

VOLUME SEVENTEEN / TWO ♦ EIGHTEEN / ONE / 1994

# grassroots development

JOURNAL of the INTER-AMERICAN FOUNDATION



The Inter-American Foundation, which was created by the United States Government in 1969, provides direct financial support for self-help efforts initiated by poor people in Latin America and the Caribbean. The Foundation makes about 200 grants a year to support projects carried out in more than 25 countries. Approximately 80 percent of its funds are appropriated by Congress. The remainder comes from funds derived through the Social Progress Trust Fund.

*Grassroots Development* is published in English, Spanish, and Portuguese by the Office of Learning and Dissemination of the Inter-American Foundation. Its purpose is to explore how development assistance can contribute more effectively to self-help efforts. The journal reports on how the poor in Latin America and the Caribbean organize and work to improve their lives. Articles in *Grassroots Development* draw primarily on the experience of the Inter-American Foundation and the groups that it assists. However, submissions by persons outside the Foundation are encouraged. Prospective contributors should write for "Instructions to Authors."

Unless otherwise noted, printed material published in *Grassroots Development* is in the public domain and may be freely reproduced. Permission is required, however, to reproduce photographs. Source acknowledgment and a copy of any reproduction are requested.

*Grassroots Development* is indexed in the *Standard Periodical Directory*, the *Public Affairs Information Service Bulletin*, the *Hispanic American Periodical Index (HAPI)*, and the *Agricultural Online Access (WORLD)* database. Back issues are available on microfilm from University Microfilms International, 300 N. Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106.

To receive the journal, write to:  
*Grassroots Development*  
Inter-American Foundation  
901 N. Stuart Street, 10th Floor  
Arlington, Virginia 22203

President Amb. Bill K. Perrin

Editor Ron Weber\*  
Foreign Language Editions Leyda Appel  
Assistant Editor Maria E. Barry  
Publications Assistant Marnie S. Morrione\*

\*contractor

*Cover photo:* New research shows women comprise much of the work force in Central American coffee production. This small-farm family in Guatemala pools the efforts of all its members to grow coffee and food crops, but they may soon be forced off the land. (See article page 2.) *Opposite page:* Donors that help small businesses develop human capital by training staff in accounting and recordkeeping often miss the boat on entrepreneurship. (See article on page 23.) *Photos by Mitchell Denburg.*

# grassroots development

Volume 17 / 2 ❖ 18 / 1 / 1994  
JOURNAL of the INTER-AMERICAN FOUNDATION



## Women Farmers in Central America: Myths, Roles, Reality 2

New research and the aftermath of war are removing the cloak of invisibility from women farmers. *Sally W. Yudelman*

## Riding the Roller Coaster of Grassroots Development: A Bottom-Up View of Social Change in Honduras 14

Sometimes when a development project ends, the development process has just begun. *Phillip Herr*

## Tearing Down the Walls of Silence Together 20

Society's misperceptions of the physically impaired need not become self-fulfilling prophecies. Text by *Wilbur Wright*, photos by *Michael L. Cozzi* and *Salvador Aguilar*

## The Cultural Challenge of Supporting Enterprise 23

Market economies require donors, NGOs, and grantees to rethink the role of profits and entrepreneurship. *Gregory F. Robison*

## Forum 35

Many Peoples, One Earth,  
One Nation.

*Víctor Hugo Cárdenas Conde*

## Development Notes 37

## Reviews 43

Surveys of indigenous federations  
in Ecuador and street youth in  
Brazil.

## Resources 46

Tools for sustainable development.

## Letters 48

# WOMEN FARMERS IN CENTRAL AMERICA



Patrick Breslin

## MYTHS, ROLES, REALITY

*Reforming flawed policies that cripple small-scale agriculture begins by shattering the gender myth of who farmers are.*

**Sally W. Yudelman**

**A**ccording to most Central American government agencies and nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) concerned with agriculture, small-scale farmers are men. A spate of new studies in recent years dispels this myth, proving beyond doubt that women throughout the region have played a long-standing role in agriculture as permanent, not

temporary, workers. One of the more dramatic findings has been the substantial rise in the number of poor women heads of household in the countryside. According to official statistics, nearly 20 percent of rural households are now headed by women who are fully responsible for agricultural production (Grynspan, 1993).

This should not be surprising. Today five of the Central American republics—Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, and Nicara-

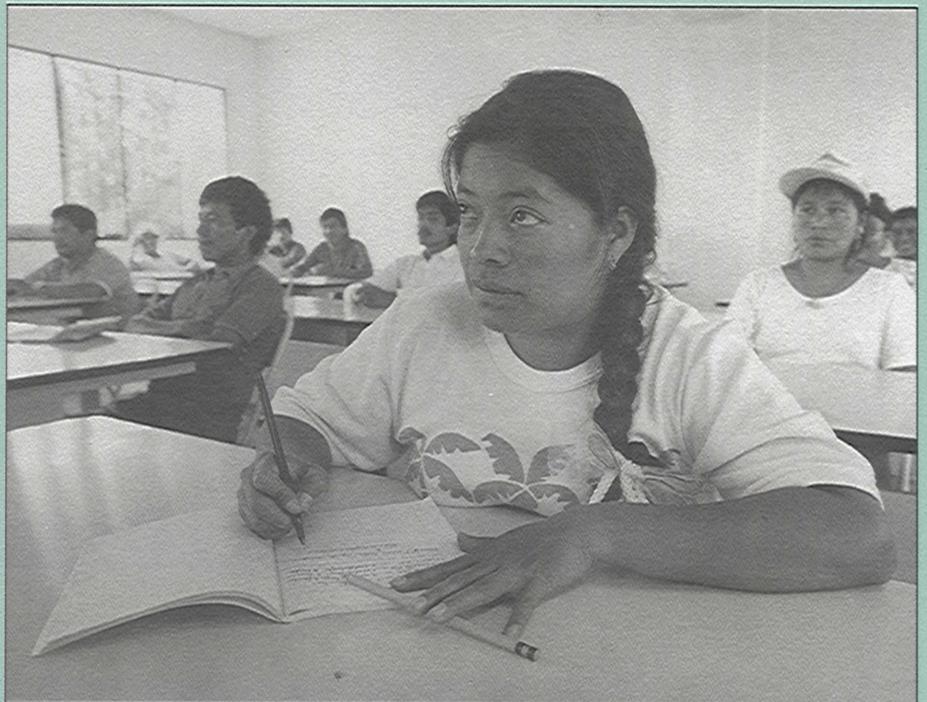


Mitchell Denburg

*Socioeconomic recovery requires rethinking the roles of rural women. Opposite page: Two Hondurans weed a community vegetable garden. Above: Potable water systems cut household chores, freeing time for farming. Below, left to right: A girl rolls cigars in a Guatemalan widows' co-op; women being trained as development promoters for communities in the campo.*



Sean Sprague



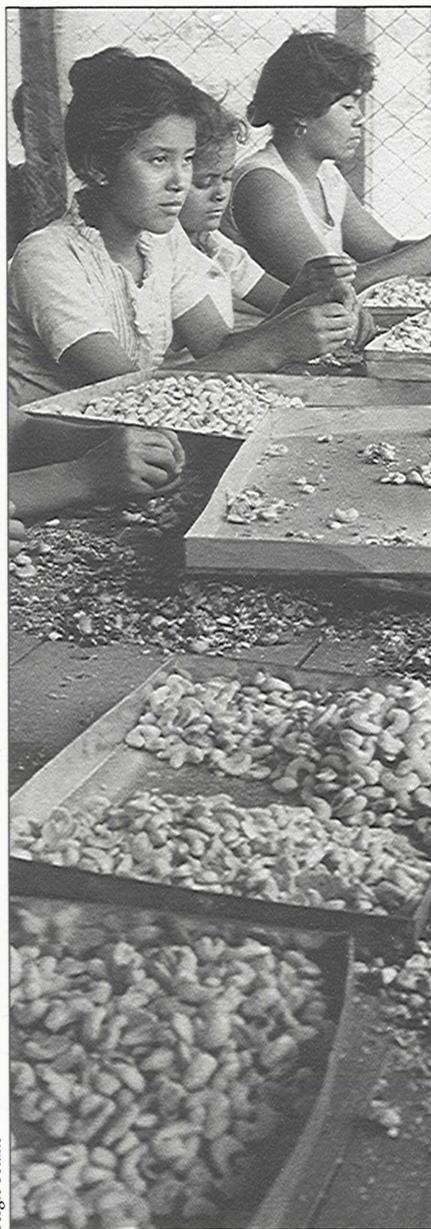
Miguel Sayago

gua—are struggling to recover from more than a decade of civil wars and economic decline whose human, material, and environmental costs have been staggering. Governments have begun the task of reconstruction by implementing economic reforms keyed to market forces, privatization, and export-led growth. New policies have ended subsidies and reduced credit for food staples and producers, boosted prices to consumers, privatized the importation of farm inputs and the marketing of crops, and cut state extension services. (CRIES, 1993).

Despite the investment of substantial public, private, and international monies in all five countries and real growth rates in Costa Rica, Guatemala, and El Salvador in 1990, poverty is worsening. Although the data is uneven, the total number of Central Americans living in poverty is estimated to be 14.5 million out of 30 million people. Rural impoverishment is even deeper and more structurally entrenched, with roughly three quarters of the population classified as poor (Annis et al., 1992; Grynspan, 1993; *Central America Report*, 8/1993).

Current trends seem likely to widen the already substantial gap between rich and poor. Policies to spur exports through expansion of large-scale, capital-intensive farming and cattle ranching have resulted in over-exploitation and mismanagement of the natural resource base underpinning these primarily agricultural societies. Rapid population growth and inequalities in tenure have contributed to landlessness and out-migration. Small-scale farmers, the men and women who generate most of the food for domestic consumption, increasingly work as seasonal wage laborers to earn cash and grow their subsistence crops on steep hillsides, arid and semiarid lands, and fragile tropical lowlands where yields are minimal and even the most careful cultivation can hasten environmental degradation (Leonard, 1987).

These factors, exacerbated by the massive displacement of rural peoples by the wars of the 1980s, have all but destroyed the small family farm. Productivity by the 74 percent of small-scale farmers who account for more than half the regional output of corn and beans has decreased.



Sergio Solano

*Census data understate women's productivity, as farmers and as workers in seasonal agroindustry. Invisibility promotes double standards in pay, hours worked, and training. Here, villagers in Villa Nueva, Honduras, sort cashews for sale to exporters.*

Although traditional and nontraditional exports have grown, per capita food production has stagnated and the ability of Central Americans to feed themselves has dropped sharply. With the exception of corn in Nicaragua and beans in Costa Rica, yields of most staple crops shrank during the 1980s (Annis et al., 1992).

The upheavals of that decade and their aftermath have profoundly affected women and children. Women comprised 52 to 55 percent of the refugees and internally displaced, and the wars left more than 100,000 widows (*Central America Report*, 3/1993). Although women were combatants and active participants in popular movements during this period, today they are marginalized, their future prospects gravely threatened by the prevailing economic, political, and environmental conditions in the region. Rural women in particular have suffered. With husbands and partners killed, farms ravaged, and communities abandoned, families have disintegrated. The very fabric of rural society has been shredded, permanently changing women's roles.

Rural women in Central America make up a growing underclass of impoverished widows, single mothers, and female children with almost no rights to land and minimal access to credit, new technologies, or extension services. There are villages in El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, and Nicaragua inhabited solely or primarily by widows and single women and their children. In Honduras, for instance, a high percentage of members in two peasant women's organizations, the Consejo para el Desarrollo Integral de la Mujer Campesina (CODIMCA) and the Federación Hondureña de Mujeres Campesinas (FEHMUC), are heads of household. All residents of the community of Nuevo Paraíso (founded by an NGO on the country's north coast) are single women and their children. Between 27 and 48 percent of women farmers in the five countries (and Panama) interviewed for a recent study are heads of household, including the majority of those sampled in El Salvador and Guatemala (Grynspan, 1993). If small-scale farmers in general are becoming more impoverished, these women and their children are truly among the poorest of the poor.

### A Diversity of Roles

Women's productive roles are negated by the widely held belief that women do not work in agriculture or do so only temporarily for reasons of poverty. Because they



Patrick Breslin

Above: A seminal study of Honduran agrarian-reform groups showed half the women were active farmers who planted, hoed, weeded, and harvested food crops. Right: Nongovernmental organizations can open income opportunities. Here, a member of a womens' project in El Progreso, Honduras, fattens hogs for market.



Sean Sprague

work as unpaid laborers (without pay, on family plots), work seasonally in cash crops, and also engage in informal sector activities off the farm, they are not perceived as agricultural producers or full-time wage laborers. These factors have rendered women farmers invisible, depriving them of social and legal recognition and protection. The myth is enhanced even by rural women, who tend not to describe themselves as producers.

A pathbreaking study by Constantina Safilios Rothschild (1984) of four Honduran agrarian reform settlements began to peel away the myth. It showed that 46 percent of surveyed women did agricultural work: sowing (39 percent), hoeing (41 percent), harvesting (39 percent), and weeding (22

percent). Another study, by the Costa Rican agency that administers agrarian reform, concluded that between 20 and 30 percent of women defined as economically inactive were carrying out productive activities (MIDEPLAN/IDA, 1984). More recent research confirms that women participate in most agricultural tasks related to cultivation of basic grains, from the

preparation of land to planting, weeding, harvesting, post-harvest drying, storage, and marketing.

Despite this growing body of evidence, women's agricultural roles still remain largely invisible in government census and labor statistics. Although the regional percentage of economically active women in agriculture now averages at least 25 per-

cent, official data registers only 7 to 8 percent as agricultural workers (Grynsan, 1993). As a result, women producers are not readily identifiable as a group for purposes of assistance, either as heads of family or as members of a family unit.

This latter fact is important because in Central America peasant agriculture is best characterized as a family farming system and women's participation seems greatest among small holders and the near landless. Most women farm for the family table, growing corn and beans and raising small animals while their husbands or partners grow cash crops. Women also cultivate home vegetable gardens and fruit trees, cook for field hands, gather fuel, and draw water.

Because of the lack of infrastructure for potable water, electricity, and transportation, women in the countryside carry a far heavier workload than those in the city. They average four to six hours daily on agricultural tasks in addition to their home and other responsibilities (Deere and León de Leal, 1987). Since their domestic technology tends to be primitive, workdays of 12 to 18 hours are regular (Ehlers, 1992; Navas, Antezana, et al., 1992).

Women who work seasonally for agribusinesses clear land, plant, weed, fertilize, prune, and harvest traditional and nontraditional export crops. In Honduras, women make up 40 percent of the wage labor force in tobacco and 90 percent in coffee (Buvinić and Yudelman, 1990). Nicaraguan data show that women comprised 70 percent of wage laborers harvesting coffee and tobacco (Padilla et al., 1987). Because they are paid less than men, even when performing the same tasks, their entry into the wage labor market has generally been on unfavorable terms. Those who are heads of family are less able to feed, clothe, and house their dependents. The double standard in wages also negatively affects the growing number of rural families who depend on day labor by all their members to eke out a living.

A survey in all five countries (and Panama) of 48 NGOs and government and international agencies conducting environmental activities showed that many poor women practice sustainable agriculture for



Sean Sprague

*Reducing the home chores of rural women can have multiple paybacks. Here, a Guatemalan mother cooks on a ceramic stove, designed by ECOTEC, that cuts indoor pollution and fuel use and heats the house. The time, energy, and money saved in gathering firewood can be spent weaving, farming, or in other activities.*

household subsistence production (Paolisso and Yudelman, 1991). They reforest, intercropping with roots and tubers; improve basic grain yields through soil conservation; use green manures, compost, and natural methods of controlling pests and plant diseases to cultivate home vegetable gardens; use terracing to stabilize soils and boost output of corn, beans, sorghum, and vegetables grown on hillsides; plant living fences to protect topsoil from wind and the shores of rivers and streams from erosion; and clear and clean watersheds. Some of these techniques are traditional; others have been learned through association with national and international NGOs.

One reason for their receptivity to such activities is that rural women are particularly vulnerable to the consequences of environmental degradation, including long-term health hazards. Deforestation, the drying-up of watersheds, and pollution of streams and ponds by chemical fertilizers and pesticides force women and children to go farther afield in search of firewood and clean water, lengthening already long workdays. Women farmers face the challenge of maintaining yields despite severe soil erosion and salinization.



Sergio Solano

*This community tree nursery started by ANAI in Talamanca, Costa Rica, enlists the whole family in its effort to boost small-scale farmer incomes through cash-crop diversification.*

Events of the past decade have increased the responsibility placed on women farmers, bringing about a "feminization" of peasant agriculture as men became combatants, aban-

done their families, migrated in search of jobs, or were forced to flee their communities for political reasons or because their homes were located in war zones. In El Salvador, Honduras, Guatemala, and Nicaragua (the countries most severely affected), women now carry out traditionally male roles such as clearing and planting fields. In some areas, feminization of farming has cut production because women have less time and access to resources.

To survive, many rural women have formed support networks to multiply their resources and have organized cooperative economic projects. For instance, members of CODIMCA in Honduras, when they can borrow land, collectively grow black and soya beans for market. Other survival tactics women have improvised include collecting and selling trash, growing medicinal herbs to replace costly pharmaceuticals for family use and selling what remains to others, and cutting family food consumption even closer to the bone. In general, rural women's projects are small, fragile, and underfunded. As one Costa Rican put it, "Women's projects are miracles with little money." Although these "miracles" enable families to survive, they do little to integrate women into an economy that does not recognize their needs or potential. In El Salvador, for example, only 5,831 of the Banco de Fomento Agrícola's 31,145 government-supported loans went to women farmers (Navas and Antezana et al., 1992).

This lack of integration accelerates the centrifugal forces pulling apart rural society, forcing older children to migrate in search of work to help support their families. The likelihood of them or their fathers returning depends on their reasons for migrating, where they went, and whether or not new economic opportunities are created and it is safe to return home.

## Barriers to Opportunity

The major problem facing the peasant economy is lack of access to land. Ownership distribution is highly skewed. Fields most suited for food crops are typically used for cattle ranching or export crops, or lie fallow in large, underutilized holdings.

There is one land market for large and another for small holders (Shearer et al., 1990). Since the supply of arable hectareage and credit for its purchase are limited, younger men and women subsistence farmers increasingly find themselves squeezed out. Due to population pressures and inequitable distribution patterns, the average size of *parcelas*, or plots, they can buy, rent, or work is shrinking.

Because agrarian reform agencies have consistently awarded titles to male heads of household, the four partial land reforms implemented in the region—in Costa Rica, El Salvador, Honduras, and Nicaragua—benefited women minimally. The few who received titles generally were awarded the least productive, smallest, and most-distant *parcelas*.

This lack of formal participation in agrarian reform has a ripple effect. It excludes women from membership in the cooperatives or settlements that assure access to credit, technical assistance, and new technologies and from decisions about labor allocation, wages, and distribution of excess production. Studies in Costa Rica, Honduras, and Nicaragua indicate women want to participate but are ignored by men who believe women cannot carry out enough agricultural tasks. Case studies of ten co-ops in Nicaragua, however, showed that women performed productive activities on a par with men (Deere and León de Leal, 1987; CIPRES, 1992). Similar findings come from Costa Rica and Honduras. Two additional surveys in El Salvador even showed that women maintained the same production levels as men despite having less access to agricultural equipment and technical assistance (Lastarria-Cornhiel, 1988).

Women who join agrarian reform co-ops or settlements are constrained, however, from assuming leadership roles because of conflicts between their productive and domestic roles, low educational levels, and traditional social values. Their "double day" forces them to miss many membership meetings, which are usually held in the evening. As long as women carry the full burden of child care and household responsibilities in addition to their farm activities, they will be unable to participate equally in co-op management with men.

Access to agrarian reform programs and to arable hectareage varies by country. On paper, Costa Rica's colonization and land laws have long seemed nondiscriminatory. Until 1990, however, the Instituto de Desarrollo Agrario (IDA), administering agrarian reform, consistently awarded titles to men. Between 1963 and 1988, only 16 percent of beneficiaries were women (Grynspan, 1993). When the national legislature passed the Ley de Igualdad Real in 1990, article seven of the legislation assured married women cotitle to any property a couple receives from a government program, and permitted women in "free unions" to hold title in their name only. As a result, women's requests to IDA for land rose from 9.7 percent of applications in 1986 to 63.1 percent in 1990 (Madden et al., 1992).

Unsurprisingly, article seven has been challenged by male farmers' associations. One suit has been filed against the president of IDA, and a second challenges the legislation's constitutionality. Until the cases are settled, IDA must continue titling in accordance with the statute. Cotitles are given to married couples; but in free unions, the Instituto at first awarded titles to male partners only, classifying them as single men. As a result, women's requests for (and receipt of) titles have declined sharply since 1990. Recently IDA lawyers agreed that until the suits are settled the law must not be enforced selectively. Personnel of the Fundación Arias para la Paz y el Progreso Humano, a nonprofit foundation based in San José, confirm that titles are now being granted to some women farmers along the Atlantic Coast.

Agrarian reform in El Salvador during the 1980s provided limited benefits to men and largely ignored women (Navas and Antezana et al., 1992). Only 4.7 percent of women and 35.7 percent of men applicants received titles. Seasonal workers were excluded, automatically ruling out many women. The 1991 data for Phase I (affecting *estancias*, or farms, larger than 500 hectares, with original owners retaining 100 to 150 hectares and organization of worker co-ops to manage the remainder) show that only 3,872 of 33,096 beneficiaries were women. For Phase III (the "land to the tiller" program that provided 30-year

loans to tenants and sharecroppers to purchase fields from owners of less than 100 hectares), 3,500 women and 31,500 men received titles. Phase II, the expropriation of farms of 100 to 500 hectares, has never been implemented. Even though women-headed households in Phase I receive significantly lower incomes from cooperatives than male-headed households, women want to join because co-ops provide the only access to steady income, credit, and technical assistance (Lastarria-Cornhiel, 1988).

In El Salvador, fair access to land is vital. According to a national reconstruction plan, six out of ten displaced/repatriated families are headed by women. The peace accords assure every ex-combatant the right to a parcela. While many women veterans do not want to farm, noncombatant women who were internally displaced and repatriated complain that new land titles are being registered in men's names, excluding single women and reinforcing married women's traditional dependence (*Central America Report*, 3/93). Many women displaced by the war have returned to work lands yet to be reclaimed or titled. Their long-term prospects, and those of men as well, are precarious not only for political reasons (the government favors investment in infrastructure over compensatory redistribution, while the FMLN opposition favors national reconstruction that builds a more equitable society) but also because arable hectareage is in short supply and public funds are insufficient to distribute enough for veterans of both sides.

Guatemala has never carried out an agrarian reform. Land distributed to 100,000 rural families by the Arbenz regime in 1953 was returned to the original owners. Of public lands distributed by the Instituto Nacional de Transformación Agraria (INTA) since 1954, less than 10 percent of titles are held by women, most of them widows who inherited a parcela (Grynspan, 1993). Ownership distribution is highly skewed, with less than 3 percent of Guatemalans holding 65 percent of arable hectareage (UNICEF and SEGEPLAN, 1991). The number of landless workers is rising while the average size of *minifundios*, or small farms, is dropping (Shearer et al., 1990). Additional pressure comes from the 43,000 official refugees in

Mexico, many of them women heads of household, who wish to return to their farms or the equivalent. During the past decade, most of these families likely lost their farms directly to the military or through a law permitting land abandoned for more than a year to be seized by the government. Although the recently deposed government had committed itself to parcelas for repatriates, it lacked available land and the funds to purchase more. The policy of the new government is unclear.

Despite an agrarian reform initiated in 1962, traditional ownership patterns in Honduras remain unchanged. Four percent of farms occupy 56 percent of arable land, and 80 percent of the agricultural labor force grows subsistence crops on minifundios (CONAMA and UNDP, 1991). Most hectareage distributed under agrarian reform was marginal public land, and the reform sector includes only about 10 percent of all farmland and 10 percent of rural families (Dorner, 1992).

During these 30 years, less than 4 percent of beneficiaries were women (Deere and León de Leal, 1987; Grynspan, 1993). Although widows and

women heads of household were eligible to obtain legal titles through the program, they generally had lowest priority to land being allocated, falling behind male-headed households and single men over the age of 16.

Recently enacted legislation to modernize and develop the agricultural sector supports women's access to credit and equal rights in the agrarian reform process. It also calls for changes in land tenure rules, forest rights, and government involvement in agriculture, and proposes streamlining the titling process to give farmers the security needed to invest in more-sustainable land use. Members of the nation's 2,800 cooperatives will receive individual titles and the option to sell or divide their fields among their families. The government hopes the plan will make farms more efficient, create jobs, and boost output of traditional and non-traditional exports. Controversy has arisen, however, over the provision to eliminate the minimal requisite of five hectares to receive title (CRIES, 1993). Peasant organizations, rural labor unions, and their supporters believe it will promote minifundios and individualism that will under-



Mitchell Denburg

*Holding title to land is problematic for women in Central America. This Guatemalan co-op store in Chaquijyá set up a training and social fund so landless widows and orphans of members killed during the rural war of the 1980s could eke out a living.*



Emma Rodríguez

*Commercial and export agriculture open off-farm jobs to women in packing and agroprocessing plants. Here, Salvadoran worker Carmen de Solano displays soy products she has helped bag.*

mine cooperative farming and marketing projects. Some women's organizations believe the law will not help rural women significantly since there is little public land left to distribute or the political will to distribute what is available.

In Nicaragua, the Sandinista government passed agrarian reform laws that neither denied nor granted women access to land, membership in cooperatives, or equal pay for equal work. Because their right to access was not spelled out, women comprised only 8 or 9 percent of agrarian reform beneficiaries, and only 6 percent of the 82,000 members of 3,213 participating co-ops (Padilla et al., 1987). By 1989, almost 90,000 members had been incorporated into the movement's various types of production co-ops, but the number of women had risen to only 10.5 percent. In some cases, admission requests by landless women had been denied, and in others, women were allowed to join only if they owned land they were willing to pool. The current government has given land to 20,000 families of former contra fighters, all of the titles going to men except for the 6 percent of participat-

ing households headed by widows (CIPRES and Fundación Arias, 1992).

Like El Salvador, cooperatives in Nicaragua provide one of the few avenues in the countryside to food security, steady employment, credit, and technical and organizational skills (ibid). Despite poor treatment by male members, Nicaraguan women who have been able to join have benefited from that access (Padilla, 1987), and others are pressing to join.

The second major obstacle facing rural women throughout the region are by-products of public policy reforms alluded to earlier. Women with partners are feeling the pain of slashed public spending along with their families. Those women who are heads of household, however, remain relatively unaffected by cutbacks in public food subsidies and health, education, and agricultural extension services, primarily because their poverty and social isolation cut them off from access to these programs in the first place.

Rural women, as a group, have probably suffered more from the expansion of export crops and agribusiness. Current public policies to promote these endeavors generally exclude all but the large- and some of the medium-sized producers. Because women are disproportionately represented among the small-scale farmers who are undercapitalized, they cannot exploit such commercial opportunities (Mehra, 1991). Most women farmers in Central America are unable to respond to market incentives and other associated policy reforms.

Even when small-farm families have benefited, the commercialization of agriculture has often increased women's workloads while reducing their disposable income. In Guatemala, small-farm diversification into nontraditional vegetable exports has caused women to work longer hours tending cauliflower, broccoli, and snow peas without pay in family fields at the expense of growing food staples or making handicrafts to sell in local markets. Studies of two agricultural diversification projects showed that women supplied 22 to 44 percent of the additional labor, depending on farm size (Paolisso et al., 1988). While this redirected labor may raise total household income, the money is not necessarily shared. Women in Guatemala have seen their status within the family decrease in

tandem with lost personal income and declines in family nutritional levels (ibid; Von Braun et al., 1989).

Commercial and export agriculture have offered women off-farm employment in local agribusinesses and packing plants. Employers often prefer to hire women, believing they make a more docile and dependable workforce. With the exception of Costa Rica, women in agroprocessing industries are seldom paid the minimum wage, even when mandated by law. In general, agroindustries that employ women provide less training and lower rates of pay, have difficult and often unhealthy working conditions, and offer seasonal employment (Paolisso et al., 1988). Given the economic situation in the region, poor women accept these liabilities as a necessary trade-off for greater family security.

The rise of export agriculture also has been accompanied by greater long-term health risks. Overuse of pesticides throughout Central America has seriously affected male and female agricultural workers, especially on large commercial plantations. Breast-milk samples from nursing mothers who work as seasonal laborers on cotton estates in Guatemala and Nicaragua have some of the highest levels of DDT ever recorded in humans (World Bank, 1992). In all five countries, pesticide residues have been measured at dangerous levels in the food chain and water supply, increasing the likelihood of birth defects, cancer, respiratory illnesses, and chromosomal damage (LAC Commission, 1992). Taller Experimental de Agricultura Alternativa (TEPROCA), a community organization in Costa Rica, cultivates three hectares of organically grown vegetables amid a sea of produce grown with pesticides. Neither the visible success of TEPROCA's harvest nor its community education program has persuaded its neighbors to cut pesticide use or farm organically—despite the area's high incidence of stomach cancer.

Evaluating regionwide damage is difficult since chemical poisoning is underreported and limited sex-disaggregated data is available. But in a recent five-year period, 7,000 pesticide poisonings were medically certified in Guatemala and El Salvador

(Leonard, 1987). Recent studies show that 75 percent of all farmers in Guatemala are increasing pesticide use while only 7 percent know of other options (World Bank, 1992). Although most countries have some regulations to control pesticide abuse, coverage tends to be incomplete and regulations unenforced. In Costa Rica and El Salvador, women farmers are participating more in tasks utilizing agrochemicals. A recent study of women working in agriculture in El Salvador reported that 45 percent of interviewees handled insecticides (Grynsan, 1993). The only instruction in proper handling and safe dosages available to farmers is often the printed warning label. Even if the information happens to be in Spanish, which often it is not, the low literacy rates of women in the region make it unlikely they can respond.

The third major obstacle rural women face was alluded to in the discussion of land reform. In general, women are not integrated into mainstream, public-sector agricultural or natural resource programs. The few programs for women have shoestring budgets and low priority. Government agricultural extension programs that reach women farmers are more likely to focus on their domestic than their economic roles. Women's access to general extension services, whether provided by the state or an NGO, is curtailed by a lack of control over land, low levels of education, and the time constraints arising from dual household and economic responsibilities. Women who are heads of household receive even fewer services because extension agents tend to reach women through male partners.

Women have been somewhat more visible to NGOs than to government agencies, but their efforts are too often ineffectual or counterproductive because they are guided by false presumptions about the economic role of women in rural life. As a rule, women are targeted as beneficiaries of small income-producing projects. More often than not, these projects add new activities to already heavy workloads rather than helping women farm more effectively. Feasibility studies, technical assistance, and credit are usually inadequate, and quality control or marketing assistance absent. When funds run out,

participants are left to their own devices. Women who work in agriculture have suffered inordinately from this approach, when they have been fortunate enough to receive any kind of assistance. Effective programs—public or private—have been few and far between.

### Supporting Women Farmers in Central America

Lack of access to the factors of production—land, capital, and technology—is the critical economic determinant that continues to impoverish rural women. Alleviating their poverty will require a combination of policy changes and legal reforms to open access to those resources and to the education, training, and technical assistance needed for women farmers to maximize their efficiency. Governments, NGOs (including women's organizations), and international donors seeking to assist the small-farm sector must work together to develop policies and programs that strengthen women's agricultural and natural resource management skills if they hope to increase domestic food output through sustainable practices.

The first step, as this article suggests, is under way but needs more systematic effort. The myth that women do not farm must be shattered, beginning with the inclusion in government labor statistics of women's contributions to small-farm crops and their hiring as seasonal agricultural workers. A logical place to start is in the agricultural and livestock censuses to be undertaken in Costa Rica, El Salvador, and Nicaragua (Grynsan, 1993).

More research on the gender division of labor—in particular on women's participation in specific field tasks and their role in farm management, and on how their multiple responsibilities and survival strategies interlock to meet basic needs—is essential. More information is also needed to specify employment and salary conditions in agribusinesses; to see how technical assistance, credit, and extension services can be tailored to the needs of women and reach them more effectively; and to evaluate environmental health hazards. Information about

the impact of pesticides on women's reproductive health is long overdue.

Findings can be shared through publications, conferences, and workshops with public- and private-sector entities and NGOs. But if the research is to have real impact, it must feed into training programs that raise awareness of women's productive and market roles and show how to integrate women into existing programs and services.

Some early examples of how this might be done already exist. Gender training has been carried out in several ministries in Nicaragua. In Costa Rica, the socioeconomic program of the Central America Office of the International Union for the Conservation of Nature (IUCN) and the Inter-American Institute for Cooperation on Agriculture (IICA) have provided training in sustainable development with a gender perspective to personnel from NGOs and government agencies. Similar courses are planned for Nicaragua, El Salvador, Guatemala, and Honduras.

Once women farmers are visible, the next step is improved access to land. Increased food production, environmental protection, and rational management of natural resources are interlinked objectives. Without secure access, all small-scale farmers, women as well as men, have little incentive to safeguard or conserve natural resources. In countries where agrarian reforms have taken place, legislation should be revised to enable all women—married, in free unions, or single; and where such distinctions apply, both the widows and partners of war veterans—to hold title to, bequeath, and inherit land. Costa Rica's *Ley de Igualdad Real* has greatly improved women's access to property. Titling procedures throughout the region can be made less costly, complicated, and time consuming, as Honduras plans to do.

Improved land access is particularly critical in El Salvador and Nicaragua because so many internally displaced and repatriated women are heads of household. If and when the 43,000 official refugees in Mexico return home, access will also be paramount in Guatemala. Policies to end the worst inequities in distribution and stimulate more efficient use of potentially productive



*There is a major shortage of women agricultural extensionists in the region, and vocational schools largely overlook the roles and needs of women farmers. The Escuela Superior de Educación Integral Rural in Guatemala is training primary schoolteachers to help fill the gap.*

but idle hectareage can be encouraged; and the feasibility of alternative systems of access and tenure—such as long-term leases of public or private lands, community land trusts, or land banks for financing the purchase of parcels by small-scale farmers—should be explored.

The third step is to ensure that women's access to land translates into membership in cooperatives and farmers' associations so that women can receive credit and technical assistance to grow and market their crops. Women without land usually cannot obtain credit. In former war zones of El Salvador and in some communities in the Costa Rican department of Guanacaste, lack of working capital to pay for transportation to local markets has prevented women with collective projects from realizing

profits. Because women are small producers, they are strongly affected by the complexities of transaction costs, collateral requirements, and loan application procedures. Revising collateral requirements by using crop liens or making group loans in which all members are liable for each other's debt, instituting flexible repayment schedules and offering small loans to build up experience in managing credit, establishing specific funds to be made available to qualified women borrowers, and providing technical assistance for record keeping and marketing are among the many ways to help women farmers. Agricultural and development banks, credit unions, NGOs, cooperative federations, and small farmer associations can safely include more women in their portfolios. There is

ample evidence from microenterprise and other programs showing that women are a sound credit risk and that their repayment rates are often higher than men's.

The final need is for better technology, training, and education. In addition to farm tools and oxen, women need technologies to lighten their domestic workloads: fuel-efficient stoves, mills to grind corn, community wells and electrical generators, and household recycling systems. Common sense dictates that women be involved in the development and testing of new technologies. Child care facilities in agrarian reform cooperatives and settlements would enable women to participate more easily in decision making and management and could be operated by the women themselves.



Patrick Breslin

*If change is to occur, NGOs, donors, and governments must revise their policies and practices, but women themselves will have to lead the way. Here, women from San José, Honduras, prepare rolls for their community bakery. FUNBANHCAFÉ is helping local women to galvanize a host of independent activities.*

Women farmers need access to the same sustainable technologies as men, including terracing, agroforestry, pest control, and watershed protection, if they are to raise and maintain yields. Women's labor constraints must be taken into account in this process. Unless residential training courses are equipped to handle families, extension programs are likely to be more successful if they are held in the community so that women heads of household and couples can attend. Practical field demonstrations rather than classroom lectures are likely to reach more women farmers in the short term given the high illiteracy rates in the region.

Over the longer term, girls must stay in school, and nonformal literacy and numeracy programs for adults must include or make an effort to reach women if they are to utilize new technologies, judge the risks of pesticides, engage more actively in a market economy, and understand

the laws and policies that limit their access to resources.

At the paraprofessional level, too few rural women attend the vocational schools that train extension agents, and curriculums largely overlook women's agricultural roles. At the university level, scholarships and other incentives could encourage more women to pursue degrees in agronomy, forestry, natural resource management, and other environmental sciences. Internships in national and international agencies and NGOs dealing with agricultural and environmental concerns would allow women students to gain practical experience and begin building the credentials needed to make and shape policies.

NGOs have the task of integrating women into their projects to show that wider access to credit, technical assistance, and new technologies can work. Donors can support research and training and help fund the scholarships at the paraprofessional and university levels. In addition to welcom-

ing projects by NGOs, women's organizations, and community groups that tackle the problems facing women farmers (including the need for technologies to lighten domestic workloads), donors have the responsibility to ensure that women farmers are integrated into the other rural projects they fund.

Governments have the task of building on what is learned in these grassroots efforts by developing the macropolicies and implementing the legal reforms small-scale farmers need to survive and thrive. Wider opportunities for professional women in ministries of agriculture and natural resources are essential if such policies are to work. Rural women's groups, professional women's organizations, and researchers on gender issues will have to gather the data to make their case for a more inclusive approach, build alliances with other concerned citizens, and hone strategies appropriate to each country.

The Fundación Arias para la Paz y el Progreso Humano, based in San José, Costa Rica, is one of the few organizations in the region working on these issues. Believing land access is key, the Fundación initially supported studies of women's access in the five countries and Panama. A second phase of the program is likely to include support for women's organizations to work on specific policy-related issues. For example, a pivotal issue in Costa Rica is the attempt to overturn article seven of the Ley de Igualdad Real and roll back the right of women who are married or a partner in a free union to hold cotitle or title to any property obtained from a government program. In El Salvador, attention needs to be focused on how few women have received title to land distributed to ex-veterans through the land bank financed by international aid. Guatemala must ensure that the former government's pledge of parcels to families exiled in Mexico stands, and that the official definition of "family" includes women heads of household. Hondurans need to monitor implementation of the new legislation modernizing the farm sector to make sure it opens women's access to credit and participation in the agricultural reform process. In Nicaragua, the new agrarian code being formulated should specifically include the rights of women to participate fully.

The rationale for this agenda is not based solely on equity. Agricultural development is fundamental to the region's future. Export crops are necessary to bolster weak economies and generate foreign currency, but more attention must be paid to subsistence agriculture if rural poverty is to be alleviated. That, in turn, means recognizing that a growing number of small-farm families are headed by women.

The prospects for success are not assured. Governments will have to adopt policies that encourage domestic food production. How much attention small-scale farmers receive will likely depend on two factors: an understanding of how their fate and environmentally sustainable development are intertwined, and the strength of competing economic and political interests.

Even with evidence of women's agricultural and environmental contributions in hand, convincing public and private institutions of their interest in assisting women farmers will require tenacity. Nonetheless, there is hope. The rethinking about the agricultural sector under way throughout the region provides an opportunity to strip the cloak of invisibility from women farmers and include them in programs that muster the hidden potential of the whole small-farm sector. If past history is a guide, however, women themselves and their organizations will have to lead the way. ❖

SALLY W. YUDELMAN is a senior fellow at the International Center for Research on Women, based in Washington, D.C.

#### REFERENCES

- Annis, Sheldon et al. 1992. *Poverty, Natural Resources, and Public Policy in Central America*. Washington, D.C.: Overseas Development Council and Transaction Publishers.
- Buvinić, Mayra and Sally W. Yudelman. 1990. *Women, Poverty, and Progress in the Third World*. Headline Series. New York: Foreign Policy Association.
- Central America Report. March 19, 1993. Guatemala City: INFOPRESS Centroamericana.
- . August 27, 1993. Guatemala City: INFOPRESS Centroamericana.
- CIPRES and Fundación Arias para la Paz y el Progreso Humano. 1992. *El Acceso de la Mujer a la Tierra en Nicaragua*. San José, Costa Rica: Fundación Arias.
- CONAMA and UNDP. 1991. *La Agenda Ambiental de Honduras*. Tegucigalpa, Honduras: CONAMA/UNDP.
- CRIES. 1993. *Centroamérica: Anuario CRIES*. Managua, Nicaragua: CRIES.
- Deere, Carmen Diana and Magdalena León de Leal. 1987. *Rural Women and State Policy: Feminist Perspectives on Latin American Agricultural Development*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- Dorner, Peter. 1992. *Latin American Land Reforms in Theory and Practice: A Retrospective Analysis*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.
- Ehlers, M. Heliette. 1992. *Mujer, Agricultura y Extensión Rural*. Unpublished paper. Managua, Nicaragua: IRENA.
- García, Ana Isabel. 1993. *Mujeres Latinamericanas en Cifras: Costa Rica*. San José, Costa Rica: Ministerio de Asuntos Sociales, Instituto de la Mujer, and FLACSO.
- Grynspan, Rebecca. 1993. *La Política del Sector Agropecuario Frente a la Mujer Productora de Alimentos en Centroamérica y Panamá*. Preliminary version. San José, Costa Rica: Inter-American Institute for Cooperation in Agriculture.
- Instituto Nacional de Estadística de Guatemala. 1989. *Encuesta Socio-demográfica*. Guatemala City: INE.
- Lastarria-Cornhiel, Susan. 1988. *Female Farmers and Agricultural Production in El Salvador*, in *Development and Change* Vol. 19, Issue 4.
- Latin American and Caribbean Commission on Development and the Environment. 1992. *Our Own Agenda*. Washington, D.C.: Inter-American Development Bank/UNDP.
- Leonard, H. Jeffrey. 1987. *Natural Resources and Economic Development in Central America*. London: International Institute for the Environment and Development.
- Madden, Lidiethe with Paula Antezana, Ivanna Ayales, Odilia Matarrita, Bernice Romero and Lena White/Fundación Arias para la Paz y el Progreso Humano. 1992. *El Acceso de la Mujer a la Tierra en Costa Rica*. San José, Costa Rica: Fundación Arias.
- Mehra, Rekha. 1991. *Can Structural Adjustment Work for Women Farmers?* in *American Journal of Agricultural Economics* Vol. 73, No.5.
- MIDEPLAN/IDA. 1984. *Taller Sobre la Participación de la Mujer Campesina en Actividades Productivas del Sector Primario: Síntesis y Recomendaciones Finales*. San José, Costa Rica: Instituto de Reforma Agraria.
- Navas, María Candelaria and Paula Antezana with Reina Noemi Moreira, Nidia María Umaña, José Joaquín Aguilar/Fundación Arias para la Paz y el Progreso Humano. 1992. *El Acceso de la Mujer a la Tierra en El Salvador*. San José, Costa Rica: Fundación Arias.
- Padilla, Martha Luz, Clara Murguialday and Ana Criquillón. 1987. *Impact of the Sandinista Agrarian Reform on Rural Women's Subordination*, in *Rural Women and State Policy*, edited by Carmen Diana Deere. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- Paolisso, Michael and Sally W. Yudelman. 1991. *Women, Poverty, and the Environment in Latin America*. Washington, D.C.: International Center for Research on Women.
- Paolisso, Michael, Meg Berger and Karen Searle. 1988. *Guatemalan Women in Development: Opportunities and Constraints*. Draft. Washington, D.C.: International Center for Research on Women.
- Safilios Rothschild, Constantina. 1984. *Women and the Agrarian Reform in Honduras*. New York: The Population Council.
- Shearer, Eric B., Susanna Lastarria-Cornhiel and Dina Nesbah. 1990. *The Reform of Rural Land Markets in Latin America and the Caribbean: Research, Theory, and Implications*. Madison: Land Tenure Center/University of Wisconsin.
- UNICEF and SEGEPLAN. 1991. *Análisis de la Situación del Niño y la Mujer en Guatemala*. Guatemala City: UNICEF and SEGEPLAN.
- Von Braun, Joachim, David Hotchkiss and Maarten Immink. 1989. *Nontraditional Export Crops in Guatemala: Effects on Production, Income and Nutrition*. Washington, D.C.: International Food Policy Research Institute and Institute of Nutrition of Central America and Panama.
- World Bank. 1992. *Development and the Environment: World Development Report 1992*. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- . 1993. *Human Resources in Latin America and the Caribbean: Priorities and Action*. Washington, D.C.: IBRD.
- Yudelman, Sally W., Holly Myers and Dawn Calabria. 1992. *We Have a Voice and We Can Speak: Women and Children Refugees, Repatriates and Displaced in El Salvador, Guatemala, Nicaragua, and Mexico*. New York: Women's Commission on Refugee Women and Children/International Rescue Committee. In press.

# Riding the Roller Coaster of Grassroots Development: A Bottom-Up View of Social Change in Honduras

Phillip Herr

*Can development agencies assess the lasting impacts of economic assistance if they bail out before the ride is over?*

**W**hen economist Albert Hirschman sketched out a theory of “the Conservation and Mutation of Social Energy” on the pages of *Grassroots Development* (Vol. 7, No. 2) a decade ago, it was offered as an antidote to the *fracasomania*, or failure complex, that characterized how Latin Americans and sympathetic outsiders tended to view the hemisphere’s history of attempts at social, political, and economic reform. Hirschman’s counterintuitive observations, written when military rule and a mounting debt crisis dominated the region, seemed to some to be little more than hopeful whistling in the face of a rising gale. To others it struck a resonant chord.

Hirschman’s theory was grounded in the experience of visiting 45 grassroots projects in six countries that spanned Latin America—from the

Dominican Republic in the Caribbean, to the Andean nations of Colombia and Peru, to Uruguay, Argentina, and Chile at the continent’s southern tip. What he found in interviewing the members of various kinds of producer cooperatives were leaders seasoned by participation in other social movements whose time had seemingly passed, that had vanished without achieving their “preordained objectives.” That is, people had taken the “vision of change” and the organizational and technical skills they had acquired from attempts that had fallen short and reinvested them in other, more successful endeavors.

The rise in the region during the past decade of democratic civil societies woven from complex strands of private associations—including development-oriented nongovernmental organizations (NGOs)—shows that Hirschman’s cautious optimism was not misplaced. Yet the process of promoting sustainable grassroots development among the poor is still imperfectly understood. Understanding those dynamics becomes more crucial as foreign assistance money decreases and the pressure increases to find and replicate effective programs.

Donors often evaluate the success or failure of economic development efforts by comparing pre- and post-project statistics for changes in indicators such as yields, earnings, or knowledge of the contents of a training course. Quantitative data do show whether or not a project was implemented, but they reveal little about longer-term impacts. Charting sustainability is made even more

difficult by the short time lines of most grants, and by the need for project staff to move on to the next assignment, contract, or even country. In particular, this kind of approach tells us nothing about the human capital Hirschman has suggested is key to the grassroots development process, to how a project or projects can mobilize and expand the resources of individuals, households, and communities.

This article does not offer a master blueprint for success, supposing that such a thing is possible. In at least one sense it emulates the earlier Hirschman odyssey; on a much more modest scale, it looks to the experience of grassroots participants for clues about the development process, offering observations about the changes that have occurred during the past 13 years in one Honduran community, the village of Ayapa in the north-central highlands department of Yoro.

I first conducted fieldwork there in 1981, under the auspices of an IAF Master’s Learning Fellowship on Social Change. I returned in 1984 for 15 months of dissertation research, and have recently revisited the area. What struck me during this last visit was the fact that people whom I had met when they were first organizing to make ends meet by growing maize and chile peppers were today profitably growing tobacco. Groups that seemed always on the verge of disbanding as one project after another seemed to fall short of its goals had somehow not done so. How had they beaten the odds?

Other questions followed. Why had these families stayed in Yoro when so many others had been forced to migrate to the cities or overseas in search of work? How had they outlasted so many projects funded by outside agencies in the area, whose



Photos: Phillip Herr

itinerant staff had long since moved on to greener pastures, sustained perhaps by the conviction that the next group would finally get things right?

In trying to answer these questions, this article will briefly examine the area's peasant economy, then trace some of the notable twists and turns of change that have ensued in Ayapa as the development process took seed and sprouted. It concludes by discussing what lessons this case study might hold for others.

## Campeños and the Economics of Scarcity

The economy of the north-central region, marked by rugged terrain and pine forest, revolves around subsistence agriculture, cattle ranches, and logging. Campeños in Yoro Department, like Honduran small-scale farmers elsewhere, often use slash-and-burn farming to clear fields and cultivate corn and beans as dietary staples. Cash crops such as coffee may also be grown if sufficient land is available.

Land, the region's primary productive resource, is unequally distributed. In the municipality in which Ayapa is located, 12 percent of households control most of the prime hectareage, including large valley tracts where cattle are grazed. In contrast, two-thirds of the households have access, on average, to parcels smaller than five hectares in size. Census data for the department indicate that the percentage of land in pasture has steadily increased while fallow land has decreased (between the mid-1960s and mid-1970s, for instance, hectares in pasturage rose by 104 percent while those left fallow dropped by 66 percent). Fallow hectareage is a crucial indicator of intensive land use by campesinos engaged in slash-and-burn agriculture. Fields are left idle for several years in order to recover nutrients for recultivation. This is particularly important in areas like Yoro where the soil is thin. The shift of land from small-scale to large-scale utilization indicated by the inverse relationship of pasture to fallow land is nationwide, but the pace has been particularly rapid in Yoro. By the late 1970s, nearly 57 percent of land in Ayapa's municipality

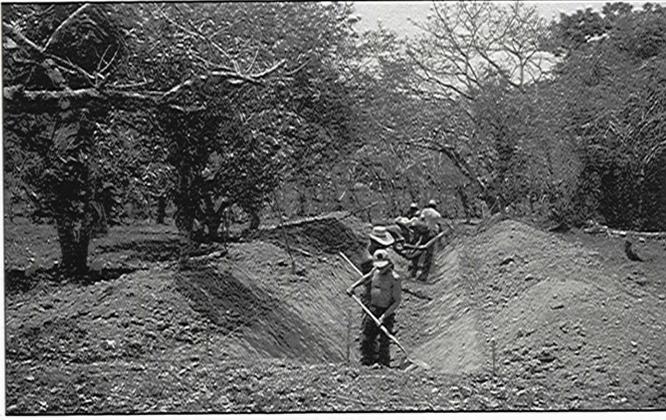
was in pasturage, while only 2 percent remained fallow.

The conversion of land to grazing and the highly skewed ownership patterns have combined with population growth to put intense pressure on peasant agriculture. Members of landless or land-poor households have either moved to the hillsides of

valleys in the department, where soils are poor and erosion a constant danger, or migrated to cities in search of jobs in the expanding microenterprise sector (survey data collected in the mid-1980s showed an average of three emigrants per landless family). Those who stay behind live precariously, combining wages from day



Opposite: Villagers from Ayapa, Honduras, who made the long journey from "project beneficiaries" to co-op members who own their own land. Above: After much trial and error, co-op farmers have learned how to grow and market a successful cash crop.



*An early project to dig irrigation ditches laid the foundation for small-scale farmers to work together and adapt ideas that work.*

labor with attempts to intensify yields on whatever small plots of land are available.

In the 1970s, new roads were built and others upgraded in the north-central highlands, opening the region to logging companies and tying the regional economy to national and international markets. International NGOs, usually religious in nature, also made their presence felt in the area. The Jesuits have had a long-standing presence here, and organized *comunidades eclesíásticas de base* to encourage cooperation and awareness among communities of the poor. Protestant groups also put down roots. The projects initiated by these groups had mixed results, but they made a lasting contribution by helping to energize local people and setting the process of grassroots development in motion.

## Water and Chile Peppers

One of the earliest economic projects was launched under the auspices of a North-American church group that established a vocational school, Centro de Educación Vocacional Evangélica y Reformada (CEVER), in the department capital. From this hub, and with support from the IAF, CEVER reached out to campesinos in surrounding villages, including Ayapa. In an effort to introduce "appropriate technologies" to intensify production, CEVER decided to teach a small group of farmers to install waterwheels that could be used to irrigate fields during the dry season. To maximize the return from this second planting season, new cash

crops would also be introduced. School staff then scouted out sites in and around Ayapa where small landholders or tenant farmers had parcels near streams. About 20 campesinos signed on for a two-week training session that was focused on building group identity and co-operation. An

extensionist then worked in the community and helped to install the waterwheels and teach techniques needed to cultivate a variety of vegetables seldom grown in the region.

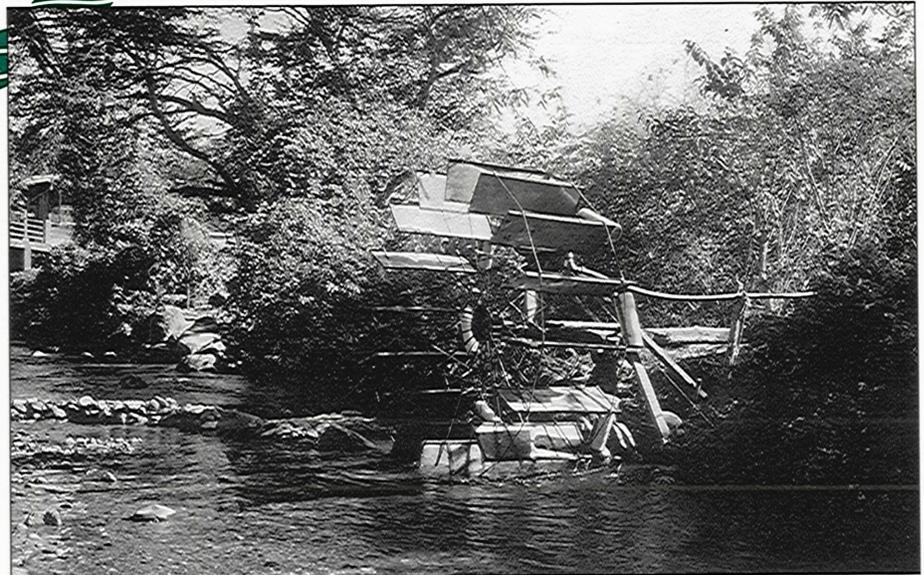
The appropriate technology/irrigation project was part of a larger effort to introduce waterwheels throughout Honduras. That did not happen. Waterwheels did not spring up by every rural stream, and even many of those built around Yoro Department would eventually fall into disrepair.

Ironically, project staff had not anticipated that the campesinos in Ayapa would prove too productive, growing bumper crops of chile peppers, watermelons, tomatoes, onions, cabbage,

and other vegetables that quickly saturated local markets. Demand for these unfamiliar foods was low, and the lack of cold storage meant crops spoiled soon after harvesting. Arranging transportation to urban centers was costly, and once the vegetables were shipped, access to marketing outlets was controlled by middlemen who reaped most of the profits. Of all the vegetables that were harvested, only one, chile peppers, seemed to be a potential moneymaker.

Despite the setback, and CEVER's gradual withdrawal from the scene as a change in personnel brought a shift in the Centro's priorities, the farmers were undaunted. They had learned the hard way that local and urban markets for vegetables were too unstable to rely on exclusively, but they still dreamed that chile peppers could provide a better return than basic grains. The project had brought isolated campesinos together as a team. In working beside one another to build the waterwheels and dig irrigation ditches, they had come to believe, as the CEVER staff had constantly insisted, that joined hands could overcome obstacles and make life better.

As several were quick to point out, contact with outsiders had been crucial to developing this self-confidence among the group. This was the first time, they said, that an urban profes-



*Project managers thought the key was persuading farmers to build waterwheels. Farmers found gravity irrigation was sufficient, and today most of those waterwheels lie idle.*

sional had spoken to them with respect and had taken their ideas seriously. But even more important had been their internalization of the importance of irrigation and their realization that they themselves could adapt and simplify the model. While the waterwheels were important for several families, gravity irrigation was equally effective for the rest. As one participant, Cruz Ortiz, noted, "Most of us did not need waterwheels; what we needed was someone to teach us the value of irrigation." They were learning to look at familiar things, including themselves, in new ways, examining everything for hidden possibilities, then weighing each alternative to find which was best.

By late August 1981, the mood was again upbeat, and the prevailing sentiment among project participants, at least those with secure access to land, was that chile-pepper cultivation for outside markets was about to take off. There was one contentious issue, though. A large local landowner had sought to join their ranks, saying he also was interested in cultivating peppers and was prepared to sign a similar contract agreement. After considerable discussion, project participants finally rejected the offer, anxious to preserve their solidarity and afraid that their output would be dwarfed by the landowner's ability to employ economies of scale. As one of the group's leaders put it: "He wants to look like a campesino just to take advantage of the opportunity."

The effort to grow chile peppers for market eventually collapsed in late 1982. Participants blamed unreliable contracts, transportation difficulties, and intermediaries. But as they continued to look for alternatives to wage labor and subsistence cropping, a new realization set in. Some recalled the landowner who had been turned away and their own inability to employ economies of scale on small plots that were widely scattered and which were often available only for sharecropping. Several of the participants who were barely supporting large families began to wonder what would happen when their children grew up and needed their own parcels of land. A campesino who played a leading role in the events to follow put the matter simply: "As we talked, we saw there was



Farmers formed *asentamientos* to get fertile land under agrarian reform law. They cultivated corn for subsistence but had to find a viable cash crop to pay for inputs and renting a tractor and to earn a higher yield for their labor.

no shortage of ideas about how to grow crops or about which crops to grow. Our problem was the lack of secure access to fertile land."

### Land Reform Comes to Ayapa

During the months to come, two groups of campesinos in Ayapa organized *asentamientos* to invade 98 hectares of idle valley land, owned by a doctor and a banker who lived elsewhere in Yoro, and petition for title to it under national agrarian reform law. Local elites derided the actions of the *asentamientos* "26 de Abril" and "19 de Marzo," vowing it would not stand. Rumors of reprisals began to circulate about what would happen if other land invasions occurred. Some thought the events were linked in some way to communism—a term often used to discredit things new, vaguely suspicious, perhaps foreign.

Those who participated in the invasions had their own view, calling their action a *recuperación de tierra*, a recovery of land. After all, they pointed out, the targeted properties were "unused" and not "fulfilling their social function" under Honduran agrarian reform law.

Both *asentamientos* had key members who had participated in the earlier irrigation/cash-crop project and knew the importance of establishing contacts outside the community to broker resources. In this case, group

leaders believed their ties to a national peasants' union would be helpful in navigating a path through the courts and complex bureaucracies that handle agrarian reform issues. For one of the groups, that proved especially helpful since their land invasion landed several of them in jail, where they languished for several weeks before a union attorney arranged their release.

Eventually the dispute with municipal officials was resolved. Once the euphoria of having prevailed legally died down, members of the *asentamientos* were left to struggle with the vicissitudes of establishing viable organizations. They not only had to put their new land in production, they had to figure out how to handle new managerial responsibilities. Officers had to be elected to mediate with outside institutions, such as banks, for credit and other resources. Although all the members had farmed before, cultivating such a large expanse was a new challenge. Local government extensionists were asked for technical assistance and recommended hybrid seeds and agrochemicals appropriate for large-scale planting. A government program was located that rented tractors for plowing the land, while arrangements were made with another program to purchase enough corn at a subsidized price to ensure that loans for operating capital could be repaid.

For the first few harvests, the groups farmed collectively, but they gradually began to shift to a mixed strategy under which part of the land was held in common while individual members received plots to use as they saw fit. This reflected the strains the groups were experiencing as members tried to balance the need to work together with the enduring campesino ideal of having a parcel of land to call one's own.

By 1985, both asentamientos seemed to have found their footing and were moving forward to improve their business operations. Members continued to seek out and develop links with outside agencies to solicit resources to improve infrastructure. One group had received a grain dryer from the European Economic Community as well as the materials to build a large, secure shed. As one campesino put it, now they didn't have to store their corn at home where too much of every harvest was lost to predatory rodents and insects. It also seemed less onerous to improve land that was one's own rather than rented. With their own labor and materials obtained from the U.S. Agency for International Development and the Instituto Nacional Agraria, they terraced the land and dug an irrigation ditch to connect it to the stream running through the village. At the same time, members of the other group were able to pool their resources and obtain a small herd of cattle.

All the outward signs seemed auspicious, but the accounting ledgers were telling a different story. When each group's treasurer tallied the expenditures involved in basic grain production and compared it to sales receipts, it was clear that members were covering their costs and putting aside enough corn to feed their households, but were earning only a few hundred dollars in cash per family. Looking at these figures, one of the treasurers expressed his disappointment. "Not much has really changed," he said. "Instead of working as wage labor for local landlords, we now work for the government grain-marketing association."

The disappointing returns helped feed internal tensions among the groups. Some members worked harder than others but received the same return. They resented the "free riders." Factions also formed along family lines

and *compadrazgo*, or baptismal, ties that cemented friendships through selection of children's godparents.

By the time my dissertation research had concluded, several of the groups' leaders had begun to drift away, whether for reasons of health or because of personality conflicts. In either event, negotiators skilled in brokering resources with outside institutions were lost. While most of the members remained confident that they could resolve their tensions and make a go of it, it seemed just as likely that their increasingly fragile cohesion would dissolve and this experiment, too, would fall short of the heady expectations with which it was started.

### Maturity and Reaping the Rewards of the Marketplace

But that did not happen. Today, the community is a bustling center for growing tobacco under contract with a national company. Although not on the same scale as the Copán area in western Honduras, production is robust enough to warrant construction of a large tobacco-processing facility at the town's entrance. Several of the larger landowners in the area also grow tobacco, which the asentamientos welcome since the added volume makes the processing center more cost effective. In addition, members of the two groups have also built tobacco-drying sheds on their land.

Tobacco is not the only crop being grown by the asentamientos, however. Basic grains are still planted during *la primera*, which is what local people call the rainy season arriving each May. Members explain that this permits them to stock family larders with corn and beans, giving them food security for the year. Once those harvests are in, tobacco is planted.

The basic campesino strategy of mixing subsistence agriculture with cash cropping, then, remains the same. What has changed is the terms of production that come from ownership of the land and a clearer awareness of how members can work together sustainably to exploit market opportunities. The asentamientos, for instance, no longer maintain parcels that are cultivated collectively. Members have opted to farm their own plots and exchange labor during peak

periods, putting an end to the squabbles that arose over "free riders."

Members have also continued to take advantage of outside services. In one group, for instance, three members act as brokers with the tobacco company to arrange technical assistance with a company representative who counsels them about insecticides and fertilizers and other inputs that are needed at various stages of the growing cycle.

In reflecting upon their changed fortunes, members acknowledge that outside assistance played a key role at several points, and certainly this was true of the shift to tobacco. An IAF grant of \$40,000 in 1987 allowed the two groups to purchase a tractor, giving members better control over a production process that has intensified and become more complex. As Moisés Aguilar, president of one of the asentamientos, explains, "Our members don't have to sit around wondering when or if a tractor can be rented from the government agency or, at even higher cost, from some other person." This makes rational planning easier during growing seasons, which is particularly crucial for satisfying the terms of their tobacco contract. It also facilitates members' decision to farm their own parcels, which are planted at varying intervals.

After 13 years of struggle, it is this sense of independence that seems the greatest change in these small-scale farmers. That independence is partially rooted in the enhanced self-esteem that has come from overcoming so many obstacles, but it also represents members' changed relationship to the peasant economy. The returns from tobacco mean that members no longer have to seek wage labor to get by after they have sold their excess grain production. In fact, some members now hire laborers to help them sort, hang, and dry the tobacco once it has been picked, providing a spillover benefit to residents in an area with no industrial jobs.

In addition to the economic rewards, members can also point with pride to other changes. Some who lacked houses of their own and had to double up with other families have built their own modest adobe homes. Others have upgraded existing hous-

ing. All report they can now afford to send their children to the local primary school.

Of course there are troubling signs, as well, most of them concerning the crop that seems at the heart of farmers' changed fortunes. Tobacco is harsh on the soil and requires extensive agrochemical inputs, raising ecological questions about whether or not campesinos are cashing in their long-term resource base for short-term benefit. Moreover, their prospects are tied to one sector of the national economy in which there are not many buyers, a relationship underscored by the contracts members sign with one company. One only has to travel to a different part of Yoro Department, to a community whose tobacco-drying sheds stand idle, to realize how fleeting Ayapa's prosperity might be.

### Investing in Human Capital

What light does the experience of this small community shed on the process of grassroots development? One obvious conclusion is that the process of economic development takes years not months, and involves multiple efforts, many of which may seem dead ends. In fact, an observer not acquainted with the community and conducting a short-term evaluation at any of several junctures during the past decade might well have concluded the community's efforts were foundering, if not failed.

Another observer arriving at a propitious moment might point to the availability of outside experts or resources and conclude that success depended on timely, well-executed assistance. And if the evaluator asked members of the *asentamientos*, they would agree that such aid is vital. It may indeed be necessary, but the story of two pieces of "appropriate" technology, one simple the other modern, suggests it is not sufficient.

A visitor wandering along the streambed running through Ayapa would happen upon several rusting hulks of waterwheels, the only visible sign of the first development project in the area. The training center that introduced the waterwheels now focuses exclusively on vocational education, and the people who staffed its early efforts are gone. Of course

the idea of irrigation remains and has been put to good use.

If the visitor were to continue walking out one of those irrigation ditches into the fields where *asentamiento* members grow their crops, he or she might very well hear the rumble of a new tractor. This is not the machine purchased with the IAF grant, but a second machine farmers purchased on their own. The first tractor, unlike the waterwheels touted by outside technicians, was their own idea, and based on the needs of the tobacco farming they were learning to master. They did not treat it as a gift, but as a capital investment, charging enough for its use to maintain it in good running order and putting some of the extra money they were earning aside to help buy a second tractor.

The common thread connecting the two kinds of machinery—one well used, the other lying idle—are the *campesinos* themselves. The real technology CEVER brought to Ayapa more than a decade ago was the idea of change. In doing so it broke down isolation among one group of subsistence farmers and sparked a growing realization that a complex chain of outside support was available, not only financial and technical, but in the case of the national peasants' union, legal. The twists and turns of the events that followed look, in hindsight, more purposeful than random if they are perceived from the vantage point of the farmers themselves. Weaving together opportunities where they could be found, they have been acquiring the resources and savvy that have enabled them to craft their own development model.

And of course the process is not over. One day tobacco may give out. Since Honduras, like many other countries in the region, is slashing government credit, extension, and crop-support services to the agrarian reform sector, the *asentamientos* of Ayapa might go under. Yet their story has not really been about tobacco, or about chile peppers, or any particular crop. Rather it has been about organizing themselves, getting secure access to good land, and learning how markets work. Members may not be farming tobacco in ten years, but if the last decade is any indication, they will be growing and adding value to some other cash crop. At a time when rural poverty is rising, one wonders what would happen if public policy gave more small-scale farmers the same opportunity to participate meaningfully in their own development. ❖

*PHILLIP HERR holds a Ph.D. in applied anthropology from Columbia University. He is a senior evaluator at the U.S. General Accounting Office's (GAO) Program Evaluation and Methodology Division. The views expressed in this article are his and not the policy or position of the GAO.*



*Ayapa farmers like Santiago Murillo have brokered outside resources and used their wits to open opportunities for themselves and their families.*

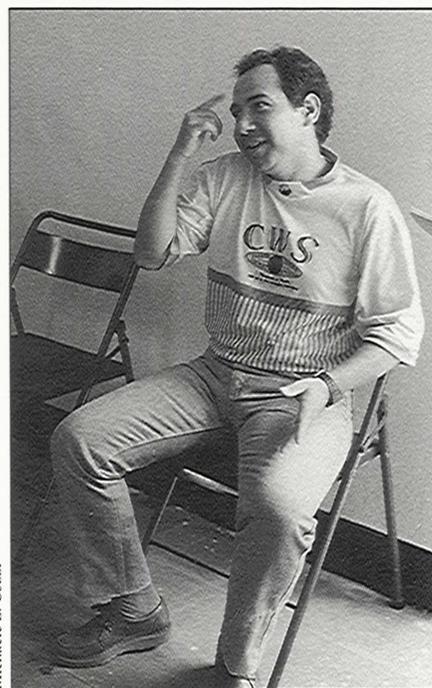
# Tearing Down the Walls of Silence Together

*Young Nicaraguans  
show that  
productive potential  
is best measured  
through actions,  
not spoken words.*



Michaele L. Cozzi

Above: Javier López (far left), president of the *Asociación Pro-Integración y Ayuda al Sordo (APRIAS)* and several founding members stand on the veranda of the organization's training facility in Managua, Nicaragua. Right: Adrián Pérez Castellón, vice president of APRIAS, leads a discussion about job prospects and self-esteem, using sign language adapted for Nicaraguan colloquialisms.



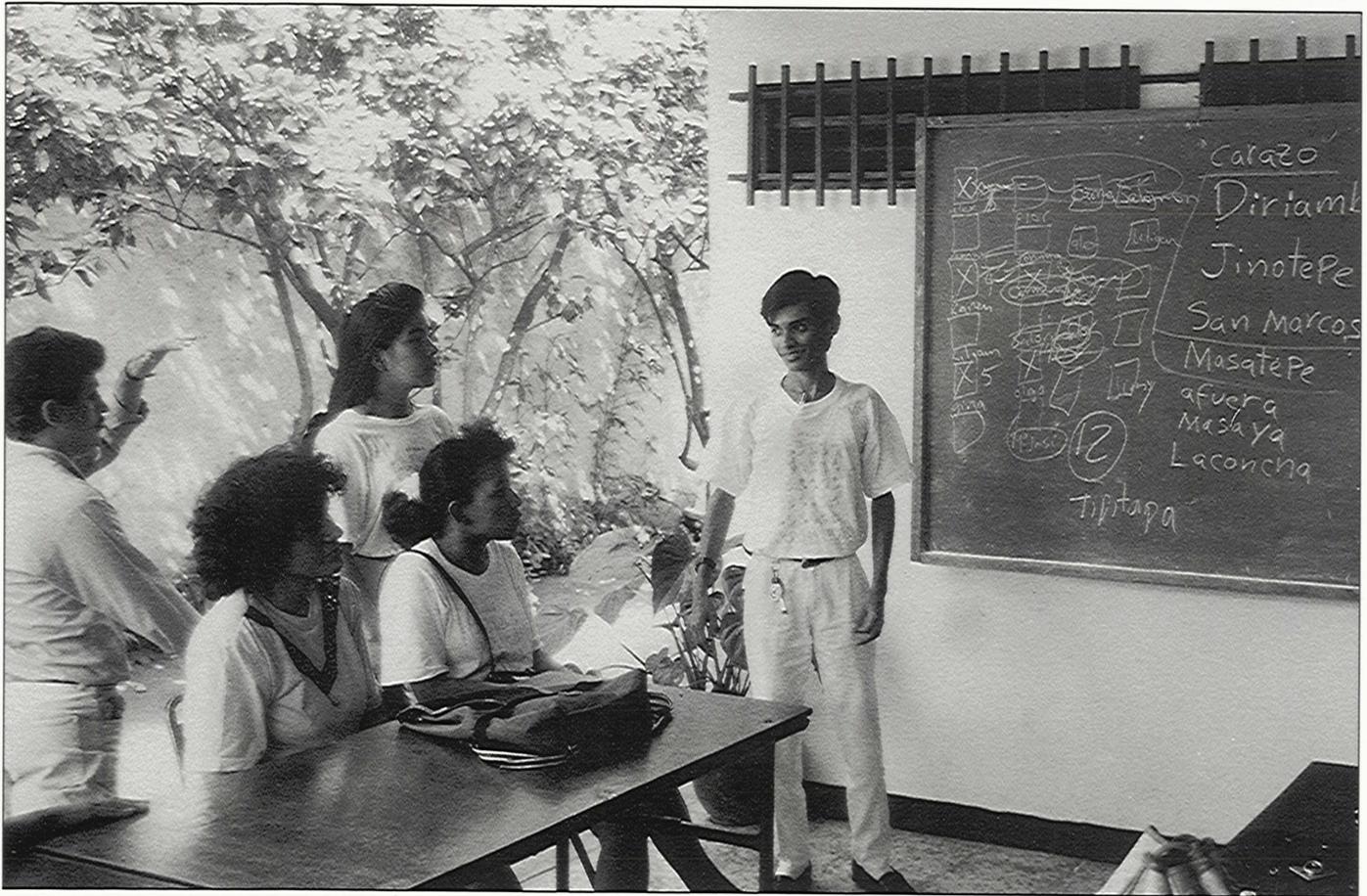
Michaele L. Cozzi

**Text by Wilbur Wright  
Photos by Michaele L. Cozzi  
and Salvador Aguilar**

In countries with struggling economies, people who have physical impairments often find themselves walled off from even the limited opportunities available to other citizens. The hearing impaired in Nicaragua are no exception. Their illiteracy rate approaches 95 percent, and their unemployment rate exceeds 90 percent. There are few public or private resources to remedy this situation. Government services are available to a limited number of children under the age of 14, and do little to prepare the child intellectually, emotionally, or vocationally for adult

life. Families tend to conceal such children from the community, and to ignore them at home. A lifetime of mistreatment, of being shunned, is all too common.

In 1986, 11 enterprising young people, confronted by the dismal prospects awaiting them, decided to prove the conventional wisdom wrong and wrest a future for themselves. They organized the *Asociación Pro-Integración y Ayuda al Sordo (APRIAS)* and, assisted by a teacher from the government-run children's school, formed a folk-dance group to give public perfor-

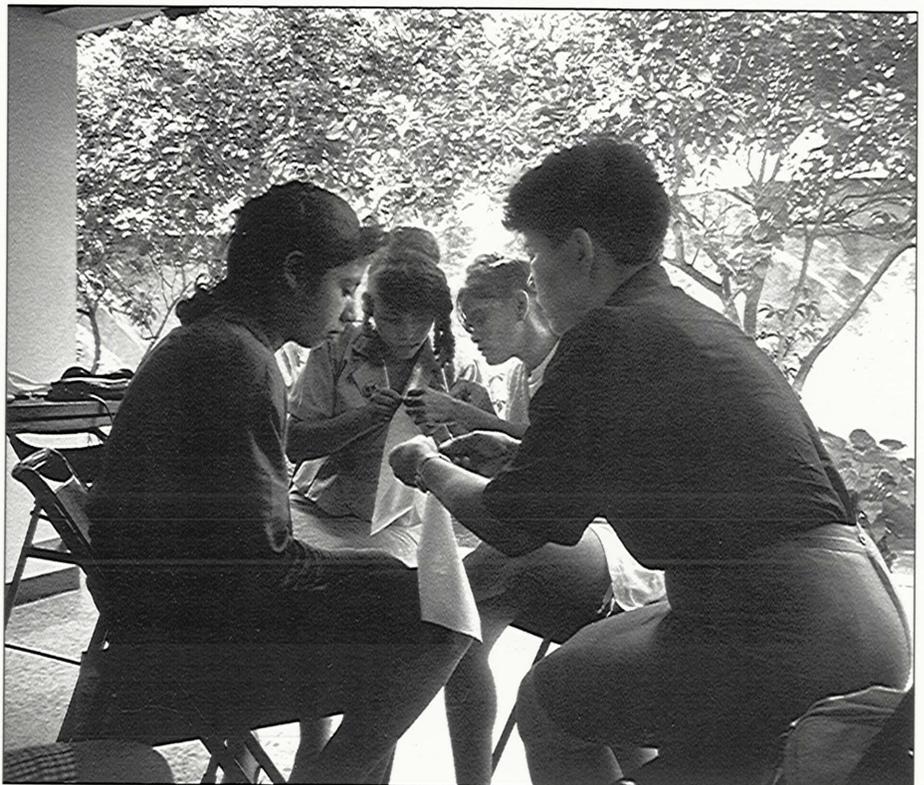


Above: Alex Pérez (far right), vice president of the San Marcos chapter, answers follow-up questions after reporting on local activities to a board meeting of APRIAS leaders.

Right: The Managua facility is a central resource for affiliated groups. Here, an instructor works with young women from San Marcos to teach needlework for embroidery that can be sold in the market. In learning to design and accomplish specific tasks, students gain confidence to plan and organize their lives.

mances. They wanted to show people that the hearing impaired had real capacities which were being ignored.

From this modest start, APRIAS has grown to more than 200 members who are engaged in a range of activities that might have seemed unthinkable to most of their fellow citizens a short time ago. APRIAS has inaugurated literacy training through a system of signing that has been specially adapted for Nicaraguan colloquialisms and forms the basis for follow-up educational classes. Cultural events and field trips are planned to help members broaden their interests





Michaele L. Cozzi

*In APRIAS, work is shared. Above: Translator Sandra López (center), shows Eda Salguera how to use plastic wrap to protect food ordered through APRIAS's catering business. Right: Reyna Cruz Hernandez, financial manager for the bakery, rolls out pastry dough.*

and orient themselves in the larger society. Vocational training in sewing, baking, photography, embroidery, welding, and mechanics provides marketable skills.

The hub of this activity is a house in Managua, the capital of Nicaragua, that APRIAS purchased through grants from the Swedish Federation for the Deaf and the Inter-American Foundation, and transformed into a training center. Workshops for tailoring and baking have been constructed on the grounds and outfitted with the industrial-strength sewing machines, ovens, and other equipment members need to generate income for the project while learning on-the-job skills.

Today, a visitor wandering through the bustling facility finds evidence of the progress being made on all sides.

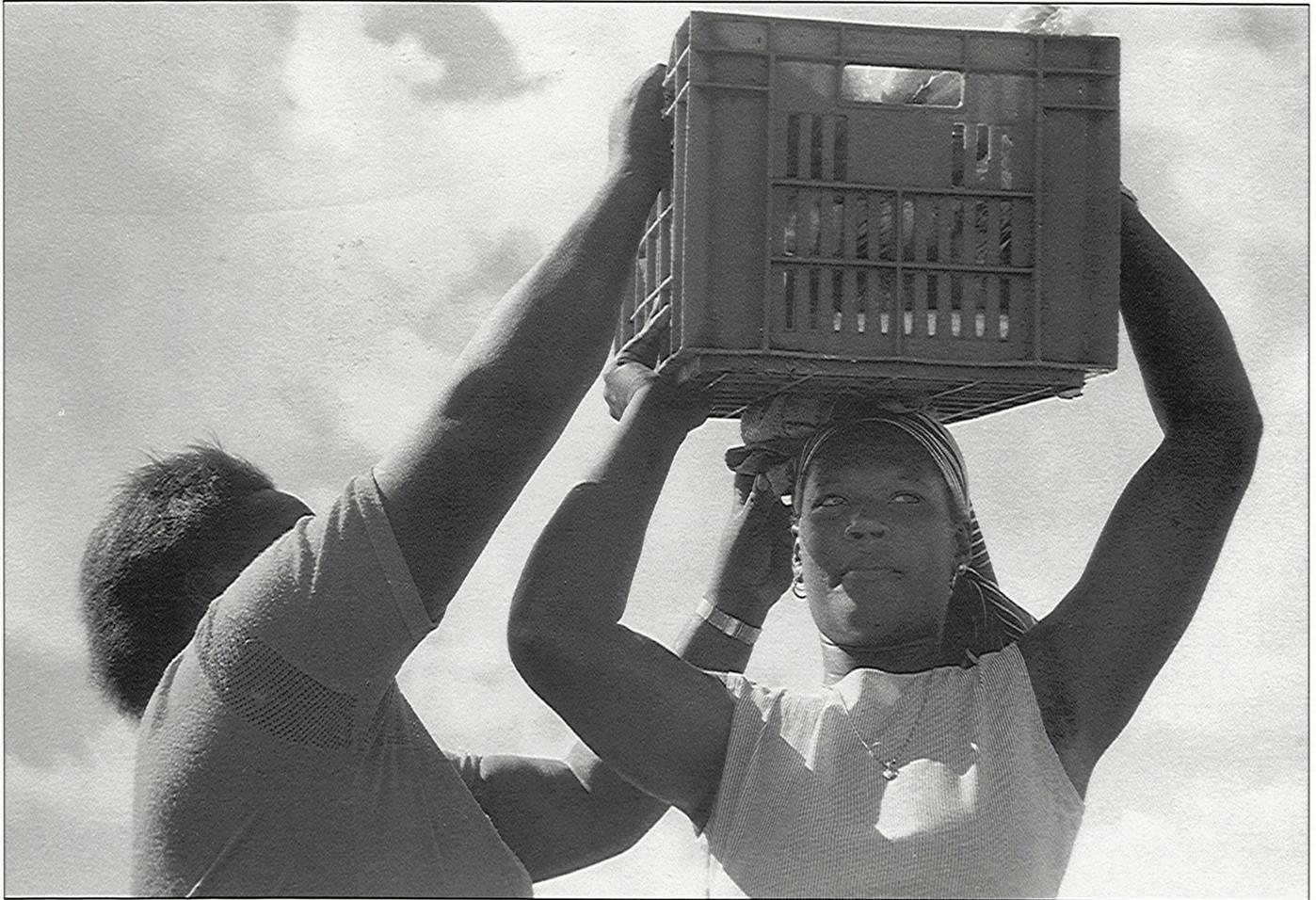
The bakery is full of the smell of freshly baked cakes and pastries; the sewing shop is filled with the clatter of sewing machines being used to assemble lovely dresses for girls; and the patio outside the house is filled with eager new members learning to sign and sharpening their skills and their wits with one another. Together, these industrious young people are tearing down the walls of silence that separated them from others and are building a platform of new opportunities that challenges all Nicaraguans to help uncover the hidden riches of their society. ❖

*WILBUR WRIGHT is the IAF field representative for Nicaragua. MICHAELE L. COZZI is a documentary photographer in Nicaragua. SALVADOR AGUILAR is the IAF in-country monitor for APRIAS.*



Michaele L. Cozzi

# The Cultural Challenge of Supporting Enterprise



Philip Decker

*Vendors in Dominica load oranges for market. The creation of economic value through work underpins and permits all forms of development.*

**Gregory F. Robison**

*Does the operating ethos of donors and NGOs undermine the business prospects of the people they try to assist?*

Most development practitioners are well aware that projects to create jobs or generate income in the market economies of Latin America and the Caribbean have a sobering programmatic feature that distinguishes them from other sorts of initiatives: Economic enterprises can fail definitively and unambiguously. Grants with noneconomic objectives can founder too, of course, although as a practical matter their standard of success generally is internal to the project and the supporting grant. If a community group or grassroots support organiza-

tion (GSO) proposes to convene a conference, build a schoolhouse, or undertake a study, the donor is usually satisfied if the stated objective is accomplished within the budget and timetable specified in the grant agreement. Separate "impact studies" are normally required to measure outcomes in depth, a process that is time consuming for both the donor and the grantee and often as costly as the original grant itself. Not surprisingly, impact studies are conducted only selectively.

Since grants to economic initiatives are also subject to internal terms of reference, it can be tempting to mea-

sure success or failure in this same way. When the grantee delivers the training course, builds the mill, or establishes the lending fund, most donors, in fact, presume that the beneficiary's self-help efforts have been furthered. Professionally competent analysis of the grantee's application must compensate for the little attention that can be paid in practice to actual operating results. If economic reality threatens or even sweeps away the social gains that originally justified the project, donors and observers may seek consolation in the observation of Albert Hirschman (1984) and others (Blayney et al., 1988) that participants in failed ventures often turn their loss to good use later in life.

There is, of course, truth in this. Many languages have a saying about adversity being a school. Participants in failed ventures, however, too often pay for such lessons at the exorbitantly high cost of their jobs and savings. For this reason, economic projects imply a heightened level of responsibility on the part of donors. Even well-intentioned intervention by donors may encourage the wrong tendencies in the grantee, particularly if indicators of programmatic compliance provide evidence of short-term success while masking problems that sow the seeds of long-term failure. In view of the large and growing importance of economic projects, whether and precisely how this happens ought to be of considerable concern. Development professionals, after all, are bound by the same basic rule of ethics and public responsibility that have guided professional conduct for centuries: *primum non nocere*, "above all, not knowingly to do harm."

**H**ow an organization is financed creates within it a general climate or ambience—a "culture"—reflected in the habits and predispositions of its members to behave in ways likely to assure survival. The nature of the financing of donor agencies and their NGO partners produces a radically different culture than that of the economic ventures of the poor they propose to assist. It is this cultural disjunction, more than a lack of technical skills, that accounts for much of the ineffectiveness by development organizations in supporting

economic enterprise projects. Donor failure to recognize the divergence and compensate for it compounds the risk of their doing harm.

Understanding the character and origin of this cultural difference begins with examining the nature of enterprise itself. Enterprises, including those involving noneconomic activities, can be illustrated graphically (see figure 1). The "output" is the product or service for which the organization exists; the "inputs" are resources, generally those that can be acquired in markets; the "processes"

are the combinations of these resources through know-how, leadership, commitment, and what may be called the other entrepreneurial or managerial virtues.

This well-known approach forms the basis of what has come to be called "process" or "systems analysis." It can be used to describe simple activities or, as figure 2 illustrates, complex organizations involving an interlocking set of processes. Each process in such large systems uses as its input the output of other processes farther "up-

Figure 1.

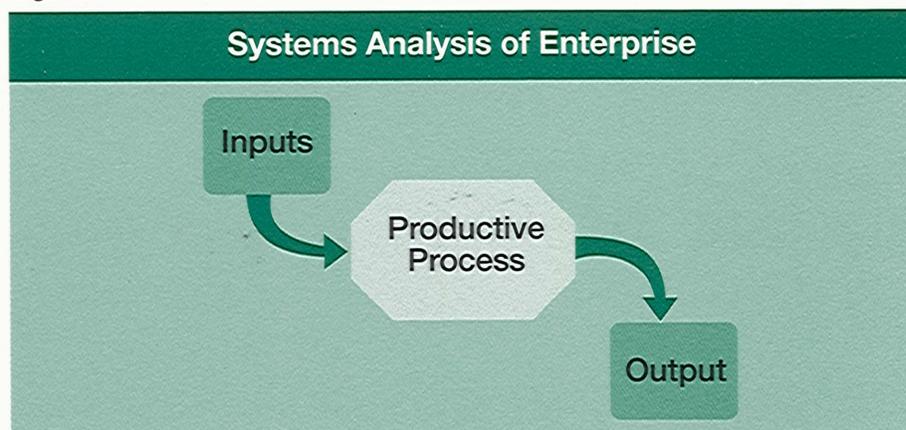
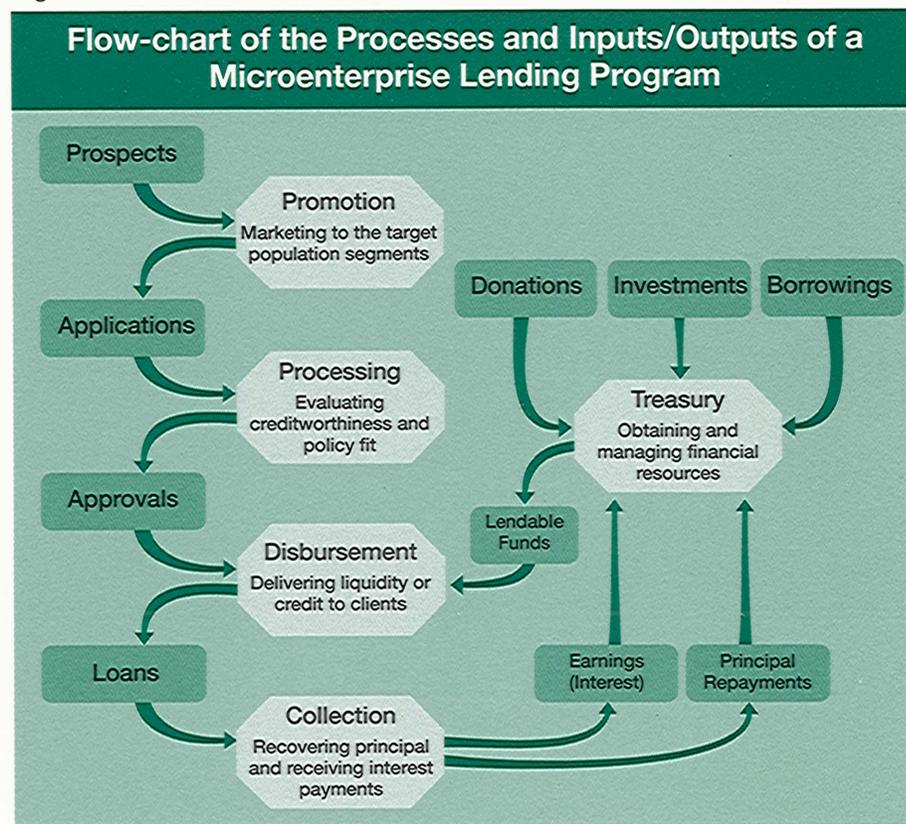


Figure 2.



stream" that eventually combine to yield a final product or service.

Productive processes imply the consumption of resources. Hours of time are spent; raw materials are acquired and transformed; energy is used. Every process is therefore set in motion and sustained by some external source allowing the acquisition of the required inputs. The wherewithal received from this external source is the enterprise's "income" or "financing."

If income derives primarily from consumers who are free to accept or reject an organization's output, the venture is "market based" (see figure 3). If financing comes principally from nonconsumers, the organization or venture may be said to be "budget based" (see figure 4). These nonconsumers may be lenders, creditors, investors, government agencies, or donors. Despite their many differences, these nonconsumers share the common characteristic that they do not offer financing to the venture in direct exchange for its output. Budget-based organizations play an essential redistributive role in society, but the creation of economic value depends overwhelmingly on the presence and vitality of market-based enterprises.

Each of these two kinds of organization faces a different challenge in raising the resources needed to ac-

complish its goals and remain viable. A budget-based institution lives primarily by *words*—by convincing its nonconsumer supporters that financing is merited. Since the funders of such an organization do not consume its output, survival depends upon generating consistent, coherent, reassuring language *about* the output. In new organizations, an articulate leader or spokesperson is almost always essential to accomplish this task.

As a budget-based enterprise matures, the flow of words is eventually crafted into a formal "metaproduct," which constitutes a secondary, or shadow, output. Fund-raising literature and annual reports of poverty-alleviation NGOs are good examples of metaproduct. So are the public statements of donors, such as the Inter-American Foundation, and the grant applications of GSOs and other NGOs. The value of the true product that a budget-based organization delivers to its consumers—that is, its actual performance in the field—may or may not impinge upon the organization's ability to sell its shadow output to its funders. In an ideal world it ought to, and in the long run it probably does. What is irrefutable, however, is the need to produce such a metaproduct of words that will assure a steady stream of financing.

A venture whose survival depends upon the market, on the other hand,

lives by *deeds*—by delivering an acceptable product or service to its clients or customers. The market-based enterprise's main source of income—its consumers—neither requires nor values "coherent explanations" of methodology or intentions. The only thing that really matters to consumers is the value that they themselves perceive in the product or service. How that perception is formed, how it evolves, and what actions result from it are complex and baffling phenomena. The consequences for the market-based enterprise, however, are clear and direct: The producer must live within the limits set by the consumer's willingness and ability to buy. This may be considered the first principle of economic life in market economies.

From a systems point of view, the circle of resource acquisition, processing, and delivery of output is therefore closed in a way that is not true of the budget-based organization. The very language of market-based economic enterprise reflects the primacy of this cyclicity: Activity is described in terms of *turnover, rotation, return*. There is none of this imagery in the decidedly linear world of the budget-based organization.

Peter F. Drucker (1973), one of the most influential, contemporary conceptualizers of management issues, emphasizes this idea of constraint by making the consumer the starting point for any analysis of economic enterprise:

A business is not defined by the company's name, statutes, or articles of incorporation. It is defined by the want the customer satisfies when he buys a product or service. To satisfy the customer is the mission and purpose of every business. The question "What is our business?" can, therefore, be answered only by looking at the business from the outside, from the point of view of the customer and the market. . . . The consumer defines the business.

Entrepreneurs who speak of "market opportunities" (reflecting the optimism practitioners always feel for their own field of activity) are simply calling attention to the fact that market constraint is not clear and fixed. No one knows with certainty (or for long) exactly where the obscure and ever-changing line of demarcation runs between what is desirable to

Figure 3.

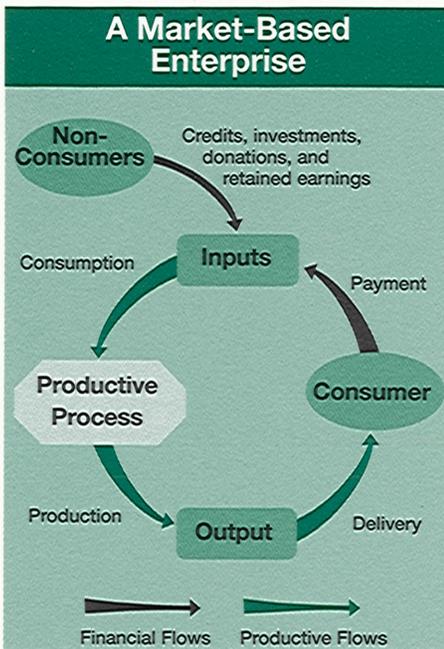
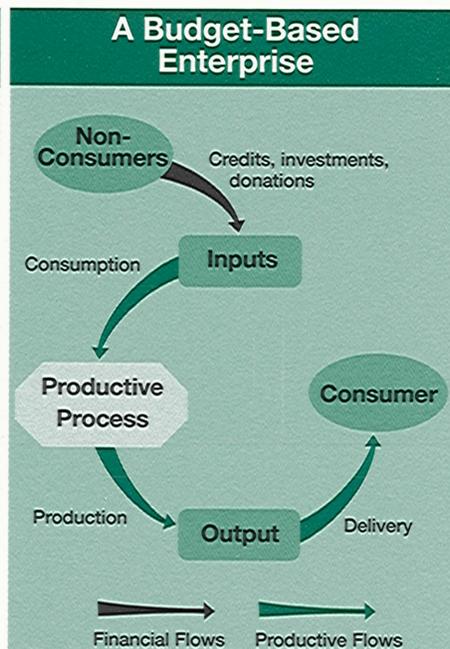


Figure 4.





Mitchell Denburg

*The staff of a Colombian co-op store (above) and a worker-managed factory in Peru (right). Social interaction in the workplace can promote a sense of self-worth and solidarity. Yet enterprises can sustain this social value to employees or members only by focusing on successfully serving the customers or clients who are outside the orbit of production.*



Mitchell Denburg

consumers and what is not. That frontier is established by constant testing.

If the inscrutable mind of the consumer is one pole in the offer-and-response cycle of economic enterprise, the other pole is the equally restless, creative entrepreneur. Not every producer is an entrepreneur in the classic sense, consciously undertaking risk through innovation. There are, nevertheless, fewer and fewer dependably predictable markets. All producers are being forced by globalization and technological change to become increasingly entrepreneurial. There is now no such thing, if there ever once was, as an isolated "social sector," playing by different rules from the mainstream market economy. Nor is any type of producer organization exempt, whether it is an NGO, a cooperative, a sole proprietorship, a partnership, a corporation, a civil association, or any other legal form. All are businesses if they live or die by the judgment of the market. Size of enterprise, or any of the other observable features used for classification, confers no exemption, in the long run, to this stricture.

The determination of whether or not an enterprise is market based ought, therefore, to be the first step in analyzing a request for grant assistance. If the answer is yes, the grant conditions ought to draw the beneficiary's attention to the need to focus on the market and respond to it, reinforcing the necessary entrepreneurial disciplines. In other words, success must be understood to require much more than compliance with procedural or administrative terms of the grant agreement if its primary purpose is to

promote a sustainable business. Donor intervention must be based on the conviction that there can be no dependable creation of jobs or improvement in income without respecting the continuous, definitive, and irrevocable judgment of consumers. In a certain sense, these consumers—external to the project, unmanageable, and largely unpredictable—are the only “project monitors” who really matter in the long run.

Unfortunately, the budget-based culture of donors and most development NGOs makes it notoriously difficult for them to give the economic initiatives of the poor this kind of attention. The need to sell its metaproduct to non-consumers forces a budget-based organization to value predictability, order, planning, hierarchy, and standard procedures—“bureaucratic virtues.” This characteristic, in itself, is not a defect. Budget-based organizations are excellently adapted to delivering standard products or universal services whose value has been predetermined. Even Austrian economist Ludwig von Mises (1944), the great champion of free markets and implacable critic of state encroach-

ment, considered bureaucratic management to be indispensable to democracy. He took pains to refute the notion that the management of public institutions could be improved by running them like businesses, a point worth remembering in this age of headlong privatization, decentralization, and reinvention of government. It is also true, however, that the culture of budget-based, bureaucratic organizations is far from that of market-based, entrepreneurial ones. The two scarcely speak the same language.

Nothing more clearly illustrates the chasm between the two organizational cultures than their differing understanding of the idea of profit. Concern for profit—the positive difference between what consumers pay for something and what it costs to produce it—underpins all aspects of the culture of the market-based enterprise; it is a meaningless concept for the budget-based one.

In the culture of the market, profits are not a luxury; they are a necessity. This constraint is not relieved if a venture is technically a “nonprofit civil association” calling its net income “surpluses.” Economic history is full of examples of euphemisms of this sort.

In fifteenth-century Italy, the word “interest” went by many names—including *prode* (yield), *guadagno* (gain), and *merito* (reward), for example—in order to circumvent ecclesiastical definitions of usury (Swetz, 1987). Fiscal authorities are in some ways the inquisitors of the modern age, spawning a similar array of synonyms for a single underlying reality.

However they are labeled, profits are vital because the present is risky and the future uncertain. If there is no excess of income over consumption, how will those risks and uncertainties be anticipated? As consumers’ needs change, organizations that wish to serve them will also have to evolve. A truly “nonprofit” enterprise, only taking in what is necessary to pay for resources currently consumed, can neither change nor grow. The slightest modification in mission or environment would require new infusions of capital from the outside. Since modifications in mission and environment are themselves a certainty, all responsible enterprises *must* accumulate capital. It is revealing (and sometimes surprising to those from the world of budget-based enterprise) that for some types of business calculation, such as cost accounting, profit is routinely treated as a cost. For business culture, profit is as necessary a requirement for sustainable production as labor and raw materials.

Equally important, profits are the first and most reliable indicator that an enterprise is actually satisfying a need and doing so sustainably. There is, in other words, a social value of profit. The more producers respond to what people really want, the more efficiently a society employs its scarce resources. It would therefore be socially irresponsible management *not* to seek profits where profits are to be had.

For all the many limitations and imperfections of markets, it is now generally accepted that there is no substitute for consumers’ own opinions about what is good for them. Such opinions are valuable guides to wise resource use when competing producers offer informed consumers real choices in legal and orderly markets. Profits allow producers to continue offering consumers such choices. In any given place and time, those choices may be limited by political considerations, technological capabilities, geo-



Jeffrey Fox

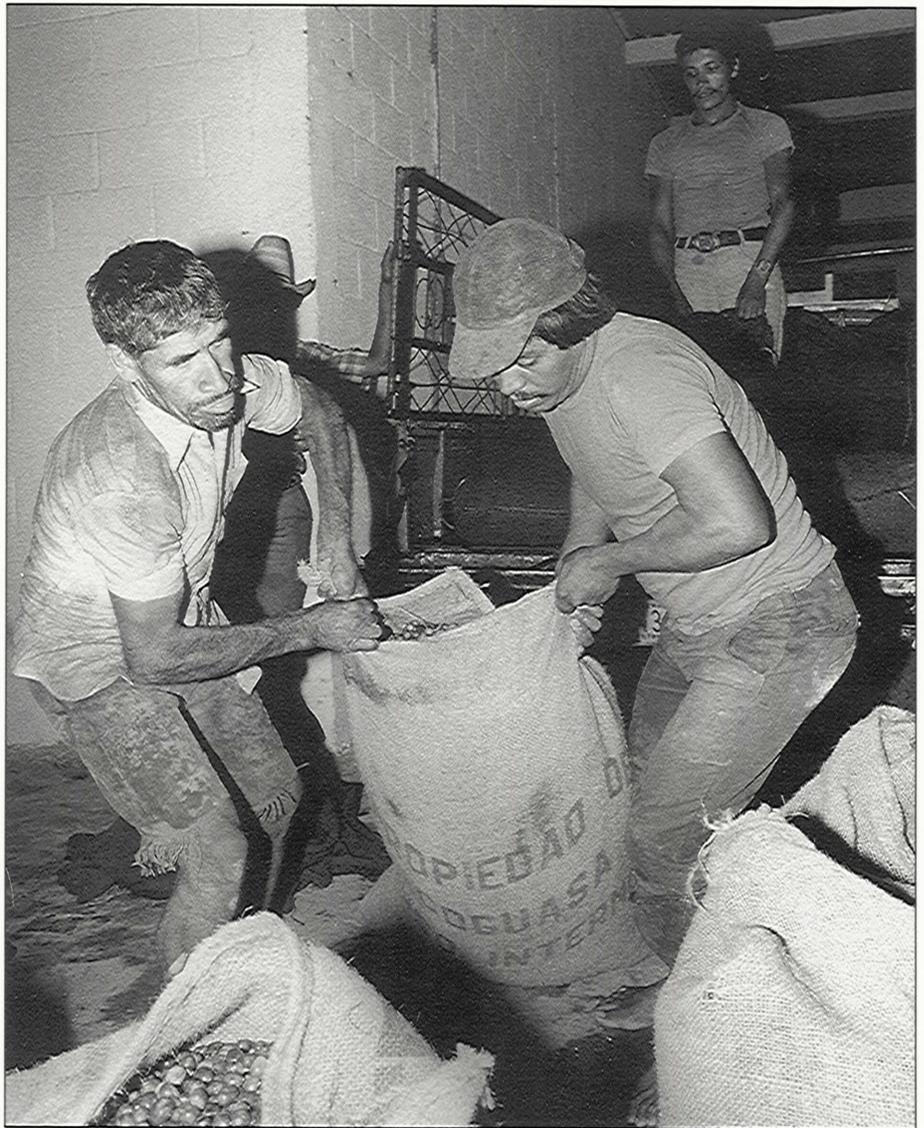
*The furniture plant employing this Mexican worker will be tested by the new North American Free Trade Agreement. Like all market-based enterprises, it must realize profits from the sale of output to cover production costs, including the implied costs of an uncertain future. No work step is exempt from the test: Does this add value, is it necessary?*

graphic obstacles, and other factors. They may be distorted for a time by fraud, collusion, monopoly, or war. A certain turn of mind even finds it convincing that the apparent benefit of greater choice conceals nefarious "want creation" by large corporations. None of this changes the fundamental and irrefutable fact that free people desire to exercise choice, and that to the extent they can, at least in the realm of economic goods and services, a market exists.

A good working definition of poverty is the absence of markets within a particular community. There is ample evidence of the frightfully high cost of being poor when economic choices are limited or nonexistent. In fact, the first entrepreneurial initiative of many poor communities, beyond the traditional methods of subsistence, is often the creation of a community store, a purchasing cooperative, or some other effort to expand the channels of supply for seeds, tools, and staple consumer goods. Even when these efforts fail—as they often do—the experience may be high in demonstrative value, both for community participants and for those established middlemen whose predatory trade practices are shown to be vulnerable.

Much of the recent wave of government privatizations in many parts of the world can be understood both as an admission of the irreplaceable power of the market to produce and distribute goods and services and as an attempt to harness this force for the public good. It is also a reminder that budget-based organizations can rarely keep pace with shifting consumer needs over the long run.

The same painful lesson is behind the restructuring of many large, market-based private enterprises. The larger a venture becomes, the smaller the portion of its total resources that are directly and clearly linked to delivering something of value to the consumer. An economic enterprise, after all, is market based only when considered as a whole, from the outside. The output of the last link in the chain is the only one subject to consumer choice. The other, interlocking, internal processes have "captive markets" within the company for their output (as illustrated in figure 4). Each process



*Workers unload bags of coffee beans at a processing facility maintained by a confederation of small-scale growers in Guatemala. The blend is set by plant managers, but its quality is measured by the price consumers are willing to pay.*

within an enterprise is thus funded via a budget, which explains why larger organizations tend, as they grow, to become increasingly bureaucratic and concerned with budgets, whether they are ultimately dependent upon the market or not. Breaking such large organizations into smaller pieces is usually the only way to resubmit as many links as possible in the chain of value creation to the discipline of the market.

Most of the economic initiatives of the poor are very small, of course, and never face the need for restructuring. If they misjudge the market or cannot adequately respond to it, their enter-

prises are promptly snuffed out or continue to produce only at increasingly unattractive rates of return.

It is at precisely this juncture, when development organizations intervene to assist the poor's economic initiatives, that donors are often distinctly unhelpful. Tone-deaf to the keynote sounded by profit, they risk replicating their own bureaucratic values in their beneficiaries and counterparts and fatally drawing their attention away from the market.

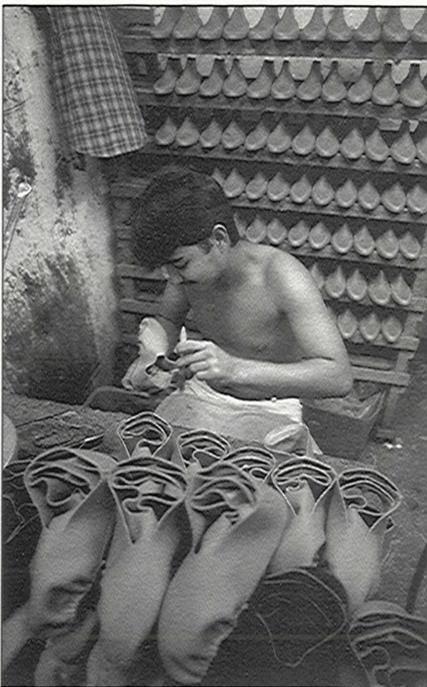
Sometimes this tendency takes the form of attempting to establish the economic worth of a product or service without reference to the role of

Miguel Sayago



An apprentice watches intently while a skilled mechanic repairs a tractor engine in Coahuila State, Mexico. The human capital on which productivity depends can be built up through apprenticeship, formal training, or even long experience. Donors endanger small businesses if they reinforce the notion that a skilled work force guarantees marketable output.

Sean Sprague



All producers face a dual challenge: how to maintain excellence in executing productive tasks and how to make what people will buy.

the producer as an economic agent operating within the constraints of the market. It is easy to see how this well-intentioned concern for producers on the part of many NGOs and donors flows directly from a budget mentality. Competition that results in better prices for the consumer makes life more precarious for the producer. Since grants aim to improve the latter's well-being, a sufficient justification to support many ventures becomes the securing of "economic justice" for producers. In practice, this often comes to mean a bureaucratically determined "fair return," irrespective of what the consumer may think of the resulting product or service.

One NGO promoting exports of cooperatively produced coffee from various countries in Central America took exactly this position. Offering all members' coffee at a single high price, the NGO found that the inferior product of some coffee farmers damaged the prospects of other, higher-quality producers. This threat

to the success of the common marketing initiative did not shake the NGO managers' faith that they, and not consumers, are better equipped to discern value. One result of this obstinacy is the danger that small-scale coffee growers will mistake the NGO itself for the market and consequently fail to adjust their output to the real determinant of their long-term prosperity.

This phenomenon is especially pernicious in the case of support for craftspeople—long favored as beneficiaries of choice at many development organizations—because it encourages the natural tendency of the grantee to reason in the same way. For the artisan, the idea of "quality" is something that inheres in the thing produced. It is objectively observable; it speaks for itself. The hand that can generate such excellence is that of a skilled producer, one who "deserves" a good, or at least decent, return. Such a person "ought" to survive and prosper.

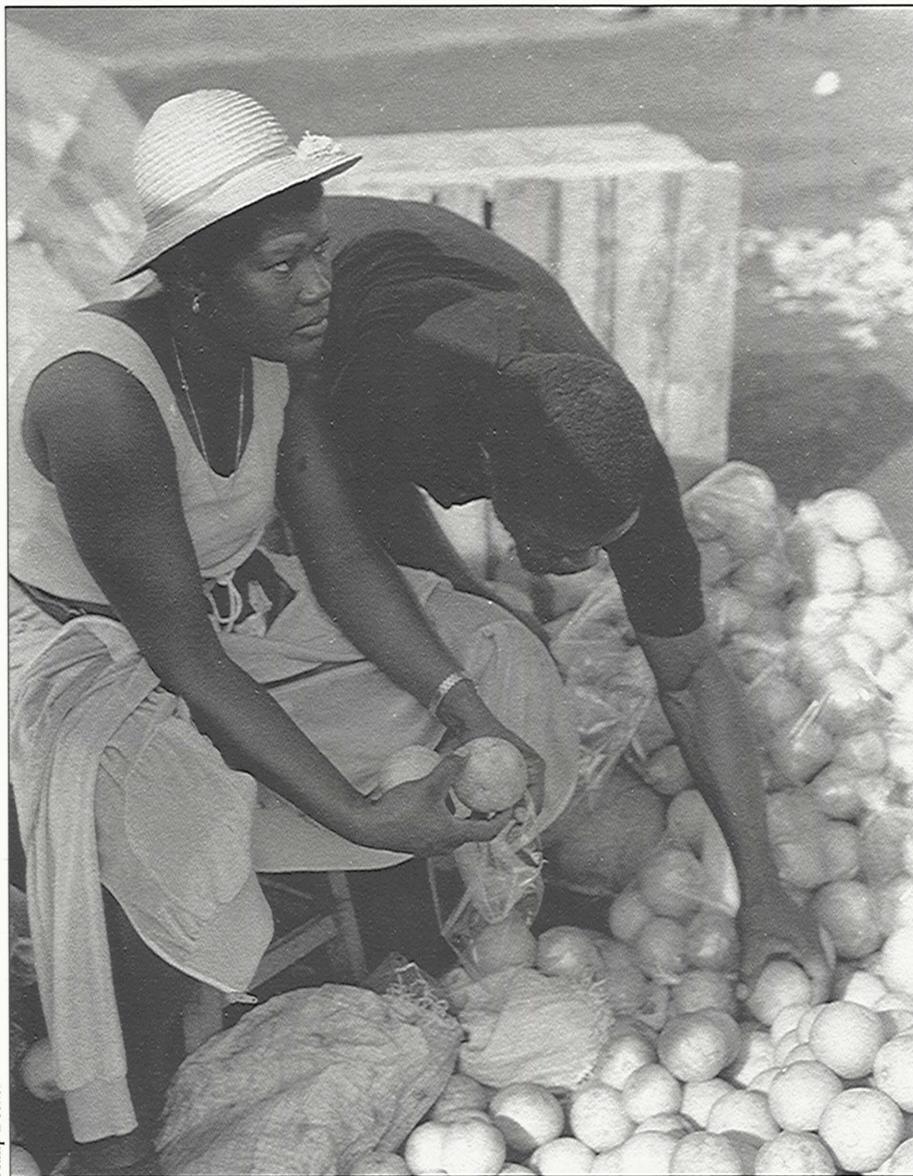
In market terms, however, quality is not a feature of the thing produced; it means desirability in the eyes of the buyer or user. Quality in this commercial sense—its only relevant economic meaning—is clearly a matter of perception, residing entirely in the mind of the consumer. Commercial and industrial uses of the word (e.g., Quality Circles, Total Quality Management, etc.) only have meaning in this latter sense.

The two concepts of quality overlap, of course: One can rarely satisfy a consumer's idea of quality for long without understanding the meaning of excellence in terms of the materials and procedures of one's craft. It is also true that society needs more than markets. It also needs its prophets, poets, scholars, and jurists, and all the others who contribute to the common good largely by ignoring what the public wants and pursuing the craftsperson's ideal of quality. Sometimes an artist *contra mundum* actually turns out to be a genius waiting to be discovered by a later age. But a producer out of step with the market is generally a bankrupt, and soon serves neither society nor himself. Donors whose objective is to help create jobs and income perform no useful service to their beneficiaries by encouraging the idea that there is a single "fair price" unrelated to consumer demand and

productive efficiency. Such a mentality leads grantees to view their problems as entirely the fault of the "grasping middleman" who blocks their direct access to the sympathetic final consumer. This is generally a poor substitute for discovering what quality means to the inevitable remaining "intermediary consumers" who add value to production and facilitate its distribution, and then organizing one's efforts around this intelligence.

The culture of donor organizations also makes them undervalue the generalized beneficial effects of greater competition and choice. This tendency is exemplified in donors' use of the term "beneficiaries" as coterminous with "participants." The reach or impact of a development project's effectiveness is generally taken to be those who are directly involved with what the grant has financed. Any page of the IAF's annual "year in review" will reveal a noteworthy attention to precision with respect to beneficiaries: One grant reaches "56 youth with disabilities," another "173 farm families," a third "300 women weavers." When the numbers are large and approximate, they nevertheless correspond to estimated membership rolls of the organizations served. In other words, they are still a well-defined group. With rare exceptions, a project would never be justified by appealing to the benefits that accrue to those who do *not* participate in the grantee's activities. On the contrary, the problem of "free riders," nonparticipants who reap where they do not sow, is a recurring theme at many development organizations. This precision, which echoes the programmatic indicators used to monitor project compliance and—theoretically—project success, is exactly suited to the financing needs of the budget-based donor or NGO. There is scarcely a development organization that does not cast the message of its metaproduct in terms of the number of jobs saved, children fed, meals served, seminars offered, or other such data.

**I**n spite of the preoccupation by many donor agencies with quantifying the extent of direct participation in evaluating the worthiness of grant proposals, it has become increasingly difficult to imagine devel-



Philip Decker

*The Dominica Huckster's Association buys packing materials in bulk so vendors can ship produce without bruising. Viability of the scheme depends on consumers satisfied by increased opportunity for choice.*

opment in terms that do not make explicit reference to a more generalized idea of choice. Alan Wolfe (1991) of the New School for Social Research, addressing a meeting of United Nations member agencies on the role of nongovernmental organizations, cited with approval the United Nations Development Programme's *Human Development Report 1990*, which puts the matter simply: "Human development is a process of enlarging people's choices." Wolfe, while cautioning against any unidimensional view that "leaves little

room for civil society," agrees that "all forms of development—economic, political, and social—are about making choices."

In a recent book also praising "civil society [as] a far richer and more variegated domain than the state," Michael Novak (1993) of the American Enterprise Institute uses language that closely parallels Wolfe's "In its politics, in its morals, and in its economic activities, a free society makes constant and regular use of one fundamental reality—choice. . . ."



*FUNDAID loan officer Mahindra Satram Maharaj (right) tells Cranston Galindo his loan to open an ice-cream vending business in Port-of-Spain, Trinidad, has been approved. The explosion of credit and savings services devised by resourceful NGOs to uncover markets that reach the poor has profoundly influenced development thought in recent years.*

This notable convergence of thinking and language from commentators more frequently associated with markedly different perspectives on social issues is indicative of the consensus that is emerging around the concept of choice in development. Wolfe and Novak react very differently, of course, to the meaning of the choice they both recognize as inherent in markets. For Wolfe, "the [market's] single-minded pursuit of self-interest" has a decidedly antisocial cast and destructive tendency against which a thriving civil society is an important bulwark. Novak, stressing the essential harmony of civil society and the market, asserts that "free exchanges generate a spontaneous order" that is compatible with, and contributes to, democratic civil institutions.

Whether one views the new prominence of the idea of economic choice in development with alarm or satisfaction depends upon political orientation and personal temperament. It is nevertheless inescapable that the idea of choice—and especially economic choice—bulks increasingly large in any discussion of development. The newest challenge of devel-

opment in many cases is to discern markets where none were thought to exist before—or to encourage the forces that will tend to create them.

An excellent example of a move in this direction is the growing availability of financial services to poor entrepreneurs in the informal sector of many countries. For years, lending programs were heavily subsidized by foreign donors and operated by budget-based NGOs. It was simply assumed that huge segments of the population were bereft of banking services because there was no way to serve them in a financially self-sustaining way. In reality, what was missing from the approach both of traditional bankers and NGOs was realization that a market could be created. Innovative lending and savings programs in many parts of Latin America are now demonstrating that the poor can in fact be business clients rather than passive beneficiaries. This new market-based approach offers potential for far greater expansion of services than donors ever could have achieved, and establishes a relationship of dignity with the poor that is absent when they are viewed as recipients of largesse.

The example of credit and savings services for the poor offers a striking example of how a market approach differs very little in its spirit and broad outlines whether it is applied in the barrios of Latin America or in the most developed capitalist economies. Consider the following passage from the lead article by Richard Normann and Rafael Ramirez (1993) in a recent issue of the *Harvard Business Review* about IKEA, the once-small Swedish furniture maker that has transformed itself into one of the world's largest retailers of home furnishings. For IKEA in this passage, one could substitute the names of any of several creative NGOs, and for furniture business read "financial services for the poor":

IKEA is able to keep costs and prices down because it has systematically redefined the roles, relationships, and organizational practices of the furniture business. The result is an integrated business system that invents value by matching the various capabilities of participants more efficiently and effectively than was ever the case in the past.

Start with IKEA's relationship to its customers. The company offers customers something more than just low prices. It offers a brand new division of labor that looks something like this: if customers agree to take on certain key tasks traditionally done by manufacturers and retailers . . . then IKEA promises to deliver well-designed products at substantially lower prices.

IKEA's goal is not to *relieve* customers of doing certain tasks but to *mobilize* them to do easily certain things they have never done before.

This redefinition of roles—through solidarity groups, village banks, itinerant lending officers, and other innovations—is precisely how resourceful NGOs are able to use a market mechanism, where none was thought possible before, to advance their social objectives.

As we have seen, the first and most important manifestation of the cultural divide between budget-based and market-based organizations is how each understands the nature and social utility of the market. Financing from nonconsumers tends to root habits of mind and behavior in budget-based orga-

nizations that lead them to ignore or misunderstand the market and the organizational significance of profit. In the few cases where donors or their NGO partners have succeeded in overcoming this inherent blind spot, the results have been very promising.

Many who work within the culture of budget-based organizations have come gradually to accept the developmental role of the market in general, and perhaps even the place of profit in it, while remaining very uneasy about the entrepreneurial individuals who give markets life. They understand, in other words, the nature of the obstacles faced by enterprise without grasping the importance of the one indispensable ingredient required to overcome those obstacles: the ambitious, persevering, resilient person behind every act of creation.

The cultural predisposition of budget-based organizations is to view human resources as interchangeable, highly manageable inputs. In budget-based organizations, individuals assume positions of leadership and responsibility only under strict and well-understood rules. The lines of authority are clear. There are career paths in which credentials or performance appraisals, and sometimes both, usually weigh heavily. In short, the world of words in which budget-based organizations live is as evident in their internal treatment of human resources as it is in their approach to financing.

In the market there is no such orderly procedure, no institutional sanction for human creativity or assumption of authority. The general rule in the market is that individuals *propose themselves* for positions of leadership. The leader is not the one invested with authority by some higher power, but the one who—when he or she says “follow me”—is in fact followed. It is a process utterly illogical from the bureaucratic point of view, and one that, predictably, produces a high failure rate. Venture capitalist Louis Allen (1968), reflecting on a professional lifetime connected with business creation, noted that 85 percent of entrepreneurs think they can make something better, 15 percent think they can sell something better, and both groups are nearly always wrong.

Development practitioners experienced with grassroots organizations

recognize that such personal, self-selected, and unevenly qualified leadership is not limited to market-based economic ventures. The proliferation of budget-based, development-oriented NGOs in the hemisphere during the past decade has been a great achievement of social entrepreneurship by concerned Latin American and Caribbean professionals. The unarticulated challenge of much development assistance to organizations of all sorts is how to distill the founder's ambition, vanity, brilliance, and energy into something durable—in short, how to depersonalize the initiative, and in the case of apparently successful efforts, replicate them.

From experience, many development practitioners have learned to see clearly and accept the highly personal nature of the early phases of institutional development as a natural and inevitable condition. Only a few understand how the principle extends to institutions that are market based. When the ideas of profit and personal initiative—two of the most important cultural values of market-based enterprise—are fused, the budget-based mind often recoils.

It is taken as axiomatic that if profit is an organizational necessity and a residual indicator of responsiveness to people's real needs, it is also—and primarily—a motivator at the personal level, and such motivations are held in very low regard. The idea of profit is therefore not only the great stumbling block to donors' and NGOs' understanding of how the market constrains enterprise, but also an obstacle to their comprehending the indispensable personal dimension of private-venture creation.

Nearly everyone in the market, not surprisingly, claims only the purest motivations and best intentions. “Look no further!” is the seller's hopeful cry, whether the monger's wares are professional services or quintals of coffee beans. To paraphrase the wry remark of Descartes, good intentions must be the commonest thing on earth, since even people who are most difficult to satisfy in other matters never complain about not having enough of them.

Consumers seek some relief from these self-proclaimed good intentions by comparing competing products or

services, by consulting other sources of supply, or by banding together when they can to counterbalance a lack of choice. Entrepreneurs delight in this desire for choice: It is their lease on life. The possibility of profit is both their requirement and motivation—and a message from consumers to keep doing what they are doing.

Failure to allow for such legitimate personal motivations often leads to a dearth of entrepreneurial talent in many market-based initiatives supported by donors. Rather than reexamine the cultural bias against profit that contributes to this condition, many budget-based donors are much more comfortable with attempting to train a beneficiary's existing employees or members to fill the void. Training in fact harmonizes well with budget-based culture. It lends itself to precisely quantifiable levels of participation. It has tidy starting and ending points. It can evoke fashionable concepts that resonate with the donor's own funders and thereby enhance its metaproduct.

Perhaps most important from the donor's standpoint, however, freshly minted managers up from the ranks are perceived to be free of the ambition and greed that are thought to possess entrepreneurs. In other words, they look more like technically proficient, bureaucratic administrators.

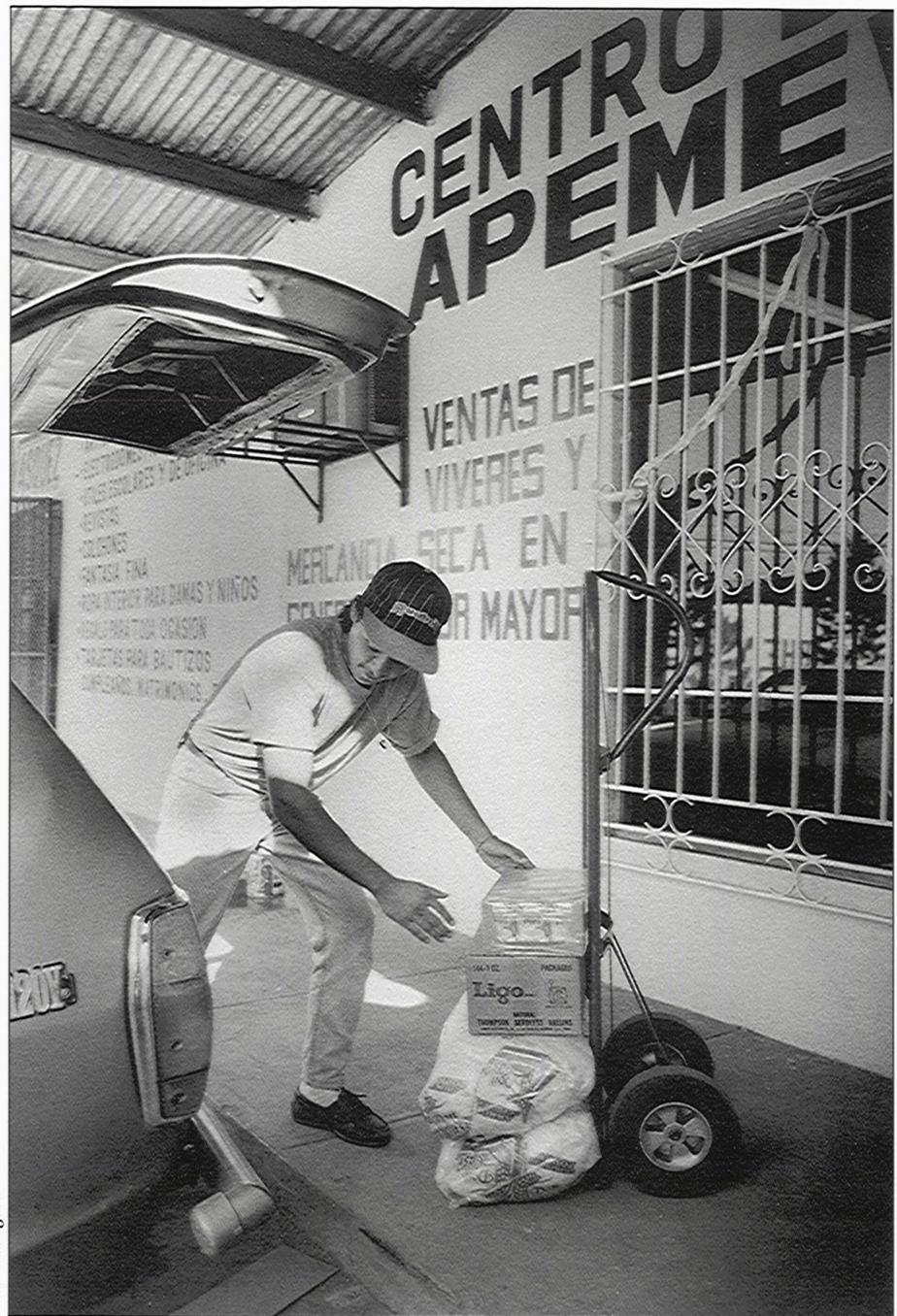
This widely held belief at budget-based institutions that training supplies an adequate answer for the personal dimension of enterprise reveals another deep-seated value that is at odds with the culture of the market. Training presupposes that what the poor lack to make their ventures succeed, at least from the human-resources point of view, is knowledge. Knowledge is power, after all; so to empower disadvantaged populations must mean to bring them the knowledge—boiled down, translated, and appropriately packaged—that has allowed others to succeed.

Unfortunately, no one really knows what combination of skill and experience is necessary or sufficient to make a business succeed, and how much of it can be imparted formally. A recent, exhaustive study of newly formed businesses in the United States was unable to isolate convincing predictors of business success or failure (Cooper et al., 1990). It seems reason-

able to assert that an understanding of marketing, finance, organizational behavior, accounting, and other discrete bodies of knowledge ought to increase the likelihood of business success. The problem, however, is that we still know very little about how these separate elements fit together to create a viable enterprise. What skills are really required, in what proportions, on what timetable, in what circumstances? Simply bringing together a broad cross-section of individual technical skills is no guarantee of satisfactory performance. The judgment to combine disparate elements appropriately remains the most elusive entrepreneurial skill—and one that is highly personal.

In the final analysis, the most compelling lessons about enterprise are those cast in the form of narratives about actual ventures. The world's most important business schools still build their top management curricula around case studies, that is, the actual histories of real ventures. (It is unsettling, too, that these histories often reveal that the most spectacular failures have occurred in enterprises with the greatest access to specialized business skills.) Technical knowledge and teachable skills take on meaning only within the larger context of the venture itself. What poet Paul Claudel wrote about the relation of words to a literary work could be equally said about the connection between specialized knowledge and enterprise: "[I]t isn't the words that create the *Iliad*," he wrote, "it's the *Iliad* that creates or selects the words . . . [which] are only disconnected fragments of a pre-existing whole." Knowing the words that compose the *Iliad* (or inventing them) was necessary to write it, but not sufficient. The possession of formally imparted business skills is even less obviously connected to the act of business venturing than literacy is to authorship.

**B**udget-based development organizations can deal professionally with economic initiatives—that is, intervene benevolently yet “not knowingly do harm”—only if they understand the culture of the market and encourage their beneficiaries to integrate themselves appropriately into it. Some argue that the cultural difference is so great that it



Emma Rodriguez

*Small-scale grocers in Panama formed the Asociación de Pequeños y Medianos Empresarios de Veraguas (APEMEVE) to lower costs of staples through bulk purchasing and storage, and to broker marketing and technical assistance services.*

cannot be bridged and that economic development should therefore be exclusively the sphere of venture capitalists. On the other hand, austerity-inspired elimination of government services and a new consciousness and creativity about the role of the market in development are affecting the whole hemisphere (and much of

the rest of the world). The entry of market considerations into the development equation is massive and unmistakable. Development practitioners and donors that intend to remain responsive, especially to grassroots initiatives, can hardly remain relevant to the evolving needs of poor

populations without supporting their economic venture initiatives.

There are other reasons for donors not to abandon the arena. Unlike private investors, venture capitalists, or bankers, it matters to donors as development professionals whether the wealth being created by successful ventures is being adequately distributed, especially to those with the least political leverage. It matters also whether individual enterprises and what they produce contribute to society's broader development. Concern with redistribution, social progress, and environmental impact will be fruitless, however, unless it is in harmony with the essential cultural values of business enterprise itself—with the limiting discipline of the market, with individual initiative, and with the central role of profits in each.

It is clear that budget-based donors and their NGO partners can achieve this harmony only if they graft onto their own language of order, coherence, and procedural correctness a new and culturally foreign vocabulary of market quality, productivity, and profitability. It is by no means obvious how they can do so. Many of their deepest instincts are against it.

On the other hand, the mere recognition that the organizational culture of budget-based development agencies prevents them from speaking—or understanding—the entrepreneurial language of market-based initiatives would be a major step in the right direction. How that recognition finds expression in concrete steps taken by donors and development NGOs will vary greatly according to the circumstances. At a minimum it should involve, first, financial benchmarks and performance milestones as integral parts of market-based project objectives. In this way it will be clear to both donor and beneficiary whether or not an economic initiative is actually creating value and is solvent. Second, the social and business aspects of a beneficiary's initiative ought to be disaggregated, and the beneficiary might even be encouraged to set up organizationally distinct entities to manage the two. Those parts of a venture that must be tempered by market forces in the interest of long-term viability could then be unambiguously subjected to the discipline and incentive

of profitability. Third, development agencies could interpose market-based service providers between themselves and beneficiaries whenever possible. Market-based vendors of financial, marketing, managerial, or technical services, for example, are much less likely to obscure the relationship between cost and practical value than a donor providing similar services gratis.

Donors and their NGO partners could play a valuable brokering or regulating role during the initial stages of this process. Beneficiaries could also perform much of this regulating role themselves by forming networks for purchasing such services and sharing information on the effectiveness of vendors. The information technology now widely available makes such networking easily within the reach of even the smallest organizations. Once again, development organizations could usefully assist this process of self-help, provided that their actions are guided by the conviction that it is the consumers who must ultimately be satisfied.

Measures of this sort would require extra effort by donors and would create an unaccustomed distance between them and their beneficiaries. It would be an artificial distance, based on pretense that a donor's metaproduct of words must be a true reflection of its actual success at supporting viable economic ventures. Pretense need not be hypocrisy, then, if it is tested against its effectiveness at meeting the aspirations of a growing segment of the poor.

A story from the past might be instructive. A young man, worried that his loss of faith might endanger his happiness in life, once asked Blaise Pascal what he should do. The French mathematician and philosopher replied, "Pretend." The worldly benefits the young man sought could as easily come from acting on a convenient fiction as from true conviction, thought Pascal. In fact, many of the blessings of civilization—from adherence to the rule of law to peace between neighbors—prove the wisdom of this seemingly flippant insight.

Donors and their NGO partners cannot "get religion" on the subject of venture creation because their very nature is against it. They can, however, get many of its benefits by cre-

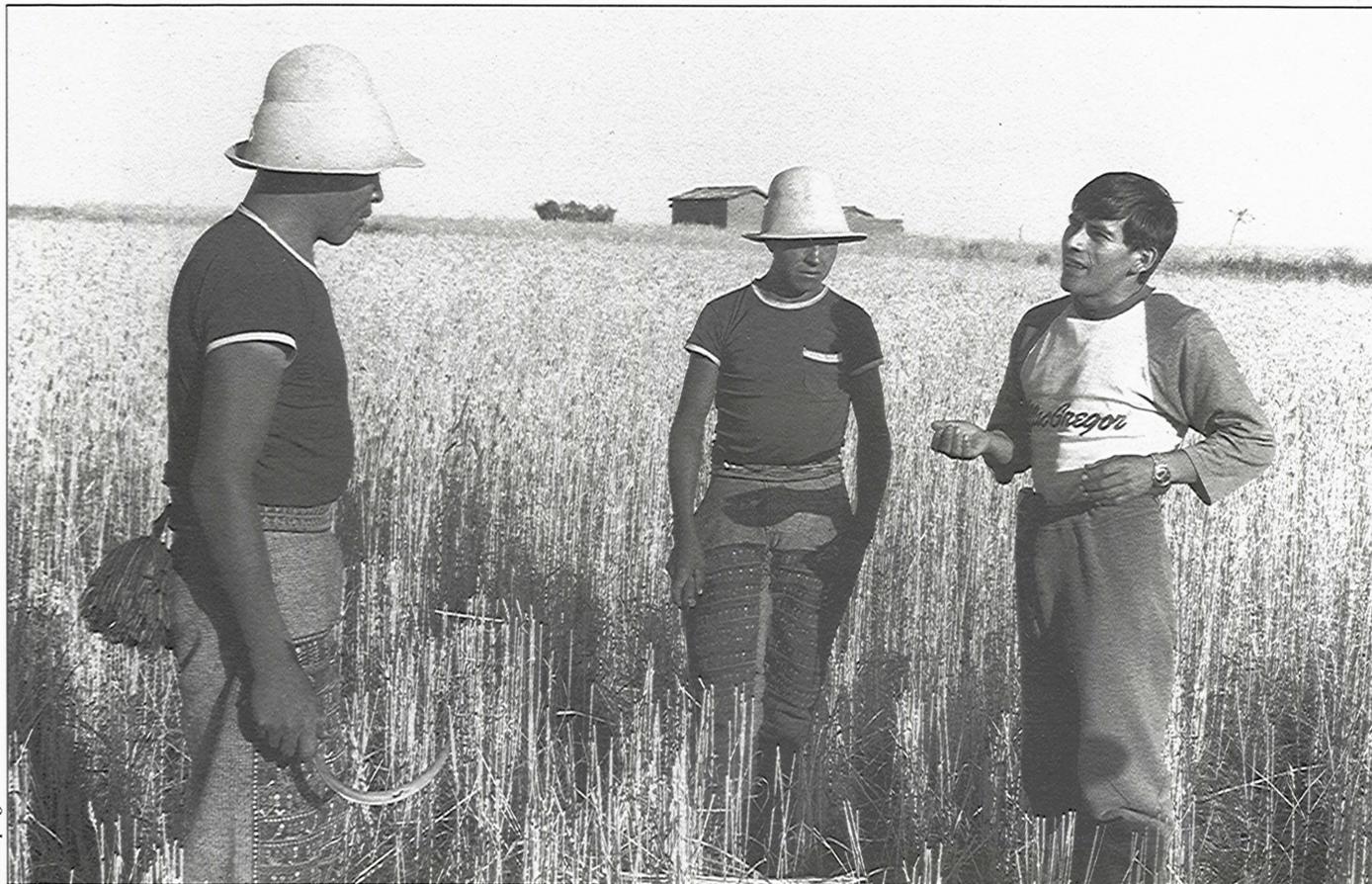
atively pretending. The alternative is the likelihood that misguided intervention in the process of economic development will continue, distorting the focus of organizations away from a market orientation and toward a bureaucratic world of words. This would be for many intended beneficiaries a major—and probably fatal—disservice. ❖

GREGORY F. ROBISON has advised the Foundation since 1991 on issues related to support of economic initiatives. He has been a development consultant in the Middle East and the Caribbean; a securities analyst on Wall Street; and a manager in industrial corporations in Europe and the United States.

#### REFERENCES

- Allen, Louis L. 1968. *Starting and Succeeding in Your Own Business*. New York: Grosset & Dunlap. (Spanish edition: *Cómo iniciar y hacer prosperar la pequeña empresa*. Pamplona, Barcelona: Ediciones Universidad de Navarra, S.A. 1977.)
- Blayney, Robert G. and Diane B. Bendahmane. 1988. *The Inter-American Foundation and the Small- and Micro-enterprise Sector*. Rosslyn, Virginia: Inter-American Foundation.
- Cooper, Arnold C., et al. 1990. *New Business in America: The Firms & Their Owners*. Washington, D.C.: The NFIB Foundation.
- Drucker, Peter F. 1973. *Management: Tasks, Responsibilities, Practices*. New York: Harper & Row.
- Hirschman, Albert O. 1983. The Principle of Conservation and Mutation of Social Energy, in *Grassroots Development* Vol. 7, No. 2.
- . 1984. *Getting Ahead Collectively*. New York: Pergamon Press.
- Normann, Richard and Rafael Ramirez. 1993. From Value Chain to Value Constellation: Designing Interactive Strategy, in *Harvard Business Review*, July–August issue.
- Novak, Michael. 1993. *The Catholic Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*. New York: The Free Press (Macmillan).
- Pirela Martínez, Hugo. 1990. The Gray Area in Microenterprise Development, in *Grassroots Development* Vol. 14, No. 2.
- "Research Report." 1989. Searching for Comparative Advantage: The IAF and Microenterprise Development, in *Grassroots Development* Vol. 13, No. 1.
- Swetz, Frank J. 1987. *Capitalism and Arithmetic*. La Salle, IL: Open Court.
- von Mises, Ludwig. 1944. *Bureaucracy*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Wines, Sarah W. 1985. Stages of Microenterprise Growth in the Dominican Informal Sector, in *Grassroots Development* Vol. 9, No. 2.
- Wolfe, Alan. August 1991. Three Paths to Development: Market, State, and Civil Society. A paper delivered in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, at the First International Meeting of NGOs and the UN System Agencies.

## Many Peoples, One Earth, One Nation



Sean Sprague

A bilingual agronomist from Centro de Comunicación y Desarrollo Andino works side by side with Quechua-speaking Bolivian farmers to recover native crop strains and boost yields.

### Víctor Hugo Cárdenas Conde

The United Nations declared 1993 to be the year of indigenous peoples, calling attention to the marginalized conditions they often face in their own lands and the important contributions they make to the cultural heritage of humanity. Of the estimated 500 million indigenous peoples worldwide, some 20 million of them are Native Americans living in Central and South America. One of them, Víctor Hugo Cárdenas Conde, who grew up in an adobe hut by the

shores of Lake Titicaca, was recently elected vice president of Bolivia. He is the first Bolivian of Aymara descent to reach such a high office by affirming his heritage and proclaiming that the culturally aware grassroots efforts of indigenous peoples hold vital clues to the nation's future development. The following text is adapted from the address Vice President Cárdenas delivered at his inauguration on August 6, 1993.

After 500 years of colonial silence and 168 years of exclusion under the

republic, we have stepped forward to tell our truth. Ours has been a history of perpetual struggle for freedom and justice. Today we are entering the age of a new *Pachakuti*, as my parents would have said, a time of fundamental change. Today Bolivians stand as one in order to begin transforming five centuries of exclusion and marginality into a new era of inclusion.

Indeed, we find ourselves on the brink of a new *Qhanatavi*, as my parents taught me, a democratic

awakening in which all Bolivians—from the countryside, the city, the mines, the altiplano, the valleys, and the high mountain valleys—are coming together to put behind them centuries of poverty and neglect. Today, the indigenous and nonindigenous peoples of Bolivia are joining hands to build a democratic system that binds the country together by recognizing its multicultural heritage. Indeed, if democracy is to be real in a multiethnic, multilingual nation, then that democracy must also be multiethnic and multilingual.

Our motto should be: Unity in diversity. Just as a tall tree is anchored and nurtured by its many roots, we must root ourselves in our history and its multicultural reality. When we develop our own historical matrix, we can begin to assimilate the best of what other civilizations, other cultures have to offer.

Together, under the Constitution and the *Plan de Todos* [a campaign platform that pledges inclusion for all], we will be guided during our term of office by four principles espoused by native peoples: *Ama Suwa, Ama Llulla, Ama Qhilla, and Ama Llunk'u*. These four principles mean what the Bolivian people all know: Do not steal, do not lie, do not be lazy, and do not flatter.

If we are to move forward, then we must look to the past, bringing forward what is best and learning from our mistakes in order to build a society that diminishes inequality and injustice. This is a journey that can only be made together.

To my brothers and sisters who are Quechua, let me say in Quechua: In the great house of this government, our Quechua people will be forgotten no more. From this day on we must advance by thinking the thoughts of all Bolivians—do not steal, do not lie, do not be lazy, and do not flatter. Throughout this nation, all Bolivians know that democ-

racy will not thrive without the Quechua heritage.

To my brothers and sisters who are Aymara, let me say in Aymara: The leaders of our homeland, Bolivia, should be concerned for our well-being. In this country there are many paths, many languages, and all types of memories and cultures. Yet as we know well, all of us arose from the comfort and shelter of our one earth, the *Pachamama*.

Our father, Tupac Katari, said, "I will die, but over me will come thousands of millions." Today we, his grandchildren, are thousands of millions. Henceforth, let us see things with the eyes of one people so that our homeland, Bolivia, may be great.

And because Bolivia is not just Quechua, Spanish, and Aymara but also Guaraní, let me address my Guaraní brothers and sisters in the language of their fathers and mothers: After many difficulties and frustrations, it has become possible, at last, to integrate the Guaraní people into Bolivian society. This will be a hallmark of our lifetimes.

We who live in Bolivia, whether we speak Guaraní, Aymara, Quechua, Mojeño, or one of the many other languages voiced in this land, we must join hands today to work with [the new government] to ensure the equality of all peoples in pursuit of the common good. We must heed the wise words of our great leader Apiaguaiki and realize that, from this moment on, there can be neither exploiter nor oppressor. We must all be equals.

Brothers and sisters of Bolivia, I dedicated myself years ago, in my native home of Sank'ay Jawira, which means "river of cactus flowers," to serving the people of my community without ever compromising their hope or dignity. Now, because you, the citizens, wish it, I am part of the much larger community called Bolivia. Today, we pledge

never to deprive the Bolivian pueblo of its dignity and hope. We will work tirelessly to see our country's children free from hunger, and in schools where they can learn in their own tongues, as well as in Spanish, and where all are welcome to develop their own cultures so that we can finally construct an authentic national unity.

This dream is not confined to our country, but spans the Americas. It is our journey to make together. I am honored to make that journey beside [Nobel Peace Prize winner] Rigoberta Menchu, the brave Mayan woman from Guatemala who joins us here today and who is telling the story of indigenous Americans to the world.

My dream is of a Bolivia, of an American continent, in which there is respect among different cultures and peoples. I dream of a world in which there is more than respect, in which there is recognition that we are all human beings.

And so, people of Bolivia, I remind you that the task of governing is not for leaders alone. Politics is too important to be left in the hands of politicians. All citizens, all men and women of Bolivia—whether you work in the mines or in the fields, live in the countryside or the city, or speak one language or another—let us all embark on a common journey to build a better tomorrow. Only as coresponsible governors and citizens can we secure the future of our beloved nation, Bolivia. ❖

Opinions expressed in this column are not necessarily those of the Inter-American Foundation. The editors of *Grassroots Development* invite contributions from readers.

# Development Notes

## Facilitating Markets for Organic Farming

As world population growth drives up aggregate demand for food, farmers, consumers, scientists, and policy-makers are increasingly worried about side effects from the modern technologies being used to intensify agricultural yields. Pesticides and fertilizers run off into rivers and lakes, leach into groundwater, and leave chemical residues on grains, fruits, and vegetables. Antibiotics accumulate in the fatty tissue of food animals. The attempt to achieve agroindustrial economies of scale leaves topsoils vulnerable to erosion and threatens to deplete water supplies.

Growing doubts about the long-term sustainability of agriculture's "green revolution" are fueling new interest in organic farming and its "natural" systems of soil enhancement and pest control. Urban residents concerned about the safety of the food supply, farmers concerned about the high costs of agrochemicals, scientists and citizens alarmed about threats to the ecosystem, and businessmen piqued by the rising demand for healthy and environmentally friendly food products are part of a worldwide movement that is calling a new market into being.

Finding practical ways to facilitate this trend was the focus of a three-day conference convened in Baltimore, Maryland, in September 1993 by the International Federation of Organic Agriculture Movements (IFOAM). IFOAM, a worldwide network founded in Europe in 1972 to bring together concerned scientists, farmers, and consumers, devoted its third international conference to exploring how the emerging trade in organic products could be expanded. Cohosted by the Organic Foods Production Association of North America (OFFANA) and New Hope Communications, both of

which are based in the United States, the conference attracted hundreds of participants from all corners of the planet.

The U.S. conference site was apt since the burgeoning U.S. market for organic products—which posted a 23 percent rise in sales during 1992 to \$1.5 billion—is a potential engine for making organic production in other parts of the world more economically viable. A half-day trade fair attracted exhibits from 56 businesses selling organic food products.

Conference seminars covered a range of topics: consumer-research profiles of organic markets; marketing case studies of organically grown commodities, including herbs, spices, and coffee; effective advertising; product certification; and trade. The sessions on product certification and trade were of special interest to overseas producers trying to reach the U.S. market. One potential barrier to trade is the lack of international standards for certifying that products are indeed organically grown. Export growers in the developing world usually have to pay for an inspector suitable to the prospective buyer to certify their products. The cost of a foreign inspector is often too expensive for small-scale organic producers.

Farmers and others at the conference felt that now is the time for organic farmers to organize and participate in defining standards in their own countries and establishing reputable agencies to show that those standards have been met. This will be especially important in the developing world, where small-scale farmers express growing interest in organic farming as loans for chemical inputs dry up. Finding workable standards will not be easy since the desire of consumers and marketers for standardized criteria that require extensive record keeping may be an insurmountable barrier for small-

scale, illiterate farmers to hurdle. Nonetheless, steps to finding solutions are under way. There are movements in Mexico and several Central American countries to train local inspectors and establish internationally recognized certification agencies.

IFOAM currently offers information and guidance to groups around the world interested in developing local certification procedures, and hopes to become an internationally recognized accreditor of local agencies. For further information, contact IFOAM, c/o Okozentrum Imsbach, D-6695 Tholey-Theley, Germany (phone: 49-6853-5190; fax: 49-6853-30110); OFFANA, P.O. Box 1078, Greenfield, Massachusetts 01302 (phone: 413-774-7511; fax: 413-774-6432); or New Hope Communications/Natural Products Expo, 1301 Spruce Street, Boulder, Colorado 80302 (phone: 303-939-8440; fax: 303-939-9559).

—James G. Adriance

## Scaling Up the Credit Market for Mexican Microenterprise

On September 24, 1993, Asesoría Dinámica a Microempresas, A.C. (ADMIC) hosted a meeting in the state capital of Oaxaca on how to expand and improve credit services to microenterprises, at which it announced the creation of a new legal entity, FINMICRO, to attract private capital to the sector. The meeting attracted representatives from donor agencies, the Mexican government, and nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) assisting microenterprises within the country and in other parts of the hemisphere through the ACCIÓN International Network.

ADMIC was founded in 1979 by businessmen in Monterrey to assist small entrepreneurs in the city that is one of the industrial engines of Mexico. Today it operates regional offices



Mexican Finance Minister Pedro Aspe Armella tells ADMIC's conference on expanding credit services to microenterprises that private small-loan funds are key to reforming the national economy.

in 11 Mexican states, primarily in the north and center of the country, that offer loans at national commercial rates (presently above 20 percent) and technical assistance to microenterprises employing five or fewer people. ADMIC has received credit lines from the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB) worth \$1 million. Since 1990, the Asesoría has hugely augmented its capital base by serving as an intermediary institution of the government development bank Nacional Financiera, last year funneling loans in excess of \$20 million to nearly 4,500 microenterprises.

Commenting on that record and building upon it, Mexican Finance Minister Pedro Aspe Armella stated that the privatization of small lending was crucial to reforming the country's economy. ADMIC, through its controlling interest in FINMICRO, is in the vanguard of that reform. FINMICRO is one of the first examples of a *sociedad financiera de objeto limitado*, or financial intermediary institution, that was authorized by the national reform legislation of 1992. It is the

first such institution devoted to microenterprise.

The Inter-American Investment Corporation of the IDB has pledged \$500,000 to FINMICRO, with an option for doubling that amount in future years. ADMIC believes that the new entity will catalyze previously untapped funding sources to meet expanding demand among microenterprises and provide clients with improved training and technical assistance services to meet the challenges that will come with implementation of the North American Free Trade Agreement in 1994.

David Garza Laguera, ADMIC board president and one of the country's leading industrialists, sketched out the size of that need, pointing out that the Asesoría has previously been able to work with only 1 percent of Mexico's microenterprises. Michael Chu of the ACCIÓN affiliate Fondo Boliviano de Emergencia Social estimated that its annual portfolio of \$4.5 million reached only 2 percent of Bolivia's qualified clientele. Chu argued that the low delinquency rate of under

5 percent proves the model of commercial-rate lending to the poor works and that the potential market "exceeds the traditional sources of support open to NGOs," including the IDB and the U.S. Agency for International Development. Chu advocated greater involvement by private banks, a concept the FINMICRO model will test.

Dividing up into work groups, participants offered several ideas for improving ADMIC's assistance to microenterprises. Among those were promotion of "associationism" through cooperative-like ventures to cut raw-material costs through bulk purchases, to boost profits through joint marketing, and to develop skills by sharing business experiences. Others suggested setting up a Chamber of Microentrepreneurs to meet needs that were being overlooked by the larger business guilds; raising ADMIC's national profile by having its board of directors reach out to the private sector, government, and the media; and establishing partnership agreements with university programs to augment ADMIC's training facilities.

—John Burstein

## Sharing Visions of Life in Latin America and the Caribbean

Latin America and the Caribbean have had a long and rich history of cinema production. The introduction of the camcorder has now given birth to a virtual explosion of grassroots groups and independent artists who are making their own videos. However, most of these insightful, innovative, and authentic film and video materials never make it to audiences outside of their own countries or communities. To help fill that void, the International Media Resource Exchange (IMRE)—a nonprofit networking and resource

center based in New York City—has been established to facilitate worldwide distribution of videos made by noncommercial producers in Latin America and the Caribbean.

With help from the Rockefeller and MacArthur Foundations, IMRE has created the Latin American Video Archives (LAVA) and Database to provide a centralized service that connects users with films and tapes from the region. LAVA's database includes more than 3,000 titles, covering numerous subjects and genres, including documentary, narrative, experimental, animation, and music videos. Ecology, labor, human rights, international development, history, arts, and culture are some of the more than 300 subject references compiled in LAVA's index.

IMRE is currently working to broaden its scope. As Karen Ranucci, the exchange's founder and executive director, explains, "Until now, our primary focus has been to reverse the uneven flow of information by bringing work from the South to show in a variety of venues in the North." In the past, U.S.-based universities, art galleries, museums, and community organizations were the primary consumers of IMRE services. Today, because much of the subject matter is relevant to conditions in Latin America and the Caribbean and because many videos are produced in Spanish, IMRE is turning its focus toward grassroots organizations there that are curious about what can be learned from the experience of others in the region.

Associate Director Julie Feldman emphasized that "the value of this information is limited unless we can facilitate video access to users in Latin America and the Caribbean." To meet this goal, IMRE is working to extend its service model at the local level by entering partnerships with existing *videotecas*, or clearinghouses, in Costa Rica, Peru, and Brazil.

Also in the works is a bimonthly newsletter called *UNITS*. Each issue will give detailed information about a series of tapes on the same theme or subject. The "Speakers Bureau" column will list Latin American videomakers who will be visiting the United States and are available to present their work. A tape-exchange section will list tapes available free of charge in return for translation services.

A yearly membership fee to IMRE costs \$35 and includes access to the database, free viewing of tapes from IMRE's archive center, and discounts on tape purchases or rentals. Nonmembers are charged a small search fee to cover administrative expenses. A catalogue of available tapes is provided upon request.

"Cooperation has been the key to the success of the LAVA project," says Ranucci. "Hundreds of people have been working together, sharing information and resources to make this center a reality. In many ways, [this project] seems to have a life of its own. The Latin American producers understand how the LAVA project can help them get their work out and are constantly sending us new materials, while more and more users who learn about our service ask us to search out tapes. If LAVA keeps growing the way it has . . . well, the sky's the limit."

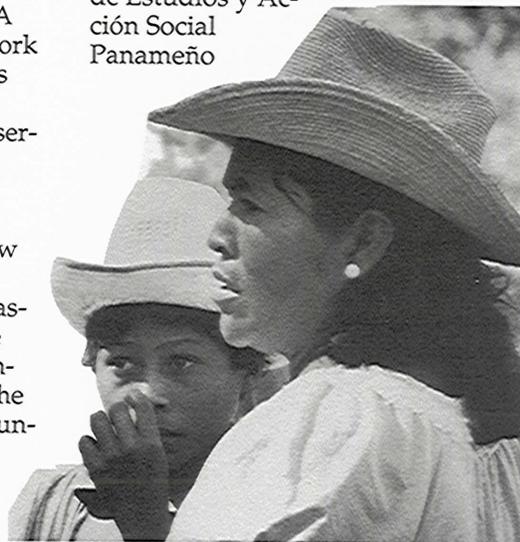
IMRE is always looking for new videos to promote. Submissions should include a VHS preview cassette, a written description of the tape, and pertinent production information such as the names of the production group and director, running time, year, and how to contact the producers. Video submissions should be sent to the Latin American Video Archive and Database, 124 Washington Place, New York, NY 10014.

—Maria E. Barry

## Indigenous Peoples Put Themselves on the Map

Thirty years ago, eastern Panama was largely intact forestland inhabited by three indigenous groups—the Emberá, the Wounaan, and the Kuna—and small colonies descended from escaped slaves. Today it has become a battleground on which the native inhabitants are fighting to stem the incursions of loggers, cattle ranchers, and landless colonists from the country's interior provinces. Since construction of the Bayano Hydroelectric Dam and extension of the Pan American Highway to the town of Yaviza in the mid-1970s, the area's lush forests have been rapidly dwindling, together with the subsistence base of local peoples. Now a new threat looms with proposals to complete the last stretch of the Highway into Colombia.

As a first step toward counteracting the threat, the congresses of the Emberá, Wounaan, and Kuna peoples and the Centro de Estudios y Acción Social Panameño



Rick Tejada Flores

*Honduran peasant organizer Elvia Alvarado, featured in the film Elvia: The Fight for Land and Liberty, distributed by IMRE.*

(CEASPA) recently undertook a participatory exercise to map indigenous claims in Darién Province. From May to October 1993, a team of cartographers and 23 indigenous *encuestadores*, or surveyors, from communities throughout the region produced maps detailing not only the geography of the area but also native people's land-use patterns. Each *encuestador* was responsible for a zone encompassing up to five or six communities, so that all of the territory inhabited and used by indigenous groups for subsistence was covered.

The mapping occurred in three stages, each focused around a workshop. The first began with a workshop in which three Indian coordinators—Genaro Pacheco and Facundo Sanapí, both Emberá, and Gerales Hernández, a Kuna—met with *encuestadores* to develop land-use questionnaires and discuss mapping methodologies. The *encuestadores* then journeyed into the field, where they took a complete census count, filled in the questionnaires, and made careful cartographic records of their assigned zones. With the assistance of villagers, surveyors transformed large blank sheets of paper into meticulous depictions of river systems and the places where local people hunted, fished, cut firewood, gathered building materials, and collected medicines and wild food products.

With this information in hand, the *encuestadores* returned to a second workshop, where they met with Peter Herlihy, a University of Kansas geographer who has extensive field experience in the Darién, to construct composite maps from existing aerial photographs and the new community-drawn maps. After several weeks, the surveyors returned to the field to fill in the remaining gaps in information and

check for errors. A third workshop put the final touches on the maps.

Several cartographers from the Instituto Geográfico Nacional "Tommy Guardia" and the National University assisted in this task. In their estimation, the resulting maps are, by far, the most accurate and detailed ever done of the area. For

The Emberá, the Wounaan, and the Kuna presented information from their maps, together with discussions of subsistence patterns, resource management, and social and political organization, at a forum at the El Panamá Hotel in Panama City on October 26–27, 1993. With more than 500 people in attendance, the Indians expressed their views to the government and general public regarding the proper use of the Darién.

The final map of the Darién, to be completed by April 1994, is the property of the Emberá, Wounaan, and Kuna peoples. It will show the intimate relationship between remaining natural vegetation patterns and patterns of indigenous settlement and land use. These data will be crucial as indigenous leaders engage in discussions over the future of their region, which stands at the brink of massive and potentially devastating change.

Of particular concern are pending negotiations between the governments of Colombia and Panama to finish the last stretch of the Pan American Highway connecting the two countries as well as South and Central America. Although the road would cut through the heart of Indian territory, indigenous leaders have thus far been given little voice in the matter. The mapping process and the recent forum are a step in opening up the process. "We are giving one more example to our government," said Leopoldo Bacorizo, the general chief of the Emberá-Wounaan Congress, "so it understands what is at stake and can coordinate with us on the solutions to our problems."

During the forum's closing ceremony, Charlotte Elton, director of CEASPA, applauded the accomplishments of the mapping project but reminded everyone that this was merely the first step and the work had just begun.



*A conference folder celebrating the pathbreaking effort of Panama's Indians to map their own territory.*

the first time there is clear demarcation of the areas used by the indigenous peoples of the Darién and the ways in which they manage the area's natural resources. However, the most important achievement of the process may well be the refinement of a mapping methodology that uses maximum participation by local people to craft a product with high scientific value. It is a methodology that can be easily adapted by indigenous people anywhere in mapping their own territories.

A similar land-use map of the Mosquitia region in Honduras was produced by the indigenous support group MOPAWI and the Miskito Indian organization MASTA in 1992, and another effort by the Miskito group MIKUPIA is scheduled to begin soon in the Miskito Coast Protected Area in northeast Nicaragua.

Such tasks require coordinated support by many actors. In the case of the Darién effort, for instance, technical, logistical, and financial assistance comes from no fewer than 16 Panamanian and international conservation and development organizations. Once the mapping is complete, attention must turn to using the information to build public support for preserving Central America's last remaining forests by supporting the people who have managed them successfully for centuries.

—Mac Chapin

## Putting Grassroots Development on the Information Highway

If there is one essential tool for developmentalists who "think globally and act locally," it is the electronic computer network. Access to a network allows grassroots practitioners to share ideas instantly with thousands of colleagues worldwide via electronic conferences; access a variety of databases containing information difficult or impossible to find locally; and trade documents in editable form back and forth across continents in minutes rather than weeks.

Three obstacles have prevented greater use of computer networks: complicated, character-based commands; costly per-minute-use billing procedures; and lack of local access nodes for people in remote locations. The Together Foundation for Global Unity, through its TogetherNet, has addressed the first two obstacles and is working on the third.

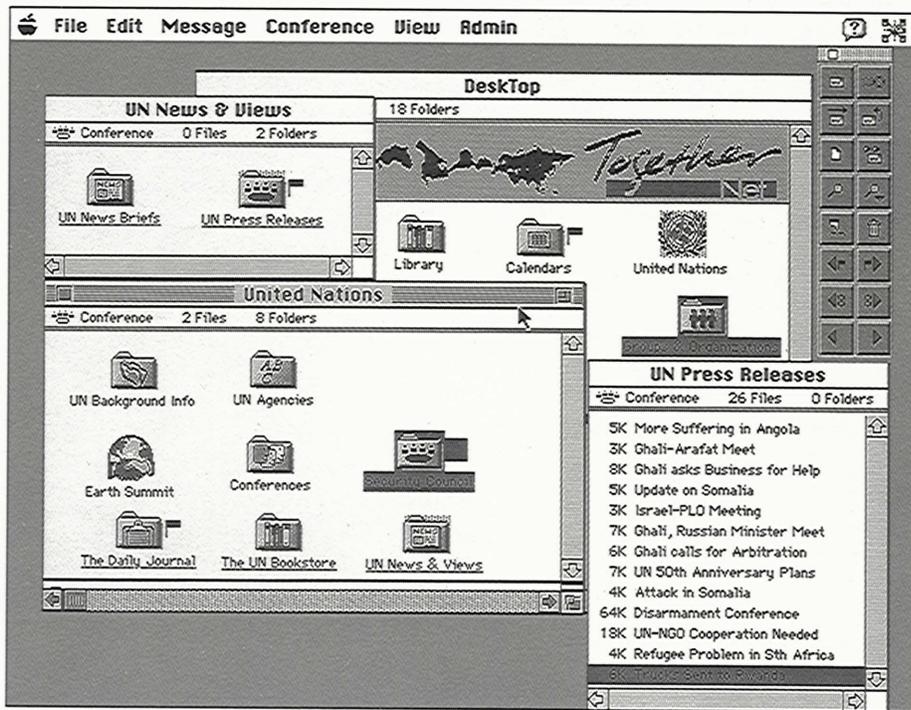
TogetherNet allows personal computer (PC) users with Microsoft Windows software, as well as Apple Macintosh users, to enter the network through a simple, icon-based graphic interface (see diagram).

Even novices with only a basic understanding of computers can quickly become active on TogetherNet, since there is no need to master numerous arcane commands. For people accessing the system with PCs running on MS-DOS, there is a more traditional, command-line user interface using any communications software package.

In addition to being user friendly, TogetherNet is also economical. For a \$15 connection charge and a \$10 monthly fee, users have unlimited access and no per-minute, on-line charge within the local calling area of the host systems in Burlington,

Vermont; Denver, Colorado; New York City; Caracas, Venezuela; and Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. This will give new subscribers the luxury of browsing through the hundreds of conferences available, researching the many on-line databases, and learning about the myriad possibilities the network offers without worrying about racking up expensive monthly bills. For a modest additional cost, TogetherNet will soon be accessible throughout the United States via SprintNet's X.25 network.

The Together Foundation is now tackling the obstacle of connecting groups in different locations. The Together Foundation has set up a host station for TogetherNet in Caracas and entered into a partnership with the Brazilian environmental group Pro Natura to develop one in Rio de Janeiro. "We are exploring the possi-



*TogetherNet will allow users to access U.N. information immediately after its public release. Here is a sample of how the U.N. section of TogetherNet appears on a Macintosh computer.*

bility of setting up host stations in Argentina, Colombia, Costa Rica, Mexico, and other countries in Latin America and the Caribbean," says Jim MacIntyre, comanaging director of the Together Foundation. "We are looking for similar partners . . . throughout the region," he added.

Another distinctive feature of TogetherNet is on-line access to vital United Nations information. Security Council resolutions, background information on U.N. issues, and other

related materials are available on line immediately after their public release. Users can quickly search by word or subject through large volumes of material to locate topics of interest. This feature can be applied to any database on the network. For example, a nongovernmental organization could scan a database of thousands of foundations and grantmaking institutions using specific search criteria in order to pinpoint those most likely to fund a proposal for a

new or existing program. Other TogetherNet services include e-mail, computer-fax capability, and Internet-conferencing access.

For further information, contact Adam Rogers, Director of Communications, Together Foundation, 130 South Willard St., Burlington, Vermont 05401 (phone: 802-862-2030; fax: 802-862-1890; e-mail: adam\_rogers@together.org).

—Richard Boly ❖

## IAF GRANTEES IN THE NEWS

*Focus*, a newsletter of the World Wildlife Fund (WWF), announced that WWF awarded one of its J. Paul Getty Wildlife Conservation Prizes to the **Comité para la Defensa y Desarrollo de la Flor y Fauna del Golfo de Fonseca (CODDEFFAGOLF)** in Honduras. CODDEFFAGOLF received the prize because, as WWF's president stated, "it proves that the dedication of local communities can make a pivotal difference in nature conservation." • Sister Susan Frazer, superintendent of **St. John Bosco Children's Home** in Jamaica, was a guest speaker on the television program "Good Morning America." Sister Susan discussed the home's new income-generating trade center that will teach young boys meat-cutting skills. • According to *El Nuevo Diario*, the **Asociación Pro Integración y Ayuda al Sordo** in Nicaragua celebrated seven years of providing literacy training, classes in sign language, job-skills training, and more to integrate people with hearing impairments into mainstream society. • *Prensa Libre* of Guatemala recently reported the first organic agriculture fair to be held in that country.

ALTERTEC sponsored the fair to promote the benefits of growing



Emma Rodríguez

*Efraín Hernández (left) and Gabino Sutuj of ALTERTEC in Guatemala bag organic fertilizer made of wood ashes and horse manure.*

and consuming organic agriculture products. Over 300 participants displayed their diverse harvests, including beans, broccoli, carrots, and medicinal herbs. • The work of the **Instituto Dominicano de Desarrollo Integral (IDDI)**, which promotes the self-help efforts of the Dominican Republic's urban poor, received substantial coverage during the past year. As illustrated in the *Santo Domingo News* and *El Caribe*, IDDI works with famous baseball players, such as Juan Marichal, who lend their names and time to raise funds to improve socioeconomic services in low-income neighborhoods. • *La Barricada* newspaper in Nicaragua reported that the 82 members of **Vendedores Populares Comunidad Urbana Productiva Barrio René Cisneros**, a savings and credit cooperative in Managua, gathered to celebrate the success of their first year in operation. Jorge Flores, the cooperative's president, said that the members have not yet grown economically, but are surviving and managing to pay off their original loans plus an interest rate of 2 percent. ❖

—Compiled by Maria E. Barry

# Reviews

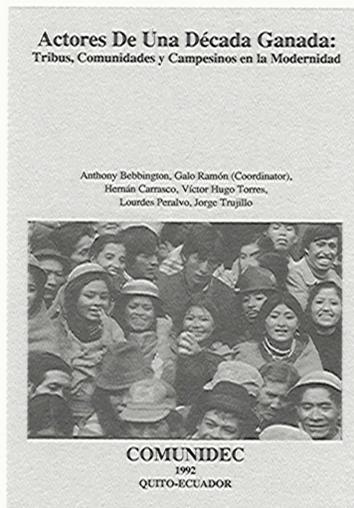
ACTORES DE UNA DÉCADA GANADA: TRIBUS, COMUNIDADES Y CAMPESINOS EN LA MODERNIDAD, by Anthony Bebbington, Galo Ramón (Coordinator), Hernán Carrasco, Víctor Hugo Torres, Lourdes Peralvo, Jorge Trujillo. Quito, Ecuador: Comunidec, 1992.

Shelton H. Davis

In July 1990, just a month after the highly publicized *levantamiento indígena*, or Indian uprising, I found myself in the offices of Ecuador's subsecretary for integrated rural development discussing the causes of the protest, which had almost brought the country's entire economy to a halt. The subsecretary, a young engineer educated at Stanford University and a reputed social reformer, thought the roots of the protest movement had been misinterpreted. The Indians, he said, were not questioning the nature of the political order in Ecuador; they were asking for more access to the fruits of the country's modernization and development. Showing me a series of telegrams from provincial Indian organizations at the height of the protests, he said that the real grievances of the indigenous movement—at least at the regional and local levels—were for more access to credit, more reliable technical assistance, and more secure markets and prices for agricultural products to boost family incomes.

*Actores de Una Década Ganada* provides us with a great deal of insight into the socioeconomic (as opposed to the political or civil rights) side of contemporary indigenous activism and organizing in Ecuador. The book's title comes from a quote by Luis Macas, the head of the Confederación de Nacionalidades Indígenas del Ecuador (CONAIE), which plays upon Inter-American Development

Bank President Enrique Iglesias's observation that the 1980s was a "lost decade." "They have told us this is a lost decade for Latin America, but we wish to tell them this is a decade won for the Ecuadorian Indians," Macas told an audience gathered in Quito in November 1991 to assess the future of the popular movement led by his coalition.



While composite statistical indicators do demonstrate a decade of lost economic opportunities and decreasing social welfare for Ecuador and most of Latin America, the authors of *Actores* assert that the 1980s were a period of organizational consolidation and rich experience for the country's indigenous organizations. Specifically, they present the lessons learned from an IAF-sponsored research evaluation of a broad selection of indigenous-run development efforts promoted by three groups of regional organizations: FUNORSAL, a federation of 23 base organizations in the highland township of Salinas in Bolívar; FOIN and several other federations in the upper Río Napo region of Ecuadorian Amazonia; and a group of organizations providing rural extension and other agricul-

tural services to peasant cooperatives, associations, and communities in the central highlands province of Chimborazo.

All these organizational initiatives were, in part, responses to the Ecuadorian agrarian-reform program, and most of them (at least in their formative stages) were influenced by the new social-development philosophies and activism of the Roman Catholic and some Evangelical churches. Furthermore, from the beginning, all these indigenous organizations emphasized the role new agricultural technologies, crops, and land-use systems could play in alleviating rural poverty. This latter point forms the basis of the Comunidec research project that led to this book.

Different paths to agricultural modernization separate FUNORSAL from the upper Río Napo and Chimborazo groups. Established in the 1970s with the assistance of the Salesian Fathers, FUNORSAL has been able to provide technical assistance and credit to small-scale dairy farmers and integrate their production into a series of cooperatively owned and highly successful milk- and cheese-processing factories. More recently, it has extended the model to other activities, including textile production, processed meats, and timber processing. This collective entrepreneurial effort has provided new income sources for farmers and generated nearly 300 new jobs in the processing factories. Apparently out-migration has declined in the region—and Salinas has experienced a period of rising economic welfare and social cohesion.

The two other regions, on the other hand, have not experienced a decline in rural poverty or out-migration because of the limited impact of their agricultural modernization strategies. In the case of the upper Río Napo, FOIN and other indigenous organizations promoted

cattle production among their base communities to take advantage of access to cheap government credit. Later, when credit dried up and the ecological damage of cattle raising to tropical forests was recognized, the federations turned to other agricultural strategies such as coffee production. When this experience ran afoul of crop diseases and marketing problems, the federations finally shifted gears by looking for new opportunities better attuned to the traditional resource base—this time through natural forest management projects promoted by international conservation groups.

In Chimborazo, the dissolution of the haciendas meant that many communities lost access to traditional grazing lands. In response, they intensified their small agricultural parcels, drawing upon the “green revolution’s” new seeds, chemical fertilizers, and pesticides. The federations played an active role in this process, training a strong cadre of indigenous extensionists and supplying affiliated base organizations and communities with farm inputs. However, as in the upper Rio Napo region, the prevailing ecological and economic conditions could not sustain such an intensification strategy, and increasing population growth, land fragmentation, and soil erosion appear to have increased out-migration and rural poverty.

At a time when many Latin American governments and the international donor community are prepared to channel financial resources to nongovernmental organizations and to peasant membership organizations, this book provides a great deal of insight into the complex issues involved in promoting real socioeconomic change among indigenous communities and organizations.

The book, I believe, would have benefited from more attention being

given to the details of financial and economic decision-making in the FUNORSAL model, and to how the lessons learned from this organization might be adapted to the needs of other groups. I also would have liked more assessment of how government agricultural policies and the overall macroeconomic framework affect the performance and opportunities of these organizations and the peasant sector in general. But these are issues other researchers must now take up, especially as more systematic attention is given to the economic challenges faced by indigenous farmer organizations throughout Latin America. ❖

*SHELTON H. DAVIS is principal sociologist in the Environment Department at the World Bank.*

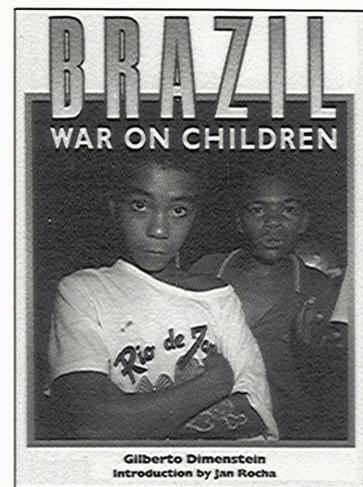
**BRAZIL: WAR ON CHILDREN**, by Gilberto Dimenstein. London: Latin America Bureau, 1991.

**Alison Raphael**

A war on children is taking place in Brazil, and journalist Gilberto Dimenstein takes us to the streets and alleys where some of its most dramatic battles are being waged. More than four children are killed daily—by death squads, vigilantes, the police, and gunmen hired by store owners to rid city streets of the young people who work and live on them. Peeling away the tourist-poster image of a lush tropical paradise to expose the soft underbelly of a country in socioeconomic crisis, Dimenstein tells the human story behind the statistics. Read it and weep.

The deepening recession of the past half-dozen years in Brazil has kept wages low and unemployment high, and has strained a growing number of families to the breaking point. Parents unable to make ends

meet have sent their children out to work, beg, steal, and prostitute themselves, while other children have fled home to escape chronic abuse. The result has been a mushrooming population of street youth trying to survive on their own. Some join gangs that specialize in theft or are recruited as lookouts and couriers for the \$85 million-a-year drug trade, but most simply try to earn enough to eat by doing odd jobs. As their numbers increased, so did public fear, as people believed that all were dangerous criminals or



criminals-to-be. By the late 1980s, the killing of street children was common, yet it remained invisible to most ordinary citizens.

Dimenstein took a year’s leave from his powerful job as political reporter for the leading newspaper *Folha de São Paulo* to research a book on the phenomenon. He exchanged “the notables for the notorious, the famous for the infamous, the world for the underworld.” Along the way he found several Brazilian organizations that had begun to collect and analyze data on street children or were working directly with youth to come to grips with their plight. The publication of *War on Children*, or

*Guerra dos Meninos* in Portuguese, in 1989 brought the shocking truth of that plight to the forefront of national consciousness, and its subsequent translation into five languages has captured international attention.

The 1991 English version has all the impact of the original, laying out the grim facts for readers in feature-story fashion. Here is a scene witnessed by Marcia, an adolescent who spent her early teens living on the streets of Rio selling candy, occasionally stealing food, and being sexually harassed and who is now partially deaf and suffers extreme headaches from being beaten by the police:

Marcia remembers one night [when a boy came into a cafe while the owner was busy], grabbed a roast chicken from the display oven and ran off. A policeman, who happened to be [there], rose to go after him, but the cafe owner said, "Let the poor kid go, he's hungry." The policeman would have none of it. He ran out . . . after the boy, but the boy was very quick—he was used to running away. When it was clear the boy was getting away, the policeman took out his gun and shot him, hitting him in the leg. The child still managed to get away, leaving the chicken on the ground. The policeman picked it up and carried it back to the cafe owner, as if it were a trophy, with a smile of satisfaction on his face.

Police commit some of the violence, but they also authorize a climate of violence by looking the other way when someone else kills a child. Dimenstein shows how this works by examining the mentality and brutality of the *justiceiros*, or vigilantes, whose self-defined mission is to rid the city of "wayward" youth. He describes areas in the industrial zones outside Rio and São Paulo where numerous "extermination squads" have formed to kill street children for pay and where secret cemeteries are believed to exist.

Amid the mayhem, Dimenstein finds a ray of hope: the growth of

organizations dedicated to protecting and defending children's rights. The book recounts the stories of priests associated with the Pastoral do Menor, or pastorate for children (an organization sponsored by the Catholic Church and funded by UNICEF), and of activists from the Movimento Nacional de Meninos e Meninas de Rua, the first nationwide organization dedicated specifically to promoting children's rights and to organizing street kids into a movement. Pursuit of these goals has meant finding the courage to withstand various kinds of harassment, including death threats and kidnapping both of activists and the young people with whom they work.

The book's impact and its finding that most street kids are boys led Dimenstein to join with photographer Paula Simas to fill a gap in the story. *Meninas da Noite*, published in 1992, looks at northern Brazil's "Wild West" frontier, where "girls of the night" recruited from all corners of the nation have been brought to service gold miners and other settlers. Most of the adolescents and young women Dimenstein found there were not willing prostitutes; many had been lured by "recruiters" with promises of jobs as domestics, nursemaids, or waitresses and by the money their families were given up front. When the girls stepped off the plane, they landed on a treadmill. The only job waiting for them to "work off" the airfare and cash advance was as a bar girl. With bar owners providing the only available room and board, whose costs equaled whatever the girls earned, repayment was never possible. Far from relatives or friends, the girls found themselves virtually enslaved.

*War on Children*, ably introduced by British journalist Jan Rocha's 15-page overview of contemporary Brazil, is essential reading. With this book and its companion volume,

which one can hope will soon be translated, readers abroad can learn of the tragic story of these street children, and feel the outrage that has been felt by so many concerned Brazilians. Perhaps together we will be moved to create a path for development with justice for all. ❖

ALISON RAPHAEL is program director of the Brazil Network, a U.S.-based coalition of human rights advocates, church leaders, academics, and environmentalists that is working in partnership with Brazilian nongovernmental organizations.

Brazil: War on Children can be ordered in the United States from Monthly Review Press in New York.

## NEW FROM THE IAF

**Saving Their Corner of the Planet: Local Conservationists in Honduras** is the latest video available from the Inter-American Foundation. The video highlights four communities in Honduras responding to environmental pressures by working toward sustainable local economies. The four features include a fishing community trying to save a unique habitat on the Gulf of Fonseca; Las Delicias villagers combating slash and burn in the central highlands; Loma Linda, a sustainable agriculture training center; and teachers and schoolchildren reversing damage from the hydroelectric dam at Nispero. The video is also available in Spanish and may be obtained at no charge from Modern Talking Pictures, 5000 Park Street North, St. Petersburg, Florida 33709 (phone: 800-243-6877).

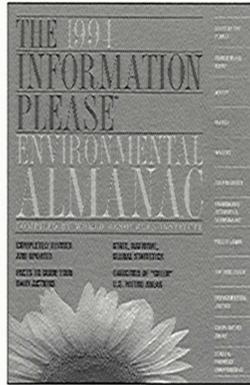
# Resources

In many development fields, the concept of sustainability has become key, bridging the chasm that once separated preservation/conservation projects from those promoting economic change. Loosely defined, sustainability means "living within one's means." It means thinking of the resource base as an interrelated system whose vitality depends on adjusting methods of production to take advantage of regenerative cycles. Agriculture that uses compost instead of chemical fertilizers is a basic illustration of a sustainable method of production. A field of corn is planted, fertilized by last season's decayed organic matter, and harvested. The stalks and husks left over after reaping are turned into compost to replenish soil nutrients needed to grow the next crop.

Working toward a "sustainable" planet requires understanding how principles of sustainability apply to education, housing, waste, air, water, food, energy, transportation, and population. The "resources" presented in this issue of the journal, while ranging from very broad overviews to microscopic exploration of specific issues, attempt to create developmental processes that are self-renewing.

The 1994 *Information Please Environmental Almanac* is a comprehensive physical on the health of the planetary ecosystem. Compiled annually by the World Resources Institute (WRI), it reports in minute detail on progress and setbacks in water conservation; solid wastes; energy use; transportation systems; air pollution; grassroots activism; the cleanup of nuclear, chemical, and biological weapons produced during the Cold War; ecotourism and wildlife; forests and wetlands; and industrial activity.

While the *Almanac* draws primarily on data from the United States and Canada, readers can readily extrapolate from the case studies,



graphs, and statistics, principles of sustainability that are applicable to problems in other parts of the world. A brief discussion of negative effects from clearcutting, for instance, applies to the tropical forests of the Yucatan Peninsula as well as the old-growth woodlands of Oregon and California.

The *Almanac* is a wonder of efficiency. It manages to condense a storehouse of information into a mere 600-plus pages through judicious use of charts and concise explanations of complex phenomena. "What Is the Greenhouse Effect," for example, takes less than one page.

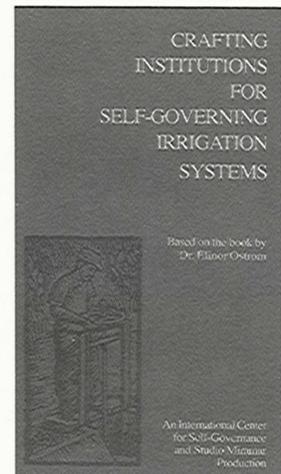
The 1994 edition of the *Almanac* updates statistics from earlier volumes and introduces new sections on environmental crime, sustainable cities of the future, environmental racism, oceanic pollution, and other topics.

The latest edition of the 1994 *Information Please Environmental Almanac*, compiled by the World Resources Institute, is available by writing the institute at P.O. Box 4852, Hampden Station, Baltimore, Maryland 21211 (phone: 800-822-0504).

**Crafting Institutions for Self-Governing Irrigation Systems** narrows its focus on sustainability to a single issue. It presents eight spe-

cific rules for broadening participation in the design and maintenance of irrigation systems, arguing persuasively that water projects must involve beneficiaries from the beginning if they are to last.

A book by Dr. Elinor Ostrom and a companion video maintain that top-down systems are more likely to fall apart than systems built from the bottom up by the people who use them. Participation in design, maintenance, and monitoring by farmers opens access to the system and reduces opportunities for corruption and shoddy repairs. Creating a sense of community ownership among the recipients of a service is usually a good first step toward assuring ongoing service, Ostrom maintains.



The video was filmed in the Dominican Republic, Sri Lanka, Senegal, and other sites and provides a close-up look at community irrigation projects in action. Interviews describe how the projects outperform those managed by multilateral development institutions and the public sector. The video also explains the need for tailoring a system's design to the ability of the community to manage its operation and for using traditional methods

and materials, whenever possible, to reduce costs and facilitate repairs.

The book and video are available in English and Spanish from the International Center for Self-Governance/ICS Press, Order Department, 720 Market Street, San Francisco, California 94102 (phone: 800-326-0263; fax: 415-986-4878).

---

It has long been recognized that development projects which exclude women from their design and implementation are most likely unsustainable. Nevertheless, much remains to be learned about how women can be successfully integrated into development programs. **Another Point of View: A Manual on Gender Analysis Training for Grassroots Workers**, published by the United Nations Development Fund for Women, is a how-to training manual intended to assist local development practitioners answer that question.

Author A. Rani Parker developed the manual while on staff at Save the Children Foundation, and later at the Salvation Army World Service Office. Parker's development experience, including work for the Washington, D.C.-based Centre for Development and Population Activities, led her to conclude that the need for gender analysis identified during the United Nations "Decade for Women" extended beyond the traditional targets of policymakers and planners within governments and multilateral development institutions. The Gender Analysis Matrix (GAM) is a new tool for rectifying that oversight, and Parker's manual is intended to help community-based development workers learn how to use it.

The manual is divided into two sections. The first, "Understanding the Gender Analysis Matrix," informs trainers about how the GAM works and its limitations. The sec-

ond, "Using the Gender Analysis Matrix," is designed to facilitate the skills promoters need to actively involve a community group in the process of identifying gender differences and assessing the likely impact of specific development strategies. GAM is geared not only to identifying but to constructively challenging assumptions about gender limitations within the community.

In addition to step-by-step instructions on how to conduct a four-day series of workshops on gender analysis, the manual provides a "Resource Section" that lists relevant books, articles, and films for further study. *Another Point of View* is distributed by Women Ink., 777 United Nations Plaza, 3rd Floor, New York, New York 10017 (phone: 212-687-8633; fax: 212-661-2704).

---

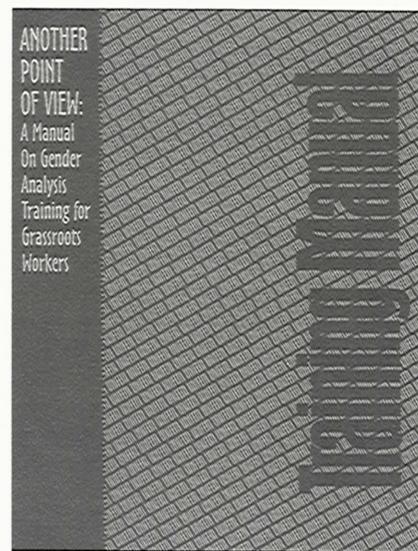
Few development workers at the grassroots level have not wished to have a more extensive knowledge of how law affects their efforts. Nowhere is that truer than in projects addressing land ownership. **Cuaderno de Educación Legal Agraria: La Formación de Orientadores y Orientadoras Legales**, published by the Costa Rican-based Asociación Andar, proposes a system for informing grassroots organizations and individual campesinos about their rights and responsibilities under agrarian law.

Rather than recruiting hundreds of new lawyers, Andar advocates that community members be instructed as "paralegals" capable of communicating knowledge about basic rights, civil liberties, and the legal process so that their neighbors can resolve disputes and misunderstandings before there is a confrontation.

Andar believes its trainees must have a clear historical perspective of the legal process and how it has developed. The manual discusses both

guaranteed Costa Rican constitutional rights and civil law. It also briefly explains the legislative process and how its outcome can be influenced or changed. Administrative laws issued by the executive branch are also explained.

Laws governing rights to possess land, including alternative ownership where there are no titles, are spelled out. The manual encourages community participants to weigh



the legal consequences of actions before undertaking them. It explains, for instance, that simply "squatting" on land belonging to another person is illegal, regardless of the number of precedents. The instruction manual states that a farmer who does so is at a disadvantage relative to the titled owner and might be jailed.

The manual also defines agricultural workers as small-scale entrepreneurs and shows how the law provides numerous choices for forming and running their businesses—ranging from sole proprietorships and cooperatives, to more-corporate methods. It explains briefly the pluses and minuses of each form, and the advantages of legally registering the business.

# Letters

The instruction manual is available from Asociación Andar, Apartado 841-2050, San Pedro Montes de Oca, San José, Costa Rica (phone: 2-24-2788; fax: 2-24-3903).

A picture may be worth a thousand words, but only if it is a clear picture. **Imágenes y Textos para la Educación Popular: Orientaciones Metodológicas con Énfasis en la Elaboración de Impresos para Neolectores/as**, produced jointly by the Bolivian-based Capacitación Integral de la Mujer Campesina (CIMCA) and the Honduran-based Centro de Comunicación y Capacitación para el Desarrollo (Comunica), states that newly literate adults should not be treated like large children. Educational materials are needed that provide them with the information needed to analyze and transform their lives and their communities.

Author Olivier Berthoud believes there are certain principles underlying effective nonformal educational teaching. He also maintains that skillful drawings, illustrations, and posters are invaluable for motivating discussion, guiding study, uncovering hidden social attitudes, and conveying information about a given topic.

The first section of the manual discusses how multimedia materials can be blended and the advantages and drawbacks of particular delivery systems. It suggests that most nonformal educational media work best when the group does not exceed 30 persons.

The second section specifically discusses how images used for educational purposes depend on adjoining text or verbal presentation by instructors for maximum impact. Some pictures are worth a thousand words, but unless people correctly identify the image, they cannot dis-

cuss its meaning. Often, more detail is required. For instance, a drawing of an ear of corn in one test was variously interpreted as a turtle, a crocodile, a pineapple, a bird, and even a mosquito.

On the other hand, sometimes too much detail can obscure a message. *Rotafolios*, or poster illustrations, meant to introduce ways to counter erosion, for instance, were too complex for the message and had to be greatly simplified before they were correctly perceived.

While not wanting to overwhelm



Illustration from *Imágenes y Textos para la Educación Popular*.

would-be illustrators and publishers with prohibitions, the manual nevertheless stresses the importance of striving toward the most effective kinds of designs and presentations of educational materials. That requires testing the materials in classroom settings and asking for recommendations from students and instructors.

*Imágenes y Textos para la Educación Popular, Orientaciones Metodológicas con Énfasis en la Elaboración de Impresos para Neolectores/as* is available from Comunica, Apartado 3457, Tegucigalpa, Honduras (phone: 37-50-49; fax: 38-42-45). ❖

—Barbara Annis

## Let's Reinvent the Nature of Economics

The op-ed [in *Grassroots Development*, Volume 15, Number 3] by World Bank economist and environmental expert Herman E. Daly uses the impossibility theorem to dismiss sustainable growth... in favor of sustainable development... I think we need to challenge the notion of impossibility itself because "sustainability" has arrived too late. Borrowing from Noam Chomsky's "regenerative grammar," it is time to invent regenerative economics.

We already have the technology to convert deserts into farmland; we merely lack the economic rationale. Traditional economics guarantees the technology will operate at a loss, just as it rewards those who clear-cut forests, whatever the costs to the ecosystem and to mankind.

We make some exceptions to this rule—for instance, reforestation. Planting trees has come to make economic sense because we offer tax breaks and other incentives to create "fiscal" forests. The rationale is not short-term profits but the long-term regeneration of nature.

Why not make fiscal rivers, oceans, and valleys by creating [a market] rewarding those who engage not only in recycling used resources but in reversing the damage to the natural systems that produce the resources? To do that we must challenge ourselves to invent an ethical paradigm to guide economic policy. One day we may even have stockbrokers trading shares in activities that reinforce the common good at the heart of the social contract.

—Luis Simón G.  
San José, Costa Rica

# Inter-American Foundation

---

## Board of Directors

**Frank D. Yturria**, Chairman; Yturria Ranch Enterprises  
**James R. Whelan**, Vice Chairman; Visiting Professor, University of Chile  
**Mark L. Schneider**, Assistant Administrator, Bureau for Latin America and  
the Caribbean, U.S. Agency for International Development  
**Ann Brownell Sloane**, Principal, Sloane and Hinshaw, Inc.  
**Norton Stevens**, Norton Stevens and Associates  
**Paul E. Sussman**, Chief Operating Officer, Day Surgicenters, Inc.  
**Hon. Alexander F. Watson**, Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs,  
U.S. Department of State

---

## IAF Fellowships

The Foundation has created four fellowship programs to support development practitioners and researchers from Latin America, the Caribbean, and the United States whose research and career interests concern development activities among the poor. Two of these programs support field research in Latin America and the Caribbean at the master's and doctoral levels; another brings Latin American and Caribbean scholars and practitioners to the United States for advanced training; a new program, the Dante B. Fascell Inter-American Fellowship, supports grassroots development dissemination activities of distinguished Latin American and Caribbean leaders.

Fellowship topics of primary interest are: 1) the nature of effective grassroots organizations among the poor; 2) the nature of effective intermediary or service organizations; and 3) systematic appraisals of local development activities such as studies of development programs and projects designed to reach the poorest populations, including small businesses in the informal sector, female-headed households, isolated indigenous populations, and artisanal fishermen.

Applications and inquiries should be directed to:

IAF Fellowship Program—Dept. 111  
901 N. Stuart Street, 10th Floor  
Arlington, Virginia 22203 USA

## Contents

Women Farmers in Central America:  
Myths, Roles, Reality

Sally W. Yudelman

Riding the Roller Coaster of  
Grassroots Development: A Bottom-Up  
View of Social Change in Honduras

Phillip Herr

Tearing Down the Walls of  
Silence Together

Wilbur Wright,  
Michaele L. Cozzi, and  
Salvador Aguilar

The Cultural Challenge of  
Supporting Enterprise

Gregory F. Robison

Forum • Development Notes  
Reviews • Resources • Letters

ISSN: 0733-6608 (English)  
ISSN: 0733-6594 (Spanish)