

JOURNAL of the

INTER-AMERICAN FOUNDATION

THIRD QUARTER 1979



Audience watching "El Bolívar Descalzo". Tibasosa, Colombia.

Photo by Nereo

The Arts and Social Change

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Over seven years, the Foundation has supported some 25 projects in which a primary activity is theater, dance, song, or festival. These projects represent about 4 percent of the total number funded; the grants for them come to \$1.5 million, or 2 percent of total grant funding.

Although a small part of our funding, these projects have been perhaps the least understood. We have received many critiques that may be summed up in the question, "Why do you choose to put your relatively scarce funds into plays and dance when people are going hungry?" To learn more about the relation-

ship between the arts and development and change, we have undertaken our own study of these projects not simply to address critics but to broaden our own understanding of these phenomena, and, more importantly, to stimulate an ongoing dialogue about these matters among Latin Americans, Caribbeans, and North Americans.

The conclusions that can be drawn from the project experiences are limited. Some projects are just beginning, some are in midstream, and many posit longer term effects. Nonetheless, some important concepts stand out: the significance of cultural dimensions to an adequate conceptualization and achievement of social change; the distinction between quality of life and material standards of living; the importance of diverse cultural manifestations in the face of strong currents toward cultural homogenization; and the unique value of art forms in unleashing creativity, enhancing cultural identity, and helping put people on a footing to master their own developmental aspirations.

Contextual Overview

The processes of industrialization, modernization, and urbanization in the Western Hemisphere have provoked a massive geographical dislocation of people and a profound disorientation in their ways of thinking and leading their lives. A part of these processes is a strong tendency toward cultural homogenization, propelled by policies of national integration and by increasing international communication and commerce. The values of the urban consumer society, promulgated by the mass media as well as by personal contact, radiate from the national metropolises which, in turn are heavily influenced by the international metropolises of the United States and Europe. The tastes and mores of the economically affluent urbanites of the Western World and their preferences for consumer goods set the standards.

The encounters among distinct cultures in the Western Hemisphere, the blendings among them, and the evolutions within them are far too complex to describe here. Since the European colonization, European cultural patterns have overshadowed most others in the Americas. But still today these nations are composed of peoples of often sharply different cultures—myriad Indian, African, European, and Asian heritages. Since political, economic, and social mobility in these societies depends largely on conforming to or assimilating the dominant cultural patterns, large numbers of people with other cultural origins find themselves in a situation of having either to shed the culture that gave their life meaning as they proceed to the “mainstream,” or to recede more and more to the periphery of their national society.

Having recently gained their political independence, some of the Caribbean islands are seeking their own new sense of national character. It is a vibrant process spurred by much activity in the arts. In many Latin American countries, where indigenous cultures are half-assimilated, peripheral, or completely isolated, artistic expression among the eclipsed cultures seems to be aimed at either enriching, pluralizing, and gaining recognition from the prevailing culture or building a separate and legitimate identity. The question is: how do these conditions relate to the processes of development?

The Search for Identity

From our review of 25 seemingly diverse cultural projects and the rationales upon which they were funded, there emerged one recurring theme: the quest for a secure sense of identity. Ethnic identity is an issue when there is interaction among two or more ethnic groups, as is the case in most regions of the Western Hemisphere. Each ethnic group has certain perceptions about another, and each group's self-image is

influenced by the others' perceptions.

The pressures to conform to outside cultures has a long history. During the centuries after the conquest of South America for example, the church tried to suppress native drums, flutes, ritual dances and songs. The punishment for possessing indigenous instruments or performing native music included public ridicule, fines, flogging, and deportation.

In a more subtle way the cultures of the poor and the disadvantaged tend to be disdained by the predominant cultures. The results are self-disparagement and insecurity among people of a subordinated culture. Beliefs about superiority and inferiority form an important but often unacknowledged barrier to development. The debilitating effects of perceived inferiority have been described to us as follows:

A Caribbean: Self-esteem is a function of what is denigrated and what is exalted in a society. It bears on the colonial mentality which casts that which is imported as good and desirable, and that which is native as primitive and undesirable. Ultimately, the denigration of certain sets of traits produces feelings of inferiority which become expressed as lack of initiative—apathy.

A Paraguayan group: What is the principal problem of rural people? They live in a situation where their expression is continually and totally repressed by a process too long to describe here. They have suffered an underestimation of their own social capacity. Their inhibitions are related, and all work together. This is related to the peasant's reluctance to touch a tractor or try to fix it because he is asked, 'How do you dare touch it?'

An American Black: We're talking here about basics, about people's ability to think and act for themselves. When any group is trying to emulate another, to draw their ideals from the lines defined by others, they are constantly running behind, constantly trying to catch up. This affects self-image, self-confidence, and ultimately the ability to function. Sense of

identity, of who one is and what one aspires to—on one's own terms—is basic. It is the first step.

To overcome the paralyzing effects of cultural disparagement, socially concerned groups are attempting to change perceptions—perceptions that blacks have of blacks, that whites have of blacks, that urbanites have of farmers, that European stock have of Indians. A prominent Jamaican artist pointed up the relationships among image, changing perceptions, and self-help when he said: "What we do for ourselves depends on what we know of ourselves and what we accept of ourselves."

Another facet of identity building that recurs in many of the projects is rejection of imitation. People want to avoid chronic imitiveness: they perceive imitation as undermining the very foundation of their character. A Jamaican explained the roots of the phenomenon in the Caribbean in this way:

To appreciate the significance of culture in general you must understand that one of the first things the British did was to set up their own cultural dissemination center, the Institute of Jamaica. Everything from standard spoken and written English to food, manners, music, and dress were encouraged on the native population. The denigration of everything outside the English style, especially Africa, was the rule of the day.

Resistance to copying other cultures reflects a concept of development which reinforces local values, local goods, and local expertise and knowledge. During recent decades, there has been mounting resentment and even hostility in Latin America and the Caribbean to what many term "cultural imperialism." They feel that there has been an inundation of foreign expertise, foreign capital, foreign television and radio, and foreign cultural missions. In their resistance and pride, they have turned to indigenous customs, folkways, and forms of music to celebrate their own.

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Confrontation Between Cultural Identity and Development Policies

Cultural identity, however achieved, is perceived by many Third World leaders as essential for people if they are to generate, participate in, and have a controlling influence on their own development processes. The tension between development programs and cultural identity is starkly articulated in this statement by leaders of an Andean Indian population:

Politicians . . . have tried to achieve development based exclusively on servile imitation of the development of other countries when our cultural heritage is entirely different . . . They have come to believe that progress is founded only on the economic aspects of life. Technical assistance has achieved no significant change in the countryside. It has not achieved peasant participation because it has not respected the peasants' culture, nor has it understood the peasants' frame of mind. Governments, politicians, and educators have completely failed in the 'promotion' of our peoples because they have used erroneous methods and ideas imported from abroad—alien to our history, our heroes, ideals, and values.

An assumption—sometimes stated, sometimes implicit—in most of the artistic projects we have supported is that until the cultural barriers manifest in negative stereotypes are challenged, there cannot be real development in countries where there is a clear cultural disequilibrium between a dominant society and culturally or ethnically distinct subgroups. To quote from a Paraguayan group: "Low self-esteem coupled with self-censure effectively depletes the psychic energies needed to initiate and sustain plans of action." The point is effectively reaffirmed in this statement from a recent Intergovernmental Conference on Cultural Policies in Latin America and the Caribbean:

. . . internally generated development

depends on a recuperation of the initiative that is rooted in the affirmation of cultural identity. For if culture is that which makes a people aware of itself and able to make choices and take action it is also that which responds to its aspirations to dignity. And dignity, perceived at the national level, is a fundamental requirement for collective action toward development. A grounding in their cultural values would make it possible for peoples to recuperate the confidence and spirit necessary for the task of innovation that development requires.

A related concern is expressed in our statement of justification for funding a Caribbean project in the performing arts:

Development assistance agencies frequently dismiss 'cultural projects' because they are extraneous to the established priorities for most economic development plans. Their emphasis on maximum utilization of a country's natural resources through agricultural and industrial development fails to consider the need for human resource development as well. Ironically, it is the 'human factor'—the ability of people to become assimilated into these plans and actively participate in them—that is often cited as the reason for failures.

What the proponents of projects in the arts describe to us becomes more and more clearly linked to development as it touches on the reasons for what is generally perceived as resistance to modernization. Development libraries are stocked with tomes devoted to methods for overcoming the so-called apathy, non-participation, or downright recalcitrance of the "target population." Techniques to deal with it are "promotion," achievement motivation, and the like. Transfer of these techniques represents millions of dollars worth of training courses given for the field personnel of everything from voluntary agencies to government ministries. We, however, have heard repeatedly from Latin and Caribbean people that apathy is but a symptom, one which will never be dealt

with successfully without looking at the causes.

Perhaps the most important insight in this discussion has to do with concepts of development. We have been warned by Latin Americans to "beware of the basic needs mentality." It is not that they disagree with the emerging priorities in development that seek to provide a decent diet, housing and health care. The issue centers on how and on what terms these needs are to be fulfilled. Although recognizing the basic needs definition is an important step in humanizing development, they perceive in its implementation a social welfare mentality that would aspire to guarantee physical subsistence but leave little margin for altering the uneven relationships which are at the root of underdevelopment. They are concerned that unless they are in harmony with the culture and initiatives of the peoples to be assisted, the proposed measures will accentuate dependency by concentrating on readily measurable results while ignoring the process by which lasting change would have to be achieved. Implicit in a plan to transfer resources is no change in the structures and relationships that perpetuate poverty.

Proponents of cultural expression stress the innate creative or problem-solving capacity of human beings. They see the first steps toward solution of problems as removing the obstacles, not only physical but psychological, that prevent creativity from being exercised. Through approaches that tap creative forces, spark genuine motivation, and build in the mechanisms for continuity, cultural expression seeks to define what kind of change is desired and what is the appropriate path to attain lasting development, not just a delivery of services. Theirs is a perspective distinct from that of those who think in terms of the economic gap between have's and have-not's.



Scene from "Rambao". Colombia.

Photo by Nereo

The Role of the Arts

In the course of reviewing art projects, we asked concerned Caribbeans and Latin Americans why they put effort into dance, drama, and drumming when people are hungry, unemployed, and lacking adequate shelter. Why invest time, energy, and resources in seemingly non-essential activities when basic needs remain largely unsatisfied? While some societies may draw a sharp distinction between work and play, between art and science, between the cultural and the economic, not all peoples categorize the world and their lives in this way. In various ways, they cautioned us not to confuse quality of life with standards of living. Within quality of life, most of them included self-respect, identification with community, a sense of place and purpose, and human relationships. They posed to us a question of their own: "What are the ingredients necessary to galvanize the collective national energies that lead to self-sufficiency in food and other material resources?"

The concept of development and change we are dealing with centers on the human being as capable of thinking and acting, of forming with his peers the local social institutions most adequate to achieve their purposes, and of participating in the creation of societal systems and structures more equitable and just than existing arrangements. Taking this humanistic viewpoint one step further means that human beings are capable of creativity. This idea is expressed by a Colombian as follows:

Creative expression is a fundamental human characteristic. Through it is generated the identity of individuals and peoples. The capacity to create is basic. It encompasses far more than artistic creation, but in the wake of colonization, the art forms are often all that is left. The colonies have been decapitalized. Often the only thing that remains to them is a rich inheritance of folklore and artistic expression which has never been entirely wiped out.

It is on a lean but tenacious legacy of popular traditions that the art projects build, strengthening the base that exists and opening the way—through increased self-confidence and discipline and awakened aspirations—for endeavors in other directions.

In these projects, for example, theater is popular, participatory, and part of locally-generated development efforts. It resembles in name only what most Americans think of as theater, a place to go to be entertained. The closest analogies we can think of in the United States are the Federal Theater Project, developed during the Depression of the 1930s to address economic and social issues, or the current street theater of the chicano movements in the Southwest. As means of strengthening identity and challenging pejorative stereotypes, a number of grantees see the performing arts as an extraordinary vehicle for human resource development, particularly through the dance which calls for strict concentration and discipline. One of the hallmarks of a Brazilian group is the dedication of the dancers to technical excellence. They regard discipline as a way to debunk prevailing myths about blacks as slothful, incompetent, and technically unskilled. They take particular pride in achieving excellence.

Caribbean peoples are discovering a new sense of worth as full-fledged citizens, and charting their future directions by expressing their cultural roots in dance, song, theater, and oral histories. It is a dynamic experience of unveiling what from the past is present within themselves today so that they can build their own society. They see the arts as one important way for freeing the creative spirit and releasing the energy of people so that they can make things and do things for themselves. They see it as a process of building minds, bodies, institutions, and societies. Jamaican Prime Minister Manley gave insight into the process in this way:

Reggae music . . . is emerging from our equivalent of the ghetto, where the disinherited and the lost of this earth are beginning to articulate their misery, articulate their demand for change, to articulate their need for new ordering of society . . . And I think this is a tremendous factor in the changes that are taking place in Jamaica. This is the people singing their own story of change and making clear to the world the direction they expect change to take.

The theater and other artistic activities we have funded are seen as instrumentalities of development. Their aims are several: to reinforce the esteem of those who provide the information; to give legitimacy to folklore and customs by raising them to the status of drama or art; and to give the viewer-participant a forum for reinforcing his own identity by seeing his own way of life mirrored in art forms thereby enhancing its sense of value. Nevertheless, two points should be kept in mind: not all artistic expression is a means to development and change; and artistic expression is only one of the many means for propelling development processes.

The development objectives we perceived in these endeavors may be summarized in three broad categories. Most often all three are present, though one may be dominant in different times and places. They are: 1) Socio-economic assertion. Art forms are a means for minorities to assess their situation and to invigorate action programs. They can constitute highly effective instruments for the articulation of social issues and for forwarding the interest of involved groups. 2) Increased recognition and respect for ethnic heritage. Dominant cultures historically have eclipsed weaker cultures. Members of the overwhelmed cultures often reach the point of despising their own cultural identity, and become insecure and apathetic. The arts can be one means for people not only to build their self-esteem but also to gain recognition of their heritage from the

Andean weaving. Island of Taquile, Lake Titicaca, Peru.

Photo by Geoffrey Bamard



predominant national culture. 3) Development of human creative potential in individuals. Disciplines such as dance or theater build capability to organize experience, synthesize an idea in concrete form, and judge the results. Without these capabilities, a person is ill-prepared to be an active, knowledgeable, and critical participant in development and change. The ability to express oneself builds confidence, a prerequisite to action; without it, notions about freedom of expression remain rather academic.

Patterns and Types

The projects we have supported seem to fall into four general categories marked by the relative "distance" between actors and audiences. They are: 1) those that emanate directly from grassroots groups in their own localities and are derived from their own life experience; 2) those conceived and initiated by someone outside the immediate community but of the same culture. Actors and the public are virtually one and the same in class, culture, and geographic origin. A common link is forged between

the expressions of the folk and the artist; 3) those in which a facilitator organization or "cultural broker" puts together works which attempt to capture the lives of the people and their problems. The facilitators believe that the arts can be effective media for dramatizing societal issues, generally with a methodology that stresses interaction with the public in preparing performances and afterwards discussing them; and 4) those designed and acted out by professionals and seen by an anonymous audience through the mass media.

Some of these groups have a cultural focus in the anthropological sense. They use artistic media to project their ethnic identity, be it African or Andean Indian. Those of African roots emphasize the "blackness" that evolved out of the slave experience and, before that, from African cultures with highly developed art forms. They feel that they have not only maintained their identity under duress over generations but also need to renew and redefine it and develop a sense of understanding and pride through it. Indian groups similarly are looking to a heritage stemming from their own form of highly developed civilization.

All of these groups are dealing with issues such as preservation versus cultural assimilation, tradition versus modernization, reflection versus action. They are trying to understand their historical experience and their current ethnic consciousness as a coalescing force for community action. Esteem for their cultural roots and the assertion, through art forms, of their values and customs are their goals. Almost all include economic activities for financial maintenance.

Another set of projects, rather than being ethnocentric, seeks to stimulate the participants to reflect on their current conditions and to affirm their due status in their societies. The core groups are what we might call "cultural brokers." They engage in a variety of activities in order to help people assess their situation

and look for ways to effect social justice. While their methodologies and even their media differ, they share a common interest. As for methodology, however, we note two different approaches.

The first of these approaches uses an artistic medium to stimulate open reflection about the conditions in a society, historical background, and the interplay of societal forces. Through interaction with audiences, they strive not so much to impart information on a given subject but rather to foster skills of critical thought and analysis. The second uses an artistic medium as a didactic tool to convey a specific concept, message, or view of a society. While conducive to reflection, this approach attempts to persuade an audience to a particular point of view.

Perhaps the most difficult task we have is to state clearly the grounds for supporting projects in the arts in terms of the results expected. In certain cases the projects will have tangible, measurable, bankable results. But in most instances they do not, precisely because they are seen as the essential groundwork for longer term changes, some of which may be measurable. What our inquiry has indicated is that arts projects, with their emphasis on creativity and on the articulation of issues, values, and aspirations, indicate the way other programs might begin if they are to have an impact on poverty, inequality, and injustice.

Results must be conceived in terms that go far beyond the quantitative; they cannot rest comfortably on tidy empirical proof. Although we are not certain about how the results of their activities can best be formulated and tracked, we believe that clues can be found in specific cases such as the two that follow.

Theater of Identity, Colombia. Early in 1974, we made a grant of \$172,000 (increased through subsequent amendments to \$213,252) to the Fundación Colombiana de Investigaciones

Carnival celebration. Island of Taquile, Lake Titicaca, Peru.

Photo by Kevin Healy



Folclóricas, an organization formed in 1969 to bring together the work of Colombian social scientists and artists in researching and promoting popular cultures. The grant was made to enable the Fundación to organize two dramatic productions based on the folklore of distinct cultural regions of Colombia, to make at least six theatrical presentations, and to disseminate in print and on film the process of the project.

The principal assumption of the Theater of Identity was that all people have potential for creative and dramatic expression. Its objectives were: 1) to elicit through direct contact with rural people the tales, myths, jokes and legends that form popular culture and are transmitted from generation to generation as oral tradition or embodied in celebrations and festivals; and 2) to put together two

theatrical works based on materials narrated by rural people, one representative of the coastal flatlands and the other of highland plateaus, to be acted out by the rural people themselves in dance, mime, and improvisation. The grantee postulated that the audience would reaffirm its identity by seeing their culture mirrored back to them from the stage.

Interviews were conducted with country folk from dozens of villages. Resource people were identified, workshops organized, and the findings documented on tape, film, slides, and notes. One result of this phase was that the Fundación built up an extensive library of materials depicting the traditions and folklore of several ethnic groups. These materials are available to anyone interested in Colombian culture.

Out of the copious materials, a commonly recurring tale was chosen for the dramatization of *Rambao*, an allegorical character identified with the predominate legend of *El Bolívar Descalzo* ("Barefoot Bolívar"), a somewhat irreverent tale of the exploits of the great liberator, was selected as a common thread among the highland peoples.

In 1975, *Rambao* played to an audience of some 10,000 in Bogotá's Plaza Bolívar. Out of this experience grew a request from the Colombian Government to present authentic, non-commercial, folklore groups in the *Encuentro de las Dos Colombias* (Meeting of the Two Colombias). For these performances, over 100,000 people packed the plaza. This in turn led to the Festival of Colombia in Colombia in December of 1975. The effect, according to the Bogotá daily, *El Tiempo*, was to "awaken the interest of Colombians in their own genuine artistic traditions that have endured over the centuries."

Later, as an indirect spin-off, the National Association of Folklore Groups was inaugurated in Manizales to represent music, dance, and theater groups in small- and middle-size cities. Support will go to those groups interested in promoting cultural awareness in their own communities as a means for stimulating social change and development. Finally, this process gave the Fundación the experience and background to organize and host the First Congress of Black Culture in the Americas, held in Cali in 1977.

In sum, while it is difficult if not impossible to determine the direct benefits to the viewing public whose "identity" it intended to reflect and reinforce, the Theater of Identity has been a contributor to the current flowering of Colombian interest in local culture and heritage. This is significant in a country that has tended to revere culture and goods imported from the United States and Europe and to disparage its own.

Ayni-Ruway, Bolivia. This project is an example of theater as part of a broad development effort. It grew from the deep convictions of a Bolivian psychologist about the devastating effects of the Quechua Indians' lack of self-confidence deriving from an inability to measure up to standards set by Western development models.

In September of 1974, we made a grant of \$133,555 to a small local group of village leaders and technical advisors. The purpose was to help two Quechua villages carry out their own plans for experimentation in health, agriculture, artisanry, and communications. Our rationale for support was the following:

The project is formulated on the premise that change can be initiated and sustained only if controlled by the beneficiaries themselves in a way which both affirms their cultural values and utilizes their own systems of social organization. In this instance, traditional indigenous organizations are the institutional locus for decision-making on community self-development activities.

The basic operating principle was to rely on Quechua cultural patterns and language. The project was founded on the Quechua concept of *ayni*, a system of mutual aid with three equally important elements: production and consumption; support for health and well-being; and social and cultural communications.

Five technicians started work in two villages to improve the production and marketing of local handicrafts, mostly woven goods. A year later, the program had spread to 34 villages and by mid-1978 to 84 with a total of well over 20,000 people. The traditional barter system was revived to handle a complex exchange of goods outside the cash economy which is weighted against the Quechua people. The communities now produce about 18 percent of the basic goods they consume. Over 600 people

have been trained in practical skills for work in the small-scale enterprises started with seed capital from the grant. Over 1,000 work in these enterprises; income increases are about 42 percent for individual workers or about 17 percent for their families as a whole over the level earned before the project began. Through a natural division of labor and the incorporation into the barter system of communities from different ecological zones, patterned on the workings of the ancient Indian economy, a larger part of families' needs for food and clothing are locally available.

The *ayni wasi* or "house of everyone" is the hub of the system, be it for trade or wider social needs. With the *ayni wasis* emerged local leaders or managers known as *kamachis*, members of the communities who take care of coordinating village activities and communications among the villages. They now manage virtually all aspects of the system with some assistance from the technical team. In 1974, there were three *kamachis*; by mid-1978, there were 53, of whom 42 are women.

From the beginning, production and marketing has gone hand-in-hand with theater and the recording of tales, legends, jokes, and customs. Theater's part in the program has been to revitalize tradition and dramatize current issues of concern to the villages. Operating primarily on improvisation and mime and on the participation of anyone and everyone, the theatrical sketches are the principal vehicle for communicating among communities and sparking interest in the program.

Dramas begin with improvisations that are polished in repeated performances with the input of the audiences. The play starts without any announcement when the actors change into costumes, walk to the middle of the square, and go into their act as the people sit or stand around. A few



minutes pass before everyone realizes what is happening. The space between actors and audience is very tenuous; it sometimes gets invaded. The audience fully participates, often helping the actors with their lines.

There are 14 Quechua theater groups among the villages active in the program. Informal in structure they are nonetheless part of the system. Themes for the plays are taken from everyday family and village life and from issues posed by the program. This form of theater has some distinctive characteristics:

The plays are not written in final form. The germ of an idea or situation is taken and elaborated in an impromptu fashion during each presentation. Anyone wishing to add a point of view assumes a character,

steps forward, and speaks up.

There is no training of actors or rehearsals. Anyone may join in or organize a group although the *kamachis* are usually the organizers.

There are no special props or scenery. Staging is improvised on the spot.

The actors are less presenters of a drama than leaders of a focused conversation.

Participation in all aspects of the program is extraordinarily active. The material gains are important not only for increasing real income but also for generating earnings that enable the program to grow. In addition, there is clearly a sense of pride, accomplishment, and solidarity. Observers attribute the extraordinary level of interest and participation to the

following factors:

The ground rules of language, design, and structure are familiar and understandable. In a setting where everything Quechua has been considered as second-class at best, the chance for Quechuas to take on functions usually reserved for non-Quechuas has provided an impulse for all members to take on greater responsibilities.

The key trading mechanism is based on traditional modes of barter which are perfectly understood and therefore easily managed by the communities themselves.

There are unambiguous benefits in both the standard of living and quality of life.

Some Reflections

The arts, culture, development, and social change are broad areas, and the

relationships among them touch on nearly every facet of human existence. In addition to the generally positive aspects of cultural programs described above, we are also left with some disquieting thoughts and concerns. Cultural activity can be a two-edged sword. Supported by sensitive groups genuinely interested in reinforcing cultural roots and strengthening identity, theater and its associated art forms can be creative endeavors. In the hands of those who believe they "hold the truth" and wish to win converts, or those who would use the popular art media to advance questionable causes, it can be a refined tool for manipulation and possibly social engineering.

We may summarize one of these concerns best by quoting Juan Díaz Bordenave, an agricultural communications specialist to the Organization of American States, who in commenting on the developmentalists' discovery of using folk media to achieve developmental goals, says:

I see in this discovery a lot of good and a lot of evil. The good is that the folk media are legitimate possessions of the people, an intrinsic part of their culture, and so they have the right to be respected, supported, and used. However, and this is the evil part, the development thinkers' obsession with goal achievement and not with human growth may take up these folk media as another set of instruments for changing a people's way of thinking, feeling, and behaving. And this is not the purpose and the function of the traditional communications media. Their purpose is expression, relationship, communion, escape, fantasy, beauty, poetry, worship. Never persuasion of people to vaccinate, to implant I.U.D.s, to fight parasites, or to eat vegetables. I am afraid that as soon as the people realize that their folk songs, poems, and art are being used for subtle propaganda, they will let them die. Of course, the contemporary forms of folk media must reflect the new preoccupations of a people in movement toward development. New dreams and anxieties will

appear naturally in the songs and poems of the masses.

In another vein, we note that centralization and homogenization seem to be overall trends in most nations. We have, nonetheless, supported decentralization and diversity through our project funding. Critics have pointed out that an essential ingredient of United States development was to integrate identities that are only now reaffirming themselves. Could it be that a concern with minority identity is a luxury of the development process, more feasible when a certain stage of national integration and economic development has been reached? Are roots and heritage and identity important only to the elite and the intellectuals, and secondary or even ludicrous to the bulk of the population? There are indicators that, if given the chance, many disadvantaged people would gladly assimilate into the prevailing national culture. Also, separatist cultural movements are often the pioneers of political separatism. Would we, for example, have supported the cultural groups in Quebec that are now the vanguard of succession from Canada? Would we support the Basque separatists that focus on ethnic and regional pride through the arts?

From a macro-cultural perspective, it is easy to promote support for an overwhelmed ethnic minority that is sharply differentiated from most of the rest of the population. We do believe in the right of all peoples to live and express freely their cultures. But must one not ask about the nature of the culture, its values, its guiding principles as they are or might be manifested in action? For example, does it tend towards exclusivity or discrimination against other cultures, no matter how "weak" it may now be? Do the internal relationships among its members suggest notions of greater justice and equity, or do they raise doubts?

Because we are in the development

assistance business, we have felt compelled to confine our attention to certain defined activities carried out in certain places over a short timespan and try to explain their connection to more commonly accepted concepts of development. Yet when one takes a glimpse across the span of recorded history, the arts often appear as live and potent forces in the current of social change, at times immediate in their impact, and at others long-term and cyclical.

Those who would think that the arts are merely the fine lace of civilization might take pause to consider phenomena such as the following:

- During the Depression of the 1930's, the Work Progress Administration (WPA) Federal Theater Project in community theater, painting, and other arts was designed to renew the vitality, confidence, and identity of the American people.
- The most recent Greek military regime banned the dramas of Euripides and much of contemporary Greek music. And one of Franco's first acts was to close the Spanish theaters.
- In several countries of the Western Hemisphere, the African slaves were prohibited from drumming and dancing for fear these activities would inspire revolt.
- "Va Pensiero," a chorus from one of Verdi's early and otherwise unsuccessful operas, overnight became a rallying cry of the Italians in the struggle for independence from the Austro-Hungarian Empire.
- In certain times and places, such as ancient Athens, Renaissance Florence, and nineteenth-century Paris, unusual eruptions of creative, artistic expression were instrumental in advancing humanitarian values and freedom in many forms. ■

All of the co-authors are Foundation staff members: Patricia Haggerty is a Representative for Panama and Guatemala; Robert Mashek is Director of the Caribbean-Brazil Region; Marion Ritchey is Director for the Andean Region; and Steve Vetter is a Representative for the Caribbean.

The Reality of the Maquiladoras

María Patricia Fernández Kelly

An objective of the Mexican government since 1965 has been to encourage foreign investment by offering fiscal incentives to multinational corporations (mainly from the United States). The Mexican In-Bond Manufacturing Program, which was formulated with this goal in mind, enables corporations to export components and raw materials from the United States to their subsidiaries or subcontracted firms in Mexico. When assemblage is completed, products may return to the United States after a moderate tax on added value has been paid (e.g., current duties on electronic products are 5 to 7 percent *ad valorem*). Dr. Guillermo Teutli Otero, Subsecretary for the Promotion of the In-Bond Industry, has stated that the program "has become an integral part of Mexico's strategy for development." Both government and private promoters base their interest in multinational investment on the need to generate jobs in a context where the combined figures of unemployment and underemployment approach 50 percent.

If attention is limited to gross employment figures, the Mexican In-Bond Manufacturing Program indeed has been a success. To take but one example: in 1969 there were 13 in-bond assembly plants (*maquiladoras*) in Ciudad Juárez, Chihuahua, employing less than 2,000 workers. At the end of 1978, the number of plants had risen to 107 and that of workers to approximately 33,000. A 15 percent increase of the *maquiladora* work force is planned for 1979.

Approximately 85 percent of *maquiladora* workers are women with ages varying between 17 and 25. Seventy percent of the women are single, and generally they contribute more than half of their weekly earnings to the support of their families. Seen within the larger Latin American context, the

maquiladora workers are an anomaly. One out of every three Latin American women who work for a wage do so as domestics. Of the total 19.4 percent women in industry, only 0.7 percent participate in manufacturing activities.¹ In Ciudad Juárez half of the labor force is female.

It is particularly significant to look at the changes in employment patterns and practices effected by this recent industrialization along the Mexican-U.S. border. More and more, women are providing the stable income for their families. Why are women being hired over men for assembly line work, and what effect is this having on the lives of the people in cities like Ciudad Juárez? I want to explore the impact of the In-Bond Manufacturing Program by focusing attention on the personal experience of one woman employed at a *maquiladora*.

Francisca Lucero is 19 years old and has worked for three years at the largest electronic assembly plant in Ciudad Juárez. At 15, Kika (as she is known by family and friends) started looking for a job as an assembly line worker at the largest industrial park in the city. She was willing to lie about her age and alter her birth certificate in order to secure a job at a *maquiladora*, where workers are guaranteed minimum wage and medical care through the social security system. Her search for employment dragged on for several frustrating months; Kika was unaware of the fact that for each operator working along the assembly lines, behind the sewing machines, or at welders and wire cutters, there are three similarly qualified women searching for employment.² Women roaming the streets and industrial parks in need of jobs have become a distinctive feature of Ciudad Juárez. Until the In-bond Manufacturing Program appeared, the majority of these women were not members of the labor force; 14 years later they have become urban proletarians.

In a social milieu sorely lacking occupational opportunities for men, women are forced to compete against one another for a limited number of jobs. Once jobs are secured, the women turn out to be efficient and docile workers. It is not enough to state that multinational corporations seek relocation in underdeveloped areas, such as the Mexican border, in order to benefit from broad wage differentials, longer workweeks and increased productivity. It is necessary to examine the manner in which preference to females as a hiring practice affects labor supply. It is important to realize that unemployment and underemployment rates have increased in border municipalities since the In-Bond Manufacturing Program was implemented. Although it is true that such an increase is partly due to uncontrolled migration to cities like Ciudad Juárez, it also is related to the failure of *maquiladoras* to incorporate men into their operations. The reasons for this are economic, ideological and political.

"We hire mostly women because they are more reliable than men; they have finer fingers, smaller muscles and unsurpassed manual dexterity. Also, women don't get tired of repeating the same operations 900 times a day." Such was the explanation offered by Kika's personnel manager when asked why 90 percent of the plant's workers are women.

By distorting and oversimplifying complex phenomena, this thinking obviates the need to center attention upon economic and political realities. Statements like the one recorded above may appear as trivial, irritating or quaint manifestations of "false consciousness," but they should not be taken lightly. They make social phenomena understandable to managers as well as most workers. Kika certainly agrees that women tend to be more responsible, patient and dexterous than males. She doubts that men would be willing to per-

form the sort of exhausting and repetitive work that she does for the kind of wage that she earns. Also, Kika feels women are shyer and more submissive, more accustomed to taking orders. They can be intimidated easily and forced to obey. Herein lies the economic and political crux of the matter. As Kika herself explains, "I would prefer to stay home and not work at a factory, but my family needs my earnings. My father cannot support us, my brothers and sisters are young. I have to be efficient and patient at my job." By making use of one working group to the exclusion of another in a context characterized by the absence of employment alternatives for the majority, industry is aggravating the problems that have resulted from a legacy of underdevelopment and dependency.

To argue that *maquiladoras* are an adequate means to arrest unemployment is to foster an illusion.

This hiring practice exacerbates pre-existing imbalances in local labor markets. High unemployment rates were endemic along the Mexican border before the In-Bond Manufacturing Program appeared. Thus, initially, *maquiladoras* did not cause unemployment; but have they been effective job generators as their promoters claim? In the process of penetrating local economies *maquiladoras* enlarge the existing labor reserve pool by employing sectors of the population that were not previously considered part of the work force (such as most women) while excluding those that were (such as men in productive ages). And, unemployment rates are calculated on the basis of job openings versus the number of persons actively seeking employment. These as-

sembly plants have drawn out more job seekers so, although there may be more employed individuals, unemployment is higher too. To argue that *maquiladoras* are an adequate means to arrest unemployment is to foster an illusion.

The illusion is dispelled by the tensions resulting from the employment of women by multinationals at subsistence wages while men who belong to the same households are unable to find stable, remunerative jobs. According to the preliminary results of a survey (recently completed by the author), the majority of men belonging to the same household as female assembly operators, are either unemployed or underemployed. Therefore, there is a convergence of labor market conditions with familial needs which precipitates the flow of women as suppliers of labor for *maquiladoras*. The result of this situation has been the swift transformation of women into main providers of stable and regular income (however small it may be) for their families.

It is valid but simplistic to state that the increase in the number of potential laborers (both male and female) has diminished the bargaining power of the local working class. The expansion of a cheap labor reserve pool enables managers to exercise political and economic control over laborers by employing the most vulnerable sector of the working class, the one least likely to organize, demand better wages and press for improvements in working conditions.

The benefits accruing from this situation were summarized clearly by the general manager of a subsidiary of one of the largest electronics manufacturers in the world at an American Chamber of Commerce symposium held in Mexico City in May 1978. Referring to the merits of relocation, he plainly stated that "thanks to the high levels of unemployment in Ciudad Juárez, we can be very selective about the personnel we



Neighborhood where many assembly line workers live. Ciudad Juarez, Mexico.

Photo by María Patricia Fernández Kelly

employ.” A manufacturer runs employment ads for female assembly line workers that list qualifications such as: applicants must be older than 17 and younger than 30 years of age; applicants must be single and without offspring; minimum schooling of 6 years, maximum schooling of 10 years; applicants must be available for any shift.

These are general conditions which made Kika's task of looking for a job difficult and, at the same time, made her well suited to be employed. Eventually, Kika was allowed to fill out applications at several plants and was later hired after taking manual dexterity tests and a medical examination which included a pregnancy test.

Until recently, when her 17-year old sister was able to get a similar position at another plant, Kika provided the only source of stable income for her family. Kika gives at least 500 pesos (US\$22), half of her weekly wage, to her mother who uses it to buy food and to pay other household expenses. Of the half-wage she keeps for herself, about 30 percent is spent for transportation and meals at the factory. With what is left, she attends to personal needs. Kika is fond of fashionable clothes and cosmetics, and she enjoys disco-dancing. True, she sometimes has to treat a male companion unable or unwilling to pay the entrance fee at one of the many popular dancing halls in Ciudad Juárez. But more often she may be seen sitting alone or in the company of other female friends waiting to be approached by a young man. Her relative affluence has been a mixed blessing in a context in which men are expected to take the initiative in most areas of social life.

After three years of tedious labor at the plant, Kika admits she is exhausted.

More discouraging than monotony is the realization that promotions are hard to come by and wages are forever shrinking. Since she began work, she has put in at least 48 hours each week for an average of US\$.58 an hour. She works from 6:30 a.m. to 3:15 p.m. on weekdays and from 6:30 a.m. to 11:30 a.m. on Saturdays. From Monday to Friday she, like the rest, is allowed 10 minutes in the morning to have breakfast and 30 minutes in the afternoon to eat lunch. The rest of her time is occupied by attempts to fulfill production goals set up by industrial engineers. The conveyor belt never ceases to move at the same exasperating speed, and operations are minute and complex. They demand undivided attention.

“Until the *maquiladora* program appeared, the majority of these women were not members of the labor force.”

The personnel manager at the plant where Kika works often reflects, “*maquiladoras* have brought about an industrial revolution to the Mexican border. They have taught an otherwise inexperienced work force about the merits of punctuality and industrial discipline.” Maybe! But Kika has experienced another aspect of this story. In the last three years she has learned what it is like to work as an appendage of a machine. She knows about the boredom bred in dark surroundings filled with lead vapors due to defective ventilation. She has often felt the nerve-wracking effects of continuous, high levels of noise and the nausea induced by glues and solder.

Kika must go on working because she has no choice. She longs for the day when she will be able to get married, leave the work force and have a home of her own. Being a member of a generation of female factory workers that is barely a decade old, Kika does not see herself as a member of the proletariat but as a potential wife and mother. But marriage is a hazardous prospect in a context characterized by economic constraints that keep men in her circle from performing their traditional role as providers.

To promoters of the In-Bond Manufacturing Program, *maquiladoras* may represent a success, but Kika knows she lives in a painful bind. And is that not what the terms “underdevelopment” and “dependency” mean in a most precise manner? Cut from their abstract embellishments they describe a social reality in which persons like Kika and the members of her family must always move perilously between destitution and mere subsistence, even while surrounded by the glitter of progress. Kika agrees with the personnel manager that *maquiladoras* are the best thing that ever happened to Ciudad Juárez. There indeed, lies the real paradox. ■

¹González Salazar, Gloria, “Participation of Women in the Mexican Labor Force,” in *Sex and Class in Latin America*, eds. June Nash and Helen I. Safa (New York: Praeger, 1976), p. 188.

²Palmore, Glenn L. et al., *The Ciudad Juárez Plan for Comprehensive Socio-Economic Development: A Model for Northern Mexico Border Cities* (El Paso: University of Texas, 1974), p. 10.

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The Basic Need for Status

Jim Cotter

For the past two decades people have been asking themselves how best to do development. A lot of answers have been produced during these 20 years—trickle down, percolate up, build economic launching pads, stimulate latent acquisitive drives through achievement motivation, import substitution, infrastructure building, debt rescheduling, trade-not-aid, conscientization, enablement, empowerment, liberation, and even establishing a new economic order. The litany extends much further than the reader's patience and so I shall stop here.

The current trend in how-to-do-it development is the simple if not simplistic notion of fulfilling basic needs. No need to furrow one's brow about the psychology of perception, the restructuring of values, or the limitations and potentials of different paradigms. Just give the poor the essentials and keep on doing it until our checks start bouncing or some nit-picking critic points out that needs are far out-distancing resources.

What's It For? I propose that it is well past time to question seriously what it is that development is trying to do. What is the nature of the action and the purpose for all of this development activity? What is the objective? What is the desired consequence?

The questions have not been asked because people have been too busy doing things and keeping score in self-serving ways to waste time thinking about what they are doing. That's not surprising when you consider that only in the last few years has the feverish pace of doing things paused long enough for the beneficiaries to be asked what they want done. Many development practitioners still are not convinced that it's worth wasting time to ask poor people how they want something done, if they want it done at all, or if they would rather do it themselves, their way with their own timetable.

There is not a lot of patience for people who insist on asking basic questions about the development process. They are more or less rudely dismissed as "eggheads messing around with abstract theories when there's a hell of a lot of work to be done." The voice of John Wayne in one of his trillion wagon-boss roles can be heard saying, "Move the money, boy." Get the funds into the old pipeline and get some impressive bang-for-the-buck, input-output, cost-effectiveness figures. Get some moving vignettes about some bottom 40 poor folks successfully treading water in the socio-economic mainstream.

Status comes from maximizing control over your own social change process, and it decreases as decision-making is surrendered to others.

Fifth World Soon? A lot of people haven't asked what it is that development is supposed to do because they thought everybody already knew. The "what" of development assistance conventionally has been defined as resource transfers from the First to the Third and/or Fourth World countries. In the good old days, we had only First and Third World countries, skipping the Second category to emphasize the gap between the two. But our 20-year war on international poverty has left so many poor people as survivors that we needed a new category to emphasize the gap between folks in the Third and Fourth statistical groupings. We should be introducing a Fifth World category before too long if the povertyocrats continue losing the battle at anything approaching the present rate.

Resource transfer as the essence and purpose of development is a comforting

and clear notion, having much more to do with efficient delivery systems than confusing notions of social progress. Transfer money, technological know-how embodied in advisors, machinery, and the whole panoply of advice on everything including poor people's sex lives, crop cycles, internal security and balance of payments problems. Pump all of this into the pipeline and get it out to waiting clients, target populations, hard-core unemployed, marginal sectors, recipients and a long list of synonyms carrying the paternalistic connotation of under-motivated under-achievers.

People as Problems. It's a small shift in perception from seeing poverty as the problem to seeing poor people as the problem. But it has significant ramifications as central planning and allocation agencies set in motion depersonalized solutions for personal problems. The person vanishes to be replaced by a computer print-out statistic, which is the ultimate reduction of personal problems and potential. The print-out speaks mutely but eloquently of society's burden and how "they can become productive in the most effective manner."

People as Focus. This approach to defining and implementing development assistance has had about as much success as a P.L.O. fund-raiser at a Bar Mitzvah. I propose that we change the definition of development to make it focus consciously and sensitively on people. Call it a client-centered or anthropomorphic approach if there is some compelling need for labels, but let's find out what the development process means to the people experiencing it. Let their perception define success and failure rather than continuing to amass endless quantifiable statistics to convince ourselves that the economic return on the development dollar is worth the expenditure. Find out what matters to the beneficiaries and make that the essence

of development assistance and the determinant of what constitutes an appropriate, efficient approach. I suggest to you that what matters to the poor is status and not the mere fulfilling of a laundry list of basic needs geared to survival rather than quality of life.

Need for Status. Status is the essential basic human need, and the other factors either contribute to or detract from it. Obviously, status does not supersede survival, but it re-emerges as the primary basic human need once survival becomes probable and even when it remains highly problematic.

Remember that development assistance differs from disaster relief in conceptualization and implementation. The vast majority of development assistance beneficiaries are operating at the subsistence level rather than starving to death or being ravaged totally by a hostile environment. There is a valid role for agencies dealing with the temporary alleviation of misery. Development, however, focuses on poverty rather than misery, stressing the need for mechanisms that will permit people to improve their environment.

A negative self-image is totally immobilizing.

Defining Terms. "Status" is an unfamiliar term to the development dialogue so it is necessary to clarify briefly the definition. I do not refer to a Vance-Packard status-seeking obsession with conspicuous consumption as a means of filling an identity vacuum. Nor do I mean the manipulative attempts to shame-leverage poor people into attitudinal change by harping about what wretched lives they have made for themselves. I am not saying that possessions make the person or that the glaring lack of them labels a person as a failure and

certifiable custodial case to be treated as a non-productive social burden.

Status is the arithmetic of individual or collective self-esteem and self-image continually projected against a backdrop of peer group, societal norms and expectations. There is a myriad of daily happenings which add to or subtract from the person's or group's accounting of psychic income. Psychic bankruptcy (or the lack of sufficient psychic income) is the ultimate calamity for it leaves the person or group with no internal resources with which to rebuild a healthy, functioning self-image.

A negative self-image is totally immobilizing. It paralyzes the persons in a state of fatalistic acceptance of narrow horizons, triggering a continuous cycle of self-fulfilling prophecies of humiliating failure. They come to believe failures occur because they themselves are failures, and can't be expected to be otherwise. Hope becomes merely a cruel illusion, and only imminent failure is real, predictable, and certain.

Becoming Somebody. In the midst of poverty there is the desperate longing for status. The overarching need is not to do something but to be somebody. There is the crushing need for recognition as someone of value, worthy of acceptance. The certainty that the greater society considers you a nobody, a non-entity, a cipher inhabiting the shadow world outside the life-giving, producer-consumer dynamic is crushing. Social scientists speak of the alienation and dislocation this produces with frequent references to hostile and self-destructive behavior patterns. It should not be surprising that being labeled a nobody, so convincingly that it becomes the person's identity, triggers rage and guilt feelings that can neither be ignored nor suppressed.

I am suggesting that status, the creation of a positive self-image sustained by some form of competence or capability,



is the focal point of development but is not currently recognized as such.

Degradation Rituals. Supplying basic needs does not fuel status in and of itself. In fact, it can greatly diminish status if it is tied to some degradation ritual designed to publicly punish the poor for their poverty. These degradation rituals are too numerous to list; they run the gamut from overt violations of basic human rights, to economic exploitation, to cultural genocide, to invasion of privacy, and other value transgressions.

Poor people are experts in understanding the psychic effects of receiving basic human needs tied to exorbitant status costs. They know they end up paying for everything and status is a much dearer currency than money.

There are many examples: stop looking and acting like Indians, give up your language, give up your religion, assume

a role of total subservience. Submit yourselves, in return for the fulfillment of basic needs, to a society which regards you as inferior and reinforces that message with every "gift."

Fortunately, there are times when the people said, "No, we will not accept this. We will have less and be more. The trade-offs are too expensive." Development assistance that provides basic needs and depletes the beneficiaries' psychic income in the process is counter-productive and self-contradictory. It worsens quality of life while vainly claiming to be enhancing it.

Status deprivation is intolerably painful, resulting in self-hatred and anti-social behavior in varying degrees depending upon the ambience. Much more money is being spent on containing and restraining this anti-social behavior than on understanding the status deprivations that cause it. There have been numerous

sensitizing, training, attitude restructuring, and similar well-intentioned programs to combat anti-social attitudes, and they predictably have failed. At great expense the symptoms are scrutinized; the cause is ignored.

What Can Be Done? Development practitioners on all levels must be sensitive to the status concerns of beneficiaries, that is, what defines their qualitative basic human needs? Developers cannot respond appropriately to those qualitative needs and the values they represent unless status is properly conceptualized and perceived.

Status Messages. It is often difficult to comprehend status concerns because beneficiaries cannot articulate the priorities within their value structure or give relevant examples in some textbook exercise. They do send clear signals, however, when asked to make unacceptable or unwanted value trade-offs in

the name of development, progress or upward mobility. Those signals perplex developers who view them as illogical or irrational actions. For example, people are hungry yet they mark soccer fields with donated ground fish meal and refuse to eat it. Food presented in an unappetizing way is not the answer to malnutrition. These people may be hungry but they are not starving and willing to eat anything in order to stay alive. Mothers continue to bottle-feed infants despite the higher cost and lower nutritional value, despite national campaigns trying in vain to persuade them to breast-feed. They are sending a status message: they want to emulate the role models of developed women provided through the advertising media. What these people are being asked to do in the name of "development" they reject as under-developed behavior.

Medical students specialize in open-heart surgery, rather than parasitology and preventative or general medicine. Students study for overcrowded professions, refusing to consider high paying trades or service occupations. And unemployed urban youths won't work on farms although their country imports a staggering amount of food which could be grown locally. These people are engaged in what appears to be self-defeating behavior. They, however, are insisting on status reinforcements that are not being provided by the ambience.

Not Romanticism. Status is not a head-trip disconnected from the harsh realities of the environment. It doesn't consist of making believe everything is fine or of doing nothing to change inequities. The responsibility for improving the inequitable terms on which beneficiaries relate to their environment is theirs, as are the problems which result from failure to do so.

Participatory Process. Status comes from maximizing control over your own social change process, and it

decreases as decision-making is surrendered to others. A development effort does not produce status gains unless a significant portion of the effort belongs to the beneficiaries. Having things done for you more often or longer than necessary does not increase status, it erodes it. Active participation in the implementation of someone else's change priorities is also unlikely to produce status gains.

Status Motivates. Development planners must understand that achievement motivation works only when it harmonizes with poor people's status priorities and fails whenever it compromises or diminishes them. Simply providing basic needs does not constitute a reward system capable of motivating people to achieve self-satisfaction. This approach may be cost-effective, but the cost-benefit relationship—in terms of depleted psychic energy and damaged self image—is disproportionate.

In the midst of poverty there is the desperate longing for status.

Types of Status. Development practitioners should be more sensitive and responsive to the following five status needs which have been observed in project experiences.

1. Productivity-related status—Providing unemployed people with jobs does not fulfill automatically the need for recognition as being productive. Competing without bargaining power for hard, monotonous and socially downgraded labor at subsistence wages is not a status-giving personal achievement. Status is conferred on the worker by his/her peer group when the job requires special training to meet a demand that can't be filled by interchangeably strong backs and weak minds. Status is gener-

ated when the job produces a significant increase in buying power, the worker's rights are protected and enforced, and the worker is treated with respect in the work place.

2. Purpose-related status—Physical survival is a basic human need. It is not, however, a purpose for living or a status generator by itself. Contrast this with purposeful activities that transcend the fulfillment of immediate basic human needs. A person's feelings of powerlessness are diminished by the awareness of his/her potential as member of a group with socio-economic, cultural or political goals. But there is no peer group status for those who form a voiceless constituency of someone else's power base. That is seen as being used rather than being part of something useful.

3. Accomplishment-related status comes from overcoming obstacles, withstanding threats, accepting or overcoming risks, or surviving conditions generally regarded as intolerable. Status is dealt fatal blows by a lifestyle of repeated failures, frustrations, and humiliations, which convinces one that trying anything new is inviting yet another bitter disappointment. Although the body can survive without the pride of accomplishment, the spirit cannot.

4. Place-related status fulfills the need for "rootedness," belonging and being known and accepted as an integral part of one's own locality. Poor people often feel threatened, mystified, victimized by unknown forces which shape a hostile and disapproving outside world. Helping and coping mechanisms that stem from friendship or kinship networks are understandable and comforting. These tend to disappear, however, when development planners relocate poor people, ignoring status considerations in favor of resettlement projects that meet

only basic housing needs.

5. Security-related status is generated by knowing that the points of reference that give shape and meaning to life will not be destroyed suddenly or otherwise rendered inoperable by a capricious outside power. This status comes from maintaining manageable levels of dependency so that disenfranchisement of hard won socio-economic, cultural, or political gains is not a clear and present danger. This requires that people can assert and defend their rights. Status diminishes rapidly when poor people's security depends on the continued benevolence of an authority figure, or a favorably disposed institution or political party, rather than on their own collective influence.

Expand Basic Needs. I have discussed briefly five basic status-related needs that should be factored into development planning. There are more. There also will be some overlap because they exist as inter-related parts of the same social fabric. Other status needs such as creativity and social communication/interaction have so many forms that it is difficult to discuss them as distinct categories. Planners must become sensitive to them if they ever are to become truly responsive to the underlying development process.

That is why responding to poor people's status needs is crucial. Status reinforcement is necessary if poor people are to accept the risk of economic losses and personal humiliation from a peer group which frequently penalizes those who dare to be different. Poor people who are merely passive recipients of basic needs welfarism aren't asked to assume any personal risks. But for those willing to assume responsibility for their own participatory development process, status is a basic human need. ■

James Cotter, who has been with the Foundation since 1974, is a Representative for the Caribbean.



Food vendor. Guatemala.

Photo by Padula/Maryknoll

Soldiers as Com- munity Promoters

Father Gerry Pantin

Introduction: Service Volunteered to All (SERVOL) was one of the first organizations assisted by the Inter-American Foundation. It has been a consistently effective force for community development in Trinidad and Tobago throughout the 70s. The founder and guiding spirit behind SERVOL, Father Gerry Pantin, describes here the innovative approach he took in building a staff. Lacking funds for salaries, Father Pantin arranged the assignment of a group of Defense Force personnel to SERVOL. When he related this plan to me, my reaction was negative. My stereotypical view of the military made it difficult for me to believe they could be effective in achieving SERVOL's goals. I was wrong. During numerous visits to Trinidad and Tobago I observed this team as they studied to prepare themselves, planned an approach which would respond to community needs, and launched a resourceful program. Societies everywhere would do well to ponder the results of this experiment.

—Ross Coggins
Inter-American Foundation

In an era when many countries in the Western Hemisphere are under dictatorships, entire populations live under the shadow of the gun and armed forces are used as instruments of repression, it may be of interest to draw attention to a little publicized, but very important experiment that has been taking place in the Caribbean.

Trinidad and Tobago are a couple of tiny islands which have had their full share of social problems culminating in a full scale uprising in 1970. At this juncture, Father Gerry Pantin, a Catholic Priest, felt he would like to do community work among the 30,000 ghetto dwellers outside Port-of-Spain. He was hamstrung, however, by the lack of financial support and personnel. On an impulse Father Pantin appealed to the

Commander of the Trinidad and Tobago Defense Force, which is comprised of a 1,000 man army and a Coastguard Unit 300 men strong, for volunteers from the ranks to help in this work. His request was granted, and on February 3, 1971, 12 soldiers and sailors were assigned to this project on a month-to-month basis. They became the nucleus of a development agency called SERVOL.

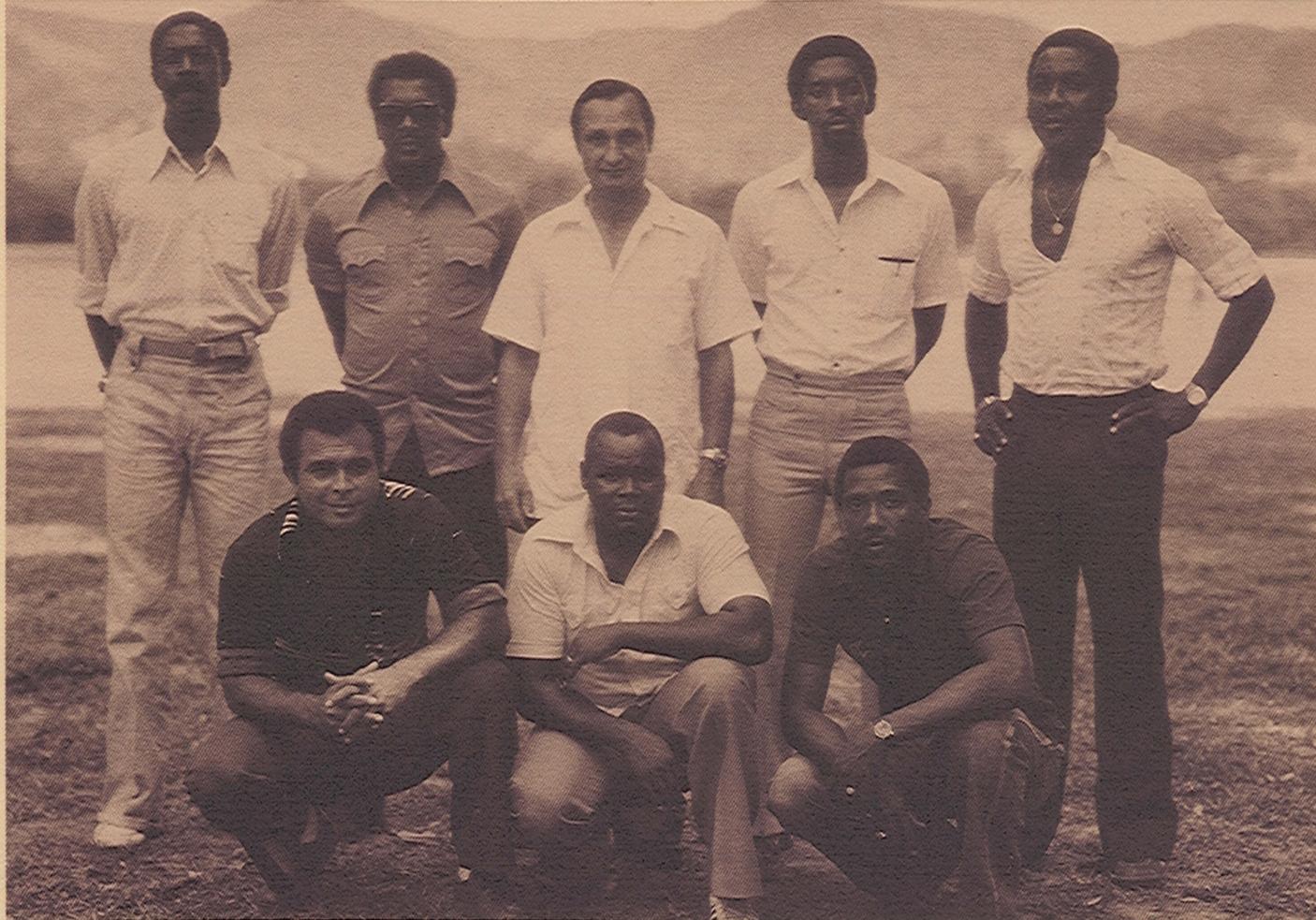
The account of what happened reads like a fiction story. These men shed their uniforms but remained government-paid soldiers and sailors. They sat on the pavement to hold endless "rap" sessions with hostile neighborhood groups, overcoming the suspicions that this was a government plot to infiltrate the groups. The soldier-volunteers urged various neighborhood groups to begin self-help projects. They also took short courses in social work at the University of the West Indies and surprised the lecturers by their grasp of group dynamics and their wealth of practical experience. Some of the soldiers became agricultural officers, others paramedics, others trade-center administrators, and others public relations officers; but they all remained promoters of community.

In January 1979, the decision was taken by the Defense Force authorities—these men must return to full military duties. The month-to-month basis had stretched into eight years and the authorities felt that, because of the nature of the work they were doing, the soldiers had sacrificed enough in terms of delayed promotions and lost benefits. So, it was with mixed emotions that the little group held its last meeting on January 15, 1979.

Over and above the tremendous emotional wrench of leaving something they had helped to create was the justifiable pride of what they had accomplished. What did they see? They remembered the modest beginnings with a table, a dozen chairs, and a battered typewriter

Father Gerry Pantin (standing center) with SERVOL soldier-volunteers.

Photo courtesy of SERVOL



in borrowed premises. Now they saw a SERVOL that had extended its influence throughout the nation and, to a certain extent, throughout the world. There were basketball, netball, and football courts they had helped to build, 4 clinics, 2 large vocational programs, 12 nursery schools, a school for handicapped children, agricultural projects, fishing cooperatives, employment programs, literacy classes, and the entire gamut of community services.

They note with interest that SERVOL is written up in international magazines in

North America and Europe, and that the organization is being used more and more on a consultancy basis for projects in Kenya, South America, the Far East, and even the U.S.A.

Above all, the soldier-volunteers have seen the emergence of leaders from the communities themselves, so that they return to the ranks but leave no gaps behind them. And there is the final satisfaction of knowing that the Defense Force authorities have put the stamp of approval on the experiment, for they have pledged replacements.

What a glorious battle was fought by these pioneers who have clearly demonstrated that there are alternative ways in which the soldiers and sailors of developing and developed countries can be used. So, today we salute a government that was big enough to allow what some considered a dangerous experiment; we salute Defense Force Commanders with vision enough to move from the beaten track; and we salute those 12 soldiers and sailors for their courage, their tenacity and their accomplishments. Many will follow in their footsteps, but they were the first. ■

Development Notes

Dateline: Lima

Worker-owned and -managed industries in South America are beginning to join forces. This past May, representatives from eight countries met in Lima, Peru to discuss ways in which a production and marketing network could be established and financial and technical assistance could be provided to benefit the nearly 4,000 urban production cooperatives in Latin America. Eighteen persons from worker-owned and -managed enterprises and support entities attended the conference which was co-sponsored by the Instituto Nacional de Autogestión (INA) of Chile and the Instituto Internacional de Investigación para el Desarrollo (INDA) of Perú. During the five-day meeting, the participants focused on international trade, marketing, worker exchanges, financial leveraging systems, and other mutual support efforts that could be implemented by production cooperatives throughout the hemisphere.

Countries and organizations represented at the conference, which was funded by IAF, were:

BOLIVIA—Centro Boliviano de Investigación y Acción Educativa and Cooperativa Industrial de Obreros Calificados (CIOC)

CHILE—INA and Copromonix

COLOMBIA—Fundación para el Desarrollo de las Clases Marginadas (FUNDECLAM), Centro de Investigación y Educación Popular (CINEP), and the production cooperative "Pollos Vencedor"

ECUADOR—Constructores, Ingenieros, Arquitectos Cooperados (CIACO) and Instituto Ecuatoriano para el Desarrollo Social (INEDES)

PERU—INDA and the Social Property Federation

URUGUAY—Instituto de Promoción Económico Social del Uruguay (IPRU) and Federación de Cooperativas de Producción del Uruguay (FCPU)

VENEZUELA—Ingeniería y Proyecto

Naihuata (INPRONAI)

To initiate networking among these interested firms and support groups, the conference attendees agreed to:

- Avoid creating a large, bureaucratic organization to facilitate cooperation among worker-managed firms in Latin America.
- Concentrate, at first, on bilateral programs similar to marketing and technical assistance programs that now exist between Chile and Peru.
- Promote communication and exchanges among associative firms at the level of three subgroups: Peru and Bolivia; Uruguay, Chile and Argentina; and Venezuela, Ecuador and Colombia. Bolivia was charged with inviting Brazil to join this organizational effort.
- Conduct further research on self-management activities in each country. Presently, information is very limited.

Three representatives from each of these subgroups will meet again in Bogota after six months to evaluate initial efforts. In December 1980, all the participants will meet again in Quito to discuss past programs and to plan future ones.

The Peruvian and Chilean representatives agreed to initiate immediately an interchange of workers from self-managed firms with similar production lines. They also agreed to meet again in Lima this July to discuss financial leveraging systems with representatives from the Uruguayan Federation of Production Cooperatives.

Guest speakers at the conference included: Joaquín Maruy, Vice Minister of the Peruvian government's Social Property Commission (CONAPS); Gil Indacochea, former president of Peru's Industrial Development Bank and consultant for INDA on financial mechanisms, and Leopoldo Moraga, former executive director of INA. ■

By Edmund Benner
Inter-American Foundation

IAF Grants

INTER-AMERICAN FOUNDATION GRANTS

As of March 31, 1979

Number of Projects Approved	729
Total grant funds approved	US\$84,252,156 ¹
Grantee and other contributions as percentage	53%
IAF Disbursements	68,079,254
Fiscal Year 1979	7,024,682
1978	13,360,863
1977	13,599,247
1976 ²	2,505,788
1976	10,417,754
1975	13,045,979
1974	5,243,290
1973	2,428,963
1972	452,688

¹ Does not include Fellowships, Invitational Travel, or Consultants.

² Three-month fiscal period.

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SUMMARY OF PROGRAM APPROVALS FISCAL YEARS 1971-1978

	No. of Projects	% of total Projects	Amount (US\$)
Andean Region ¹	134	20	18,813,033
Carib/Brazil Region ²	226	33	17,557,285
Central Region ³	105	27	21,225,460
Southern Cone Region ⁴	184	15	19,191,613
Other Projects ⁵	33	5	715,027
Fellowships	-	-	756,176
Invitational Travel	-	-	87,349
Consultants	-	-	125,045
Total	682	100	78,470,988

¹ Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, and Venezuela

² Barbados, Brazil, Dominican Republic, Guyana, Haiti, Jamaica, Trinidad, and West Indies

³ Belize, Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, and Panama

⁴ Argentina, Chile, Paraguay, and Uruguay

⁵ Funds spent in the U.S. on learning and dissemination, usually involving Latin American and Caribbean grantees.

Summary of Grants April 1978 to September 1978

Summaries of grants will no longer appear in the JOURNAL (after this edition), but in the ANNUAL REPORT. Therefore, grants made after September 30, 1978 will be summarized in the ANNUAL REPORT-1979.

BOLIVIA

Ayni-Ruway, "Kondoriri"—BO-063
\$288,900; 6/27/78

Building upon a four-year experience of the Ayni-Ruway system, "Kondoriri" will continue its unique rural development strategy based upon the knowledge, values, cultural continuities, and achievements of the Andean people. Within the existing Ayni-Ruway framework, the project aims to increase agro-pecuarian production, pursue the ongoing cultural revitalization, improve modes of Andean transport, and move toward greater self-reliance and autonomy.

Grupo de Asistencia Técnica—BO-065
\$89,217; 6/14/78

This project supports a group of social scientists, the Technical Assistance Study Group, to undertake a study of four rural development projects in Bolivia. The project's main objective is to glean lessons and insights from experimental rural development strategies and to communicate these findings through a written report to other Andean groups and public and private entities engaged in rural development.

CHILE

Centro de Estudios para el Desarrollo Cooperativos (CEDEC)—CH-120
\$44,462; 9/13/78

CEDEC is evaluating educational projects in an effort to explicate the role education can play in the change process. The evaluation will answer questions about 1) what educational projects seek to accomplish and how; 2) what works best within a given context; and 3) efficiency of the program in meeting its objectives, with an eye to replicating the positive effects of these projects in future program activities.

Oficina Coordinadora de Asistencia Campesina—CH-123
\$24,900; 6/27/78

The Oficina Coordinadora de Asistencia Campesina will provide technical assistance to rural unions, cooperatives and development agencies to improve the effectiveness of credit, marketing, educational and agricultural extension services. The representatives from the participating agencies will receive technical training in project planning and evaluation in order for them to design and implement joint rural development programs in two regions on an experimental basis.

Instituto de Autogestión—CH-137
\$119,500; 9/29/78

The Instituto de Autogestión and worker representative organizations will develop an evaluation capability to assess the achievements and setbacks, limitations and growth potential, of the self-management sector. Results of the studies will be utilized to formulate plans and to take corrective actions to improve the social and economic performance of the individual enterprises and the sector as a whole. The Instituto also will conduct an impact study of individual firms and disseminate the results of its findings to worker-owned firms, labor unions, and other interested audiences in Chile.

COLOMBIA

Fundación Cultural "Teatro El Local"—CO-127
\$96,500; 9/14/78

This troupe of actors is dedicated to the fostering of popular theater, but has been able to participate only in off-hours, as all members must hold other employment to make ends meet. Their project is a plan by which over time they will become self-sufficient as a full-time theater troupe, and be able to devote a major portion of their time and energies to aiding a number of community-based theater initiatives in the *barrios* and rural areas of Colombia. These initiatives in turn offer unique potential for participation, communication, cohesion and action at the local level.

Cooperativa Integral San José de la Selva—CO-147
\$68,565; 9/14/78

The Cooperativa will strengthen *campesino* production and marketing by establishing a loan fund for in-kind loans, enlarging an existing consumer outlet and building another new one, purchasing a truck to take produce to market, and utilizing a nearby river to generate power for a refrigeration unit which will keep produce and meat until marketing. In addition to these activities, the Cooperativa will intensify efforts in education, housing, organization, and linkage to other groups with similar interests.

DOMINICA

Bioche Fishing Cooperative—DO-024
\$736; 9/20/78

With this grant, six members of the Cooperative will visit two other established fishing cooperatives on neighboring islands to examine alternative organizational and management techniques. The Foundation wishes to encourage the sustained level of activity generated by Bioche by providing the funds needed to make these visits.

MEXICO

Unión de Ejidos de Producción y Comercialización Agropecuaria de Amatepec y Tlatlaya "Gral. Lázaro Cárdenas del Río"—ME-099
\$27,125; 5/23/78

The Unión will establish a training and technical assistance unit, which will be supported by the membership. IAF funds will be used to develop the initial training program for members, officers, and Ejidal Councils; to prepare training materials; to identify long-range educational and technical assistance needs; and to train two members of the Unión to staff the new unit.

Promoción y Servicio, A.C.—ME-101
\$47,000; 8/8/78

This grant will help Promoción y Servicio, A.C., to undertake a number of small-scale programs aimed at improving agricultural production as well as meeting some of the basic health, educational, and housing needs of the Nahuatl Indian community of San Pedro Tepezintla, in the Sierra Oriente of the State of Puebla, Mexico. IAF funds will pay for partial salaries, technical assistance, the purchase of agricultural inputs, and a motor for a grinding mill. Support also is being provided for the establishment of a revolving loan fund for housing improvements and the start-up costs to set up a consumer cooperative.

Casa de la Cultura de Tlacotalpán—ME-106
\$8,800; 6/26/78

The Foundation grant will cover the lost work time of about 23 Mexican participants in the "Mexico Today" Symposium and the Twelfth Annual Folklife Festival, to be held in Washington, D.C., and other cities of the United States in September and October of 1978. Through nonprofessional and noncommercial forms of dance and music, the Mexican participants will represent several ethnic cultures of their people.

Universidad Autónoma de Chiapas—ME-107
\$8,179; 9/20/78

This Foundation grant will enable the Universidad Autónoma de Chiapas to develop appropriate audio-visual educational materials for and in conjunction with three indigenous communities in the State of Chiapas, Mexico.

PARAGUAY

Cooperativa Agrícola La Norteña San Agustín (CANSA)—PY-032
\$184,000; 10/20/78

During this three-year project the Cooperativa Agrícola will launch a comprehensive program of education, technical assistance, purchase of

equipment, and credit for agricultural inputs, marketing, and consumerism.

PERU

Juguetes Educativos, EPS, ef.—PU-066
\$12,000; 6/14/78

This worker-owned and -managed enterprise will purchase an additional lathe for the production of educational toys and will train new workers. The added machinery is expected to create seven new positions in the firm for painters, assemblers and designers who will be appropriately trained to operate the lathe, to manufacture educational products, and to understand basic business concepts of the firm.

Centro Industrial (CENIT), EPS, ef.—PU-067
\$12,455; 6/14/78

CENIT will provide advanced training for 16 workers who will receive a specialized, one-year course in silk screen production at SENATI, a government vocational training institute. While receiving training at SENATI, the scholarship recipients will also work part-time at the CENIT plant where new silk screen production equipment will be installed. With the additional equipment and newly-qualified workers, CENIT will be able to contract its services to other manufacturing plants.

Instituto de Estudios Peruanos (IEP)—PU-071
\$455,000; 7/12/78

During this three-year project, IEP will formalize the establishment of the center of Andean Studies through work in three major areas: 1) investigations into the causes and potential solutions of socio-economic problems confronting marginal groups in Bolivia, Ecuador and Peru; 2) training young social scientists from the three countries in advanced field research methods; and 3) preparing publications with recommended development alternatives that are sensitive to contextual traditions and ethnic values.

Tribunal Agrario—PU-073
\$49,045; 8/14/78

The project seeks to strengthen efforts of the Tribunal Agrario, a governmental agency, by increasing the knowledge of agrarian judges about the philosophy and legal principles of the Tribunal, and by systematizing and disseminating the ruling principles in key cases brought before the Tribunal Agrario so that campesino groups will have greater access to and understanding of the judicial process.

Taller de Producción José Carlos Mariategui (TAPROCAM)—PU-080
\$190,323; 9/29/78

TAPROCAM's major objectives are: 1) to consoli-

date their firm socially and economically with the aid of placing management of the firm in the hands of the workers; and 2) to develop high quality and appropriate agricultural equipment that is in a price range accessible to Peru's Production and Services Cooperatives as well as small- and medium-sized independent agriculturalists.

Consejo Latinoamericano de Derecho y Desarrollo—PU-082
\$41,500; 9/29/78

At the request of the Peruvian Supreme Court, the proponent will conduct a study of 200 non-degree judges throughout Peru. The study will provide data that will be used to help the Supreme Court understand more fully problems confronting both the judges and their clients so that appropriate programs or legislation can be designed to mitigate problem areas. Upon completion of the study a training program for non-degree judges will begin immediately to treat serious issues and problems identified by the research effort.

Instituto Internacional de Investigación y Acción para el Desarrollo (INDA)—PU-086
\$2,433,340; 9/29/78

INDA is initiating an experimental program to support a variety of worker self-managed production enterprises throughout Peru. Principally, the three-year program will help strengthen existing firms and establish new ones by providing them with extensive financial, promotional, educational, and evaluation services. The financial support for firms, which will be implemented through the establishment of a special fund, Fondo Solidario de Inversiones Autogestionarias (FONSIAG), will be used to complement existing financial institutions, not compete with them.

URUGUAY

Centro Interdisciplinario de Estudios Sobre el Desarrollo Uruguay (CIEDUR)—UR-013/E
\$24,784; 7/2/78

CIEDUR, a social science research entity, will produce an evaluation report on the recent work of Manos del Uruguay. The report will emphasize the participation of rural artisan women in management, the accountability of the service center to the recently consolidated artisan cooperatives, and the development of artisan capacity and willingness to assume responsibility. This assessment will assist Manos to maintain a balance between social and productive concerns as it charts its future.

Centro de Informaciones y Estudios del Uruguay (CIESU)—UR-023
\$17,200; 4/11/78

CIESU will compile and systematize available in-

Street market. Mexico.

Photo courtesy of Maryknoll



formation on a method of literacy instruction devised by an Uruguayan primary school teacher. Preliminary results indicate achievement of reading and writing skills within a short time, high retention, and positive impact on student attitudes in and beyond the classroom. The method assumes that all people have innate approaches to learning that teaching methods often ignore and debilitate.

Centro de Informaciones y Estudios de Uruguay (CIESU)—UR-024
\$12,400; 6/21/78

CIESU, a social science research entity, will work with six small farmer associations in the establishment of a prototype solar dehydration plant and in the accomplishment of a feasibility study for the sale of processed alfalfa. The results of these tasks will be the basis for future efforts in the rejuvenation of eroded and depleted soils in the department of Canelones. By incorporating the farmer beneficiaries in the feasibility exercise, it is anticipated that subsequent activities will not be imposed solutions from outside the community, but responses tailored by the farmer's on feed analysis and management possibilities.

Sociedad de Fomento Rural de Mercedes—UR-025
\$15,000; 11/15/78

The Sociedad de Fomento of the city of Mercedes, a small farmer association affiliated to a national network, will consolidate and expand an incipient retail and wholesale produce outlet. New activities include provision of working capital, extension of credit, production contracts, and organization of a regional produce market in collaboration with other *sociedades*. A regional market is a step toward establishing complementarity of production, and improving marketing efficiency and returns to small farmers.

Federación de Cooperativas de Producción del Uruguay—UR-026
\$22,400; 8/9/78

The Federación is the representative body of 28 industrial production cooperatives. IAF funding will allow the organization to provide technical assistance and a training program designed to satisfy the production, entrepreneurial, and promotional needs of participating cooperatives to address basic financial and employment problems in order to increase worker participation, production, and efficiency.

We encourage letters to the editor. Such editorial communications and requests for information should be addressed to: Diana Parsell, Editor
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If you wish to have your name added to or deleted from our mailing list, please send your name, name of your organization, and address to:

Marge Sparks
Inter-American Foundation

Address changes also should be directed to Ms. Sparks.

In Partnership With People . . .

By Eugene Meehan

A recently published book about IAF, *In Partnership With People: An alternative development strategy*, can be purchased from the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402. Price: \$4.00. Stock Number 022-001-0075-2.

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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 bond 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 wide 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.

The JOURNAL is intended to be a forum for ideas and points of view that hopefully will stimulate reflection, dialogue, and debate. We do not attempt to present a consensus of views, nor do we expect that readers will agree with all of the opinions they find in these pages. The Inter-American Foundation does not accept responsibility for the views expressed in any articles of the JOURNAL. It does, however, accept the responsibility for providing the opportunity for the expression of these views. The Editor. ■

JOURNAL of the
INTER-AMERICAN FOUNDATION
1515 Wilson Boulevard
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