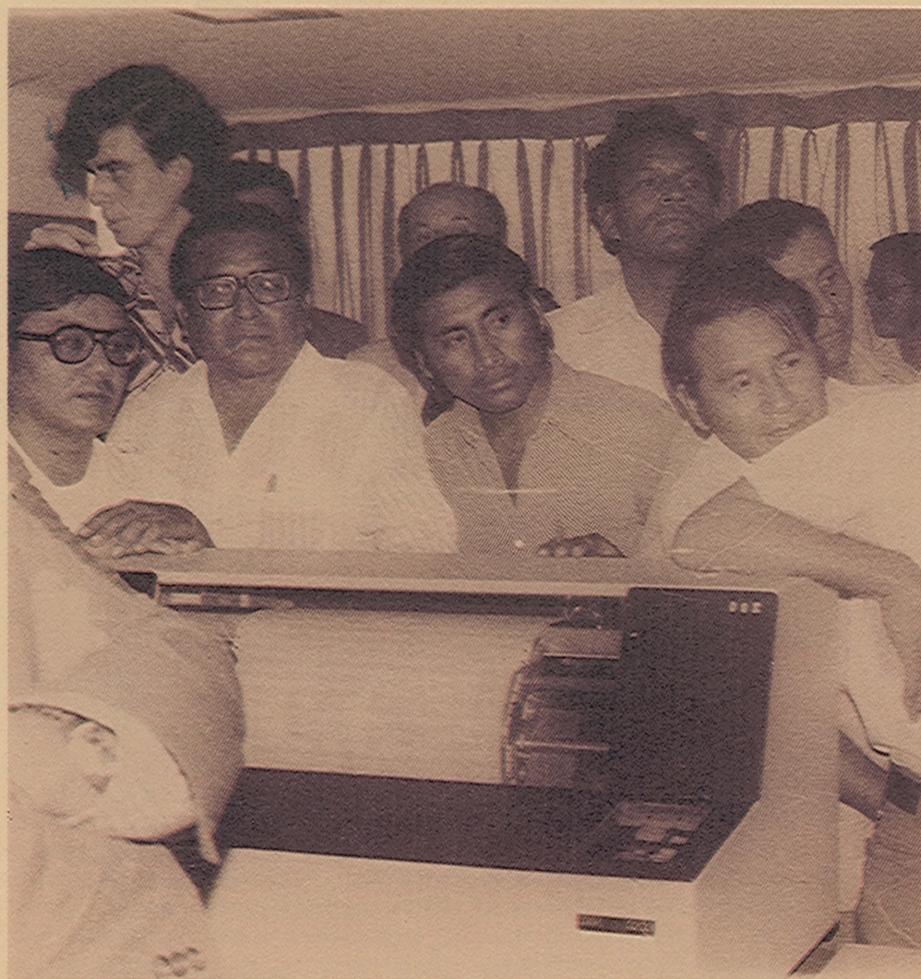


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CENASCONTEC. Lima, Perú.

Campe- sinos and Comp- uters ???

Edmund Benner

At first glance, it seemed to be a rather typical meeting of peasant farmers (*campesinos*) from a variety of Peru's rural provinces.

Gathered on the outskirts of Lima this chilly August morning, their ponchos and jackets already glazed by winter's usual light drizzle, or "*garua*," they were by now heavily involved in discussions which were, I soon learned, not so typical after all.

As I sat down, the conversation was going something like this, "...and because of problems related to our 68130 and our 50502," said one of the *campesinos*, "it will be increasingly difficult for us to meet other long-term debt payments." "And don't forget our 38101 costs," added his friend.

More surprising than the fact that this *campesino* was speaking with ease the

language of their computer and accounting code was the fact that all others present, except me, seemed to understand him also.

The man next to me was courteous enough to translate into layman's Spanish: "He was outlining some of his cooperative's major expenses," he said. "The 68130 category refers to depreciation of machinery, 50502 includes payments owed the Agrarian Bank, and the 38101 has to do with the amortization of their agrarian reform debt."

What I was witnessing, it turned out, was one of the initial organizational meetings of an entity that would, one year later, be legally recognized as a *campesino*-owned and controlled accounting and computer service cooperative. Known as CENASCONTEC (*Centro Nacional de Servicios Contables para las Empresas Campesinas*), this national-level cooperative now provides computer, accounting, planning, and training services to the hundreds of *campesino* production cooperatives that have been spawned as a result of Peru's 1968 revolution and subsequent agrarian reform law.

Prior to 1968, the rural sector was characterized by striking inequities in the distribution of land, money, and power that had existed since colonial times. One percent of the land owners, for example, controlled nearly 95 percent of the agricultural land. In real terms, that meant 14 of the 15 million hectares of cultivable land. Worse, the large landholders used their individual and collective economic clout to gain attendant political power, thus stifling any profound changes in traditional structures. Land meant wealth, wealth was power, and power was translated into the participation of a few in decisions and public policies that affected the lives of many. Most of the country's rural population, consequently, remained isolated from any substantive economic, social, or political participation in their society.

While students of Peru's 1968 revolution continue to debate its outcome in such aspects as social property and industrial community laws, there is little room for discussion about the efficacy of the agrarian reform law. So pervasive has the law been that today not one large landholder is left in Peru. But, importantly, the law has paid careful attention to both social and economic aspects of rural life and has not, therefore, focused primarily on giving small parcels of land to individual *campesinos*.

Rather, Peru's agrarian reform law was conceived as a long-range process that seeks to accommodate the rural population into the socio-economic life of the country by allowing *campesinos* collective ownership and management of agricultural production enterprises and by providing them with financial mechanisms that allow them to build up equity. While these associative enterprises have assumed a variety of nomenclatures—agricultural production cooperatives, social property enterprises, agricultural societies of social interest, *campesino* communities—they all maintain similar elements of community ownership and participatory management. Land, machinery, and other assets, for example, belong to the community enterprise, not to the individual farms. Too, decision-making is done democratically through elected committees that are responsible for activities such as production, marketing, education, accounting, and planning.

Because most *campesinos* involved in production (as opposed to service) cooperatives were formerly salaried employees (*feudatorios*) on large *haciendas*, they now find themselves involved in many decision-making activities from which they were formerly excluded and for which they were poorly prepared. This new need for "training to participate" and "participation in training" was recognized at the outset of the agrarian reform and vast sums were

spent by the Peruvian government to devise and implement appropriate educational programs to meet those needs. Also provided were technical assistance and credits to ensure that the new associative production units would survive and flourish.

For both ideological and economic reasons, however, the government is now encouraging these newly-established *campesino* enterprises to provide their own services through locally-owned and -controlled organizations. Ideologically, the government wants to realize its oft-repeated rhetoric regarding the establishment of a "social democracy of full participation." Economically, the government recognizes its limited ability to meet all the service requirements of the hundreds of first- and second-level agricultural production cooperatives that have been formed as a result of the agrarian reform. Individual base-level cooperatives, however, which involve approximately 50-100 *campesino* families, are normally not large enough or wealthy enough to provide these services. To resolve the dilemma, these first-level cooperatives are now consolidating to form second-level cooperatives, or "*centrales*," which affiliate from five to ten base organizations. *Centrales*, run by elected representatives from the base organizations, now number nearly 25 throughout Peru, and 60 more are expected to form by 1980.

As the number of *centrales* grows, and as their activities expand and become more complex, there is the concomitant need to establish still higher-level cooperatives to consolidate the *centrales* and to offer similar services on a national or international scale. While these services are eventually expected to include macro-marketing schemes and massive purchases of agro-inputs to take advantage of economies of scale, computerization of accounting services and the establishment of a uniform accounting system have already emerged as the first areas of



Land reclamation project, Chimbote, Peru.

common need among the existing *centrales* and base-level cooperatives. In response to that need, CENASCONTEC was established with government support and recently recognized as the first third-level cooperative in Peru.

For the nearly 500,000 *campesinos* already affected by the agrarian reform, it is hoped that these new accounting and computer services will mitigate the confusion that has heretofore prevailed about the economic and financial status

of their collectively-run agricultural production enterprises. No system previously existed to allow the cooperatives to determine where money and time was being spent, what present and expected earnings were, which items were being

stored, marketed, or depreciated, and what records were kept of such variables as producing, borrowing, marketing, planning, hiring, calculating tax expenditures, and keeping abreast of commodity price structures. Thus, the *campesinos* had little notion of whether they were coming out in the black or red, or of the general economic or social "health" of their agrobusiness.

Furthermore, they had few common ties to help them know what other *campesino* cooperatives were producing, at what prices they were selling, or what their costs were.

In sum, although accounting was being performed by individual base cooperatives and by some *centrales*, there was little in the way of uniformity, consistency, or communication about the results of their similar efforts. As a result, *campesinos* had little awareness and control of the domestic agricultural scene, as urban buyers and processors frequently played one *campesino* enterprise against the other, and as individual cooperatives competed for available markets, thus putting them into the "group capitalism" syndrome.

One group benefiting from the newly-organized *campesino* enterprises, for example, were private accounting firms which 1) charged exorbitant prices, 2) helped maintain a fractured *campesino* economy and communications network, and 3) excluded the *campesinos* from any understanding of accounting procedures, financial analysis, or future planning based on past and projected production costs.

Against this background, the Department of *Campesino* Support of Peru's Ministry of Agriculture initiated the CENASCONTEC entity several years ago with the understanding that it would eventually be turned over to the *campesinos* and owned and managed by them as a third-level cooperative. Nine months ago, that cooperative was rec-

ognized and the phase out of government support began.

Fortunately, CENASCONTEC began not as a government whim, but as a carefully conceptualized service structure that involved *campesinos* in the initial planning, responded to their perceptions of needs, trained them for eventual management, and recently turned over to them the ownership, control, and technology. All of these are areas of activity from which Peru's *campesinos* were excluded before 1968.

While welcomed by the *campesinos*, this transfer of authority, autonomy, and technology brought with it a fair share of problems that now confront CENASCONTEC. Further training of *campesinos* at all levels is needed if there is to be a democratization of the new technology and full understanding of computer inputs and outputs as they affect their individual cooperatives and lives. Costs of renting computers have been high and, although CENASCONTEC has assured markets for its services and a carefully-calculated breakeven point for the number of computer entries it must handle, capital will be lacking for at least another year. Although domestic credits have been solicited, CENASCONTEC's limited track record severely hampers present borrowing possibilities.

But CENASCONTEC's leadership is convinced that its services are valid, and those sentiments seem to be echoed by base groups and *centrales* which count on the monthly financial statements to keep them apprised of such increasingly complex variables as: agro-inputs on hand, payroll expenditures, distribution of human resources, accounts receivable, crop production schedules, depreciation of machinery and buildings, credit updates, and warehouse stocks.

Although accounting-computer services are now performed for 18 *centrales*, representing 230 base-level prod-

uction cooperatives, the number is expected to increase to 40 *centrales*, involving 650 cooperatives, by 1980.

In addition, CENASCONTEC will shortly initiate training activities with the nearly 500,000 *campesinos* who will be affected by the computerized uniform accounting system. As now projected, two teams will work over the next four years with the educational committees in the *centrales* and base-level enterprises to provide courses in such matters as: budget preparation and review, inventory techniques, basic and advanced accounting, organization and implementation of accounting centers in base-level cooperatives, and how to prepare computer inputs and interpret outputs.

While the effort is a massive and complex one, it seems to be filling authentic needs in Peru's present rural context. If successful, CENASCONTEC may expand *campesino* thinking from the usual realm of lofty social and economic goals to the more realistic decisions related to administration and financial analysis and planning of their own community-run business.

Moreover, these activities may allow *campesinos* in Peru, for the first time, to have the data required to plan combined production and marketing and export activities on a national scale, to know future credit requirements, and to determine whether they are making or losing money "down on the farm." Additionally, the coordinated knowledge of their joint production costs and benefits may allow a *campesino* economy to emerge and their requests for consumer price increases, or government subsidies and other demands, to be based on empirical data rather than on informal or emotional rhetoric. ■

Edmund Benner, formerly with the Peace Corps in Chile, Colombia, and Peru, has been an IAF field representative since 1972.

Dyalog

William M. Dyal, Jr.

The following is excerpted from "Overseas Mission," a weekly broadcast on Public Radio and Television Stations WAMU-FM and WNVT-TV. Interviewing William M. Dyal, Jr., President of the Inter-American Foundation, are Leonard Curry of UPI; Phil Gailey of the Knight Newspapers; Winthrop P. Carty of Vision magazine; and Michael J. Marlow of AID, program host.

CARTY: Sir, frankly, people here don't really know what you do. Can you tell us very briefly what your program is?

DYAL: Mr. Carty, the Inter-American Foundation was set up by the Congress and began functioning in early 1971. I think, frankly, it was born out of some frustration by members of Congress who felt that the old themes of people-to-people and of finding ways to relate to the poorest of the poor never really occurred, simply because of all the levels of assistance or the levels of political control that occurred in the process. They felt that if there could be an independent, autonomous organization that could respond to initiatives of Latins and Caribbeans, then something of the nature of a foundation functioning much as a private foundation, but in the public sector, would be the answer.

CARTY: Following on that, the Foundation is obviously, then, congressionally mandated. But in your case, you are allowed to make grants that otherwise would be frowned upon by the Congress.

Don't you see some contradiction here? There's a movement in the Congress to restrict assistance to countries like Chile and Uruguay where you are deeply involved. How do you explain that?

DYAL: The main distinction actually is the point of uniqueness of the Foundation, that we are responding to initiatives, programs designed by the people them-

selves in the nongovernmental sectors of Latin American and Caribbean countries. So rather than funding governments, we are funding peoples directly.

CURRY: Some of these organizations that you fund, although they may represent the people, seem to represent counter-groups within a country. In Paraguay you've funded an Indian group which has not been accepted by its own government. And in Jamaica you set up legal aid foundations, storefront lawyers to help so-called poor people. Is this not an interference with the local autonomy?

DYAL: We did not organize it; the distinction being they are Jamaicans or Brazilians or Paraguayans who have set it in motion. At any time a government could stop that process if it desired.

MARLOW: Well, how do you explain that, Mr. Dyal? You've said that no government in Latin America, has ever refused your operation, that is your funding of indigenous groups in those countries. How do you explain that? You've got the military on one side, dictatorships on one side. You've got liberal organizations, liberal governments.

How do you get away with it?

DYAL: I can't explain it easily, except, frankly, no government, even small ones, is totally a monolith. And consequently, the movements of people within those countries, even though they may be heavily monitored or there may be repression at times, and that has occurred, nevertheless are legitimate movements that the government has to listen to in some fashion, even if it feels hostile to them.

GAILEY: Mr. Dyal, do you think, based on your experiences with the Inter-American Foundation, that this would be a practical approach for our entire U.S. foreign aid program, to take it totally out of a foreign policy context and just follow the example that your group has set?

DYAL: Mr. Gailey, if you give me two parts to answer that question, I'd say, number one; no, in this sense, that I think there're limits to what a program of this kind can do. If we were saddled with multi-millions of dollars, the kind that flow through bilateral and multilateral channels, it would escalate the attention upon us, which would not allow us to respond. We've had to set in motion many bureaucratic processes to be able to so perform. And I think governments would insist on control in that instance, including our own.

On the other hand, I would say something of the spirit and style of the way we function, our basic philosophy, might be very appropriately heeded or at least set in motion by other aid mechanisms.

MARLOW: Well, how far can you go, Mr. Dyal? Your budget this year I believe is twenty-five million. It was twenty-five million the year before and twenty before that, in 1975. How much larger can you grow? How much larger should you grow? And if indeed the big operations like AID, the World Bank, the United Nations really can't do it the way you're doing it, is there now room for other inter-American foundations operating in the same or other areas?

DYAL: I think very definitely, Mr. Marlow. There's an Africa Foundation that's been introduced in the Congress right now, following on our experience. I think such regional foundations functioning with this kind of autonomy make good sense. I think also within the World Bank and the Inter-American Development Bank and AID there would be ways they could pick up at second and third levels the kinds of the things we have funded at a risk level in the first stage. And I would hope more of this would begin to happen.

The real dynamic of change in Latin America is happening in the non-governmental sector and not in the governmental sector. So we're going to have to be responsive to that.

CARTY: Sir, as an experimental agency, you have an implied obligation to share your findings with the federal bureaucracy and the Congress. I must say I find precious little sign that you've made any impact on the Congress and on the official bureaucracy.

If I'm correct, why is this so? And don't you have an obligation to have an impact on our whole program?

DYAL: I think we do have an obligation. And we walk a very fine line, frankly, between public relations and total lack of visibility. Somewhere in there at this stage, five and a half years after the experiment has been in motion, we've got to find the ways to share this. We started this last year with the publication of our own perceptions of our experience, a little book we call *They Know How*, which very much reflects our belief that the peoples of Latin America and the Caribbean both can define their problems and design ways to resolve them. And hopefully we'll have more impact in that process.

CARTY: Can you give one example of what you have discovered being duplicated elsewhere? It seems to be sort of a dead end as it stands now.

DYAL: I can give an example, if you understand that models and replicability in the strictest sense of detail repetition is not what we're seeking, but rather the stimulus of ideas, of the utilization of people from one project or program area to another. We see that happening within Latin America, almost in a natural network growth: rural development organizations, peasant federations with their own credit systems, their own technical assistance, which are beginning to be set up in a variety of countries, and one movement has helped to inspire another.

CARTY: That's Latin America. But what about Washington?

DYAL: Well, I think there's something to be said for a two-way street. Maybe not Washington, but I can give a quick

example in California where the California Legislature and the Governor's Office are looking at a foundation based on our experience to be set up in California soon by legislation to provide funding, without all the gimmickry, for farm workers in California.

MARLOW: That brings me to this question, Mr. Dyal. I know that you're proud of the support on the left and on the right, not only in the Latin American countries, but in the United States. And I want to know how is it, how do you explain that kind of a coalition in favor of what you're doing? How can you satisfy what apparently is so many people?

DYAL: Well, I think if you look at the common theme that's described today of self-reliance, whatever that means by whoever's definition, it's neither Democrat nor Republican, liberal, conservative, orthodox, nonorthodox. It's very much a concern about being able to support people's efforts to resolve their own problems. Somehow that cuts across a wide spectrum of ideology, political and economic. And perhaps it's the reason there's that kind of support.

CURRY: You've granted some forty million dollars over the past five or six years, and it's almost unaccounted for in the stream of Congress. How does one kind of, with an open checkbook, spend forty million dollars and not account for it, or how does one account for it?

DYAL: It's very much accounted for. Every time we make a grant, we generally also make a sum of money available to that grantee institution to get a commercial audit by an internationally recognized, locally based commercial auditing firm. The GAO, in turn, audits us and all of those audits. So we've had very clear audits on everything that we have done over the years, or they're in the process.

What we have discovered, by the way, that comes back to our basic philosophy, is that people, when they are at a level of their own resources, are incredibly ac-



Fundação de Desenvolvimento Integrado do São Francisco, Barra, Bahia, Brazil.

countable and make their institutions accountable. We've had to terminate eight grants out of five hundred and thirty that we've made over these years because of a misappropriation of some kind, as defined by a commercial audit. And that's no credit to us. It's a credit to that sense of accountability demonstrated by the people at the base.

GAILEY: My question is what kind of problems have you had, if any, with multinationals, with the State Department, Agency for International Development, all of which have had some criticisms of your program? And I was just wondering if they have tried to tamper with it or undermine you in any way, or whatever problems you may have had with them.

DYAL: If I could describe it in a kind of over-arching way because of the limits of time, obviously the concern about control is at the heart of State Department's concern about us.

MARLOW: What do you mean by that? What do you mean by "control?"

DYAL: Well, in the sense that a U.S. Ambassador or the State Department does not approve or veto any project in advance. And this means that a U.S. Ambassador in a country could see a U.S. entity, such as ours, funding an organization that he might disapprove of, for whatever reasons. I think the Congress set the Foundation in motion in this fashion so that they could neither control it, nor the State Department, nor the White House, recognizing we would have to be responsible and fully communicate in all directions.

We generally look at a proposal and make a decision within three to four months. If we had to have approvals from everybody, we would never fund anything, because the bottom line would never appear there, probably.

MARLOW: Mr. Dyal, I think we have the impression here that at least a good number of the Latin American governments are against social change. And

is that not true? Or are you saying *carte blanche*, that all of the nations in Central and South America are indeed in favor of social change? And another part of that perhaps, are they permitting you to work in this area because you're really not amounting to very much; in other words, small pockets of change? Is that it?

DYAL: I don't think there's any doubt but what in some instances we've been allowed to function because a government has felt it was so piddling, not worth worrying about.

Now if you believe, however, that small is beautiful or little can be big, or that a movement really begins somewhere and begins to spread, then that notion perhaps is a mistaken notion on the part of a government. See, if the people are defining their problems and beginning to resolve them, and that's forming networks of relationship, something is going on, and that's where the dynamic of change is taking place.

CURRY: Some organizations you've funded have discovered that their leaders have been jailed or been harassed. Has this done anything to deter the desire or requests for money from the IAF?

DYAL: Actually, in no single instance where a leader of a project or people from an institution have either been harassed or actually jailed or tortured—and that's happened in a number of instances—has that deterred. If anything, it has seemed to inspire the group or organization even more. Nor has it changed the sense of relationship with us.

One of the things, Mr. Curry, we're very concerned about is not playing with the lives of other people. And while we're risk-oriented in what we fund, we try to be very clear that our money may escalate the attention on that group and the spotlight that comes there, and we talk about those things in advance when a proposal comes to us. And generally, they're far more risk-oriented than we. They're living in the midst of it. ■

Building on Street Savvy

Winthrop P. Carty

The third phase of a unique system to reach Bogota's *gamines*, street urchins who live in their own sub-culture, is falling into place. A boarding vocational school, Ciudad Industrial Don Bosco is a complex housing 800 students and a staff of 45. Located on the outskirts of the Colombian capital, the school is under the aegis of the Fundación Servicio de Orientación Juvenil, imaginatively directed by Javier de Nicolo, a Salesian father.

"Our approach is not to make the children fit the educational system," says the priest, "but rather to make the educational system fit the children." Given the background of the children, de Nicolo's approach is no easy matter. It means involving the children in the program, their participation being what distinguishes this from traditional social welfare projects, and from programs designed to resocialize "deviates."

Bogota's *gamines* are celebrated. Movies have been made of the street children who beg and steal for an existence. Travel agents have tried to make a tourist attraction out of the night-wanderers who wear oversized clothing to burlesque the world around them and hide stolen items, mostly taken from cars. And observers have been universally astounded that children, as young as five years, could successfully make their way independently on the streets.

The *gamines* were first noticed in the 1950's after Colombia had experienced a period of political violence that sent thousands of uprooted peasants streaming into the major cities. The present population of *gamines* is said to number as much as 5,000, most of them social orphans in their own homes. They come from violent and uncaring slum families who mistreat them and offer little more than a floor to sleep on. Moreover, Colombia's classic education and school regimentation hold no attraction for the young vagabonds.

The *gamin* is often a youngster with a

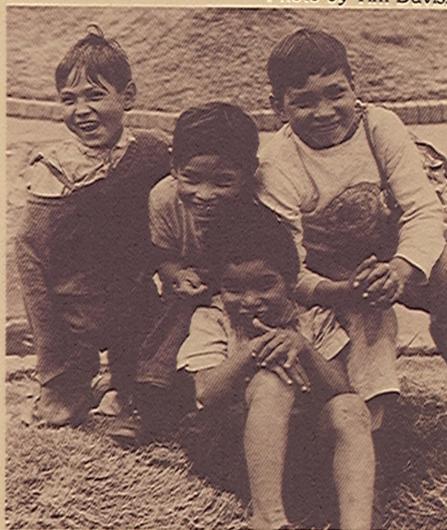
special kind of dignity and a strong sense of outrage at injustice. In reaction to a hostile society, the *gamines* have evolved their own subculture. They form gangs (*galladas* or *camadas*) composed of 10 or 15 youngsters whose ages range from four to 15. Older boys (*largos*) lead the groups and show the younger children the ropes. Those who join the adult system are considered sell-outs (*acomodados* or *chupagruesos*).

Attempts to re-educate the *gamines* in orphanages or charitable institutions, or to "teach them a lesson" in jail have failed through the years. Often the children of *gamines* follow in their parents' footsteps in a cycle of despair. Father de Nicolo, an educator, saw the tragedy of it all as the chaplain of the Carcel de Menores, Bogota's juvenile jail. He noted that those children, who by all traditional standards were the most incorrigible non-learners, were the very ones most likely to flash the greatest insight and innate intellect.

Father de Nicolo decided to meet the *gamines* on their terms. With a selected group of boys freed on his personal recognition, he created a rough approximation of a *gallada*, or gang, and made it into a "learning community". By dint of sheer energy and relentless persuasion, the priest, since 1970, has fashioned an integrated movement, called Bosconia, to provide the *gamines* an understandable and acceptable method of making peace with the world.

The first phase of the program occurs at the Club de Externos, a paved courtyard near some of Bogota's worst slums. An open-door policy allows the wary youngsters to size up the movement. And they can play games, take a shower and receive needed first aid. But most important, they discover that they are treated with respect and are not viewed as cute ragamuffins, lost souls or hardened criminals.

If the initial contact is successful, the boys move to a boarding school ar-



Gamines in Bogota, Colombia.

range. While a boy may always leave the program, his transition to the educational surroundings contains a high element of personal commitment. The school atmosphere is marked by careful attention to air, light, informality, flexibility and an open teaching approach which builds on the students' street knowledge. But beyond basic educational and vocational skills, great stress is laid on giving the *gamin* a sense of self-worth and self-understanding.

After coming to terms with himself as an individual, the erstwhile drifter is asked to reflect on society and to consider his role in society. This is self-government, the second phase, which takes place at La Florida, on the outskirts of the capital.

The facility is an aesthetic delight, well-suited to a lifestyle that encourages the *gamines* to maintain their personal sense of integrity. Rather than imposing the larger society's values on the students, the emphasis is on their obligation to the group through the understandable system of the *gallada*. With a minimum of adults in attendance, the boys elect their leaders, set their own rules and police their own activities. They are housed in small units, composed of *gallada*-sized

groups of 16. Their street experience, then, is used as a vehicle for permitting the boys to work out their sense of positive social obligations. Furthermore, the boys practical education is advanced.

The need for integration into the general society is manifest. And that is the job of the Ciudad Industrial Don Bosco. This "learning community" identifies a boy's individual talents and ambitions, and prepares the student to fulfill his destiny on the outside. The project received a grant of \$647,884 from the Inter-American Foundation last year, toward a total budget of over three million dollars. It is expected to be self-sustaining within five years. Through the sale of finished goods produced in the workshops, Ciudad Don Bosco intends not only to become self-financing but to have enough left over to help finance the institutions of phases one and two.

Ciudad Don Bosco, in part, is a way station between street values and society's conventional paths. The boys are guided by a mix of Bosconia "graduates", imaginative teachers and vocational instructors. Under a contract with the government, skilled vocational training is provided, allowing the graduates of the classroom studies and on-the-job training to receive a crack at good jobs from the business community. In addition they receive a grounding in administration and management that will later enable them to form their own enterprises.

"Many people think the *gamines* live a romantic life," says de Nicolo. "But the *gamines* represent a failure of society and a waste of human beings." If father de Nicolo succeeds—and he is not a man to be underestimated—this 25-year cycle of an indifferent society and wasted human potential will finally be broken. ■

Winthrop P. Carty, Washington Bureau Chief of Vision, Inc., visited Ciudad Industrial Don Bosco earlier this year.

Let Them Reinvent the Wheel

Csanad Toth

10

Ernst F. Schumacher 1911-1977

"The new thinking that is required for aid and development will be different from the old because it will take poverty seriously. It will not go on mechanically, saying: 'What is good for the rich must also be good for the poor.' It will care for people—from a severely practical point of view. Why care for people? Because people are the primary and ultimate source of any wealth whatsoever. If they are left out, if they are pushed around by self-styled experts and high-handed planners, then nothing can ever yield real fruit." *Small Is Beautiful*, 1973.

There can be no Sears Roebuck Catalogue offering a technology appropriate to each developing society. Even the best attempts at such a catalogue—inspired by the late E.F. Schumacher's book *Small Is Beautiful*—fail to list a critical ingredient: skills acquired and creativity enhanced through the search for a type of technology that people understand, control, and use to meet their basic needs.

For three decades we aid-giving societies have viewed technical assistance as a substitute for that critical ingredient. Our objective has been to transfer expertise to spare the developing nations the ordeal of trial and error. The surprising reality is that by saving blood, sweat, and tears, and by offering from our vast storehouse of experience, the results belie our intent. While the aim is to help, the consequence is often that we fail to share the secret of success: the capacity to invent the future.

A great debt is due to Schumacher for his pioneering conceptualization and popularization of a new perspective on development that all of us should have had long ago. Schumacher, founder of the London-based Intermediate Technology Development Group, was a humanist first and economist second. In his own formulation, intermediate technology is a "self-help technology, or democratic or people's technology." It is intermediate because it is between the sophisticated technology of the rich and the primitive technology of the poor. It is appropriate because it is designed for human scale to meet human needs and not for impersonal forces of power, ideology, growth, or greed. In practical terms, it advocates labor-intensive instead of capital- and energy-intensive investment, and small-scale, decentralized enterprises rather than large-scale, centralized enterprises; it stresses production to meet community needs instead of market demands; it favors evolving, incremental improvements in technology

that do not clash with the existing patterns of production and skills; it aims to enhance rather than to diminish people's participation in the production process.

Schumacher's tour of the U.S. in the spring of 1977 brought together environmentalists and developmentalists. He came and he conquered. He was received in Congress and in the White House. He was hailed in the press and sought after at conferences. His triumph signaled that the time had arrived for the idea. From the World Bank to private voluntary agencies, from the Agency for International Development to the Peace Corps, people who have worked with appropriate technologies found themselves vindicated and were no longer outcasts among their think-big, more-is-better biased colleagues.

Appropriate technology is in. It is not a passing fad; it has become a movement with a religious fervor. Whatever is "inappropriate" has become the new original sin, with disciples at each other's throats arguing about the purity of the dogma and the path to salvation.

In the heat of this fanfare and debate, the original Schumacher premise that appropriate technology is a people's enterprise is beginning to vanish. *Small Is Beautiful* was intended as a treatise "as if people mattered." Yet in the years since its publication in 1973, the unfolding story of appropriate technology appears to conform to the fate of so many fresh and promising ideas of the past. They all began with the novel notion that people mattered, but then, as expertise and experts took over, the human factor gradually disappeared. "Small is beautiful" is also a potentially big business for the inventive and entrepreneurial mind, and a big opportunity for universities and consultant firms for contracts and grants.

At one end of the spectrum of the experts' debate are the diehards of old religions who just won't go gently into the night. Wearing the mask of converts, they keep paying homage to old idols. A

publication of the National Academy of Sciences, in May of this year, *Appropriate Technologies for Developing Countries*, offers blanket absolution for all sins by consecrating as "appropriate" all practices, including big steel plants and other assorted blasphemies in the Schumacher catechism, that serve development objectives and contribute to the creation of national identity. Somewhere at the other extreme are the missionaries who hope to find an outlet in the Third World for their ingenuity, their middle-class suburban toys and gadgets. In northern Mali, there is a monument erected to them. It is a long line of rusting windmills, like so many abandoned crosses on top of barren hills, designed and manufactured to purr with the mild winds of the Mediterranean, but once brought to the Sahara they became the victims of fierce sandstorms.

The French invented a solar pump for the drought-stricken Sahel to sell at \$8,000 apiece but the villagers could not afford it. Support for small farmers in Kenya and Paraguay to turn them to more intensive agriculture by irrigation and, at the same time, fish farming in ponds, was a bonanza for the mosquitos, increasing not only the farmers' income but the incidence of malaria as well.

Other not so-small and not-so-beautiful examples attest to the problems of local adaptation of foreign ingenuity. Such failures are not always a foreigner's patent. Those local research institutions—usually university-affiliated—which got into the act in time have had their own share of miscalculations: like the cow dung cooker in Uttar Pradesh, India, which was designed to produce methane gas for household use in the rural areas. The problem was that five cows were required to keep the cooker well supplied and the poor Indian peasants do not own that many.

These illustrations are, however, exceptions to the rule. The weight of evidence appears to show that most proj-



Board of directors meeting, Castle Bruce Cooperative, Dominica.

ects involving intermediate or appropriate technologies exported by the industrialized countries or developed by local research institutions do take cultural idiosyncracies into account, are cost conscious, and make a difference in the lives of people affected by depleted energy sources and a general scarcity of resources.

But to call this success, and on that basis to zealously inundate the less developed countries with products carrying the trademarks "made in the developing world" or "made by experts" is to miss the point altogether. There is something seriously wrong with the premise that it is incumbent on the industrialized countries and their ancillary development centers to invent and spread appropriate technology. The assumption that the industrial world is the source, warehouse, and exporter of alternative technologies

separates the producers of technology from its users and the product from the process.

The prospect of success will depend on whether the appropriate technology movement encourages self-reliance and participatory development, or only the creation of yet another knowledge-and-assistance industry that is enamored of a new class of artifacts and sets up its network of missionary enterprises in the developing world.

The question of methodology is decisive: What measures will the advocates of this new technology take to identify needs and what instruments will they adopt to pursue them? My fear is that the current strategy for appropriate technology is an attempt to condition people to behave according to patterns designed by experts who decide what is and what is not appropriate. My wish is that the



CESA School for Rural Development, Columbe, Ecuador.

technology proponents develop responsive strategies that will enhance the resourcefulness of people in organizing their own experiences, creating their own purposes, and making their own choices.

The growing number of “knowledge centers” of appropriate technology in Holland and Sri Lanka, in Ghana and Colombia—are beginning to look like the new clubs of experts. They produce inventories of how-to’s and dispense useful hints. They produce whole earth catalogues and unearth long forgotten tools. They are also beginning to show signs of self-serving indispensability. Appropriate technology is becoming a new branch of the science of

development—a new industry of research, of conferences, the new parlance of technical assistance. There is a need for research, for laboratories to invent, and for experts to dispense good advice. But experts should not operate on the presumption that originality lies with them. They should not assign ultimate value to themselves and their products.

The best laboratories are the people’s own self-redeeming and self-reliant activities. It is there that genuine people’s technology is forged, in the ingenious ways they set up their revolving loan funds, using commodities instead of cash to beat debilitating inflation; in cooperatives of cottage industries producing everything from textiles to ceramics, which

refuse to be lured into mass production and serve instead immediate community needs; in the manner in which they rely on their traditional values and social organizations to manage their production and marketing.

Appropriate technology is not the philosopher’s stone that transmutes base matter into gold. Appropriate technology does not make people; people make appropriate technology. There is no appropriate technology that can evolve without our abilities correspondingly evolving with it. If, as I fear may become the case, our energies and resources are invested in laboratories and “knowledge centers” to design and experiment with new gadgets and tools instead of investing in the people to invent their own, we may have something that we call intermediate. But those who should use it will continue to regard it as too sophisticated. For appropriate technology to be other than an end in itself, its development must emphasize the human activity that produces it.

In stressing the creative role of the user of appropriate technology, I borrow from the classical economists the notion that the lasting value of anything, including appropriate technology, is determined by the amount of labor embodied in it and that it is the user’s contribution to its development that infuses whatever is produced with lasting value. Thus, appropriate technology is not only a set of means of meeting basic needs and assuring livelihood, it is also an act of affirmation whereby one acquires a sense of mastery over oneself and one’s environment.

Granted, we do have what economists call the comparative advantage. We have the resources and the ability to provide the “appropriate products” inexpensively and, if we put our minds to it, faster. We have the skills to invent and manufacture everything needed for soap factories or cement plants or to meet the needs of the small farmer—all on a re-

duced scale. In fact, we have already invented most such products, though they have been discarded, replaced, and forgotten.

Should we now invent or reinvent, manufacture, and export items to make the less-developed world not only dependent on sophisticated technology, but also on intermediate technology?

Even if such were not our intent, the net result would be disappointing to all concerned. In appropriate technology, as much as in other fields, there are no shortcuts to change, only shortchanged people who are denied the experiences of discovery and mastery and a sense of self-reliance. The appropriate technology movement should not be an effort to save people from the errors we have committed and hardship encountered along our journey toward progress, but should be an effort to provide them an opportunity to have their own experience in learning even if what is being learned is already known.

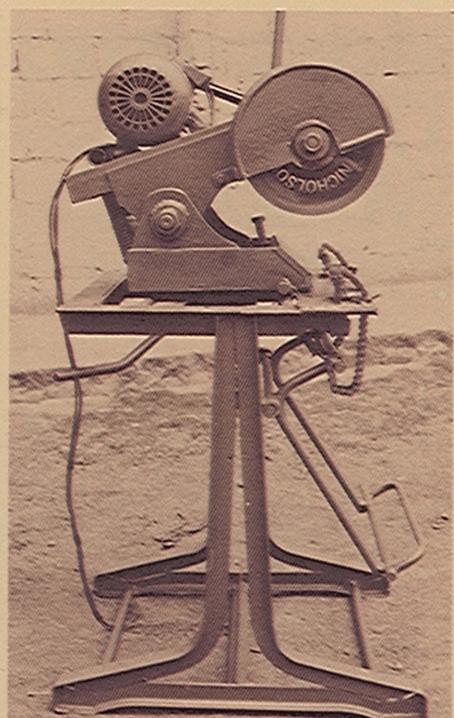
A case in point is the way members of a small cooperative, Castle Bruce, on the island of Dominica devised an irrigation system for short crops. They were certainly not "primitive" to just wait for the rain or dance for it. And they were too sophisticated to be taken by a Caribbean consultant firm that offered to do the job with aluminum pipes for 30 thousand dollars. Their alternative was to invent an irrigation system made entirely of bamboo—at a cost of less than 100 dollars. Using their own intelligence, they discovered something that an intermediary technology research and information center could have told them in advance, at very little cost. After all, such contraptions are widely used in many sub-tropical areas all over the world. So what's new? It was their own invention, even if they reinvented the wheel. And they discovered something very important: that they have the capacity to create and need not be dependent on the outside world.

Theirs is a sobering reminder that in our constant search for panaceas and handles for better development strategies, we usually fail to see the obvious: the resilience, energy, and adaptability that people manifest against all conceivable odds.

Can we wait, however, till people in the developing nations tap and mobilize their own creativity? Hunger, malnutrition, energy shortages, and unemployment are realities that are too stark to await slow, almost imperceptible self-generated and self-reliant changes in the Third World.

If the dilemma is so formulated, there is indeed no alternative to haste, to the massive infusion of capital and technical expertise and the building of world-wide infrastructures of experts and propagators of appropriate technologies. Even the Intermediate Technology Development Group appears to be falling into this trap. It, too, is being caught up in the dynamics of growing big, of having the whole world as the client of its own and affiliated "knowledge centers." If it is the beacon for a new idea, it is the tip of the iceberg as well of a rapidly growing and expanding number of appropriate technology institutes.

According to one estimate of the Agency for International Development, there are now more than 300 such groups for Latin America alone, while, as the *Futurist* magazine reports, there are several hundred others in European and Third World countries. From one perspective, this is a healthy trend, for no one should question the need for research and development, for centers of information and public education about the advantages of alternative technologies. But such an overbearing response does not differ in character and in its premises from all previous development assistance approaches that formulated strategies on the basis of need and not on the basis of potential. Whether the imposition and exportation



Electric saw, designed and built with local parts by workers in a workers' self-managed furniture production enterprise, CIACO, Cuenca, Ecuador.

of technology is designed to build big dams or small pumps, construct pipelines or solar cookers, the logic is still the same; it rushes to get immediate results, neglecting the wellsprings of creativity and inventiveness of the people.

The best strategy for appropriate technology need not be passive but it should make haste cautiously. We can be helpful and active if we are responsive to local initiatives instead of presumed needs, and if we enable people to be inventors, manufacturers, and retailers of their own tools and artifacts. We can thus permit and encourage them to be creators and not mere consumers of civilization. ■

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Marketing Third World Products

Ross C. Coggins

The International Workshop of Third World Producers and Alternative Marketing Organizations, hosted by the Austrian Council for International Cooperation, formalized and expanded linkages that few people realize exist. A small but vibrant movement is well underway as a result of innovative relationships between Third World producers and alternative marketing organizations. According to estimates made by participants in the Vienna conference (April 28—May 4, 1977), the annual sales volume resulting already from these linkages has surpassed \$10 million, twice that according to some.

Who are the people involved in this movement? On the producers' side are workers' organizations of various types: cooperatives, community organizations, and workers' self-managed enterprises. Generally, they express strong social goals, stress participatory relationships, and struggle against formidable economic, political, or social constraints. Their products range from handicrafts and garments to furniture and utilitarian objects. A small beginning has been made in marketing agricultural commodities and the workshop was strongly urged to enlarge this effort.

On the marketing side is a robust group of people pioneering in so-called alternative marketing organizations (AMOs). While all AMOs do not share all of the same characteristics and methods, they do share some recurring themes. They see marketing as a vital development tool. They are not profit-oriented, and most plow surpluses back to producer groups or to development projects. They reject do-goodism and charity in favor of sound business relationships. They refuse to purchase from private profit-makers or from any enterprise which exploits workers. They pay cash in advance for products and do not expect producers to put out their goods on a consignment basis. They are willing to

open their books and decision-making processes to the people from whom they buy and to their customers. Most of them are competent managers, willing to work for small financial gain, and decidedly non-paternalistic. Some are religiously motivated, some come from Peace Corps or similar programs, and some work in conjunction with larger development agencies.

Allied with and supportive of these Third World producers and AMOs is a range of support programs through the United Nations, regional common markets, and national governments. A prime example of the last is the government of Sweden, which has established the Import Promotion Office for Products from Developing Countries (IMPOD). This was done in response to a request at the 1972 United Nations Conference on Trade and Development that the industrialized countries organize national agencies to promote imports from developing countries, a serious effort to counter the traditional presumption that trade and export are for the benefit of the industrialized nations. IMPOD assists Third World producers in contacting markets, understanding regulations, securing training, testing products, and adapting them to meet market needs.

The potential of the developing country producer-AMO linkage can be seen in an examination of two of the leading AMOs. "Bridge," an Oxfam agency, attempts to eliminate exploitative middlemen who care for neither the producer nor the consumer. Through a network of over six hundred stores and outlets in the United Kingdom, Bridge established a partnership between the real interests of working people who make products and shoppers who buy them. Its sole interest is to serve these two groups.

Bridge concentrates its buying on projects that maximize the creation of employment. For instance, the organization buys handloomed floor mats in India, where forty people are fully em-

ployed in making five mats per day. Two or three people might produce the same quantity with power equipment, but by focusing on labor-intensive products, Bridge has provided employment for several thousand people in this one arrangement.

Even more to the point of basic change, Bridge has opted wherever possible to purchase from industries run by the workers themselves. It is moving away from charity industries, which provide relief but leave the basic poverty status of the people intact. Thus, Bridge seeks the products of organizations that provide participants just shares of benefits and meaningful roles in decisionmaking about strategy, wages, and community projects.

Profit-sharing is another interesting aspect of Bridge's development policy. From sales of approximately US \$800,000 last year, Bridge made a net profit of \$145,000. Twenty-five percent of this was repatriated to producer groups in proportion to Bridge sales of their products. Under the terms of this allocation, funds are used for development projects chosen by producer groups. An Indian group, for example, used its dividend to pipe potable water into the community.

Five percent of the remaining profit from Bridge operations goes to building public awareness about the AMO concept through films, literature, public speaking, and so forth. The remainder is plowed into expansion of Bridge's buying and marketing capability, and initiation of appropriate industries or marketing activities.

In the United States, SERRV (Sales Exchange for Refugee Rehabilitation Vocations) is the largest AMO. It began with persons serving with the Church of the Brethren in relief work in post-war Germany. Initially they sold German porcelain through church outlets. Gradually the program expanded to other products and countries. Today



Marketplace in Cartagena, Colombia.



Otavalo Indians weaving, Otavalo, Ecuador.

SERRV is affiliated with Church World Service, the overseas program of the National Council of Churches in the United States, and operates from a very broad base. The organization shares many of Bridge's basic policies. SERRV does an extensive mail order business and supplies Third World products to a wide range of retail outlets. U.S. SERRV sales volume in 1976 reached \$1,277,946. Twelve years ago its volume was \$40,000.

This impressive growth lends credibility to the claim made at the Vienna workshop that AMOs are growing in sales volume faster than any other marketing organizations. The workshop estimated that there are now more than fifty AMOs working in some twenty countries. Literally thousands of their sales outlets operate in the major metropolitan centers of the world.

While its organizing principle is sound and the movement thriving, the producer-AMO nexus confronts a wide range of problems and constraints. Third World producer groups find it difficult to operate in a competitive market while working at education, conscientization, and other social activities. Credit is a problem. Import duties in many developed countries are severely restrictive

(the U.S. has a long way to go in this regard). A significant number of AMOs are still charity-oriented in philosophy and amateurish in management. Producer groups can also be exploitative such as cooperatives which exploit non-member workers or those without full membership rights. There is too much concentration on handicrafts and not yet enough effort to market agricultural commodities such as tea, coffee, spices, and so forth. Raw materials in many countries are controlled so as to eliminate small producers. Good managers are scarce, particularly socially motivated managers. There is the contradiction that socially "right" organizational structures frequently fail economically while "wrong" structures pay well. Many Third World producer organizations and AMO people cling to the simplistic assumption that there will be meaningful development if only small producers can be helped with designs, methods, and markets. Thus, dependency relationships and exploitative structures go unchallenged.

Notwithstanding the challenges, the development potential of these diverse efforts is substantial. They have made some solid accomplishments, and funding agencies would do well to consider assisting them in crucial areas of need.

The producer groups need credit, training, and technical assistance. Dissemination of information is required for the establishment of new linkages and initiatives. (The Vienna workshop participants organized the production of a quarterly newsletter detailing events, methods, and potential resources.) Regional and country conferences should be planned. Producers expressed a desire for work-learning experience in the AMO centers; the AMOs agreed but need financial assistance to provide the experience.

These and other proposals were the spontaneous and natural result of serious people from many countries responding to shared concerns. It is refreshing to note, in conclusion, that their discussions reflected none of the Cold War rhetorical confrontation which has characterized such meetings over several decades. The workshop was rather a dialogue between problem-solvers from different societies, some rich and some poor, all flawed, but all contributing to the establishment of a better human condition. ■

Ross C. Coggins, who attended the *International Workshop of Third World Producers and Alternative Marketing Organizations* last spring, is Director of the Central Region of the Inter-American Foundation. Before joining IAF in 1971, he was Assistant Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity for the Southeast U.S. Region.

A provisional Directory of Third World Producers and Alternative Marketing Organizations, prepared for the Vienna workshop, is available from David Dichter and Associates, 9 Rue de Vermont, 1202 Geneva, Switzerland. Inquiries regarding Bridge and SERRV may be directed to: John Pirie, Chief Executive of Bridge, 274 Banbury Road, Oxford, Ox2 7D2, United Kingdom; William P. Nyce, SERRV Director, Box 188, New Windsor, Maryland 21776, U.S.A.

Social Gains

James T. Cotter

with

Miguel Chase-Sardi

Marilyn Rehnfeldt

Alberto Santa Cruz

The elusive concept of development has traditionally been measured and expressed in terms of gains and losses in standard of living. Gains and losses were reduced to units of production, consumption and reward which could be standardized, measured, compared and analyzed in relation to each other and some totality of which they were theoretically the parts.

Sociometrics was a subsequent and logical extension of the same worldview that produced and utilized econometrics. Central planning projections and objectives could also be expressed and later evaluated in those terms. Development continued to be regarded as a quantitative phenomenon to be measured and thereby rendered manageable. The managers of socio-economic development could speak to each other in a common language and keep score of their wins and losses.

But what about development perceived as quality of life rather than exclusively as standard of living gains and losses? That's a much more challenging concept than measuring yield per acre, or infant mortality statistics, or hospital beds in use, or instances of functional illiteracy per thousand units of a population target group. Much more than simple accounting is required to understand the subtle qualitative shadings of good-better-best and their negative correlatives which can only be perceived and accurately expressed through the eye of the beneficiary of development efforts. It is a subjective and infinitely variable truth we seek, not the static and easily objectified data of standard-of-living indicators.

The Inter-American Foundation sees development as an evolving process of both having more and becoming more. A balance is sought between standard-of-living gains and the psychological income which blends with them to com-

prise total quality of life. The problem was a lack of vocabulary to articulate those qualitative gains without falling into the overly restrictive quantitative language suitable only for standard-of-living indicators.

The Foundation developed the concept of Social Gains as a consciously subjective and intuitive vocabulary for perceiving and articulating the beneficiaries' sense of gains and losses in quality of life. It was designed as a psychologically sensitive means of social accounting, directly, dependent upon negative and positive indicators firmly rooted in the project experience of our grantees.

We shared our concept of Social Gains with Paraguayan anthropologist Miguel Chase-Sardi. He supplied the following indicators of our categories of Social Gains drawn from his outstanding work with the Marandu project for Indian self-management in Paraguay:

Access to self-defined, desirable and attainable standard of living and quality of life objectives perceived by the beneficiaries as having significant value.

"In our experience," Chase-Sardi explained, "Access means that Paraguayan Indians can obtain the same resources as other Paraguayans to help them meet their needs and that they are sheltered by the same laws that protect the rest of society. For example, The Asociacion de Parcialidades Indigenas (API), a local Indian Council, has obtained legal status so that Indians can have the right to obtain credit and title to property and legally petition authorities."

Leverage: Having the required collective power or influence to make the opportunity structure respond to your needs on your terms.

"An example of Leverage, is that the Indian Council of the API has been able to secure interviews with government au-

thorities of the Instituto de Bienestar Rural (IBR). Titles to land were requested from the IBR, which later awarded 5,000 hectares to the Colonia Yishinachat and 12,000 hectares to Pueblo Stahl.

"This is the power Indians acquired when they united to negotiate with landowners and authorities who had ignored or repressed Indian demands in the past. When Indians take these steps by themselves, without the aid of their 'White allies,' it is a sign that their leverage has increased."

Choices: *The ability to make significant life decisions by choosing between desirable and attainable options for problem-solving, not merely trying to determine the lesser of two evils.*

"In the mythology of the Nivakle of the Chaco," Chase-Sardi explains, "it is told that the Royal Crow had many knives, one with which to carve each different type of animal. He chose from his knives the one that was best in each particular case. In Paraguay's Yalve Sanga community, the Lengua and Nivakle Indians could have worked in separate ways. But they preferred what was most convenient, the organization of a cooperative. The Pai Tavytera del Amambay Indians prefer to work communally following their ancient custom. However, some want to work individually. Although the Indians need many things, everything cannot be had at once and there are different ways to obtain the same thing. The Indians recognize these alternatives and make choices."

Status: *Acquiring greater sense of identity and increased self-esteem, counteracting the immobilizing effects of fatalism or depression.*

"When the anthropologist Loewen went to study Indian customs in the

Mennonite colonies of the Chaco, the Indians told him what they wanted most was 'to become first-class citizens.' The Mennonites, as well as the Paraguayans, had considered them inferior. They repeated this to the point where the Indians themselves began to believe they were not people like the Whites.

"In the Marandu courses and meetings of the Indian Council, much was said about what being an Indian means to White Paraguayans. They consider Indians to be lazy, dirty, poor and ignorant. To be an Indian is to be almost like an animal.

"The Indian leaders reacted against this by saying that they were dirty because they lived under the open sky and slept on dirt floors. They were poor because Whites took away their land, therefore, their wealth and freedom. But the leaders vociferously protested the charge of being lazy, by stating that the hardest and most painful jobs are done by Indians."

Legitimation: *Achieving sufficient status so that your previously denied, disputed, or denigrated role as a spokesperson for a legitimate cause is recognized along with the validity of your demand or protest.*

"There is legitimation when Indians' rights are recognized, when their demands are considered just and reasonable and when their organizations are accepted by a national society which formerly refused to listen to their demands or to let them organize.

"In Puerto Casado, the workers' union in the local tanning factory, as well as the enterprise itself, would not permit the Indians to join. The Paraguayan workers considered the Indian too inferior to recognize him as a co-worker. The Indians held private conversations with some union members. After taking advantage of an information course sponsored by Marandu, they collectively

petitioned the enterprise and were accepted as members of the union.

"Legitimation would also mean that Indian civil rights are respected. For example, Indians would be given identity documents. Anyone who robs or kills an Indian would be punished. A person could speak out freely regarding Indian policies and the Paraguayan authorities would respect his or her views.

"The Foundation's Social Gains do not signify simply that people have more money and become richer. They signify that people find the best way to organize themselves, obtain rights they don't currently possess and are respected by people who until now have viewed them with contempt."

Chase-Sardi has provided illustrative examples for approximately half the Social Gains categories developed by the Foundation. The others include: Goal-setting, Voice, Discipline, Creative Perception of the Possible and Expanded Capacity. The categories are growing with current emphasis placed on qualitative gains such as resiliency, flexibility and tenacity.

Our understanding and use of these expanding Social Gains can never be better than the illustrative indicators which grantees and others supply by reflecting on their field experience. Only then can qualitative social accounting become real and break loose from the too narrow restrictions of quantitative analysis. ■

James T. Cotter, with the Inter-American Foundation since 1974, served previously with the U.S. Catholic Conference as Assistant Director of the Division for Latin American.

Miguel Chase-Sardi directs the technical team serving the API (Asociación de Parcialidades Indígenas, or Association of Indian Communities). Marilyn Rehnfeldt and Alberto Santa Cruz, who also contributed ideas and examples to this article, serve as API technical team coordinator and API president, respectively.



Alberto Santa Cruz, president of API, presents US Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs Terence A. Todman with an Indian blanket. Behind Secretary Todman is U.S. Ambassador George W. Landau. Asunción, Paraguay.

Profile: A Community Promoter

Charles Fenyesi

*We have to clean up this nation,
From the streets to human relations.
We need environmental sanitation.*

—A Calypso song by The Mighty Bomber, 1976

I thought he would be a fiery Moses leading his people, forging a community out of a rabble. Or at least a courtly Aaron—an orator who also knows how to make use of his contacts.

I found him quiet, gentle, almost withdrawn, scholarly in tone but more interested in practical matters than in ideology.

“I don’t want to interfere,” he says again and again. “I am always afraid of upsetting a delicate balance a community has evolved. Let people think for themselves, decide for themselves. I don’t want to do their thinking for them. I am against manipulation—it’s disrespectful because when you manipulate someone you stop thinking of him as a person.”

“We are not social workers. We don’t dispense charity, we are not implementing sociological theorems. We call ourselves community promoters. We are friends with the people we work with; we are outsiders with whom people can talk out things.”

His accomplishments include having encouraged the establishment of several village stores run on a cooperative basis, fishermen’s cooperatives, and experimental farms run by six to ten 16-to-20 year-olds. He is known on the island as a mover of things and as a leader of men.

With five years of community building behind him, Thomas George still finds launching a group very difficult and problematic. He says he doesn’t like to put together a new group; he has learned from experience that it is better to encourage an existing group—be it a sports team or a bunch of neighbors playing cards together—to branch out into another community enterprise.

“A community must grow naturally,” he says, “like a plant growing out of a seed. You cannot skip stages. You cannot rush.”

“The hardest thing is to get our people to take charge of their own affairs. We have to break the pattern of dependency our people are accustomed to. They look to the government to do things for them as they looked to the foreigner in colonial times. They wait for someone else to improve conditions, to produce ideas, to make decisions.”

“Take the example of community centers. Time and again, some politician or bureaucrat promises one to a community, say for Christmas. But he doesn’t say which Christmas. There are communities that have been waiting for ten years for the government to make good its promise. They wait patiently, in the good-natured way of the island, which I find frustrating.”

“Yet we have to have faith in the people. The worst sin is to have no faith in the people. We must accept that the people we work with know more about their life than we, the onlookers. If an unemployed youth of 22 says that the most important thing for him is to have a neighborhood basket ball team, and he has friends supporting him, he is right. We should help in the hope that the basketball team will develop some other project.”

“I blame the government—and the so-called radicals—for imposing its own ideas on the people, often without consulting them and usually without reference to their feelings.”

“For instance, the government built 400 cheap housing units on the island of Tobago. The rationale was that since it built some for Trinidad, it had to build for Tobago too. To this day, a year after construction was completed, not one family has moved into the houses on Tobago. Tobago people don’t need homes as badly as Trinidadians, and they are

accustomed to having small backyards, with chickens, perhaps a pig or rabbits. They won't live in a house that has no yard.

"The government bureaucracy is guilty of omitting even a most cursory examination of what poor people want. Once someone rises to middle class status, he forgets his origins. Since independence, there has developed a substantial upper and middle class of civil servants and other professionals. I don't begrudge them their new affluence—their nice new homes, their automobiles and, most recently, their power boats. Our upper strata comprise 30 to 35 percent of our population of one million souls. There is another ten percent that can realistically anticipate reaching that status.

"But for the rest—the majority—all that the government can offer is some sort of dole to keep people alive. This is a rich island, virtually no one goes hungry. No one need go hungry. If agriculture were to be encouraged and more people worked on the land, we would all prosper. We should aim at becoming exporters of food, not just our traditional sugar cane and cocoa beans, but vegetables and corn and livestock.

"Yet we import food! Unbelievable as it may sound, we import fish! The government planners are involved with projects for nuclear reactors, but we don't even grow our own carrots!

"The government ignores rural development. The price of animal feed is kept high—some people say because a few highly-placed officials are in the animal feed business. At the same time, the price of poultry is kept low. As a result, the profit margin on poultry is low and uncertain.

"Since there is price control, the government pretty much determines how much money can be made in this or that line of work. And since 90 percent of our farmers are East Indians who habitually

vote against the ruling party, which is black-dominated, the government couldn't care less how low farm income is. Not surprisingly, children of farmers don't want to be farmers. The average age of our farmers is now over 50.

"My friends and I sometimes think that a catastrophe is needed to change government policies. The government only reacts to crises; it moves from crisis to crisis. It has no long-range plans, only so-called emergency programs. But I don't believe in violence, and I distrust the radicals with their book learning and wild ideas. The problem is that our problems do not seem to be urgent. And we are an easy-going people. So the government can afford to be complacent."

By training, Thomas George is a botanist, and he taught for several years in a local high school. He became interested in community development after the 1970 riots in Trinidad. Of mixed East Indian and black parentage, he felt he had a contribution to make toward easing tensions between the island's two contending racial groups, roughly equal in size.

He also intends to prove himself, to show that he can do better than to be a teacher of botany. He wants to reach higher by helping others to reach higher.

His wife, a strikingly attractive nurse with an Afro, agrees with him. But she is hopeful that he will make more money one day than the modest sum he receives now from the community service organization. Thomas George's idea of the future features a small plot of land on which he would raise vegetables and poultry.

He does not think that Trinidad or other West Indian islands should aim at catching up with America. He cites the case of Puerto Rico: with all the dollars poured in, it's a disaster.

He sees the United States on the brink of destroying itself out of boredom, the boredom of affluence. He has been to

Florida several times and found Americans primarily involved in the challenge of making more money.

He has no love for Castro either—although he admires the higher literacy rate Cuba has achieved and the care the government has lavished on the children, the old and the disadvantaged. He has nothing against letting Havana go to seed. But he is taken aback by the police controls and adventures such as the expeditionary force dispatched to Angola.

"We must find our own way," he says. "We should blend individualism with collectivism. We must learn to develop a free society with a more equitable distribution of income than we have now." A key word with him is potential. He talks about the people's potential, the island's potential. He believes that potential must not be wasted. He takes issue with those who question the organizing ability of Trinidadians. "Look what our people do each year for the carnival: what extraordinary organization and coordination you need to put together a good orchestra of a hundred people or more, plus themes and costumes for hundreds of additional people in a pageant like ancient Egypt, with a court and priests, slaves and prisoners, soldiers and peasants! "We must light fires of confidence in people's ability to run things for themselves. It should be like the Bible's burning bush that keeps burning without consuming itself.

"Of all the West Indies, Trinidad ought to be able to stand on its own feet and prosper. We have natural resources like petroleum, our soil is fertile and our people are intelligent. This is a blessed island." ■

Charles Fenyvesi, Editor of the National Jewish Monthly, visited several IAF-funded Caribbean projects in 1976.

Learning Fellowship on Social Change

Charles A. Reilly

22

About four years ago, as the Inter-American Foundation began to flex its experimental muscles, a controverted intuition took shape and was dubbed the "learning fellowship on social change." Like many essays in the Foundation's short history, the fellowship program blended much that was old with more that was new. Viewed from one perspective, it was a gesture to the Latin American and Caribbean oriented academe. It was a fellowship offered at a moment when funds were drying up. Yet it aimed to affiliate multidisciplinary trained, problem-oriented young scholars with social action programs supported by IAF in Latin America and the Caribbean. The initial intuition spoke of *learning*, not "pure" research, nor technical assistance; and aspired to *learning exchange*, not the extraction of raw data to be processed and consumed abroad and stamped with an upper-case "MADE IN THE U.S.A."

The program is growing. Between 1973 and 1976, 15 fellows were funded, and 13 candidates have been selected by the academic screening committee for 1977. We have received 321 applications, and selected 117 for interviews to produce the 28 fellows. Seven of the original 15 are of Latin American or Caribbean origin, and all but one were pre-doctoral candidates. They worked in eight countries: Brazil, El Salvador, Chile, Honduras, Bolivia, Jamaica, Peru, and Mexico. Institutions in other countries have also requested fellows.

Modifications in the fellowship program have paralleled IAF's evolution. By 1975, the occasional shortage of IAF-grantee institutions willing and capable of absorbing qualified fellows led to the relaxing of placement requirements: all fellows must have a firm institutional affiliation, but not necessarily with an IAF grantee. This policy has extended considerably the range of institutions available to the fellows. Another important

policy shift is occurring now, as we place greater emphasis on allowing research problems and sometimes research candidates to be identified and pin-pointed by Latin American and Caribbean institutions themselves.

A somewhat parallel, yet highly amorphous experience developed within the Foundation, mostly on an ad hoc basis. Dubbed the "Machado Fellowship" (after a poem by Antonio Machado who wrote that "there are no paths, for paths are made by walking"), it is intended to provide opportunities for Latin Americans and Caribbeans, as well as North Americans, to pursue action-related research, study, and dissemination. The Machado Fellowship to date has been an informal, undefined vehicle and its purpose has at times overlapped and been confused with the learning fellowship. Ideally, the Machado can supplement the learning fellowship's more academic thrust as the Foundation tests a variety of instruments for facilitating and documenting change.

Feedback sessions held in 1976 and 1977 with both current and former fellows, two members of the academic screening committee, and IAF personnel have unanimously endorsed the program, its field research environment, and other features which stem from association with development-minded groups. The selection process has worked extremely well. Feedback from the host institutions has been consistently positive; several requested a second fellow. The scholars involved voice considerable enthusiasm for the program which they perceive as unique.

Yet they have also expressed some dismay at their tenuous ties to the Foundation. Other criticisms included the Foundation's failure to prepare host institutions adequately, the lack of mechanisms for absorbing the experience of the fellows during and after their tenure, and an inadequate flow of information among the fellows, their hosts,

Charles A. Reilly has represented the IAF in Brazil since 1974. He was previously a university professor and director of the Centro de Desarrollo Integral in Huehuetenango, Guatemala.

and the U.S. academic communities. Foundation field staff have questioned the appropriateness of the fellowship, a "lack of responsiveness" (the idea stemmed from here, not there) that appears inconsistent with a fundamental Foundation tenet. The considerable difficulty in assuring grantees that they are neither obliged to accept fellows, nor about to be "monitored" by them complicates the staff's relationships with grantees. Within the Foundation, our commitment to learning has been spotty, and an anti-academic outlook often crops up. Our organizational priorities and rewards are usually tied to funding. Finally, and probably most basic, there is concern about the most appropriate locus of learning, coupled with vivid memories of past abuses by U.S. researchers in Latin America. Camelot haunts us still.

Ongoing tensions add verve to the fellowship experience, yet seem to validate the original intuition. A number of competing, legitimate ends appear to have been reconciled, for example:

- The tension between activist and academic approaches, and the ever elusive quest for effective merging of action and reflection.
- A pragmatic outlook, which questions the utility of PhD dissertations. The fellows thus far have come up with some highly creative ways to translate their research statements into practical terms, made inputs into local programs, and generated ever more pertinent research problems and conclusions. We see now a need to facilitate publication of capsule summaries of their research.
- Concern for the appropriate locus of learning, "ours" or "theirs"; and a commitment to avoid those research patterns of the past, wherein data were expropriated and exported, thus diminishing chances for protagonists to appropriate their

own experience.

- The affiliation effect wherein fellows tread a delicate line, trying to achieve a collaborative stance yet maintain some critical distance from their hosts as well as from IAF. The considerable challenge of stimulating disciplinary, multidisciplinary, and area studies of excellence, around relevant problem solving.
- If five years allayed somewhat the skeptics' doubts that a U.S. agency could facilitate protagonists of change without undue mischief, so we see growing concern about the high price of ignorance about social change.

During the past year, the Foundation has endured the organizational travail of summarizing and articulating its own learning, and now grapples with the effective integration of its funding and learning functions. We have come to recognize that the fellows and academic screening committee have been under-utilized resources. Looking ahead, some possible new dimensions for the fellowship program within a funding and learning foundation may include:

- an increased range of institutions willing and able to make use of fellows;
- a more significant role of these Latin and Caribbean groups in identifying problems and researchers;
- greater numbers of fellowships awarded and greater flexibility with respect to the purpose and length of their tenure;
- experimentation with short-term fellowships (with possible extended funding that could permit hosts a look at the candidates and allow researchers to hone their proposals according to local problem definition);
- publication possibilities provided by the Foundation so that distillations and syntheses of research might be translated and offered to a broader public within the hemisphere;

- more effective utilization of the fellows' experience within the Foundation; and
- the evolution of a loosely-knit but real community of problem-oriented Latin and Caribbean scholars.

The fellowship is an instrument which, by definition, blends funding with learning, and in that sense, anticipated IAF's current organizational phase. Learning, whether for ourselves or for others is fraught with ambiguity and risk. Moreover, IAF's broker role, bridging U.S. universities and Latin and Caribbean institutions, may well increase, thus the Foundation will continue to be challenged by the ambiguities of matchmaking. Dom Fragoso, a Brazilian Bishop, succinctly described the educator's, and the Foundation's, dilemma: "better to be a midwife than a stork."

But thus far, the gap in the marketplace of ideas and fellowships, to which IAF addressed itself in setting up the program, seems appropriately filled by interdisciplinary, problem-oriented academics who are enriched by their professional and human relationships with groups and institutions working towards social change. Such relationships do not always come easily.

A dramatic, very human dimension, was stated by Wendy De Megret, a fellow who was severely injured in an auto accident while doing her research in Bolivia: "People from my host institution adopted me, contributed their blood, brought me food while I was hospitalized. Believe me, it's not going to be easy to write some of my criticism of their program. But that's what having a Latin surrogate family is about..."

Our three-year experience with the learning fellowship shows payoffs already accruing to host institutions, to the fellows, and to a new breed of Latin Americanists from U.S. universities. If the Foundation's belief that "they know how" is valid, then we should be evoking better-documented glimpses of the suc-



cess stories to supplement overabundant pathologies of social change. Repatriated insights might address U.S. social problems as well as underscore the constraints and possibilities of people trying to write their own histories in developing countries. If so, IAF can thus contribute to regional learning, solidify its own, and even adopt a broader educational role within the United States. ■

The Inter-American Foundation has awarded thirteen Learning Fellowships on Social Change for the years 1977-1978. The thirteen Fellows and their projects are:

Victor Baez, Ph.D. candidate, University of Denver. Social Work. Project title: *The Mexican Social Security Centers for Family Welfare: A Successful Attempt at Service Integration*. Affiliation: Instituto Mexicano del Seguro Social, Mexico City, Mexico.

Lilian Barros, Ph.D. from the University of California, Los Angeles. Operational Resources. Project title: *Maldistribution of Health Care Centers in Large Urban Centers in Brazil*. Affiliation: Escola Paulista de Medicina, Instituto de Medicina Preventiva, Sao Paulo, Brazil.

Jefferson Boyer, Ph.D. candidate from the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill. Anthropology. Project title: *The Role of Intermediate Technologies in Honduran Agricultural Development*. Affiliation: Instituto de Investigaciones Socio-Economicas, Tegucigalpa, Honduras.

Lawrence Carpenter, Ph.D. candidate from Columbia University. Anthropology. Project title: *Social Differentiation and Change Patterns of Leadership in an Andean Peasant Community*. Affiliation: Universidad Nacional de San Antonio Abad del Cusco, Cusco, Peru.

Rondi Ericksen, Ph.D. candidate from Columbia University. Anthropology. Project title: *Social Differentiation and Change Patterns of Leadership in an*

Andean Peasant Community. Affiliation: Universidad Nacional de San Antonio Abad del Cusco, Cusco, Peru.

Valerie Estes, Ph.D. candidate from the University of California, Berkeley. Anthropology. Project title: *Employment, Fertility and Family Organization in Urban Latin America. Women's Strategies in Social Change*. Affiliation: Universidad Nacional de San Marcos, Lima, Peru.

Edward Finegan, Ph.D. candidate from Cornell University. Natural Resource Planning. Project title: *An Exploratory Analysis of Agri-silviculture as a Resource Management System Application in the North Andean Region of South America*. Affiliation: IICA, Bogota, Colombia.

Francisca Garcia Huidobro, Ph.D. candidate from the University of Wisconsin. Developmental Sociology. Project title: *Nutritional Rehabilitation Centers: A New Institutional Approach to the Treatment of Severe Undernutrition in Chile*. Affiliation: Centro para el Desarrollo Rural y Cooperativo, Santiago, Chile.

Lane Hirabayashi, Ph.D. candidate from the University of California, Berkeley. Anthropology. Project title: *Social Change and Social Mobility Among Zapotec Migrants in Mexico City*. Affiliation: El Colegio de Mexico, Mexico City, Mexico.

James Jones, Ph.D. candidate from the University of Florida. Anthropology. Project title: *Social and Economic Change Among the Moxos Indians of Eastern Bolivia. Some Consequences of the Rapid Commercialization of Cattle*. Affiliation: Universidad Boliviana "Mcal. Jose Ballivian", Trinidad, Bolivia.

Jeffrey Jones, Ph.D. candidate from the University of California, Los Angeles. Anthropology. Project title: *The Effect of Traditional Economic Organizations on Prices and Innovation in a Developing Economy*. Affiliation: Centro para el De-

sarrollo Social y Economico, Cochabamba, Bolivia.

Mario Livingstone, Ph.D. candidate from the University of Wisconsin. International Industrial Relations. Project title: *Self-managed Enterprises in Chile 1973-1977*. Affiliation: Fundacion Cardijn, Santiago, Chile.

Roger Rasnake, Ph.D. candidate from Cornell University. Anthropology. Project title: *The Cultural Dimensions of Andean Political Roles*. Affiliation: ACLO, Sucre, Bolivia.

For further information on IAF's fellowship program, contact:

Fellowship Office
Inter-American Foundation
1515 Wilson Blvd.
Roslyn, Virginia 22209
Phone: (703) 841-3864

Screening committee for doctoral and postdoctoral fellowships:

Martin Carnoy, School of Education Stanford University.

William Glade, Latin American Center University of Texas.

Eugene Meehan, Center of Community & Metropolitan Studies, University of Missouri—St. Louis.

Laura Nader, Department of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley.

Carolyn Payton, Counseling Services, Howard University.

William Thiesenhusen, Land Tenure Center, University of Wisconsin.

Charles Wagley, Department of Anthropology, University of Florida.

Johannes Wilbert, Latin American Center, University of California, Los Angeles.

Charles Reilly, Inter-American Foundation.

Sally Yudelman, Inter-American Foundation.

Screening committee for masters' fellowships: Glade, Wagley, Wilbert and Reilly.

Number of projects approved	577
Total grant funds approved	US\$ 63,587,134 ¹
Grantee and other contributions as percentage	55%
IAF disbursements	46,528,534
Fiscal Year 1977	12,294,342
1976 ²	2,517,547
1976	10,417,754
1975	13,161,371
1974	5,255,869
1973	2,428,963
1972	452,688

¹ Does not include Fellowships or Invitational Travel. ² Three-month fiscal period.

SUMMARY OF PROGRAM APPROVALS
FISCAL YEARS 1971-1976

	No. of Projects	%of total Projects	AMOUNT
CENTRAL REGION ¹	195	45%	21,669,198
EASTERN REGION ²	114	26%	9,968,046
WESTERN REGION ³	100	23%	17,359,825
OTHER PROJECTS ⁴	28	6%	592,426
FELLOWSHIPS	—	—	255,482
INVITATIONAL TRAVEL	—	—	35,596
TOTAL	437	100%	49,880,573

FISCAL YEAR 1977

	No. of Projects	%of total Projects	AMOUNT
CENTRAL REGION ¹	38	27%	3,248,215
EASTERN REGION ²	65	47%	4,312,879
WESTERN REGION ³	33	23%	6,364,813
OTHER PROJECTS ⁴	4	3%	71,732
FELLOWSHIPS	—	—	206,849
INVITATIONAL TRAVEL	—	—	47,532
CONSULTANTS	—	—	11,523
TOTAL	140	100%	14,263,543

¹ Caribbean, Central America, Mexico, and Panama.

² Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay, and Uruguay.

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

⁴ Funds spent in the U.S. on learning and dissemination, usually involving Latin American and Caribbean grantees.

Summary of Grants March to July 1977

ARGENTINA

Instituto de Servicios Agropecuarios del Norte (ISAN)—AR-060
\$16,000; 5/18/77

ISAN will design an evaluation system enabling the Cooperativa Fortin Olmos to gain an understanding of the change process the cooperative and its members undergo as a result of a development project funded by IAF. A team of three professionals will supply the methodological frame of reference and the cooperative's members will provide the thoughts and concepts which describe the changes they experience.

BRAZIL

Ação Comunitária Irtatiense—BR-271
\$62,000; 4/29/77

This is a one-year grant to establish a central coordinating and referral service among 62 private and municipal social action agencies of the community. It is expected that a more efficient and effective inter-agency relationship will develop during the grant period to serve the needs of the community, avoid duplication, and cut down on the time spent by members of the community going from one agency to another for services.

Movimento de Educação Promocional do Espírito Santo (MEPES)—BR-335
\$123,000; 4/25/77

MEPES, an educational and rural development agency, will establish a secondary-level school in Olivânia, Espírito Santo, to supplement eight primary level schools. The "Family School" program seeks to advance agricultural know-how, develop youth, and offer continuing practical educational experience to rural families.

Cáritas Diocesana de Nova Iguaçu—BR-336
\$17,000; 6/2/77

The residents' Commission of Neighborhoods Jardim Jasmin, Jardim Pitoresco, and Jardim Alvorado, together with Caritas Diocesana de Nova Iguaçu, will expand the neighborhoods' primary and adult education program by increasing the teaching staff and providing an adequately equipped facility for maximum utilization. IAF funds will be provided to pay salaries of three teachers for one year, to purchase office and classroom equipment, and to provide for basic didactic material. The community will continue to pay the salaries of one teacher and auxiliary personnel. The purpose of this project is to provide a more relevant educational facility which is controlled and administered by community residents and to provide a "community nucleus" for other types of organizational activities.

Diretoria do Curso de Solda, Paróquia de Nossa Senhora Aparecida—BR-338
\$12,000; 3/16/77

A group of laborers organized courses in soldering and labor legislation to enable neighborhood workers to gain skills and savvy for entering the local labor market. They have requested this grant to purchase more sophisticated equipment, thus meeting the demands of advancing technology and satisfying bureaucratic requirements for diplomas.

União Juizforana de Sociedades Pró-Melhoramentos de Bairros e Distritos—BR-340
\$24,000; 5/20/77

The "Union of Societies for Improving Neighborhoods," a federation of 33 neighborhood associations, has for 20 years organized self-help community development projects and lobbied for municipal services. The Union will now sponsor a legal education and assistance program for community organizations and individuals in 15 poor neighborhoods of Juiz de Fora.

Terreiro Axé Opô Afonjá—BR-341
\$10,000; 6/10/77

Terreiro Axé Opo Afonjá, one of the oldest and most respected candomblé communities in Bahia, will establish a children's community as a pluricultural learning center. Project funds will help the "terreiro" construct a school activities center, permitting the residents to organize a program of formal education which respects their culture and provides a structure for the "terreiro" to establish formal relationships with organizations outside their community.

Centro Comunitário de Vila Carvalho—BR-342
\$22,700; 5/26/77

This is a two-year grant to enable community leaders to hold a series of planning workshops for establishing community priorities and a practical program. If successful, this grant should permit the community to become less dependent on the outside leaders that started the organization.

Conselho Paroquial de Santo Antonio de Engenheiro Trindade—BR-344
\$24,200; 5/27/77

This is a one-year grant to the parish council to purchase material for construction of a day care center and to cover other start-up costs. This activity may motivate the group to attempt to solve other social problems that exist in the community.

União Brasileiro-Israelita do Bem-Estar Social (UNIBES)—BR-346
\$24,300; 5/27/77

A one-year grant for fifty senior citizens to produce hand-crafted goods of cloth and leather. The grantee expects to demonstrate that people can

identify and solve their own problems and should therefore be incorporated into the decision.

Grupo de Trabalho de Profissionais e Universitários Negros (GTPLUN)—BR-349
\$40,000; 5/27/77

This is a grant to enable the grantee to establish a headquarters for skills training. This grant should add impetus for developing a multi-faceted program designed to inform the non-black, provide a cultural awareness for the black and educate those blacks who have been denied their rights and training.

Cooperativa Central Agrícola de Nordeste, Ltda. (COCANE)—BR-351
\$1,000; 4/13/77

This is a grant to hold two regional meetings attended by representatives of small agricultural cooperatives, a central cooperative, and the iaf. The purpose of the meetings is to share what iaf has learned about social change in agricultural cooperatives and to allow the coop representatives to confirm, challenge and comment on perception about agricultural cooperativism.

Conselho Comunitário de Felipe Camarão—BR-352
\$12,000; 7/8/77

The Community Council of Felipe Camarao will direct the construction of a health center, which will provide a varied program of preventative and attendant health care. A neighborhood "medical attention society" has been organized to direct this program and to stimulate voluntary public health services in the community.

Antonio Moraes Ribeiro, Machado Fellowship—BR-358
\$3,000; 6/21/77

This grant will provide equipment and support to Antonio Moraes Ribeiro, a student and independent scholar who is conducting a study of Afro-Brazilian history, religion, music, and cuisine in his home city of Cachoeira, Bahia.

CARIBBEAN

Caribbean Conference of Churches (CCC)—CAR-029
\$8,000; 6/2/77

This grant will support the costs of participation of twenty-five representatives of development projects at the 2nd General Assembly of the Caribbean Conference of Churches in November, 1977. By enabling the people of Caribbean Churches to listen to protagonists in the social change process, it can strengthen those values which govern the Caribbean Conference of Churches program decisions.

Caribbean Human Rights and Legal Aid Company, Ltd.—CAR-033
\$18,518; 6/3/77

The steering committee for the Caribbean Human Rights and Legal Aid organization will use this grant to establish offices, hire staff, and to develop and implement a work plan. By using law as an instrument of development, the participants aim to enlarge the opportunity of Caribbeans to participate in and thereby determine the course of their own societies.

CHILE

Instituto de la Autogestión—CH-085
\$24,900; 4/18/77

To the Instituto de la Autogestión for a short-term evaluation of the worker self-management sector in which one component will focus on gathering qualitative data to supplement existing quantitative data. This study will evaluate the potential and limitations for anticipated growth of the sector and give a better idea of the pace at which the transition from worker-owned to worker-managed enterprise may be accomplished.

Oficina Coordinadora de Asistencia Campesina—CH-086
\$29,000; 4/18/77

To assist peasant organizations and private support agencies in exploring ways of learning about social change processes and the extent to which rural development projects are helping peasants gain greater control over these processes. This is not a formal evaluation which treats beneficiaries as objects to be studied rather than as learners; this project will give peasants and social development practitioners opportunity to learn from their experiences as they occur and to share their questions and insights with others.

Sistema de Financiamiento de la Autogestión—CH-091
\$1,300; 5/16/77

To enable an executive of the Sistema de Financiamiento de la Autogestión to exchange experiences with two groups previously funded by IAF: a Workers' Bank in Colombia and the Castle Bruce Cooperative in Dominica. This interchange will contribute to the SFA's internal learning process and could provide them with the necessary technical information required to create their new financial structure.

Instituto Pastoral Rural—CH-092
\$9,630; 6/13/77

The Instituto conducts leadership training workshops for campesino organizations in rural Chile. Rural workers will participate in a survey and the drafting of a final report with an aim toward study-

ing and clarifying problems of campesinos. At the conclusion of the project workshops will be held so that campesino leaders and potential leaders can analyze and reflect on both the survey and the final report.

COLOMBIA

Vereda El Colegio—CO-114
\$138,521; 4/4/77

The people of El Colegio will expand various community development activities that have been initiated by the community over the past 15 years. In addition to these projects, an extension program involving members of the community will be mounted to share El Colegio's experiences with 10 neighboring villages that face similar problems.

Grupo Pre-Cooperativo de Servicios Múltiples de Versalles—CO-117
\$47,500; 5/16/77

An initiative by the regional and local leaders in the area of Versalles to set up a mechanism which will reduce the economic control of intermediaries and provide fairer prices for campesinos, producers and consumers, and which will at the same time generate financial support for the promotional and organizational programs of the campesino association and other development-oriented groups in the area.

Evaluation of Workers' Bank in Colombia—CO-123
\$22,500; 6/28/77

To evaluate the impact of the Workers' Bank on the traditional financial sector. This study can prove useful to the Bank in assessing the process by which the workers' sector endeavors to assume a greater role in banking management and in the distribution of resources in the national economy. This is particularly important given the interest generated in the Bank from other areas of Latin America.

COSTA RICA

Federación de Cooperativas Campesinas de Producción Agropecuaria y de Servicios Múltiples, R.L. (FECOPA)—CR-021(2)
\$2,800; 5/4/77

Eight representatives of rural cooperatives will attend training in do-it-yourself housing given by the Escuelas de Tecnología Popular of México. They are expected to demonstrate the methods and stimulate house construction projects in their own communities.

Fundación Costarricense de Desarrollo (FUCODES)—CR-022
\$15,000; 6/29/77

The grant will enable FUCODES to further

capitalize its rotating loan fund by matching on a dollar-for-dollar basis Costa Rican contributions to the fund. Loans will be made to low-income groups, engaged in productive activities, without access to other sources of credit.

DOMINICAN REPUBLIC CORRECTION

In the Summer issue of the *Journal*, the Centro de Estudios de la Educación Instituto Tecnológico de Santo Domingo was listed as having received a grant from the Inter-American Foundation. In fact, no IAF grant has been made to that organization. We regret any inconvenience or confusion that our error may have caused.—Editor

ECUADOR

Expanding Operations of the Cooperative "CIACO"—EC-039

\$222,100; 7/5/77

Currently, ever-increasing economic pressures are threatening the existence of CIACO. Despite great worker sacrifice in reducing their own wages and the shouldering of credit burdens to the maximum extent possible, CIACO's future as a socially conscious industrial organization is dependent upon an infusion of capital at this critical juncture. With this financial boost, CIACO expects to be able to reach the long term economic stability it needs to continue its experiment as an industrial organization with social as well as economic priorities.

GUATEMALA

Federación de Cooperativas de Producción Artesanal (ARTEXCO)—GT-054(2)

\$99,000; 4/6/77

ARTEXCO, the first federation of artisan co-ops in Guatemala, is composed of twenty-eight local artisan groups. The grant will enable the groups to enlarge their operations through the provision of production materials, marketing support, and technical assistance.

Cooperativa Agrícola Xejavi—GT-062(2)

\$21,545; 7/19/77

The grant will enable the cooperative to finish opening the only access road to the village and to reconstruct its store and warehouse, all of which were destroyed in the 1976 earthquake. The grant will also capitalize a fund for bulk purchase and sale of basic consumer goods and a rotating credit fund for agricultural production.

HAITI

Cooperative Agricole Cafetière et Elevage de Maniche (CACEM)—HA-035

\$15,000; 5/19/77

CACEM, a coffee cooperative of small farmers in southern Haiti, will use these funds to purchase, install and operate equipment needed to process coffee, rice and grains. By achieving a cooperative means of processing basic food production, the cooperative could substantially increase the independence of small producers.

JAMAICA

Winston McCalla "Fellowship Grant"—JA-041

\$3,002; 6/30/77

A fellowship grant for the study of U.S. Consumer Protection Law to see if such could be implemented in the legislation of Jamaica and other parts of the West Indies.

MEXICO

Central de Servicios para el Desarrollo del Estado de México—ME-051(2)

\$264,296; 3/17/77

To expand and integrate a regional rural development program with Mazahua Indians in the north-eastern zone of the state of México. The program will include: 1) organization of credit groups for joint purchase of seeds, fertilizer and farm machinery, pigs, sheep and cattle projects, installation of wells and irrigation canals; 2) construction of a warehouse and a farm machinery repair shop; 3) initiation of a family program to meet the needs of the women; and 4) the expansion of small cooperative industries. The program exemplifies a relationship between SEDEMEX and the small farmers based upon participation, consultation and an understanding of mutually acceptable objectives.

Central de Servicios Laguna, A.C.—ME-062(2)

\$43,873; 6/27/77

To strengthen and expand the activities of existing centers for rural women and to promote six new ones in the Comarca Laguna area of the states of Coahuila and Durango. The women, through a process of group discussions, will organize the centers to implement small projects to increase family incomes. The objective of the program is to incorporate the rural family into the social change process by enabling the campesina woman to assume a more active role in the economic, political and social life of her family and her community.

Fundación Mexicana para el Desarrollo Rural, A.C.—ME-069

\$136,225; 4/21/77

To assist Tarascan Indian communities to establish

a Regional Artisan Center in the Lake Patzcuaro area of the state of Michoacán. Grantee will help improve techniques of production; provide credit for experimentation with new materials, designs and technologies, and assist in the resolution of marketing problems, thereby breaking their dependency upon intermediaries. The center, which will be managed by the communities themselves, could provide an opportunity for indigenous groups to negotiate with the dominant society on their own terms from a position of greater strength and equality.

Servicios Educativos Populares, A.C. Fellowship Grant—ME-072

\$19,200; 5/26/77

Since 1969, Servicios Educativos Populares, A.C. has pioneered a wide range of remarkably successful programs for the urban poor. This Grant Fellowship to four founders, complementing four-month scholarships from the Institute Oecumenique au Service de Developpement du Peuple in Paris, will enable them to spend a sabbatical year evaluating their experiences, sharing them with others involved in development programs, broadening their knowledge, and planning a new program to be carried out upon their return to Mexico.

Desarrollo Agropecuario Celaya, A.C. (DAC)—ME-077

\$177,000; 6/29/77

DAC, and four communities of the Apaseo municipality will carry out a program consisting of: the construction of small dams and inter-village access roads; the development of small family dairy operations, swine raising, and beekeeping; the creation of cooperative craft enterprises; and an ongoing process of community participation and initiatives for their own development. The Foundation grant will be used to capitalize two revolving credit funds (for agricultural experimentation and cooperative enterprises) and to purchase machinery and equipment for community-wide usage.

Asociación Cultural de Bachajón, A.C.—ME-078

\$139,084; 6/29/77

To strengthen, expand and assure marketing outlets for a 250-member Tzeltal Indian women's tapestry cooperative in the state of Chiapas. At the end of three years the cooperative will manage both the revolving loan fund provided for in the grant and the marketing of the tapestries which it produces. The project offers Tzeltal artisans the opportunity for cultural expressions, economic independence and increased control over their lives.

Proyecto de Animación y Desarrollo (PRADE)—ME-086

\$59,000; 7/19/77

PRADE and Indian groups will: a) set up a small

coffee processing plant, a carpentry shop, and a sewing shop; b) start an experimental program of training youth as development agents; and c) do research on economic, social, political, and religious factors of the local scene. The grant is largely for start-up capital costs.

NICARAGUA

Cooperativa Agrícola Regional Jalapa R.L.—NC-029

\$146,000; 6/15/77

A grant to enable a cooperative of small farmers to establish the necessary storage and marketing facilities for their major crops. Complemented by other services to increase production, the cooperative expects to augment its capital and improve its services to a greater number of farmers in the community.

PARAGUAY

Asociación de Floricultores de Nu-Guazu—PY-PY-022

\$70,000; 5/13/77

Grant funds will cover part of the Association's expenses as it secures an organizational base to become a cooperative, captures a larger share of the local market through quality production, sells directly to shops and, extends membership from 30 to 80 persons. To these ends the Association will hire professional assistance in production and administration techniques, with emphasis on training members for self-management; conduct an informal series of adult education courses; establish a rotating loan fund managed by the Coordinating Committee; and provide occasional legal aid to its members with title disputes.

Grupo Proyecto Aty-Ñe'e—PY-025

\$26,000; 5/9/77

Aty-Ñe'e Theatre Group has been invited by two small farmer communities to use didactic theatre in order to introduce agricultural assistance, strengthen the farmer organizations, and provide a recreational outlet that can be continued by the communities. Aty-Ñe'e believes that technical knowledge can and should be introduced without destroying the local culture. By couching technical information in theatrical sketches that draw on rural tradition and myths, the project aims to build on the past while enhancing the capability of rural people to adapt to changing circumstances.

Vicariato Apostólico del Pilcomayo—PY-026

\$3,900; 7/18/77

As a complement to ongoing programs of bilingual education and literacy in Nivaclé and Spanish, the grantee will complete a Nivaclé/Spanish

dictionary. This dictionary will be used by Indians who are completing primary school and by Paraguayans and others who work with the Nivaclé population of approximately 30,000 people. Indian communities have chosen to first become literate in their native language and then address themselves to learning Spanish. They regard as essential becoming proficient in the languages that embody and project the way they understand the world and by so doing, protecting their position of uniqueness in the world.

Misión San Agustín—PY-028

\$37,600; 7/15/77

This grant will facilitate the permanent settlement of 130 Ache Guayaki Indians on a large tract of land acquired through the Instituto de Bienestar Rural on which subsistence agricultural activities will be implemented. A program of education, health, and leadership training will complement the agricultural production in order to generate a new culture that will synthesize the traditional elements of the Indians' hunting and gathering culture with those of the dominant Paraguayan society.

PERU

CENCAPLANE—PU-046

\$176,100; 4/4/77

To establish a campesino training center that will be owned, managed and operated by the 30 campesino agricultural production enterprises of the San Lorenzo Valley in northern Peru.

Asociación de Madres "San Marcelo" de Chiquián—PU-054

\$142,700; 5/9/77

This two-year grant will help allow the women of the "Asociación San Marcelo" of Chiquián to establish a wool processing and garment manufacturing industry that will be owned and managed by them. If successful, they could reap economic gains by providing employment opportunities and keeping their money in the community. Socially, they could benefit by diversifying the traditional and static role of women by experiencing the importance of working together toward the common good.

CIDIAG—PU-055

\$198,800; 4/4/77

To help implement a service structure that will provide existing and emerging self-managed enterprises with needed assistance in the areas of the investment studies, research, training and dissemination.

Central Nacional de Servicios Contables de las Empresas Campesinas Ltda. (CENASCONTEC)—PU-057

\$606,000; 5/16/77

This project is expected to provide more than 600 campesino production enterprises with a centralized accounting system. Utilizing computer technology, this campesino-owned and controlled system will be an integral part of the service infrastructure required by the beneficiaries of Peru's reform effort if they are to be informed about and participate in their own rural development processes.

Fourth International Conference on Law and Development—PU-058

\$9,900; 6/28/77

By funding this entity's conference the Foundation will allow thirteen lawyers and policy makers from Latin America to continue their dialogue about pertinent social and economic issues that seek a democratization of legal processes. Although this learning and disseminating exercise is not directly linked to a Foundation funded social action project, the conference falls within the IAF mandate to help Latins resolve their own problems by discussing conceptual themes that breach contextual confines.

URUGUAY

Cooperativa Obrera de Producción Aster (COPASTER)—UR-018

\$43,700; 7/13/77

To cancel liabilities incurred by the former owner and for working capital which will enable the only Uruguayan cooperative in the pharmaceutical industry to increase its membership and expand production. Such activities will reinforce the economic viability of the cooperative and increase employment in urban Uruguay.

Centro Latinoamericano de Economía Humana—UR-019

\$3,600; 5/3/77

The Centro Latinoamericano de Economía Humana, a private organization involved in training, research, and dissemination of development issues, will visit universities, research institutes, and development education centers in the Western Hemisphere to review development study programs, establish information exchange, and initiate observation and discussion in Uruguay on current controversies and trends in development thought. The Center will channel the insights and information gleaned from the trip into its public meeting series and publications, thus benefiting its growing constituency.

UNITED STATES

Institute for the Development of Indian Law, Inc.—US-105

\$22,500; 7/7/77

The Institute for the Development of Indian Law and the International Indian Treaty Council, a NGO recognized by the United Nations, are responsible for planning and preparing the substance of the Geneva conference on "Discrimination Against Indigenous Populations of the Americas." This grant will provide funds for translation and interpreting services and the travel funds next time for 10 additional Latin American participants. An international focus is of critical importance for voicing concerns, for expressing different points of view, and for opening new possibilities for indigenous people to help themselves and seek international support in their efforts. ■

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.



CIACO, workers' self-managed furniture production enterprise in Cuenca, Ecuador.

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The JOURNAL is published by the Inter-American Foundation, an independent US Government corporation created under the Foreign Assistance Act of 1969. The goals of the Foundation, as stated in its creating legislation, are to strengthen the bonds of friendship and understanding among the peoples of this hemisphere; support self-help efforts designed to enlarge the opportunities for individual development; stimulate and assist effective and ever wider participation of the people in the development process; and encourage the establishment and growth of democratic institutions, private and governmental, appropriate to the requirements of the individual sovereign nations of this hemisphere.

The purpose of the JOURNAL is to encourage communication, relationships, and the exchange of ideas and experiences among individuals and groups who are engaged in social, economic, and educational activities for the advancement, well-being, and self-reliance of Latin American and Caribbean peoples.

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