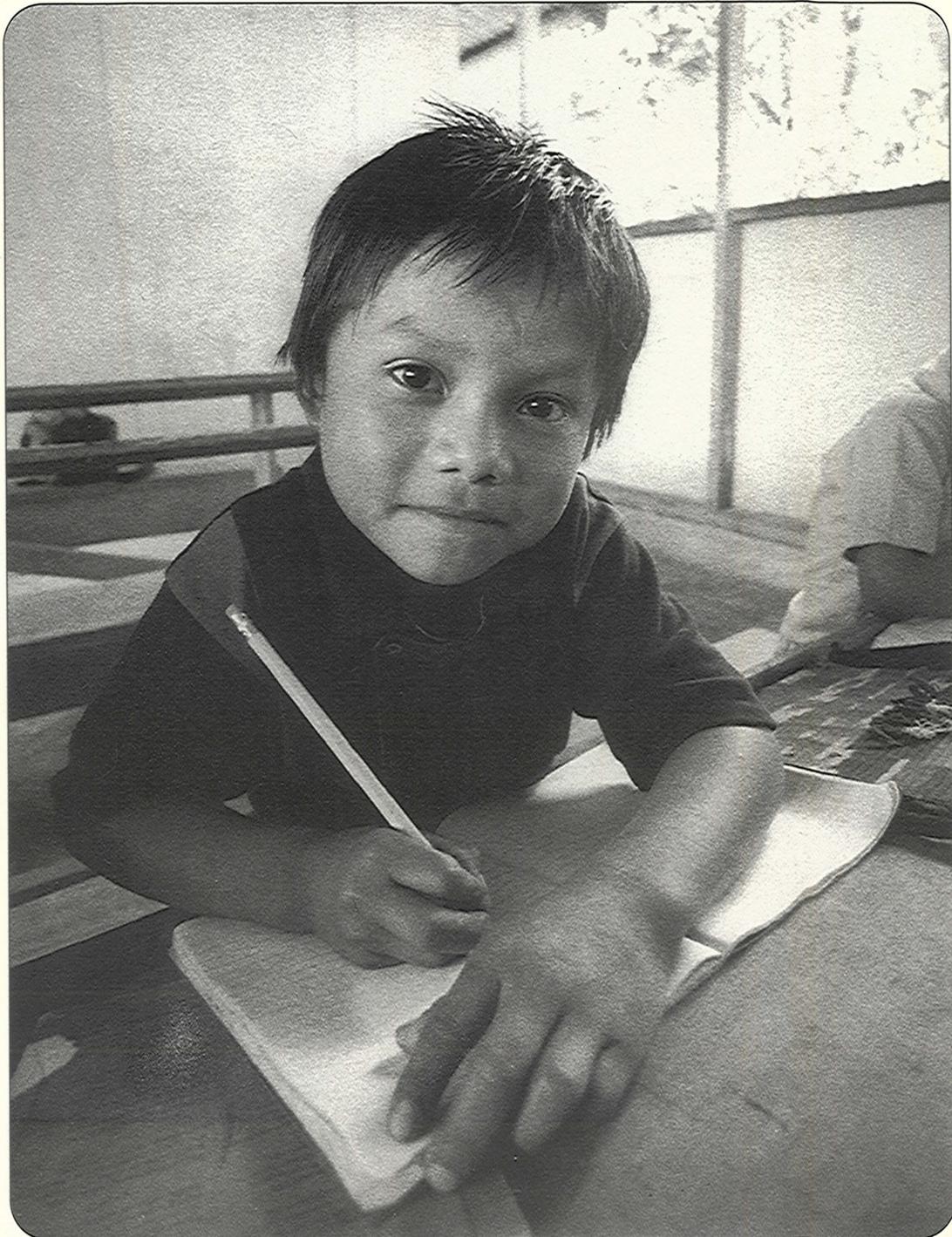


VOLUME EIGHTEEN / NUMBER TWO / 1994

# grassroots development

JOURNAL of the INTER-AMERICAN FOUNDATION



**FOCUS: Youth in Development**

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.

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*Cover photo:* A Kekchí Indian boy attends a primary school in Guatemala, opened by an NGO. Many states in the region overinvest in higher education, while only half their children make it past the fourth grade. *Photo by Sean Sprague.* *Opposite page:* Access to maternal and child health care have increased childhood survivability. Here, an NGO doctor examines a patient in a barrio of Lima, Peru. *Photo by Miguel Sayago. (See article page 2.)*

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his issue of *Grassroots Development* honors the memory of LeRoy Richardson, admired colleague and good friend, who died in February of this year. Beginning in January 1972, Lee worked in most of Central America, Mexico, Paraguay, and Argentina as a Foundation representative, centering his concern and skills on rural development and small-scale farmer organization. His courage, zest, and deep convictions are his legacy.

# grassroots development

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More children than ever are surviving the dangers of life's first five years, but what kind of world will they inherit? *Diane B. Bendahmane*

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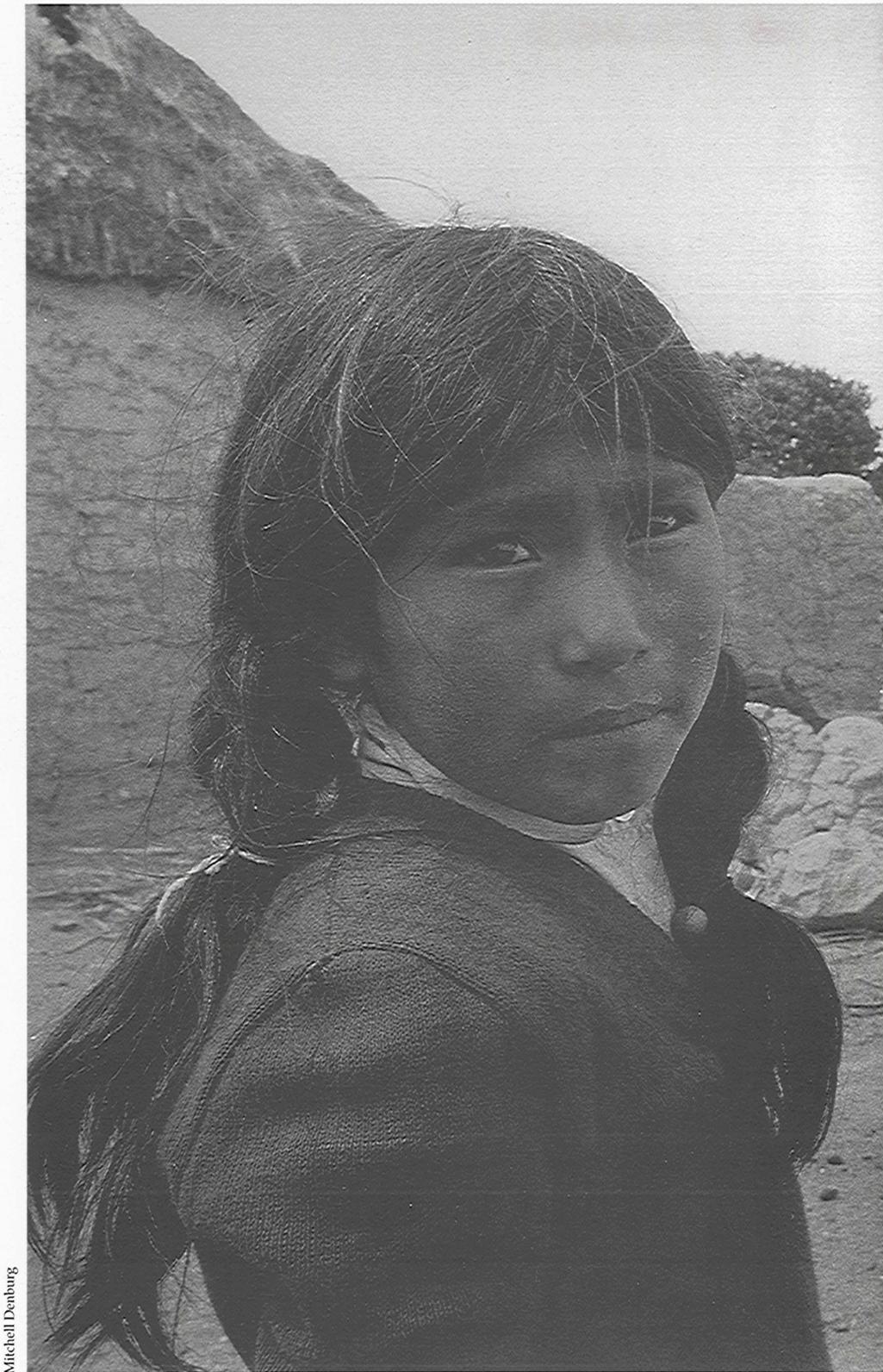
Communications tools and clearinghouses for youth-oriented programs.

# THE QUIET REVOLUTION

Diane B. Bendahmane

**O**n the wall over my desk hang two multicolored maps portraying the advance of a quiet revolution that is altering the human condition without much notice in the popular media. During the past 30 years, programs to reduce infant and child mortality have made inroads in virtually every region of the world. The 1960 map is predominantly yellow and orange, the colors signifying mortality rates of 125 per 1,000 or higher for children under the age of five. In the 1992 map, many countries have graduated to purple, green, or gray—colors indicating much lower mortality rates (74 per 1,000 or fewer). With the exception of a number of countries in sub-Saharan Africa and a few in Asia and the Near East, most of the world has escaped the yellow range, and even regions that would have been considered “developed” in 1960 have progressed. The United States, Canada, and most of Europe, for example, moved up from green (25-49 deaths per 1,000) to gray (fewer than 25 deaths per 1,000).

The maps were published by the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) as part of its Eighth Report to Congress on Child Survival, which celebrates through vivid charts, graphs, and photographs the agency's many successes in this area. USAID's Child Survival Program was launched in 1985. Its hallmark was a “package” of health interventions aimed at reducing child mortality: oral rehydration therapy, immunization, improved nutrition, treatment of acute respiratory infections, and promotion of child spacing. According to USAID Administrator J. Brian Atwood, infant mortality has declined about 10 percent since the program was unveiled in countries his agency assists. Certain high-mortality countries were designated for “emphasis,” including Bolivia, the Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala,



Mitchell Denburg

# Child Survival Comes of Age

*Investing in the children of the poor is no longer a matter of humanitarian relief; it is key to sustainable development for the next century.*



Haiti, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Peru in Latin America and the Caribbean. Infant mortality has decreased in all nine countries (see figure 1).

Throughout the developing world, infants and children who would have died 20 or 30 years ago from readily preventable diseases, such as diarrhea and measles, survive the vulnerable first five years of life because of improved health care. Between 1965 and 1986 in developing countries overall, there was a 5 percent increase in the number of infants surviving the first year of life. Coupled with improvements in survival for children aged one to five, this has pushed up life expectancy in developing countries from 50 years in 1965 to over 60 years in 1986 (World Bank, 1988).

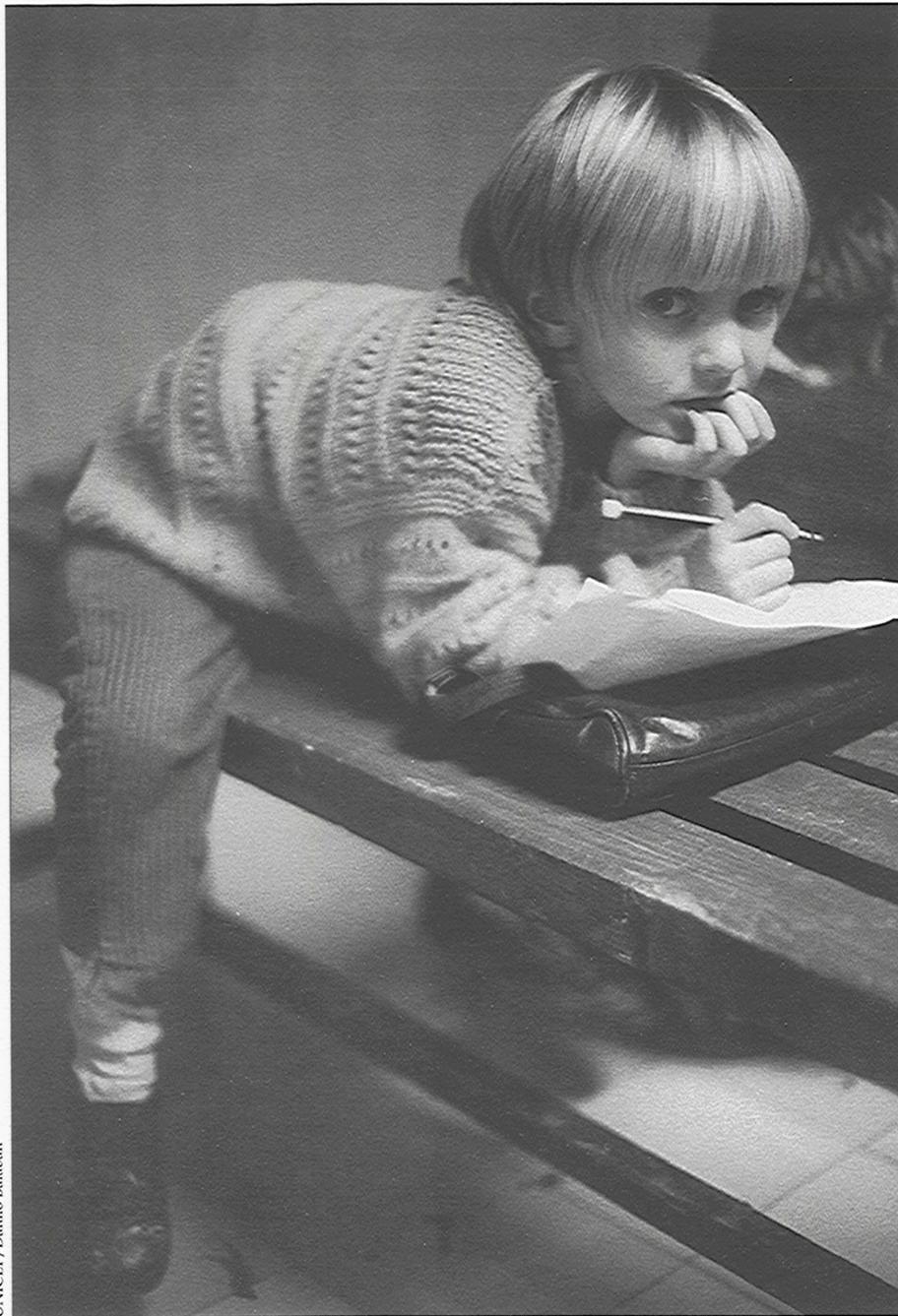
## **The Cruel Paradox**

What is happening to these children who are "surviving" today thanks to the efforts of USAID, the World Health Organization, UNICEF, governments, and the other development organizations that marshaled their forces to wage this campaign? Is it true, as Federico Mayor, director general of the U.N. Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), has said, that the survivors have become victims of a "cruel paradox" which condemns them to a world in which their "prospects for self-betterment are diminishing?"

If we could somehow "map" the status of the beneficiaries of child survival programs, as child mortality has been mapped, it would be apparent that Mayor is correct. Today's

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*Too many children, like this girl from Pilcuyo, Peru, live in communities coming apart from the pressures of increased poverty, population, and environmental degradation. Reversing the trend means rethinking structural adjustment policies that preclude investments in the human capital of tomorrow.*



UNICEF/Damir Balaban

*Modern war increasingly victimizes civilians, including young children. This girl from Croatia is participating in one of the psychosocial trauma exercises developed by UNICEF to educate those working with children caught in the crossfire.*

youth are likely to be poor, and poorly educated. Many live in inhospitable urban environments and grow up in dysfunctional families. The young are often targets of violence from civil strife or crime. And, to complete the picture, they must compete for a place in the world with huge cohorts and little in the way of support from the often beleaguered governments of their countries.

Let us flesh out these general statements with facts and figures, starting with the most unassailable. By virtue of the fact that most live in developing countries, victims of the cruel paradox are poor. Per capita income is just \$370 per year or less (in 1991 dollars) for 23 developing countries, including Haiti, the only Western Hemisphere country falling in this group. Close to 2.5 billion people live

in those countries, and a high percentage of them are children or youth (World Bank, 1993). Latin American countries fall mainly in the middle-income group, with per capita gross national products (GNPs) in the \$1,300 to \$2,500 range, but some join Haiti in the very-low category, including Nicaragua, Honduras, and Bolivia (see table 1). These statistics are somewhat deceptive, of course, because incomes are highly skewed in the region. Large pockets of poverty exist even in the more affluent countries, and the numbers of the poor are growing. Children and youth bear the brunt of this poverty. Some experts estimate that by the year 2020 there will be 300 million urban minors in Latin America, 30 percent of them very poor.

In recent years, conditions have been slipping. Poverty has deepened in developing countries unable to grow during a worldwide recession, and unable to stay upright with heavy debt burdens weighing them down. World Bank figures estimate that the percentage of people in extreme poverty in Latin America and the Caribbean has grown from 22.4 percent in 1985 to 25.5 percent in 1990. Other indicators, shown in table 1, depict a region in decline throughout the 1980s. While family incomes have dropped during the worldwide recession, states have been forced by international lending banks to undertake structural readjustment policies that slash public services in health, education, and food. A draconian regimen has been imposed that more-developed countries would not stand for. There is now some interest by big lenders to soften the impact on the poor, but it has been late in coming.

While poverty was once largely a rural phenomenon in developing countries, today it has moved to the city. During the past three decades, millions of children and youth have been swept along with their parents in a massive tidal flow of population from the countryside. In Latin America the pace of urbanization is especially rapid; the region was 71.9 percent urban in 1990 and will be 83.4 percent urban by 2020 (USAID, 1992). The *barrios*, *favelas*, *pueblos jóvenes*, *villas miserias*, and *poblaciones* that girdle most large cities are teem-

ing with youth. In these makeshift settlements, overcrowding, polluted drinking water, substandard or nonexistent sanitation, indiscriminate dumping of trash, and other conditions threaten basic health, as the cholera pandemic of recent years sadly demonstrates.

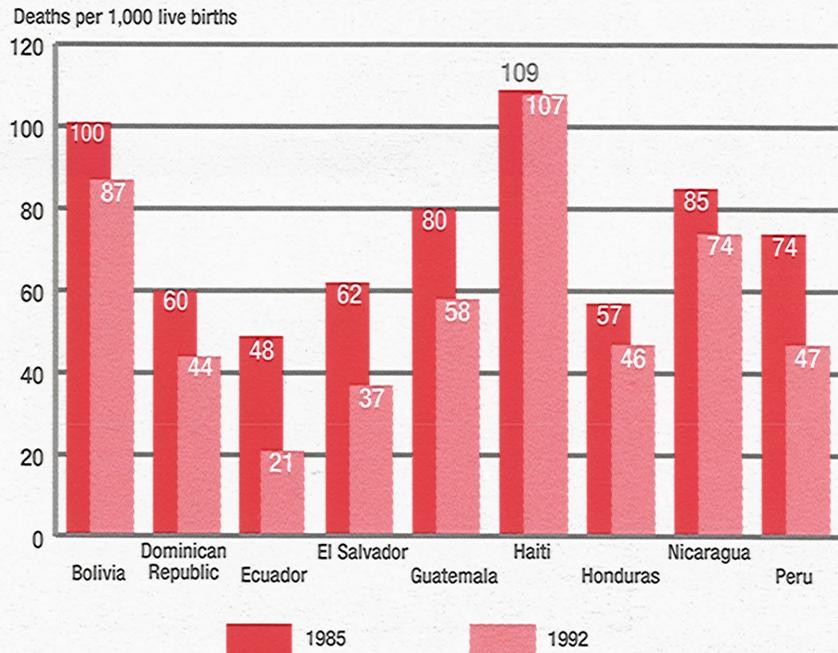
Life in these settings is also inimical to the emotional and spiritual nurturing of the young. Children often do not attend school because they are needed as workers in the informal economy where their parents or guardians patch together a living. The mutual support of village life and extended family begins to break apart, leaving young, poorly educated, unskilled women with sole responsibility for raising a family. In the urban jungle, it is as if the social contract described by sixteenth-century philosopher Thomas Hobbes has come unraveled. The combined stresses of poverty and city life lead some parents to abandon their children to the streets, while some children flee there from abusive parents or from a future that offers no exit from poverty. Estimates of the number of street children worldwide vary, depending on how the term is defined. UNICEF counts 100 million, 40 million of whom live in Latin America—a number equal to the entire population of Spain.

A study by UNICEF and WHO describes succinctly the "hostility" of the urban environment to children of the poor:

*Formal education systems are often inadequate, and family and community structures in the urban environment provide little opportunity for informal education, such as through peers, grandparents, and so on. . . . The proportion of unattended or abandoned children is high and there are limited facilities at the community level to provide them with care and protection. Under these conditions, children easily fall prey to the enticements and promises of unscrupulous people. Abuse and exploitation of children in a variety of different ways, down to the extremes of their involvement in prostitution and crime, are becoming common features of the cities.*

Many children and youth survive these "ills" only to be caught up in civil strife, much of it spawned by

**Figure 1. Infant Mortality Trends in USAID-Assisted Child Survival Emphasis Countries in Latin America and the Caribbean**



Source: USAID, *Eighth Report to Congress on Child Survival*

**Table 1: Economic Conditions in Latin America and Expenditures in Education**

Country	GNP per capita (\$ 1991)	1980-91 average annual growth	External debt 1991 (\$ millions)	Percent of central government expenditure on education 1980*	Percent of central government expenditure on education 1991*
Haiti	370	-2.4	747	6.6	—
Nicaragua	460	-4.4	10,446	11.6	—
Honduras	580	-0.5	3,177	—	—
Bolivia	650	-2.0	4,075	—	18.7
Guatemala	930	-1.8	2,704	—	19.5
Dominican Republic	940	-0.2	4,492	12.6	10.2
Ecuador	1,000	-0.6	12,469	34.7	18.2
Peru	1,070	2.4	20,709	15.6	21.1
El Salvador	1,080	-0.3	2,172	19.8	14.4
Colombia	1,260	1.2	17,369	19.1	—
Paraguay	1,270	-0.8	2,177	12.9	12.7
Jamaica	1,380	0.0	4,456	—	—
Costa Rica	1,850	0.7	4,043	24.6	19.1
Panama	2,130	-1.8	6,791	13.4	17.1
Chile	2,160	1.6	17,902	14.5	—
Venezuela	2,730	-1.3	34,372	19.9	—
Argentina	2,790	-1.5	63,707	—	9.9
Uruguay	2,840	-0.4	4,189	8.8	7.4
Brazil	2,940	0.5	116,514	0.0	3.1
Mexico	3,030	-0.5	101,737	18.0	13.9
Trinidad & Tobago	3,670	-5.2	2,332	11.6	—

\* Some figures are for the most recent year.

Source: World Bank, *World Development Report 1993*

economic inequalities and population pressure. In the past, the violence of war was not purposefully directed at children, but this taboo seems to be breaking down, as the world watches television footage roll in from the former Yugoslavia, Sudan, El Salvador, Somalia, Rwanda, and other countries. According to UNICEF, 1.5 million children have been killed and 6 million disabled in armed conflict during the past 10 years.

Land mines are often a primary cause. In El Salvador, 300,000 children and adolescents were disabled in 12 years of civil strife. Seventy-five percent of the victims of land-mine accidents in El Salvador have been children. Worldwide, some 100 million land mines remain hidden, threatening people indiscriminately in over 60 countries.

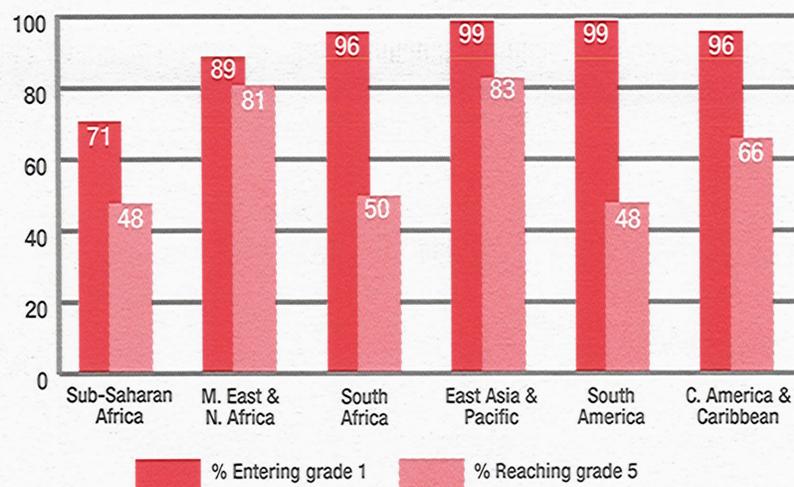
Education can provide an escape-hatch from poverty and the dislocation and violence that sometimes accompany it, particularly in large cities with too many drugs and too few opportunities. But the report card for schooling is poor. Gains in education have not matched gains in child survival. Ninety percent of children in developing countries now start school—a noteworthy achievement—but the percentage who reach grade five is far lower. In South America, 99 percent enter primary school but only 48 percent complete the fourth grade. In Central America and the Caribbean, 96 percent enter; 66 percent make the fifth grade. Throughout the developing world, the big push to enroll students ends with a seeming inability to retain them (see figure 2).

Currently an estimated 100 million children worldwide drop out of school by the fifth grade, and the number will climb to 118 million by the year 2000 (Pezzullo, 1992). Without at least a rudimentary education, what chance will these young survivors have to escape their poverty?

Table 2 shows male and female literacy and primary-school completion rates for 22 Latin American and Caribbean countries. Of the 22, more than one-third graduate 50 percent or less of their primary school populations. Only three have achieved the 1990 U.N. Summit for Children goal of 80 percent graduation. Literacy rates, while higher on average in Latin

**Figure 2. Primary Schooling**

Percentages of the developing world's children in the appropriate age range starting primary school and reaching grade 5.



Source: UNICEF, *The State of the World's Children 1994*

**Table 2: Basic Education in Latin America**

Country	Male literacy 1990 or most recent year	Female literacy 1990 or most recent year	% reaching final grade of primary school, 1988 or most recent year
Haiti	59	47	9
Bolivia	85	71	50
Guatemala	63	47	36
Nicaragua	—	—	29
Brazil	83	80	22
Peru	91	79	70
El Salvador	76	70	27
Ecuador	88	84	63
Honduras	75	71	43
Dominican Republic	85	82	33
Paraguay	92	88	57
Mexico	90	85	70
Argentina	95	95	—
Venezuela	87	90	70
Trinidad and Tobago	97	93	89
Uruguay	97	96	93
Colombia	87	86	56
Panama	88	88	79
Chile	93	93	77
Costa Rica	93	93	77
Jamaica	98	99	85
Cuba	95	93	88

Source: UNICEF, *The State of the World's Children 1994*



David Melody

*Although the most important factor in breaking the cycle of poverty is education, many urban and rural poor are denied equal access. Because their school is not state funded and lacks basic supplies, these children from a shantytown just east of Mexico City must carry their own desks and chairs to and from class daily.*

America than in other regions, could be improved, especially for females, which as we will see later, is crucial for breaking the cycle of poverty.

One final detail remains in this portrait of the prospects facing child survivors: Most live in countries where the majority of people are young. Al-

though developing countries will experience a larger growth proportionally in older age groups in the coming decades, the absolute number of young people in child-bearing years will remain large and will keep governments under extreme pressure to meet the needs and aspirations of the

**Table 3: Population Distribution by Age, 1985–2000**

(in thousands)

	1985	2000 (Estimated)
<b>Latin America</b>		
Under 5	53,942	60,359
5–14	95,242	114,202
15–24	80,704	100,081
25–44	100,069	152,621
45–64	49,003	75,670
<b>Caribbean</b>		
Under 5	829	781
5–14	1,527	1,622
15–24	1,574	1,495
25–44	1,687	2,774
45–64	858	1,190

Source: PAHO, *Health Conditions in the Americas*

young. Table 3 provides the figures behind the population pyramid for Latin America and the Caribbean. The aging of the population is more evident in the Caribbean than in Latin America, but if the forecasts are accurate, there will be 278.5 million persons under the age of 24 in the region at the turn of the century.

When that moment arrives, if present trends hold, the sharp lines of demarcation between youth in developing and developed countries will have blurred. In the United States, for example, children as a group are worse off economically than they were 25 years ago. Today 20 percent of children live below the poverty line, many in urban ghettos where violence has become a way of life. High-school dropout rates are increasing. Jobs are harder to land. Increasing numbers of children are being born into fatherless households.

The developed world is not immune to the problems of youth, and successful programs, wherever they surface, have lessons of relevance to all.

### Negative and Positive Circles

The struggle to enhance child survival must not cease until all regions of the map are colored green or gray. At the same time, the world must face up to the fact that children

whose lives were saved are now in danger of being "lost" through neglect of their human environment. We must concentrate on providing the nurturing, education, and socialization that will make it possible for them to live fully, to realize their potential. What is at stake is the condition of the world we will all live in.

The crossroads at which we stand can be described in terms of two development "circles"—a positive one spiraling upward, or a negative one spiraling downward. As the following sections will show, investments in the human capital of children and youth will help determine if the circle will be "vicious" or "virtuous."

**The Vicious Circle:** From the outset, the USAID Child Survival Program was motivated by more than human-

itarianism. USAID officials believed this program would help developing countries break free of the vicious circle in which they found themselves. This vicious circle—described by UNICEF in its 1994 report, *The State of the World's Children*, is a chain of reciprocal cause-and-effect links that keep countries from developing and generate political and economic instability. UNICEF calls it the "PPE spiral" because the three most important links in the chain are population, poverty, and environment.

The spiral may be described from the perspective of any of the three links, but this brief and necessarily oversimplified explanation will begin with population. Prolonged and rapid population growth outstrips society's ability to generate employment; it strains the capacity of a

family to provide for itself and the capacity of a country's social services to meet human needs. Ironically, this poverty fuels accelerated population growth. In poor families, where child morbidity is likely to be high, parents do not feel confident that they will be taken care of in their old age unless they have many children. They may also need more hands to gather firewood and water, tend cattle, and earn income in the informal sector to make do in the present. Because education levels are low in poor families, awareness of family-planning methods is also low. For these and other reasons, fertility rates stay high.

The interaction of overpopulation and poverty contributes to environmental degradation. More people mean more sewage and garbage to dispose of properly. More mouths to



Sean Sprague

*Access to basic health care helps reverse the downward spiral of the vicious circle. The Movimiento Guatemalteco de Reconstrucción Rural in Río Dulce, Guatemala, provides a wide range of medical services in the Kekchí Indian community. Improved health services lower infant mortality and fertility rates, as parents realize that their children will live to care for them in their old age.*

feed lead to overfishing, overgrazing, and overuse of pesticides and fertilizers—all of which can threaten the resource base for future production. People whose very survival is at risk today do not have the luxury of planning how to conserve tomorrow's environment. And there is little margin for error since the poorest of the poor likely occupy land that is the most environmentally fragile.

The consequences are predictable. People get less for their effort, and their health and well-being suffer because their soil is depleted, their aquifers and rivers are polluted, their forests have disappeared. This situation is particularly alarming in Latin America and the Caribbean. According to UNICEF (1994), in the "environmental disaster areas" of the Andes, Haiti, the Dominican Republic, and the central highlands of Central America, over 50 percent of agricultural land is "significantly eroded." In Latin America, 35 million or 74 percent of the poorest rural people live where agricultural potential is low and "threatened by environmental deterioration." In sub-Saharan Africa and Asia, the percentages are much lower: 51 and 57 percent, respectively.

Thus, the vicious circle closes: poverty → population → environmental degradation → poverty → and so on, spiraling downward.

In many countries, the PPE spiral has led to political and social instability, which makes it even more difficult to break any link in the causal chain. For example, instability can spur military budgets, draining resources from primary health care, education, family planning, or environmental protection.

Child survival programs have weakened the poverty → population link in the PPE spiral by saving infants' and children's lives. As mortality rates have gone down, fertility rates have followed, after a slight lag, apparently for couples to adjust to the idea that they do not have to bring five children into the world to count on two or three growing up. Figure 3 shows the "matching" rate of decreases in infant mortality and total fertility.

Weakening the population → poverty link has a beneficial effect on the whole downward spiral. As USAID's

Seventh Report to Congress (1992) on child survival expressed it:

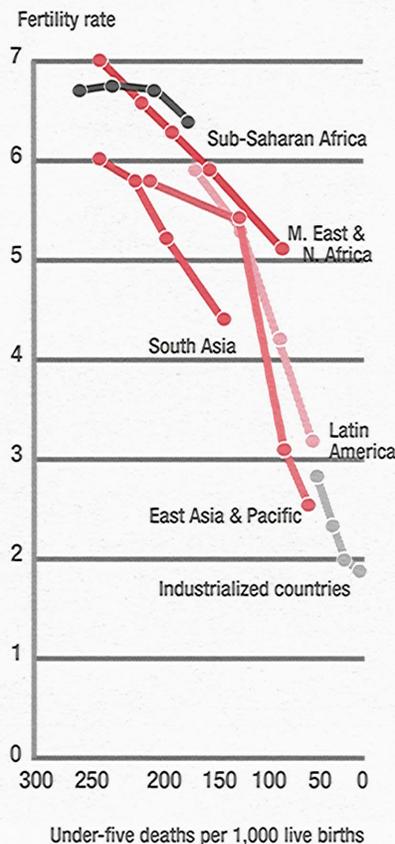
*If development is fundamentally about improving the lives of people, there can be no better investment than in the health and well-being of today's generation of children. If they enter school healthy, they have a better opportunity to learn. Moreover, as children survive and thrive, parents have fewer children; they themselves begin to have more time and energy for productive activities and are better able to invest in their children's education. Better-educated individuals earn more and can contribute more to society.*

In making its case for more investment in interventions that break into the PPE spiral, UNICEF points out that, based on the experience of 108 countries, infant mortality rates must

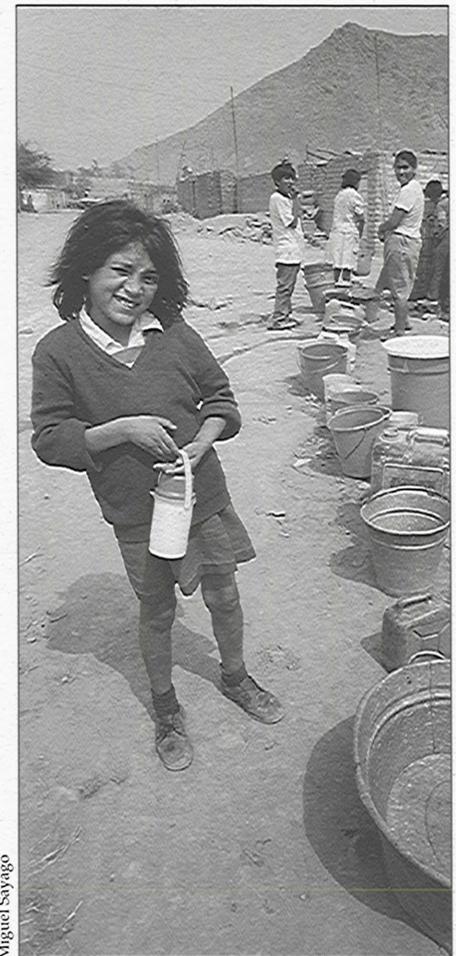
fall to somewhere around 100 or less per 1,000 before fertility begins its corresponding downward trend. Because many countries are now poised at this threshold, child survival activities must not slacken. They benefit not just today's children but future generations as well.

Education, like health, has a powerful positive effect on the vicious circle. UNICEF (1994) argues that better-educated people, like healthier people, "can participate more fully in the process of modernization and development, and are better able to raise their own incomes and contribute to the economic development of their nations." Better-educated people can more readily understand and make the adjustments and basic changes needed in agricultural, industrial, and resource management practices. Better-

**Figure 3. Relationship Between Under-five Mortality and Fertility in 108 Countries**



Source: UNICEF, *The State of the World's Children 1994*



Miguel Sayago

*Polluted water bred the recent cholera pandemic in Latin America. Many, like this girl in Lima, Peru, must walk miles and wait hours for clean water.*

educated women are more likely to control their fertility and to postpone their first pregnancy.

The salutary effects of education are especially pronounced among females. USAID's Congressional presentation for fiscal year 1994 stated, "Typically, investments in basic education for girls yield returns of over 20 percent, a higher rate of return than most other investments in developing countries." Jessica Mathews, senior fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations, in a recent *Washington Post* op-ed article about the September 1994 U.N. Conference on Population and Development in Cairo, points out that of all the social and economic factors "studied for their connection to lowered fertility... education of women has proved the most consistent," showing up with even a year or two of primary school. Colleagues in the water and sanitation field report that when mothers know how to read, water and sanitation improvements have a much larger effect on reducing the infant mortality rate.

Yet UNESCO figures show that many developing countries still invest minimally in the education of females. Only 15 percent of girls are enrolled in secondary school in Africa, compared with 33 percent of boys; in Arab countries the percentage for girls is 41 and for boys 57; for East Asia 39 versus 50; for South Asia 25 versus 44. In Latin America, the record is much better—the percentages are nearly equal. (However, UNESCO reports that nearly half of all youth of secondary school age in the region are not enrolled.)

The U.N. Summit for Children in 1990 set the goal of basic education for all children and completion of primary education by at least 80 percent, a halving of the adult illiteracy rate, and the achievement of equal educational opportunity for males and females. To meet these goals, developing countries and international donors will have to increase their investments in education. According to UNICEF, only about 2 percent of all aid for development is targeted at primary education. Donor funding in this area might be increased, or as Susan Pezzullo suggests (see page 13), money could be spent more judiciously. Articles by Ron Weber on Ser-



UNICEF/Lauren Goodsmith

*A young girl attending the Moulay el-Hassan primary school in Taza, Morocco. According to Birdsall and Sabot, the correlation between girls' education and decreased fertility rates is critical in breaking the "poverty → population → environmental degradation" cycle.*

vol (see page 19) and Kevin Healy on CEMSE (see page 32) show how this might be done by nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) that function as "laboratories" in which ideas can be tried out and developed, and then mainstreamed through other public and private agencies.

**The Virtuous Circle:** UNICEF argues, as we have seen, that the downward PPE spiral can become an "upward spiral" through the synergistic effects of health and nutrition, education, and family planning. Economists Nancy Birdsall and Richard Sabot (1994) also use the circle metaphor in their analysis of how education promotes development. Their "virtuous circle" is close kin to UNICEF's upward spiral.

Birdsall and Sabot looked at the economic performance of all major countries over the 1965–1985 period and noted that eight East Asian countries (Japan, Hong Kong, the Republic of Korea, Singapore, Taiwan, Indonesia, Malaysia, and Thailand) led the list both in terms of growth in gross domestic product (GDP) and equity

of income distribution (as measured by the ratio of income shares between the richest 20 percent and the poorest 20 percent of the population). Brazil was the lone Latin American country to place in the top 20 for GDP. The rest ranked either in the middle or below, and what growth they experienced was accompanied by increasing income inequality (see figure 4).

When countries are compared on the basis of GDP growth and income inequality, Brazil, Colombia, Mexico, Venezuela, Chile, Bolivia, Argentina, and Peru mark among those in which the top fifth of their populations receive 10 times or more income than the lowest fifth. Only Brazil and Colombia had GDP growth rates above 2 percent. None of the Latin American countries achieved high growth and distributed the benefits widely, while seven of the eight high performers in East Asia did.

According to Birdsall's and Sabot's analysis, state policies of "shared growth" pursued by the East Asian "tigers" ignited a virtuous circle of sustainable economic growth and development. These policies, in combi-

nation with aggressive management of labor relations and a push for exports, spelled success. All eight countries strongly supported public education; other shared-growth policies, which included land reform, housing programs, investment in rural infrastructure, and credit and export guarantee programs for small- and medium-sized enterprises, were common but differed in degree from country to country. Birdsall and Sabot note that "by 1987, all of the [high performers] except Thailand (with 95 percent enrollment) had achieved universal primary educa-

tion, and all had secondary enrollment rates that were above international norms given their incomes (again, except Thailand)."

The percent of GDP that the eight high performers allocated to education was not higher than average for developing countries. The difference is that in East Asia less money was spent on university-level education: 15 percent, for instance, versus 24 percent for Latin America. Primary and then secondary schools received the lion's share of support, with the emphasis on reaching all segments of the population. Birdsall and Sabot note:

*Korea and Venezuela provide an extreme example of the contrast. In 1985, though public expenditure on education was higher in Venezuela as a percent of GDP (at 4.3 percent) than in Korea (at 3 percent), 43 percent of public education spending went to higher education in Venezuela compared to 10 percent in Korea.*

In Latin America the pattern has been to expand higher education prematurely—before universalization is achieved at the lower levels. It is mostly elites who have been able to take advantage of such expansion. If the money had been spent instead on primary education, many now not receiving benefits from the educational system would begin to have a greater share in their countries' growth through increased opportunities.

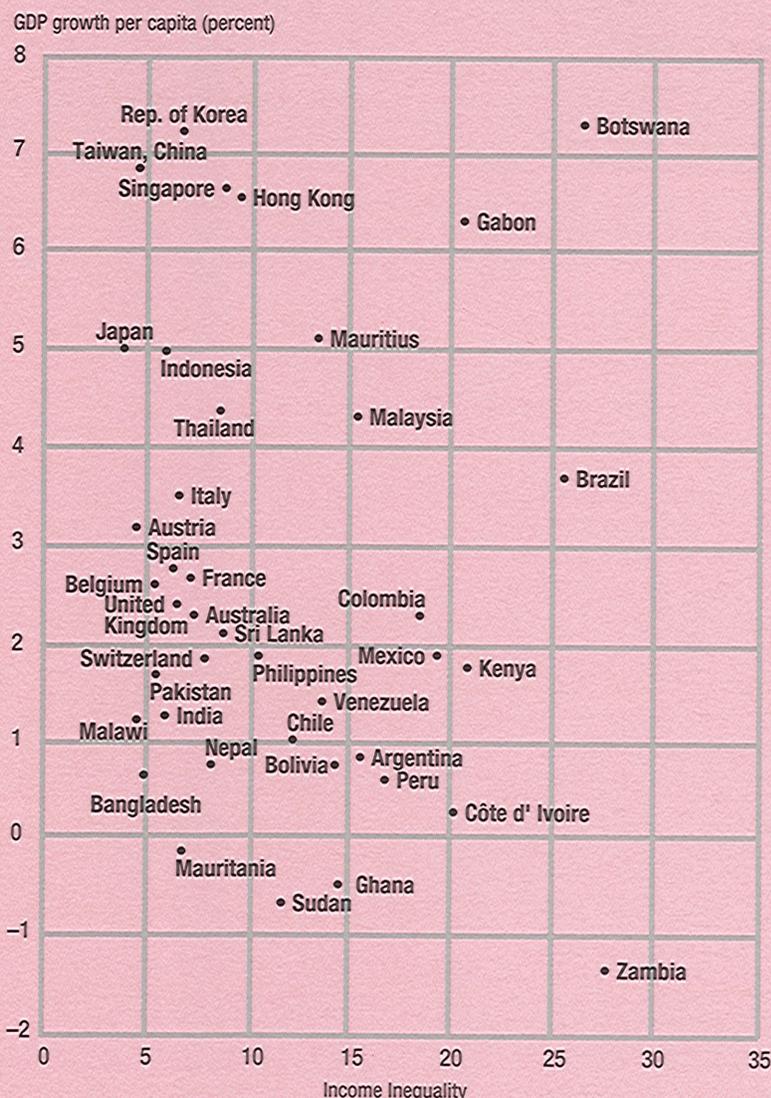
Other characteristics of the school system that have contributed to the success of the shared-growth policy in East Asia are as follows:

- Higher education has focused on training in fields to make countries more competitive internationally, such as engineering, science, and public administration;
- Quality of primary and secondary education has risen, as measured by primary-completion rates and test scores;
- And education of girls has been emphasized—paying off some years later in reduced fertility, accompanied by large benefits in children's health and nutrition.

The virtuous circle follows this approximate path: Investments in education lead to lower fertility, better health, and increases in GDP and income equality; thus, there are fewer children to educate and more money to invest in them, resulting in an even wider distribution throughout the population of the benefits of economic development. Birdsall and Sabot call it the process of "human capital accumulation."

What are the lessons for Latin America? Making social investments to break the cruel paradox of child survival can make sound economic sense. Stressing primary and secondary education for all broadens the base of growth and leads, like UNICEF's upward spiral, to long-run political stability.

**Figure 4. Income Inequality and Growth of GDP, 1965–1989**



Note: Income Inequality is measured by the ratio of the income shares of the richest 20 percent and the poorest 20 percent of the population.

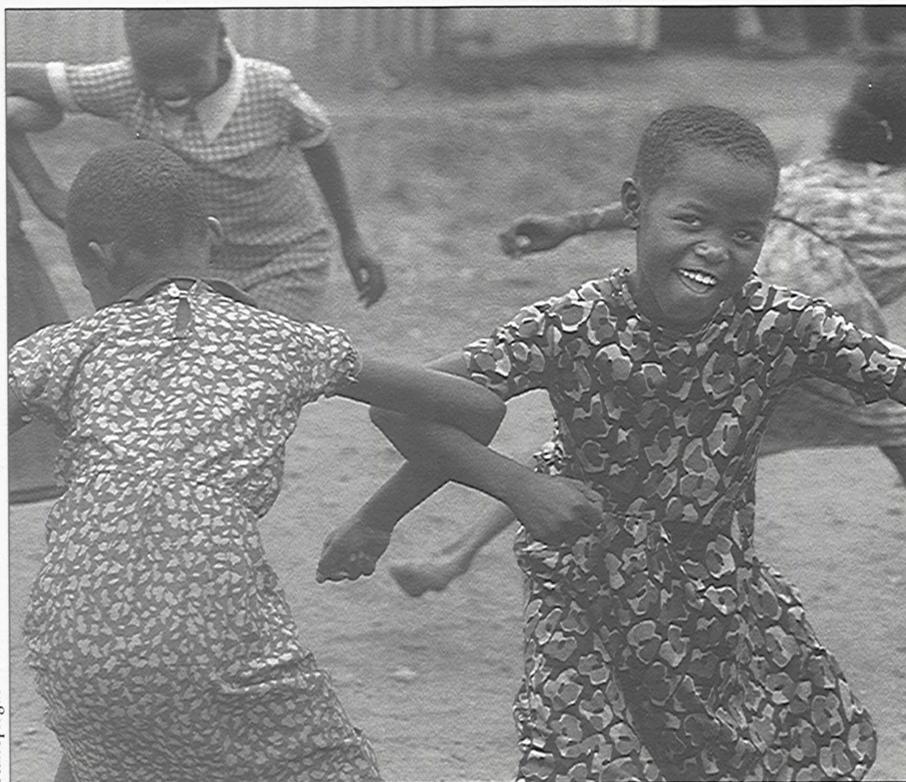
Source: World Bank, *The East Asian Miracle: Economic Growth and Public Policy* (1993), cited by Birdsall and Sabot

## Child Survival Comes of Age

This issue of *Grassroots Development* examines how innovative youth programs started by groups throughout the hemisphere are working to lay the foundation for a better tomorrow by freeing the potential of the young people who are that tomorrow. Such efforts may seem little more than noble gestures given the magnitude of the problem, but the dynamic of the PPE spiral and the virtuous circle suggest otherwise. The child survival campaign has taught us that humanitarian actions can have a long-term impact if the political will exists to follow them through.

As Carol Michaels O'Laughlin of the International Youth Foundation (IYF) suggests (see Forum, page 43), governments, donors, NGOs, and the private sector will have to pool energies to make it happen. The programs developed by Servol in the Eastern Caribbean and CEMSE in Bolivia show how that can happen. Both efforts originate in multicultural societies and are being scaled up nationally and internationally. They work not because they represent uniform blueprints for success but because their methodologies involve local communities in the education of their children. Servol has also shown that new financing mechanisms are possible. It has used matching grants from the Bernard Van Leer Foundation and the IYF and "covenants of agreement" with local businesses to create an endowment fund for its youth programs. By brokering a partnership with the state, which pays teachers' salaries, and local communities, which maintain school facilities, Servol is bringing into being national networks of preschools and adolescent skills-training centers.

In the early 1980s, the haunting photographic images of wasted, dying children preyed on the world's conscience and brought about the child survival revolution. As the child survival movement comes of age, I hope the world will find the resolve to build on what we already know works. The choice is ours. Investments in human capital can set the virtuous circle spinning and help prevent the PPE downward spiral from being the dominant mode of



Sean Sprague

*Children in Nairobi play during a school recess. Improvements in child survival during the last three decades show action for a better future is possible. Investments today in education and health care will decide if the future of tomorrow's children will be full or hollow.*

"underdevelopment" in the twenty-first century. ❖

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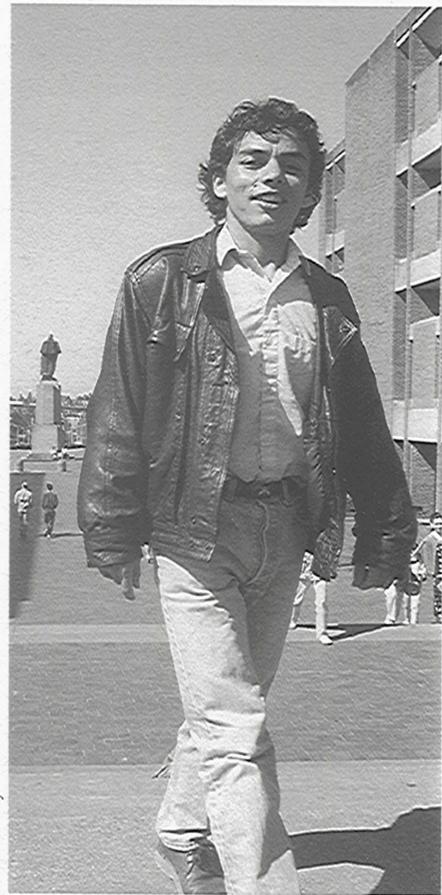
## The IAF and Youth Programs in Latin America and the Caribbean



Miguel Sayago



Manuel Hormaza



David Melody

**Youth-oriented  
NGOs are growing  
up and beginning  
to affect national  
policies.**

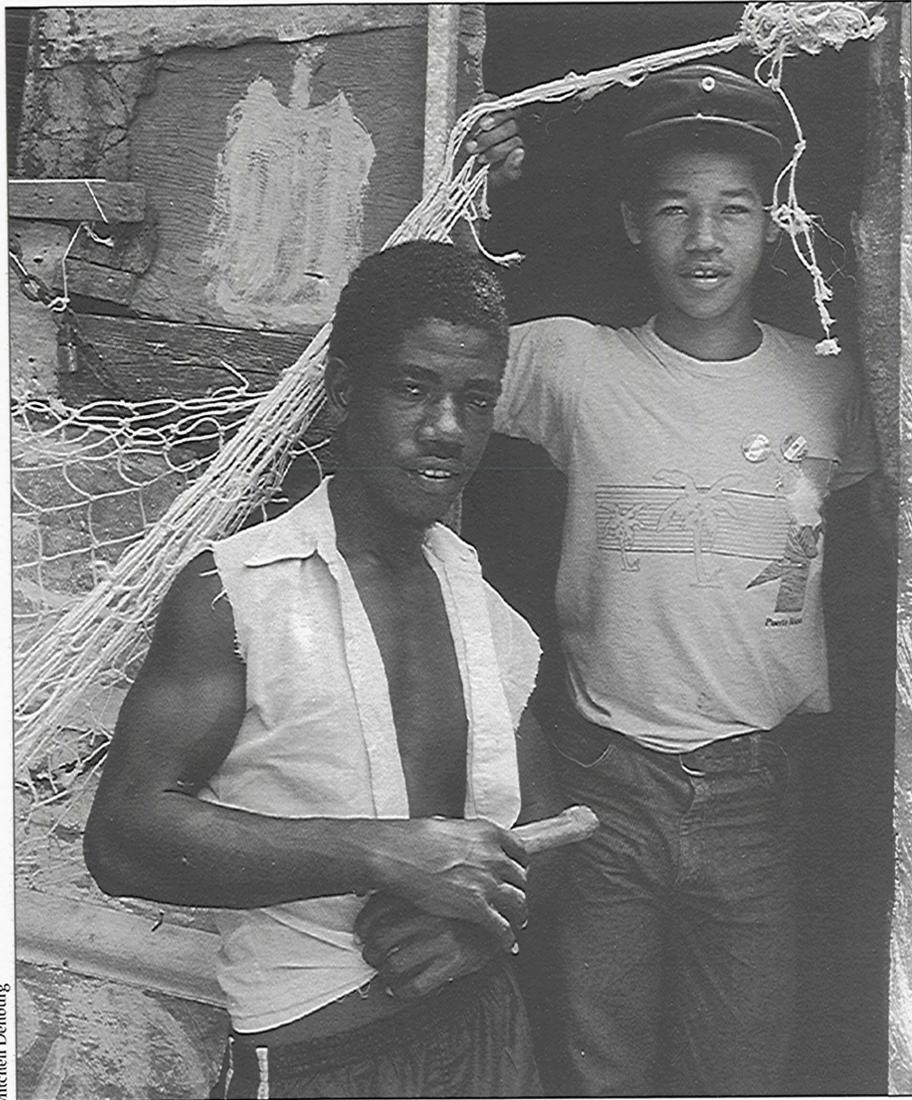
Susan Pezzullo

*Although the IAF dedicated only 5 percent of its total budget during the last 25 years to youth-oriented projects, it has tried to identify high-quality programs that can serve as models for others. Among those efforts are, from left to right: a campesino federation's training program for jobless rural youth in Chile; a self-help community housing project in Cartago, Colombia; and a Bogotá program whose graduates have been on the cutting edge of efforts to assist street youth.*

**T**he news about the status of people under the age of 18 in Latin America and the Caribbean is both troubling and encouraging. UNICEF reports that the battle to keep children alive is making headway at the same time the quality of young people's lives in terms of educational achievement, health, job potential, and overall well-being is being squandered. More than 78 million persons under the age of 18 live in poverty, an alarming 48 percent of the hemisphere's youth. Dropout rates for primary school approach 50 percent; 12

million children are not enrolled at all; and millions more are living on the streets (UNICEF, 1992). Handicapped by poverty, poor health and housing, illiteracy, and low self-esteem, too many of the hemisphere's youth are suffering, while their potential contributions to society as parents, workers, and citizens go unrealized.

It is vital to remember that this potential exists and is waiting to be tapped. When young people receive adequate physical, social, and emotional support, they can be prepared for adult roles, develop their capacity



Mitchell Denburg

*With rapid urbanization occurring throughout Latin America and the Caribbean, the question now being asked is will there be enough jobs to support the estimated 300 million children coming of age in the next century? Above: Two unemployed teenagers living in a shack on the outskirts of Kingstown, St. Vincent. Below: Outreach workers from the Movimento Nacional de Meninos e Meninas de Rua (MNMMR) in Rio de Janeiro, offer assistance to a young boy who has been living on the streets. MNMMR has succeeded in placing streetchildren at the forefront of Brazil's social agenda.*



Sean Sprague

to think critically, and become motivated to serve others. We know this even about children who grow up in the direst circumstances because non-governmental organizations (NGOs) throughout the hemisphere have been proving it through more than two decades of program experience.

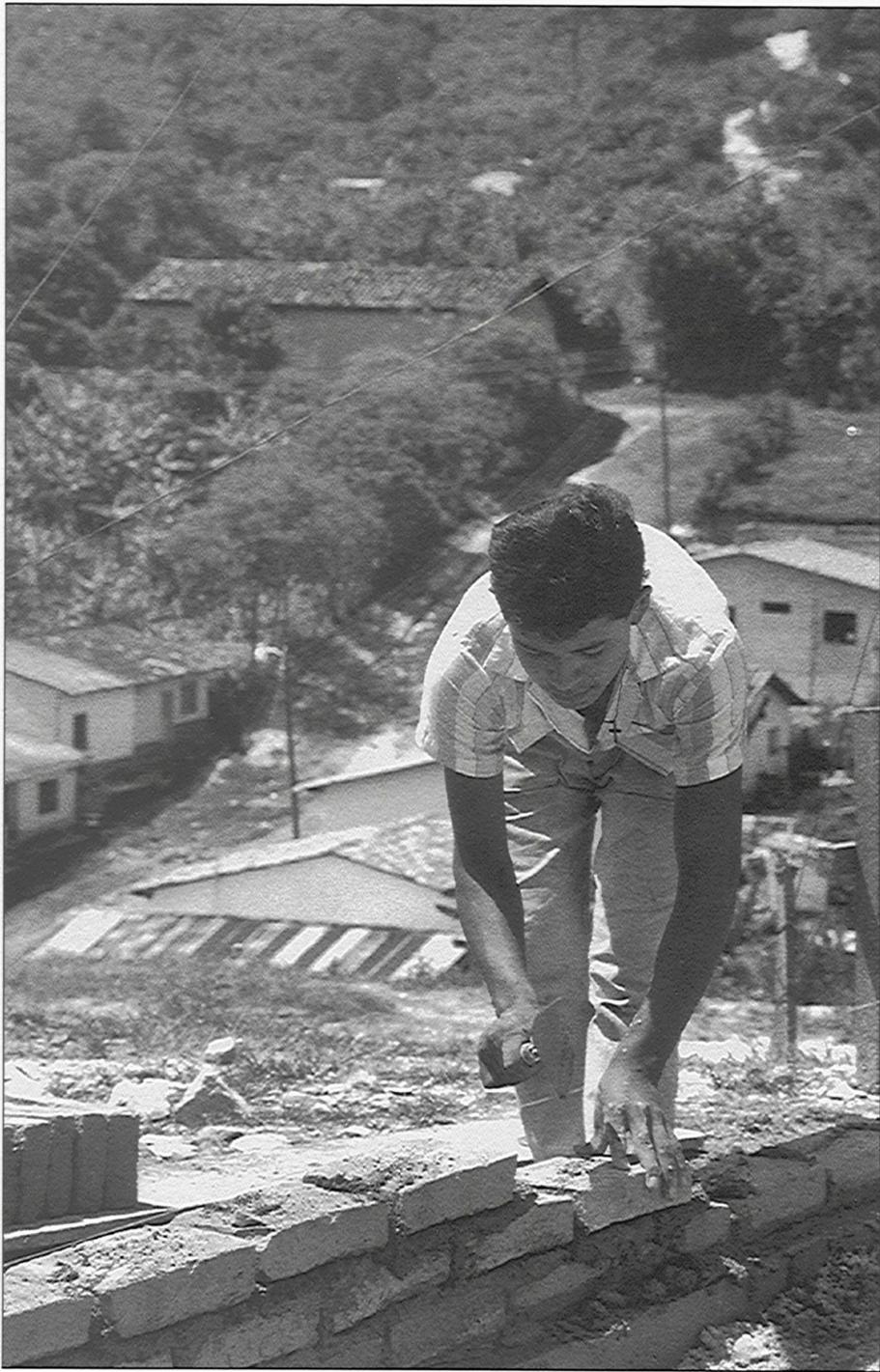
Through experimentation and hard work, institutions like Integración Juvenil in Colombia, Vicaría Norte in Chile, and Servol in Trinidad and Tobago are designing and testing promising approaches to working with young people from low-income families. The body of knowledge they generate about how to help families and communities raise children to become healthy, responsible, and productive adults provides lessons to public and private agencies concerned with youth issues in Latin America and the world.

The Inter-American Foundation has invested 5 percent of its total budget in youth-oriented development during the quarter century of its existence—making grants of \$18 million to more than 200 programs. Many of these projects have been among the most interesting and inspiring the Foundation has funded, reflecting the charisma and commitment of the grassroots leaders who take up this cause. Since the IAF's resources are small in relation to the level of need, its challenge is to fund

wisely by identifying and supporting high-quality programs and helping them broaden their impact.

When thinking about quality, the IAF and all donors face several dilemmas. One involves defining what a youth-focused program is. In the 1980s, youth programs in the United States and Europe began shifting emphasis toward the holistic development of young people's capacities and away from defining "clients" in terms of social and economic "risk factors." Building intellectual and social skills in ways that develop self-worth and responsibility is increasingly seen as the best way to promote a stable transition to a productive adulthood (Pittman, 1991). As a funder of low-income populations organizing for self-help development, however, the IAF necessarily supports youth and children who are at risk from poverty and social neglect. The challenge is to help NGOs and community-based organizations find a workable balance between designing quality programs around the developmental needs of a specific age cohort (e.g., middle childhood) without ignoring the myriad socioeconomic factors affecting the well-being of those children.

Putting the developmental needs of the child first and then determining which aspects of environment the program can realistically address seems to be a good rule of thumb. Vicaría Norte, in Santiago, Chile, for instance, has created a low-cost recreational program for low-income children. Believing that recreation is a fundamental right and is necessary for the development of motor and social skills, the Vicaría recruited older adolescents and trained them to use skits, storytelling, arts and crafts, environmental projects, and a variety of other activities to arouse the imagination and energies of children under the age of 14. The program builds children's sense of connectedness to one another and their community, instills values of responsibility and sharing, and boosts self-esteem. Key to this transformation are the adolescent counselors who become role models while polishing their own leadership skills and deepening their own commitment to service. The Vicaría recognizes that local schools are substandard and that family relations are often strained, sometimes leading to spousal and child



Patrick Breslin

*The Escuela Técnica de Artes y Oficios de Occidente in Honduras provides youth with technical assistance and skills training in the fields of carpentry, vehicle maintenance, and electrical wiring. Here, a trainee lays bricks to expand the Escuela's facilities.*

abuse. Rather than dilute program effectiveness by tackling these problems head-on, it opts to build strong ties among the children, the adolescent counselors, and adult volunteers and to refer any serious family problems to other agencies.

A second dilemma for donors is whether or not to favor programs that serve youth directly over those that work indirectly through the family and community. This dichotomy is false. Either approach is valid, depending upon the objectives being



*Citizenship is vital if the hemisphere's trend toward democracy is to last. These children—participating in an experimental program to expand the Escuela Nueva concept of participatory education to urban schools in Colombia—learn about the democratic process firsthand by electing representatives to their school government.*

sought. The key is to clearly understand the developmental needs of the children involved and the factors impeding or enhancing their full development. Both considerations should be explicitly reflected in program design. Save the Children, for example, concluded after a review of its income-generating programs that efforts to increase family incomes do not necessarily improve children's well-being. Poorer families may need to keep youth out of school if parents, especially mothers, end up spending more time on labor-intensive productive activities introduced by the program (Peace and Hulme, 1993). Programs that are good for youth keep their needs in clear focus and ensure that resource allocation, technologies, and activities are not detrimental to young people's health or their ability to attend school.

On the other hand, encouraging programs that work to empower children should not impose unrealistic criteria for participation. Youth, by definition, is a time of transition, and any organization of young people will experience constant membership turnover. Donors must exercise flexibility. Rather than concentrating on creating youth organizations, funders should remain open to programs in which children and adolescents learn leadership skills, participate in decision making, and are given opportunities to serve others, preparing them to become active members of civic and other organizations as young adults.

Most successful NGOs follow this strategy. Allowing youth to have a say in how programs are designed and managed is vital to the effectiveness of programs like those of Vicaría Norte, Integración Juvenil, and Colo-

nia Pirai. The latter two NGOs work with streetchildren in Colombia and Bolivia whom many would consider to be the least likely candidates for participation in responsible decision making. By tapping the independence and savvy youth have gained in the streets, these programs have shown that young people can mentor their peers, help manage program resources, and exercise authority as voting members of executive committees (Shifter, 1985).

The final dilemma facing donors is how to stretch limited resources. One way is to fund programs that consciously develop alternative strategies for youth development that can be expanded. IAF support for the Centro de Educação e Cultura Popular (CECUP) in Salvador, Brazil, to provide technical support to community-based alternative schools serving over 10,000 young



Miguel Sayago

*Youth projects can play a role in building the cultural pride and inspiring the hope communities need to sustain grassroots development. Above: A young girl from Santiago, Chile, participates in an urban program aimed at preserving traditional Mapuche Indian dress and culture. Right: A symphony orchestra comprised of former gamines, or streetchildren, from Bogotá, Colombia, on tour in North America.*

people is one example. It provides Brazilians an innovative way of addressing their country's disappointingly low rates of primary school enrollment and completion. The success of the Escuela Nueva program (Goff, 1990) to develop a new community-based curriculum for more than half of Colombia's rural schools is another (the model is now being tested in urban schools as well). It is important for information about innovative projects to be shared. Servol in Trinidad and Tobago has not only helped nations throughout the Eastern Caribbean to set up their own training facilities for preschool teachers, its founder has been asked to join a national panel for revamping public education, and he has suggested Trinidadians look at the Escuela Nueva for lessons in reforming primary schools.

Emma Rodriguez



Increased international concern about the status of children and youth opens the way for NGOs to play a broader role. The U.N. World Summit on Youth in 1990 charged participating countries with developing national plans for young people to be implemented by the year 2000. Among the goals are reduced infant and maternal mortality, improved access to safe water and sewerage, and upgraded primary education, partic-

ularly for girls. A year earlier, the Convention on the Rights of the Child was drafted by the U.N. General Assembly, and it has since been ratified by all countries in Latin America and the Caribbean, save Haiti. The charter includes clauses prohibiting discrimination of children and child abuse; and clauses supporting the rights to live with parents and be reunited if separated; to free thought, expression, and as-



Adolescents participate in the opening-day ceremonies of a summer youth program sponsored by the Vicaría de la Solidaridad in Santiago, Chile. Youth programs sponsored by Vicarías throughout Chile focus on building self-esteem, community participation, and individual responsibility. The Vicaría Norte in Santiago trains adolescents as counselors who develop leadership skills and learn the value of community service.

sociation; and to an adequate standard of living and education. Together, these two documents provide a framework for policy dialogue between public and private groups working on behalf of youth.

In the Dominican Republic, for example, NGOs played a key role in defining the national plan of action for youth (UNICEF, 1994). In Mexico, Brazil, Ecuador, Argentina, Chile, and Colombia, decentralized state planning may also open opportunities for NGOs to influence policy-making at the local level. The IAF and other donors can play an important role in helping NGOs coordinate their activities to maintain an ongoing dialogue with government and to monitor compliance with the U.N. Convention and other agreements. The Movi-

mento Nacional de Meninos e Meninas de Rua (MNMNR) in Brazil has shown what is possible. It brought street children and their advocates to Brasilia for testimony before legislative committees drafting a new national Constitution and mobilized the Brazilian public to pass an amendment that protects all young people.

Youth oriented NGOs can play an invaluable role in lobbying on behalf of children and youth. They must work to educate government, business, and the public to ensure that adequate resources are invested to reach those in need. ❖

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# THE Parenting in TRANSPARENT Trinidad and VILLAGE Tobago

**I**t is not what one expects to find in a city, even a tropical city like Port of Spain. A hush of singular clarity—ghostly as the cry of a bellbird—has enveloped the room.

All morning, people have been milling in from every corner of the island, seating themselves in a semicircle several rows deep, chattering intently like churchgoers who have not seen one another since the last service. Now their faces turn upward expectantly as Father Gerard Pantin clears his throat to speak.

Pantin is a priest, but this is not pious devotion. His throat is exposed, unconstrained by a clerical collar. There is no pulpit. And the “congregation” before him is most peculiar, composed of evangelical Protestants, Hindus, Muslims, even a fair number of the unchurched, as well as fellow Catholics. In their laps they finger notebooks and pens, not missals or hymnals.

Certainly some of the radiant stillness can be described as the aura of charisma. Pantin is a man of quiet intensity, a spellbinding speaker with the rare ability to persuade an audience it is being addressed one person at a time. And he brings a message about human development that is compelling.

The 23 years Pantin has spent working with communities to build networks of preschools and adolescent training centers have taught him to think of problems and opportunities in terms of circles, to look for patterns of relationship that are mutually reinforcing and attack the poverty of modern society at its deepest level. His insights are radical, in the original sense of that word—solutions that penetrate to the roots of problems. The urgency of his task has made his days studies in

motion so it is the lingering of the silence that is most surprising.

While that silence deepens, Pantin’s brow furrows—as if he has come upon an unexpected crossroad between thoughts and is searching for its name. Perhaps the juncture is something as simple as registering how the contrary mixture of concern and hope playing across these 200 faces, most of whom he knows quite well, mirrors his own. He had, after all, stepped down just a few days before as the executive director of Service Volunteered for All (Servol), the organization they all work for and that he founded. He is staying on as chairman of the board, but this is clearly a time of transition, a moment in which the past is at least as present as the future.

In this light, the silence seems familiar. In one guise or another it has been present from the moment he set out with a companion in 1970 for the unruly slums of Laventille, armed only with a question—“How can we help?” And it is the very reason he has summoned the early childhood educators of Servol here today. He has not called them to hear his voice or to bask in the solace of their own voices. He has called them to *listen*.

**T**his is not as simple as it sounds. Everyone with ears to hear thinks he or she knows how to listen. In that presumption lie the seeds of what Pantin calls *cultural arrogance*. What we hear is filtered through what we already think and feel, and tends to be self-confirming. The obstacles to understanding are compounded when the talking is not between partners, when one person is too young and inexperienced, too old and infirm, or too poor and powerless to command our attention. Since few relationships are between equals, all too many dialogues are ac-

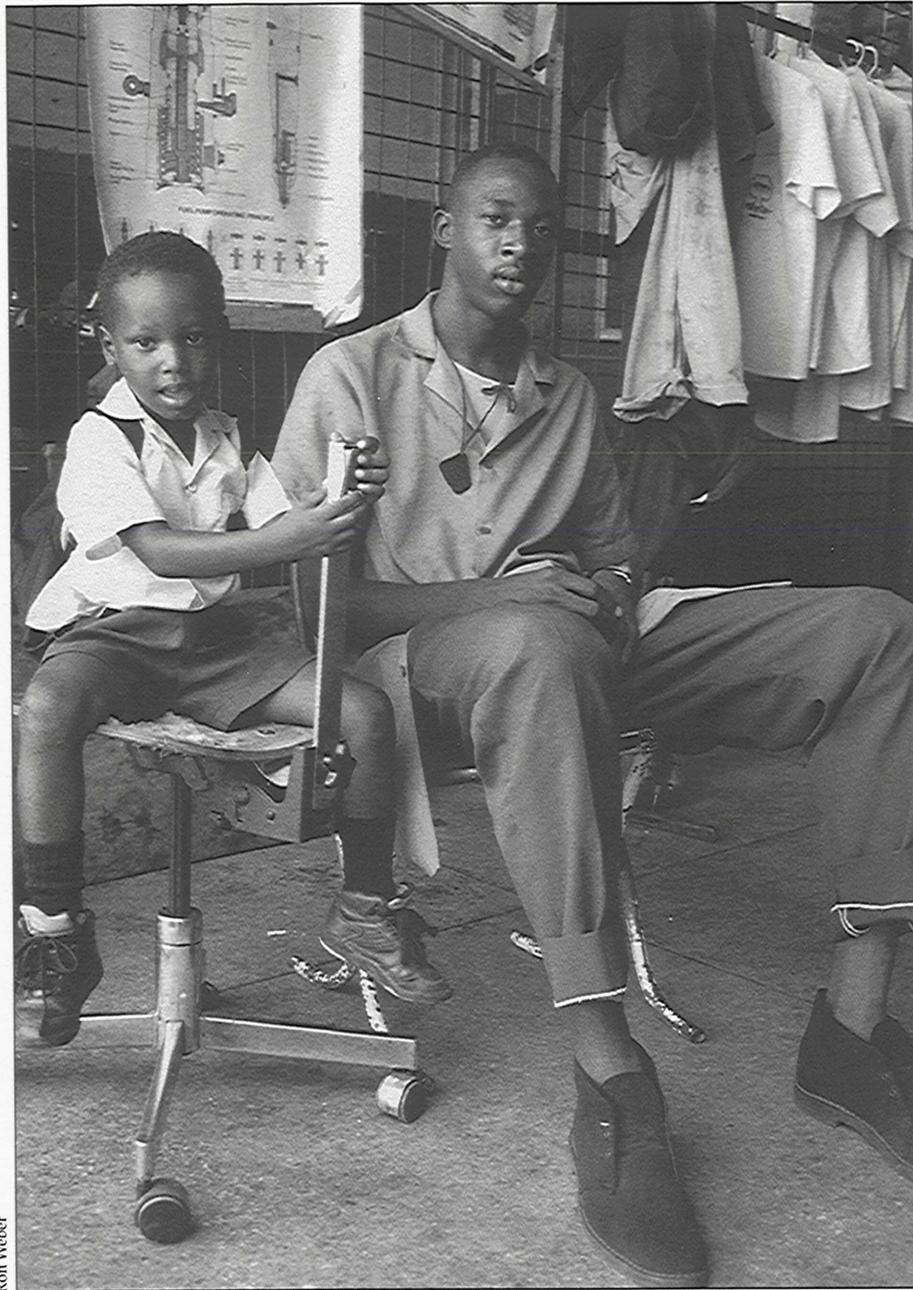
**Society's future depends on  
the ability of adults to listen  
to the voice of the  
silent child.**

**Ron Weber**



Mitchell Denburg

*Gerard Pantin, founder and chairman of the board of Service Volunteered for All (Servol).*



Ron Weber

*Servol's vision of parenting follows the African proverb that it takes a village to raise a child. Programs overlap, calling new communities of family into being. Here, a welding trainee spends recess with a preschooler he is mentoring.*

tually monologues. Those who exist at the margins of our vision watch us rush right by, muttering to ourselves.

This insight did not come easily to Gerard Pantin. Trained as a biologist, with a doctorate in theology from the University of Freiburg, he is a person not easily given to suffering fools, someone who has had to learn the virtues of waiting from the sort of

people that people of privilege have learned not to see. Indeed when he, a middle-class Trinidadian of French descent, abruptly departed Port of Spain proper for the heart of Laventille, his family, friends, and colleagues thought him foolhardy at best. What would possess someone of his rank to walk into the lion's den of Black Power demonstrations that

had only days before sparked a failed mutiny by the army and provoked a reign of martial law?

The Caribbean poet Derek Walcott (1986), in a poem written for V.S. Naipaul at about the time Pantin set out on his quest, describes the world that was, and in some sense still is, Laventille. From this promontory, Walcott writes, one can gaze out at the uncaring sea and imagine the full horror of the Middle Passage that carried uprooted slaves from Africa to the New World. To see where those who survived landed, bereft of their native languages, cultures, and family ties, one had only to look at the people inhabiting the tumble-down houses covering these hills like a scab. "To go downhill from here," he concludes, into Belmont, Maraval, and the other neighborhoods of the old colonial capital, "was to ascend."

It would take years for Pantin to understand how the opposite logic was equally ironclad. How to climb uphill into Laventille was to fall. The poor were justifiably wary of outsiders offering charity and jealously guarded their one possession—their sullen, sometimes angry, refusal to ratify the justice of their own impoverishment. At first it must have seemed that nothing in his life had prepared him for the work of offering something more. Because he was unable to act, because he did not know how to act, he was forced to watch and listen. He approached the task with a scientist's clear eye.

As a young botanist at University College in Ireland, he had written an honors thesis theorizing how a sea wall, built by port authorities to combat river siltation, had combined with tidal action and the variant buoyancy of plant seeds to create markedly different ecosystems in the salt marshes around Dublin. What he saw and heard in Laventille was profoundly disturbing, suggesting that similar cycles were at work in human society. Many children had no father living at home, and increasingly no mother either. Young women in search of work were leaving their children in the care of grandmothers or aunts. Unwatched children could be found walking the streets, even at night. Deprived of the richness of family love, they grew up unable to love. Although primary school attendance



Ron Weber

Principal Margaret Roberts of the Sunshine Life Centre for "special" children comforts a student who has wandered in during a meeting with parent Arlene Carr. The center has one of Servol's most active PTAs, involving fathers and mothers across class and ethnic lines in a campaign to uplift their children and educate society about people with disabilities.

was mandatory, few profited from it, and many passed through without learning to read or write, never acquiring even the most basic skills to hold down a job. Growing up this way conditioned people to failure.

Pantin had no idea how to break the downward spiral, but its existence made him wonder if uplifting spirals were possible. Long dormant feelings must have stirred within him about his own childhood when, at the age of 11, the oldest of 10 children, he watched his father, one of Port of Spain's leading businessmen, die of stomach cancer, leaving the family on the brink of genteel poverty. On the threshold of adolescence, Gerry Pantin saw himself dispossessed. Yet he had somehow survived his anger at the injustice of having his world turned upside down, of finding his family suddenly reduced, in the eyes of friends, to objects of charity. His mother, with support from her un-

married sister and mentoring from an uncle and teachers along the way, had somehow brought the children through. Perhaps it was possible to build supports around the fractured families in Laventille that could help carry them through.

He sensed, almost intuitively, that how one started was more important than where one started, that care must be taken to build on the dignity already there. Ideas for projects must spring from the community and must start small, with enough local investment so local people could take credit for the outcome. The outsider's role was to spark a dialogue that would enable the community to unmask its needs, implement a plan of action, and figure out what worked and what fell short. This shared learning process echoed the "pedagogy of the oppressed" that Paulo Freire (1970) had pioneered in Brazil, but it proved more open-ended.

Awakening the desire for self-governance was never envisioned as a pretext for creating a political movement to take over the state. Projects to start a bakery, build basketball courts, train welders, open medical and dental clinics, and outfit a fishing cooperative evolved organically, based on their relevance to the needs of each community.

Servol's dialogue was also cross-pollinated by the Gandhian concept of *ahimsa*—the belief that social justice and truth are relational and dynamic, and are realized only in action which does not physically harm or psychologically violate the essential being of others (Erikson, 1969). Pantin's insight was to see that this principle governed not only the relationship between the powerless and the oppressor, but between the afflicted and the Good Samaritan offering help. This was important because Servol's task was not to destroy or

seize control of any institution, but to help build a new institutional genotype for transforming social transactions at their roots.

Pantin's insistence on the inherent dignity of all participants in a dialogue, including the power to withdraw from the process, allowed Servol to discover that the poor of Trinidad formed not one community but many, each with its own voice, pitched to its own timbre. It also allowed the people of Servol to discover, sometimes painfully, like a child touching a hot stove, that cultural arrogance is a highly mutable virus which infects not only issues of economic class but those of gender, educational attainment, job status, and ethnicity, among others.

By remaining open to the possibilities of dialogue, even when at first there seems only noise, Servol learned that small miracles were possible. Pantin is fond of telling a story by way of illustration. Margaret Roberts, one of Servol's first grassroots teachers and principal of its school for "special" children, had been working for some time with an autistic child. The boy could not bear being touched, so Roberts let him pick the moment of contact. Sitting off to the side in class, the boy learned to write and read the thorniest of words but could not get his tongue around the simplest of them. One day, he approached Margaret with his chalkboard, printed out the word "difficult," and kicked at her shin. Her anger turned to puzzlement at the obsessive repetition of the tantrum that followed. The boy would pick up a foot, stamp it on the floor, point at the word, and begin stamping again. Finally, she looked down and saw his shoes were untied. When she finished tying the laces and looked up, the boy was grinning.

**G**azing back along the path of evolution Servol has taken, an impartial observer could not miss all the missteps. Among them was a vain attempt to start agricultural communities at the very moment that a state-led process of industrialization was making the country irreversibly urban.

Yet the praxis of dialogue—listening attentively to the other, intervening respectfully, and evaluating the

results—formed a feedback loop allowing Servol to build on what worked and to set aside what did not. Supervisory committees began to report curious happenings when projects were forced to share space out of expediency. Gangs of teens in youth centers became fiercely protective of children in nursery schools; the opening of job-training programs for girls and their influx into skills traditionally reserved for boys had an electrifying effect on students' morale; community clinics could promote health through improved nutrition and preventive care while training adolescent apprentices as nurses aides and dental hygienists.

Gradually, Servol was transformed into a laboratory for integrated human development that came to focus on the problems of youth, but from an unusual perspective. Most youth-oriented programs start as charitable missions to an underage population unable to care for itself. Servol worked with all age groups from the start and learned, through trial and error, that the situation of young people was not a marginal aspect of community development but

the key to its sustainability. Pantin began to see how community and personal identity are forged from the dialogue between one generation and the next. He envisioned tomorrow's society being formed in the hearts and minds of today's children.

Ironically, this long-range perspective of social change only increased his sense of urgency, since the process is highly front-loaded. A woman who gets inadequate nutrition or ingests harmful substances during pregnancy may permanently impair the intellectual and physical abilities of her child. Sometimes the damage is dramatically visible in the newborn, as when fetal alcohol syndrome produces cranial deformity. Other side effects require years to manifest themselves, as in the attention deficit disorders associated with low-birthweight babies. There is, of course, no way to measure the harm to those who remain within the norm but whose ceiling of potential was unnecessarily lowered.

"After years of listening to children, parents, educators, and psychologists," Servol also came to believe, as its new executive director Ruth Montrichard says, "that the first

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*The fortunes of adults are shaped by what is invested in them as infants and toddlers. Here, a Parent Outreach Programme (POP) worker crafts materials to help low-income mothers take charge of preparing their children for preschool.*



Ron Weber

three years of life are by far the most important in deciding what kind of adult the child will become. This is when the development of personality takes place, the foundations of positive self-image are laid, and behavior patterns are established."

A substantial body of physiological research now supports Servol's conviction (Carnegie, 1994). Discoveries in molecular biology and powerful new technologies, including brain scans and positron emission tomography, have enabled scientists to chart the development and biochemistry of the nervous system in great detail, including the ability to measure how environment affects brain function. We now know that brain cell formation is largely complete at birth, but that the wiring together of neurons to map out routes for learning is a generative process substantially shaped by the growing child's relationship, or lack of relationship, to the family and community into which he or she is born. During the first year of life, the number of synapses connecting cells multiplies from 50 trillion to 1,000 trillion. Then the brain, "like a sculptor chiseling a form from a block of marble," rapidly pares away neurons and synapses by linking sensory information about the outside world into a feedback loop for forming more specific and efficient patterns of connection.

The speechless newborn, from the doctor's or midwife's slap that provokes the baby's first cry, is already engaged in a dialogue with the world that will design the architecture of the adult brain. Servol's experience suggests that the concrete of basic character has largely set by the age of five. If the building's foundation is dysfunctional, if a person has not learned how to get along with people and use language to gather information and employ it self-confidently to explore the world, struts can be jerry-rigged later in life to prop up the walls, but the task of reconstruction is daunting. One of the widest remaining windows of opportunity comes in late adolescence, before a person enters the adult world of work.

Servol's decision about where to intervene in the cycle of human development has itself been conditioned by the fledgling organization's relationship to the society that spawned it.

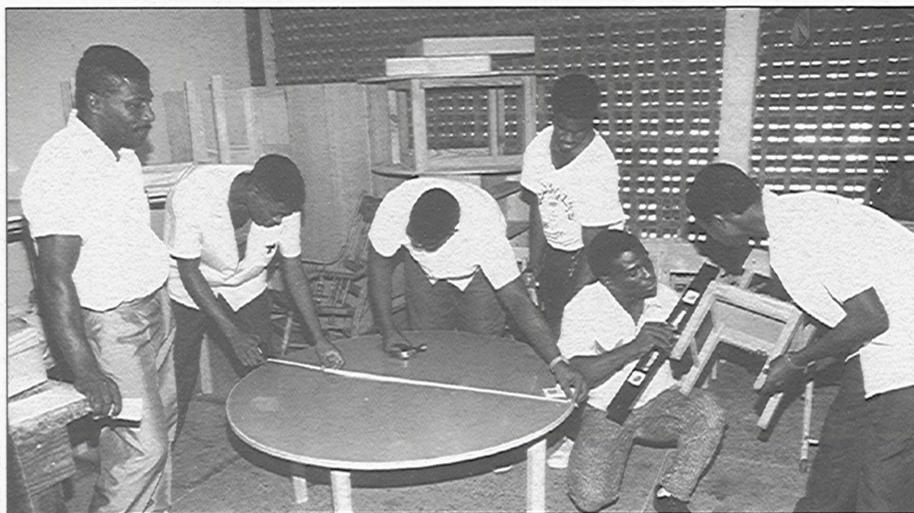
Soon after the failed coup of 1970, the state gained windfall profits to fuel new social services from the OPEC oil boom. The mandate for universal primary and secondary schooling precluded ready access to youth between the ages of 5 and 17. Expanded access to medical care limited the viability of a community-based outreach program to pregnant women. Strong families could be expected to care for the developmental needs of babies and toddlers; families at greatest risk, those headed by young women, needed comprehensive assistance and were among the hardest groups to reach.

What Servol had at its disposal were a handful of day care centers staffed by untrained "slips of girls" who were little more than caretakers, and the seeds of a program to find jobs for young men. Through dialogue with communities, and eventually the state, this scattered collection of isolated projects evolved into two national networks of 150 preschools and 40 life centers for teenage boys and girls (Weber, 1990). With one arm Servol would prepare three- to five-year-olds to enter formal schooling, able to hold their own with children of the middle class. With the other arm it would capture teenagers pushed out of the public educational system and equip them with the interpersonal and technical skills needed to keep steady jobs. The

lessons learned in each of these efforts would gradually become fused into a single-minded effort to repair a society that was coming unraveled.

Lifting his head ever so slightly, as if looking up from the road connecting this moment to Servol's quixotic beginnings, Pantin finally breaks the spell of silence. He turns his colleagues' attention to the source of their shared concern, calling them to listen to the pain beyond the walls enclosing them, on the streets outside the Caribbean Life Centre, in the living rooms of a society in crisis. "The nation," he says, biting off the words, "is caught in the grip of structural adjustment." Watching his lips narrow in a tight smile, one imagines a small animal asked to hold itself steady while a veterinarian breaks and resets its bones.

The agony is all the more acute, he suggests, because it has taken on an unreal yet familiar quality that magnifies the feeling of powerlessness, even among those ostensibly in control. To turn on the 6 o'clock news is to see a videocassette being played in reverse. Reports about the national economy track a missile that has failed to reach escape velocity. Since 1983, when petroleum prices collapsed, it has been in free-fall, with per capita gross domestic product shrinking 5.1 percent annually (UNICEF, 1994). When the missile



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*Servol's comprehensive program for youth allows it to recycle resources, generating multiple benefits for each dollar expended. Here, apprentice carpenters at the Beetham Life Centre learn their trade while making furniture for community preschools.*

crashed in a social explosion in 1990, a failed coup touched off rioting and looting more severe than that which first brought Pantin to Laventille.

Trinidad's government is now a passenger, along for the ride. It can no longer print money to paper over the communal frictions inherited from colonial society. Through two changes of party, the public sector continues to retrench personnel and slash services. The urban water supply, once 100 percent potable, is unreliable. Rheumatic fever among children, reduced to a rarity over three decades, is on the march. And as thousands lose their jobs, families—even strong ones—are splitting at the seams.

"The man," Pantin explains, "sees his job as the center of life, of who he is." Seeing the spine of his pride cut away, feeling mashed up inside, he lashes out at his wife, who takes it out on the children. "Women are under siege in their own homes."

People have been summoned here today, he continues, because their jobs put them at the hub of things. "Unless preschools are rooted in their communities," he says, "they will wither and die." Teachers, to be effective, must penetrate into the home

to find out what happens to children once class is out. Above all they must listen to the vibrant child who one day goes quiet, arrives bruised, or stops coming to school at all. "In visiting the home," he cautions, "you must be professional, mindful of intervening respectfully. Remember, before pushing your mouth in, telling the man what he is, that when you walk out the door the woman and child are left behind."

Pantin closes by telling them that a new law on domestic violence has passed, that Trinidad and Tobago are signatory to a new U.N. treaty governing the rights of the child, and that on returning home they must get to know the local social worker and the cop on the beat in order to mediate services for distressed families. And because no economic relief is in sight until 1996 at the earliest, preschool teachers and their colleagues in the adolescent program, who are the spine of Servol, are the nation's hope for holding itself together.

As Gerard Pantin slips out the door, and before discussion about what to do begins, a tape recorder starts playing. The voice on the tape is soothing. It asks its listeners to be-

come aware of their breathing, to imagine themselves exhaling stress from their arms, legs, necks, to feel themselves inhaling clear, bright light till it fills their bodies with bliss. The voice on the tape is that of Diana Mahabir-Wyatt, a management consultant who has known Pantin since his first days in Laventille, later joined Servol's board, and is now an Independent senator in the upper house of the legislature. She is the very person who drafted the bill on domestic violence whose provisions they will soon hear, whose enactment has cast its own clear light on the long-festered silence of what might be called the crisis of the family.

**S**ervol believes the nation's fate is tied to this crisis and that solutions are possible if people make the right connections. Ruth Montrichard made the case recently in Paris, where she testified before a UNESCO committee honoring Servol as one of the world's 20 best nonformal education programs. Montrichard has long been alarmed by the rising tide of youth violence, and she believes that social commentators who blame the outbreak on parents'



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Four-year-olds learn how to count while playing "ring around a rosy" at the model preschool Servol operates at the Regional Training and Resource Centre (RTRC). The RTRC has trained a generation of preschool educators who are staffing their own training centers for teachers throughout the Eastern Caribbean and Guyana.

failure to discipline their children rail against the symptoms without touching the disease. She points instead to the rapid decline of village life that has undermined the extended family and led to the rise of one-parent families, nearly all headed by women under great economic and psychological stress. Used and abused by males, young mothers vent their anger on their children—especially the boys, who grow up abusive toward women and renew the cycle of violence.

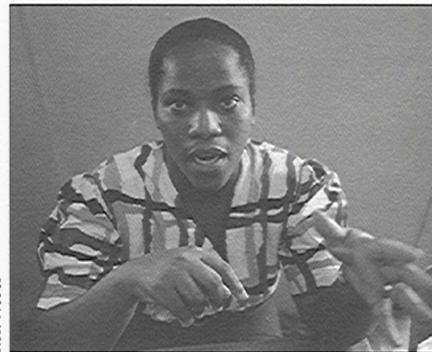
This cycle is all the harder to break, she says, "because parenting practices among grassroots Caribbeans often encourage physical punishment. The widespread belief that sparing the rod spoils the child forms, in the absence of a comforting member of an extended family, a rip-tide of repressed anger in children."

Servol's programs, she concludes, "which on the surface seem to be dealing mainly with preschoolers and adolescents, are really primarily concerned with the education of parents and community and the building and support of family."

In the early childhood program, this process begins in the classroom itself. Three- to five-year-olds must be brought to preschool, and the adult, usually the mother, is welcome to stay and learn, through watching and listening, how children can be engaged in a "dialogue" that instills self-discipline through creativity. The invitation extends to other members of the community as well. In Four Roads Tamana, a hamlet east of Arima, for instance, the kindergarten is in the community center, which is also where the social security officer drops off checks for the elderly. Recipients arrive early for their funds and often stay the day, watching, with pride and bemusement, their grandchildren or the neighbors' children perform as two Servol-trained teachers lead them to learning through structured play. "We have become," as one teacher put it, "the village TV."

When parents do not visit the school, the teacher, who usually lives in the community, calls on them. The teacher will want to see how the child interacts with others in the home, and help set a process in motion ensuring that what is learned in the classroom is built upon rather

than undone. If the relationship between the primary caregiver and the child seems tense, the teacher may even take a turn in the kitchen—asking the child to pick stones from dried beans or count cutlery—to gently suggest another way of getting things done. As the visit winds to a close, parents will be invited to the next PTA meeting.



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*"Building family on streets where gunfire is like rain means making up your mind to go brave."*

There, discussions will touch upon a variety of topics: the importance of good nutrition and how to prepare simple foods for a school lunch; the stages of child development and how to make toys from household materials that let three-year-olds use their hands so their muscles and hand-eye coordination are ready when it comes time, a year or so later, to grip a pencil and print block letters. These meetings are particularly important in urban areas because they re-create a village setting in which it is possible for people, who might ordinarily pass one another in the street without speaking, to pause awhile and exchange information. Here they can share delight at the joys their children bring as well as insights on how to handle difficult situations without reaching for the nearest switch. For a moment, at least, a community comes into being whose goal is to involve each parent in his or her child's education in ways that enhance the self-esteem and self-confidence of both.

"The absence of the extended family," Montrichard says, "means the community, especially males, must become more involved in the lives of children." Fathers, uncles, and

guardians come to PTA meetings, but not often enough to suit the mothers or the teachers. Men do, however, turn out more frequently to escort children on field trips to the zoo or elsewhere, and some become deeply involved in the boards of education that maintain the preschools, collect fees from parents, and raise money to supplement teachers' salaries from the Ministry of Education.

Some of the funds are set aside to assure that no child is turned away for lack of money. In recent years, however, Servol has noted that preschool attendance has stabilized or dipped slightly and that communities are no longer asking for kindergartens to be opened. Pantin explains the former by noting that "poor people, too, have their pride, and if they cannot put clothes on their children's backs or lunch in a paper sack, the children will be kept home." As for the latter, a board of education is expected to provide a suitable facility, and the supply of readily available buildings is used up.

Servol, with support from the Inter-American Foundation and the Mercy Foundation in Ireland, has launched the Parent Outreach Programme (POP) to bridge the gap. Staffed by a handful of experienced preschool teachers adept at involving parents in their children's education, POP is still in its infancy. To learn as much as possible during this early phase of participatory research, a few communities have been selected as a cross-section of the island's diversity—from rural La Berre in the south to the Beetham Estate in the urban corridor of the north. Most outreach workers have targeted all children under the age of five and their parents, but some are exploring topics of special interest. Indra Harbuchan, for example, expecting her third child, approached nurses providing her with prenatal care at the clinic in Penal to start a program for expectant mothers, "so their babies could get the best possible head start."

Outreach workers meet weekly at the Caribbean Life Centre in Port of Spain to compare notes, refine techniques, and boost one another's morale. The work is slow and arduous, but progress is being made. Facilitators are reaching not only the working poor who have dropped



*Floyd Broomes, Martin Campbell, and a friend fix the brake drum on a customer's car. The inability of some teens to function in the workplace led to the ADP, a novel program for defusing the anger building up inside many since childhood.*

away from preschools during hard times, but are beginning to touch the poorest of the poor. What POP is finding confirms the experience of grassroots programs surveyed by Lisbeth Schorr (1989) in the United States: Those who exist on the margins of destitution lack the time, motivation, and energy to take advantage of services unless they are intensive and comprehensive.

As a result, facilitator Lisa Robinson says, "we find ourselves moving beyond being just teachers to becoming friends and counselors." This, her colleague Jacqueline Roberts adds, means "making up your mind to go brave." It means "putting your shoes in the household to get the standing you need to speak."

Often the household is paralyzed by a crisis that must be dealt with before a young mother can make use of the formal skills POP facilitators have to offer. When the violence of these neighborhoods has touched a family, it may require interceding with the police. Because drugs are rife and the trade is dominated by "posses" of young men, facilitators trying to resolve a domestic dispute sometimes find themselves negotiating a truce through a gang member. If a family is

about to be evicted, someone has to contact the community development officer. Whoever is ill must see a nurse or doctor.

Fortunately, the POP worker may already know whom to contact. During a preliminary community survey, the facilitator will have talked to people in various social service agencies and asked them to suggest families in need. Most of these agencies are Gullivers ensnared in a Lilliputian world of regulations and fine print. They do not see their "clientele" as many-sided people with an array of hopes and needs and potentials, but in terms of the specific problem their program was set up to address. One of the promises POP holds out, in working with individual families with complex problems, is to gradually stitch together a dialogue among staff of different agencies that will enable them one day to see the family whole and serve the community better.

One way to nudge the millennium into being is to help a community form that can take pride in its own resourcefulness and command better services. At POP meetings, young mothers and older women bond into a kind of extended family. A canvas of the Beetham Estate, for instance,

turned up residents willing to teach their neighbors to tie-dye, make calabash purses, bake cakes, and develop other skills to bring in family income. Grandmothers who think themselves too old to be concerned with parenting are coaxed to meetings where they find other women "past that stage of life" who, in bringing up a grandchild whose mother is lost on crack, need a friendly shoulder to lean on. Others have extended a sheltering arm to the surrogate daughters they have found in teenagers with babies.

Women bring children in their care with them to meetings. One facilitator explained how it feels when things go right. "When a young mother comes up afterward," she says, "and tells you she did not know it was possible to be thinking, much less doing these things for herself, and relating this way with her child, well, it makes you feel the world can be set right."

Another facilitator reports how far there is to go. To get mothers involved with their children, she had brought along boxes of crayons and some newspaper for drawing. Watching toddlers pushed aside in a "mad scramble for paints" by "adults anxious to take up coloring" was to realize how many of these young women had been deprived of their own childhoods.

**S**ervol's Adolescent Development Programme (ADP) suggests that this insight can become an opportunity for recovery and growth if parents see how the process of raising children casts light on the shadow of their own lost childhoods. Irma Phipps, the assistant ADP coordinator at the Beetham Life Centre for teens, explains: "As a young black person of 18, I wanted to help my peers, whom many seemed to have given up on, but could see no way to do it." She trained as a Servol preschool teacher to understand how "the young child can show you the problems of the adolescent." When Servol scaled up the ADP, opening up new positions for skilled staff, Phipps, in her twenties, signed on as an instructor.

She found in the ADP a sophisticated methodology for reaching troubled adolescents. "Arriving on the

first day for orientation," Phipps says, "they are selfish and skeptical." She pauses, shrugs, letting the silence say: And why shouldn't they be? Don't most come from houses that are not homes and schools that resemble detention centers? "But by the end [of the 14 weeks]," Phipps resumes, "they have become a unit and are on their way to acquiring the self-discipline needed to win national certificates as masters of a trade." The key to this transformation is earning trust, and that begins with parenting.

Students must bring a parent or guardian with them to registration. This requirement reminds the adult of his or her legal and moral responsibility for a given youth, a notion that cuts against the grain in the Eastern Caribbean, where parental involvement often wanes once a child reaches the age of 12. Parents are informed they are welcome to consult staff at any time about the status of their sons and daughters, and that they will be contacted if problems arise. Most parents will not return until graduation, but having them

join the youth at the outset to formally signal the importance of the process to follow plants within the family the seeds of a more open dialogue that the ADP is intended to help flower.

The ADP takes the form of classes, and there is a formally sketched-out curriculum, but it is a most peculiar form of schooling. Teens discover this on the first day, when they are asked to join instructors in sweeping the center, taking out the trash, and cleaning the bathrooms. The policy cuts custodial costs, but its primary purpose is symbolic. This place, it says, is like a family that works best when responsibility is mutual, and the adult scrubbing the toilet alongside you is also willing to share the task of dealing with life's emotional garbage.

Even in the smaller centers, there will be at least two instructors, usually a man and a woman. If both are of the same gender, they will be complementary personality types so students can choose which surrogate parental figure to approach for guidance. There are, to be sure, remedial

sessions with tutors for reading and math to prepare the 20 percent of students who are functionally illiterate for the world of work—tradespeople must be able to consult manuals, read blueprints, write out orders, and handle money. But the radical shock students experience is in discovering that they themselves are the primary subject matter of the ADP.

The first priority is to penetrate the lid of silence covering the anger and frustration at failure that have been boiling inside so many since childhood. Watching teenagers "lime," or shoot the breeze, with one another on a street corner, one would not think that opinions had to be squeezed out of them. But in fact most of these youth have rarely if ever been asked seriously by an adult to speak their minds either at home or at school. The model of pedagogy they have encountered within the family and the school (which claims authority to impose discipline and offer training *in loco parentis*) emphasizes what Paulo Freire has called the banking concept of education. The student or child is expected to sit still while the teacher or parent force-feeds the right kinds of information in order to elicit returns that bear the proper level of interest. To prepare students to engage in a dialogue about their own lives, the ADP offers classes in public speaking and informal rap sessions organized around a topic of interest—does *dub* music speak for youth or lead youth astray?—in which they can begin to build self-esteem by hearing the sound of their own voices in the presence of adults who are listening.

The dialogue is then engaged in self-awareness class. The contents of this course were devised by Pantin. He still teaches a session each term at the Beetham Life Centre, which more than 2,000 adolescents and almost all of Servol's ADP instructors have passed through. The dialogue opens with a question: Who are you? The answer, of course, must be personal, and finding it is to undertake a quest that, if accepted, becomes a rite of passage.

Much is made of the need for "tough love" in raising children. Often it means imposing physical or emotionally degrading punishment for someone else's own good, and



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*Irma Phipps, an ADP trainer, visits her daughter at the Beetham Life Centre nursery. All teens in the ADP take a turn in a nursery, and staff who entrust their children to them send a powerful message of trust and affirmation.*

sends the confusing message, particularly when cultural arrogance mediates the interchange, that caring and violence are intertwined. In the case of youth who have run afoul of the law, the call for tough love has given rise in the United States, for instance, to quasi-penal boot camps in the misguided hope that family and community values can be drilled into an army of draftees.

Servol also uses the term "tough love," but it is tempered by the ahimsa of dialogue. If you have the moral courage, Servol says to the adolescent, to search out who you are and what made you the way you are, we will stand by you on your journey. If you do not choose to try, and we will give you every reasonable chance to reconsider, you must leave.

During the first eight weeks of the self-awareness class, adolescents are given several psychological concepts they can use as compass and sextant to find their way. They learn about repression, particularly of anger, which does not go away but stew in the unconscious mind. They learn how feelings can be displaced, projected onto others, and acted out. They learn about complexes that form when the conditioning is unrelenting, how a person can become like a sleepwalker, powerless to avoid repeating certain situations. They learn the names for each of these phenomena not by reading a text or watching a video or hearing a lecture, but through a guided discussion to which they bring their memories and the instructors bring theirs.

So it is that a 17-year-old girl with short-cropped hair who has complained of the rage she felt when her father got drunk and began threatening her boyfriend with a cutlass will suddenly stop in midstory. In a soft voice, she will recall how her father used to beat her, and how one day, when she was about three, she dropped her bottle in the dirt while playing with a cousin in the yard. Her father, who was watching from the porch, "called her out," and she got so scared she crawled under the house already bawling. When he took the strap to her, she went silent and vowed never to utter another sound. "When friends come by the house, I say nothing," she will insist, shaking her head vehemently from side to

side. "And when I old enough for school, the teachers certain I am dumb and don't know how to speak."

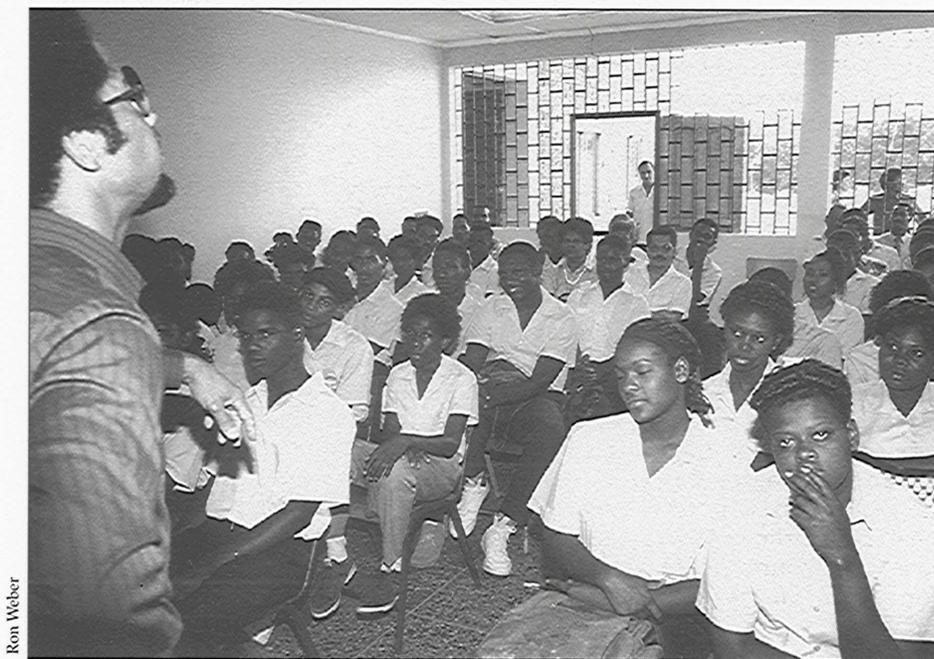
That is interesting, Pantin will say. The name for this anger is passive-aggressive. He will explain that there are ways to use anger constructively, like a mechanic in a body shop who pounds out his vexation straightening dents. It is possible to handle these feelings he says, to put them on hold until it is safe to vent them on something inanimate. But, he warns, strong impulses are tricky, and one must always wonder where they come from as well as where they might lead.

What group, he will ask, is it okay to let be controlled by feelings? "Babies!" everyone answers. Drawing on insights derived from psychoanalyst Alice Miller (1990), he explains that the most dangerous kind of repression occurs in children under three years of age because the way the human brain develops blurs memory of this time beyond direct recall. The effects are most poisonous when a child is conditioned through physical discipline to alter behavior, disciplined again at any sign of resentment, and yet again until he or she ratifies the punishment. Such anger

becomes free-floating until it surfaces one day in self-destructive or other-destructive behavior.

It is important to emphasize that the goal of the ADP is not to replace negative with positive conditioning, so that an ideal self is created for the adolescent to live up to. Nor is there any attempt to bolster self-esteem through mass hypnosis that generates euphoria unlikely to survive encounters with the world. Pantin, commenting on the therapeutic fads that periodically sweep through the social services community, from Los Angeles to Nairobi, observes wryly that "there are no quick fixes to liberate a human being." The goal, he says, is to inspire adolescents to find the foundations of an authentic self upon which they will choose to build a productive and meaningful life. It is unsurprising that this is not accomplished in 14 weeks; it is astonishing how the questers navigate their pain to take up the task, and how far so many sail in such a short time.

If the first half of the ADP is devoted to helping adolescents understand how they became who they are through the way they were parented, the second half lets them



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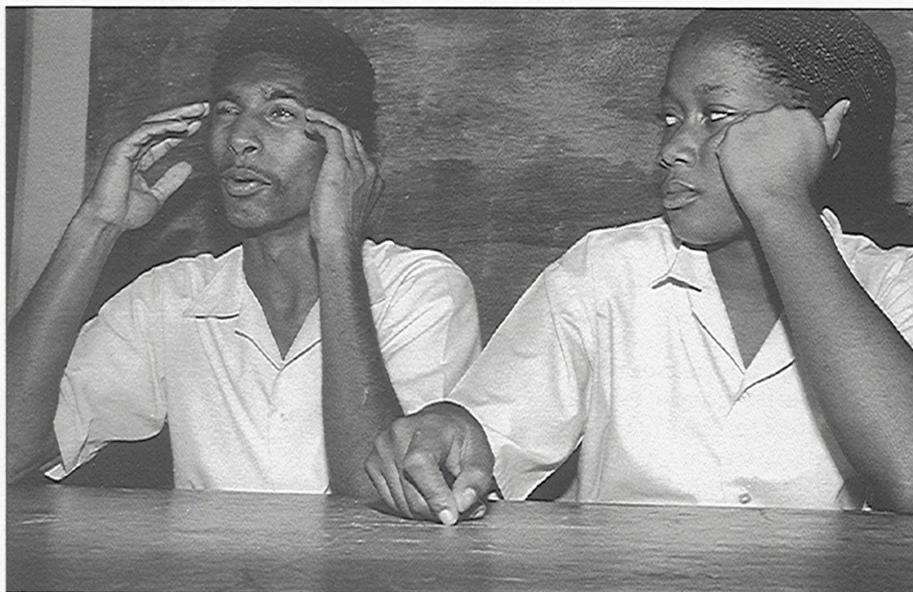
*The public-speaking instructor at the Beetham Centre tells incoming ADP students that each of them will learn to say, through their own words and deeds during the next 14 weeks, "I am somebody." Gerard Pantin looks on from the doorway.*

discover how not to repeat the mistakes while forming their own families. One problem is penetrating the static of the gender war being waged in the Eastern Caribbean. As mothers and fathers split apart and families dissolve in Trinidad and elsewhere, youth fill the void by banding together into posses and gangs. Servol is trying to negotiate a truce by initiating a dialogue between boys and girls, so that as men and women they can build strong relationships which nurture children.

A new twist in the ADP is being tested at the Beetham Centre to channel this energy. It is called Peer Counseling, and there are two hour-long sessions weekly. The idea was developed by Gerard D'Abreau, national coordinator of the ADP, who leads the class in tandem with the Beetham's guidance counselor.

A pivotal moment occurs during the midterm session dealing with rape. The discussion is led by the counselor, who is a woman. She and D'Abreau know the topic touches a raw nerve and that someone must speak up for the girls, creating a space they can begin to fill with their own opinions. This is vital because the boys must learn to see girls not as punching bags for venting anger or robotic dolls for gratifying pleasure, but as human beings with individual faces, voices, and feelings. D'Abreau will remain in the background, watching how students react and occasionally asking a question if the class veers off course.

The passionate dialogue that follows moves relentlessly from the general and impersonal to the specific and highly personal. A series of hypothetical situations—which rest, one inside another, like nesting dolls—is sketched out for students to resolve. Is a girl wearing skimpy clothing and walking alone asking to be raped? Most of the boys, full of bravado, will agree this is so, while the girls keep a flinty silence. But what if the girl who is assaulted happens to be your sister? Okay, exceptions exist. But what if she is your best friend's cousin, the one he grew up with down island, whom you haven't met yet? The ripple of doubt expands, suggesting that rape harms not just the stranger who is assaulted but an ever-widening gyre of her



Ron Weber

*A more authentic dialogue across gender boundaries is essential for responsible parenting. Following a Peer Counseling class, two students try to untangle the different attitudes and expectations boys and girls have about sex and love.*

family, friends, and acquaintances that may unexpectedly reach oneself.

Then the counselor will ask if anyone in the class knows someone who has been raped. After hands have risen—an East Indian boy here, an Afro-Chinese girl there—the class will be told that statistics show sexual assaults are not confined to one class or ethnic group and that half the women raped in Trinidad never report it because they are ashamed no one will believe them. Is this not odd, since each of them is someone's cousin, sister, or daughter?

What happens, the counselor will wonder, to such a woman if the rape results in pregnancy? Should she bring the child to term? Usually it is the girls who respond. Some will defiantly say no, pointing to the anger the mother will feel for the father each time she has to handle the baby, who will grow up like a ticking time bomb that one day will explode in the wrong person's face. Others will say yes, because the baby is part of the mother, too. The passions aroused lead to no quick resolution, except perhaps the discomfiting realization that none of the proposed answers fits everyone and that whatever decision is taken, the person making it must live with the consequences and a pain that goes on hurting.

And because so many of the adolescents in the ADP come from homes overflowing with pain, an unspoken question resounds. What has happened between *my* father and mother to make my life a battleground?

The counselor will get at this question by asking another, more personal one about how they, as boys and girls, relate to one another. Many of them are sexually active or soon will be. According to the Center for Population Options (1990, 1994), the average age of first intercourse for teens in Latin America and the Caribbean is 15 for boys and 17 for girls—figures that are comparable for North America as well. At what point, the counselor will wonder, does a girl kissing and being touched by a boy she likes forfeit the right to say stop?

Whatever solidarity emerged during the discussion about how children too often originate in pain evaporates under the withering possibility that beneath the ambiguity of teasing and courtship is a question of power. Just by saying no in the middle of things, can a girl seize control of a relationship?

Someone will invariably recount the myth that a boy, if things have gone too far, cannot halt without physically harming himself. But the

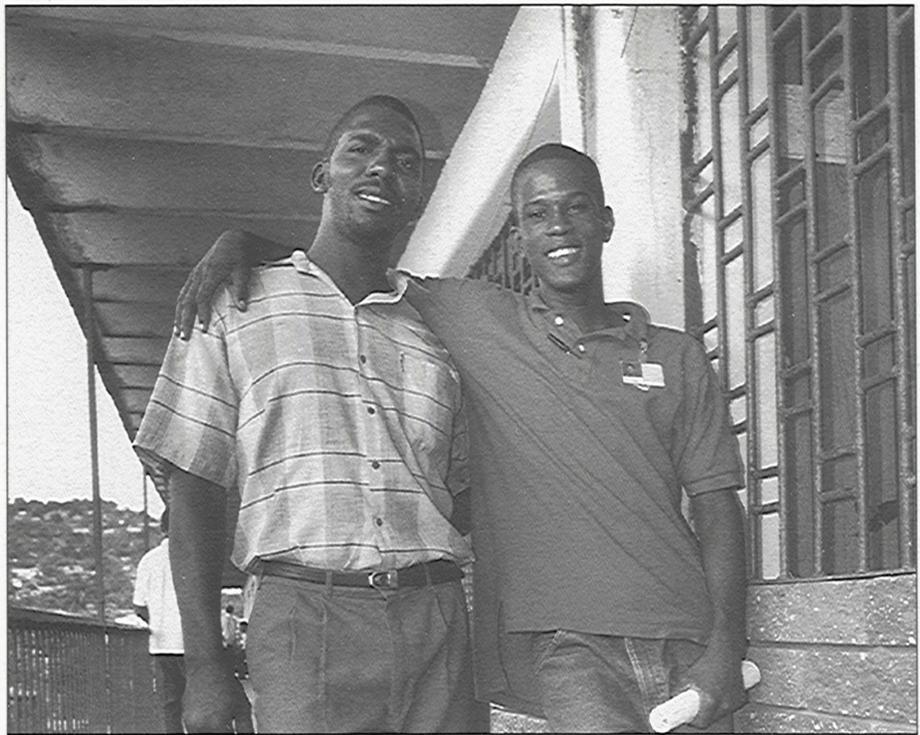
deeper issues of gender and personal identity soon rise to the fore. Girls who have found their voices will insist that boys rarely care enough to listen to what a girl says about anything. Boys will counter that girls who have sex want it without having to feel guilty about it, and so talk of love. As the class ends, the counselor will pose a last question: What is the harm of stopping to ask why *your* girl is saying no?

What goes unsaid in the class will reverberate for days. The counselor and D'Abreau will compare observations to see if certain students have revealed something unsettling that should be followed up in private. And when the session has been especially dynamic, the conversation among students will spill over into the halls and onto maxi-taxi rides home from school.

Certainly, the counselor's final query will reemerge, in one form or another, in all the classes to follow. It is, after all, the key question adolescents face in growing up. What is the harm in asking someone who loves you what they mean by saying no? Does loving and being loved mean being mutually vulnerable? To acknowledge that means learning to become responsible not only for your actions but for those of others as well.

**I**rma Phipps says, "We notice how quickly they form boy-girl relationships, in a matter of weeks, even though many have known someone else for five or six years." What makes the difference? "Finally," Phipps answers, "they are able to share feelings without fear of weakness or ridicule."

By the eighth week, the self-awareness course has led adolescents to see how many of their and their parents' problems stem from confusion over the word "love." They acquire four Greek words to distinguish types of affection: *storge*, the bonding of family; *philia*, friendship; *eros*, sexuality; and *agape*, spiritual love. Human beings use all of these forms to express their humanity fully, and a kind of black hole can open in the subconscious when a type is missing that is key to a developmental stage. Thus, a child deprived of *storge* may grow up seeking it later in life through *eros* or



Ron Weber

*Newly hired Kevin Mitchell (right) pays a return visit to the Servol master craftsman who trained him. "Unlike my father," Mitchell says, "and because of the gentle push the ADP gave me, I intend to stand up for my children."*

philia, making unconditional demands that neither friend nor mate can fulfill. Adolescents who feel this emptiness are encouraged to look for mentors in Servol, their extended families, their churches, or their communities.

Finally, teens learn that human love is a complex adaptive system that develops through relationship to the outside world, in the same way as the architecture of the human brain discussed earlier. This perspective reverses the first premise of the class. Finding yourself is not just understanding what others have made of you, it is watching how you react toward others. The first stage in relationship is the self-centered dependence natural in babies and young children. The penultimate stage is the mature love that characterizes the devotion parents hold for their children and the support they give one another. In between is adolescent love, a *callaloo* that mixes the first two in a kind of stew. It is the heady confusion one traverses between blind attachment to a parent one has not chosen, and choosing, with someone

else, to become a responsible parent. During this journey, we are all children learning to walk who find our feet only by falling down a thousand times. Because missteps are inevitable, adolescent love should not be appraised judgmentally.

The way has been opened for a formal class in parenting that focuses not on assessing character but on clarifying choices by helping adolescents weigh the possible outcomes of behavior. Marilyn Stollmeyer, a midwife and nurse who designed the core materials for the course, says, "We begin with their bodies, showing them how they function in order to clear up myths they have about menstruation, sex, venereal disease and AIDS, and about getting pregnant. Some girls, for instance, believe they are safe if the sex happens standing up. We ask students to bring in birth control devices if they are using them, to explain to the class how they are used, and let them know if they've gotten it right or not."

"Then," she continues, "we show them a film of the birth process itself, so they become aware of what a

woman goes through, not only in par-turition but after. We talk about the role of the father, what happens when the man does not support the woman. And of course, they have been talking in other parts of the ADP about their own fathers, the distinction between the male who sires you, whom many do not know, and the man or men who help raise you. We ask them which is the better measure of bravery and manhood—the person who sticks or the one who runs?"

The course then takes up the development of the young child. This brings up a striking difference among the girls. Many profess not to like children; they have had to care for their younger siblings and resent the unfairness of being kept behind in school or cut off from friends. Others, especially those who have been deprived of storge, yearn for a child, whether they can support it or not, dreaming of someone all their own to love and be loved by. An early childhood teacher will then step in to pop the bubble that leads to so many early pregnancies.

She will explain that babies are not dolls, that they do not sleep for more than a few hours at a time, and that their cries are not selfish or spiteful but signs of need which must be met for the child to grow up strong. There will be handouts and discussions about the importance of oral rehydration therapy to treat infant diarrheas and the importance of breast-feeding to build up a child's immunities and to prevent gastroenteritis, the leading killer of babies in tropical countries.

One day the adolescents are taken to a Servol preschool to spend time with children and to watch the lessons they have learned about the stages of child development come to life before them. At the larger life centers, there will also be day care facilities, and some of the babies students pick up will belong to classmates or to members of staff. If it is the Beetham, it may be Irma Phipps, who has just finished breast-feeding her daughter, who hands the child to the teen. For a moment, one catches a glimpse of *agape* as a village square comes into being in which the children belong to everyone.

The ADP concludes with a graduation ceremony at which each adolescent stands and delivers a short speech. In the audience are parents, relatives, friends, community members, perhaps even a government official or two, and of course, Servol staff. Hearing of their discoveries about how life has opened up to them, how a father has been persuaded to join Alcoholics Anonymous, how a boy who could barely read three months ago is now writing poetry, how a girl frightened she would beat her baby the way she was beaten now plans to become a preschool teacher, one cannot help but be moved by and a little frightened for them. What will happen when these hopes collide with the real world?

But of course these youth are not naive; they come from the streets of a too real world. And if Gerry Pantin happens to be in the audience, and he always attends graduation at one of Servol's 40 adolescent centers, he will be smiling. He knows life for most of these young people is just beginning. More than 25,000 adolescents have passed through the ADP, and they have gone on to study one or another skill, worked as apprentices, obtained national certificates, and landed jobs to support themselves and one day a family. Many of the single mothers have found livelihoods that give them some financial and emotional independence for the first time. And after graduates have found their calling, many will come back periodically to visit what has become their family.

Should Pantin turn around to look at the crowd, he will see a fair number of staff who not so long ago were standing on a stage much like this one, saying words not so different. Perhaps he will recall a line from Wordsworth, a poet he has been known to quote, about how "the Child is father to the Man." In the popular lexicon, the words have blurred into a gaggle of like-minded clichés that say a spoiled child grows up rotten, while the one seen but not heard grows up knowing his place in society. The poet, of course, meant something else entirely. Wordsworth the man was reminding himself that he was alive so long as he saw a rainbow with the same spontaneous joy and incredulity he felt as a child.

Looking at the adult Servol has become, Pantin must feel the quiet joy the parent feels in meeting, eye to eye, the grown-up child busy raising his or her own children. Servol today is training educators throughout the Eastern Caribbean and Guyana, and it is working closely with public high schools in Trinidad and Tobago to help make them more hospitable to the young people asked to sit in them attentively. It goes about this task quietly. In a dark time, it is a transparency, lit from within like a Japanese lantern on which a village scene has been painted, and which an increasing number of young people are holding up to the society around them to make their way. ❖

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# THE SHAPE OF THINGS TO COME

## CEMSE and the Reinvention of Bolivian Public Education

*Can urban youth take possession of the future if they have lost their past?*

Kevin Healy

For years, Bolivia's presidents have thrown up their hands in despair at the condition of the country's schools, wondering what, if anything, could be done to bring the educational system into the twentieth century. All the while, less than three blocks from the presidential palace, a large part of the answer has been taking shape, thanks to the efforts of a visionary educator, the gifted staff he recruited, and the young people of La Paz whom they have inspired.

The facility they have built is a magnet drawing schoolchildren from all over the central city and the surrounding barrios of El Alto. Six days a week they stream in and out of the Centro de Multiservicios Educativos (CEMSE), a modern, six-story building ensconced between a nineteenth century church and a whitewashed adobe house with a red-tile roof. All hours of the day, the corridors and classrooms of CEMSE pulsate with the energy of youth. In a top-floor room, middle schoolers holding notebooks lean forward intently, "deconstructing" advertisements from a video-taped World Cup match. An earnest 11-year-old down the hall captivates a circle of his peers, using a pointer and a collage to explain the dangers of cholera. On the floor below, outfitted in blue jeans and jerseys, bronze-skinned teenage boys with names like Condori and Chambi, swing their shoulders to and fro while blowing vigorously into Andean panpipes. Standing under a backdrop on

which is painted a disembodied smile of huge white teeth and red lipstick, two 16-year-old girls with round, hazel eyes pose questions about sex and love to an auditorium packed with high schoolers. Other rooms are full of students hovering over chemistry experiments, undergoing physical checkups, and poring over texts at crowded library tables.

Such bustle was unimaginable in La Paz as recently as seven years ago. At that time, parents were pulling children from school to work on the streets, hawking toothpaste and ballpoint pens. The lucky ones trudged off to school with empty stomachs and nearly empty lunch sacks to face teachers also pinched by hard times. Families were selling off furniture and clothing—anything to put food on the table. An increasing number of abandoned youth found themselves crowding together in one-room shacks. Some schools closed, while others were so broke that parents were expected to provide chalk for the blackboards. Families who had migrated from rural villages dreaming of a better future for their children awakened in a nightmare.

Fortunately, a quite remarkable man, who had spent much of his life overcoming long odds, had an idea

for how things might be made better. Looking out from a window of the Colegio San Calixto, the posh private high school where many of his colleagues taught, Antonio Sagristá saw something familiar in the poor neighborhood surrounding him, and imagined a new kind of centralized youth center going up next door to mitigate the hardship.

### A Vision of Things to Come

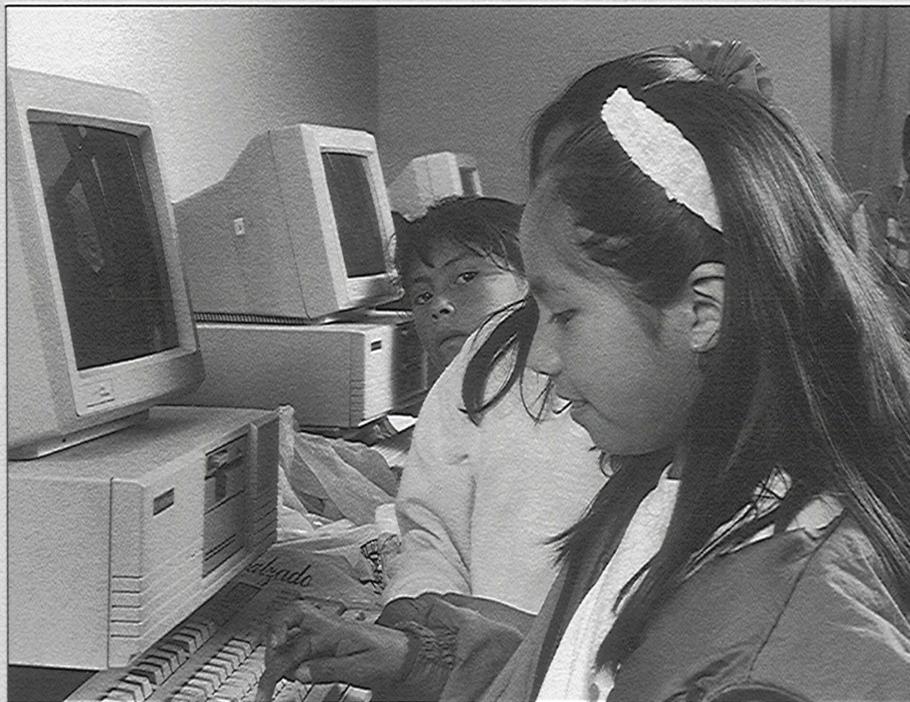
Sagristá is a Jesuit from Catalonia. The seeds of his relentless idealism were planted as a boy during the Republic and survived the ravaging of Barcelona during the Spanish Civil War. His idea for a multiservice educational center in La Paz stems from initiatives he undertook with Hispanic immigrants in the Yonkers neighborhoods of New York in the late 1960s, when he founded the Spanish Community Service Foundation. The foundation used bilingual coun-

selors and training programs to help newly arrived residents overcome barriers to housing, jobs, credit, and health services, and eventually catapulted Hispanics into leadership positions on the local school board and led to formation of a vigorous human rights committee. Sagristá's belief that low-income populations face multiple, interrelated demands enabled the foundation to provide comprehensive services under one roof at the lowest possible cost. The insight that "economies of scale" could be innovatively put to work for social ends became his recurrent calling.

Bald, wiry, with intense eyes, Sagristá is a man of simple tastes, unpretentious bearing, and firm convictions. Although he holds a Ph.D. in econometrics from Cornell University, he is more worker priest than cosmopolitan academic. He spent time at Sofia University in Japan designing one of the first computer models of that country's economy, but his yearning for social entrepreneurship and community work eventually took him to the barrios of South America's poorest nation.

Sagristá had already made his mark in Bolivia by the time he arrived at San Calixto. In starting an innovative, small export enterprise, managed by amputees, that manufactured artificial human limbs at prices affordable to the poor, he had shown his adeptness at uncovering resources in impossible situations. Now, tension within the Jesuit order over social values was fueling a new quest. He and his colleagues were increasingly concerned that many of their best teachers, administrators, and professionals were being siphoned off to educate youth from upper- and middle-class homes in the better neighborhoods of La Paz. This pattern reinforced rather than reversed the educational inequities of a city whose wealthiest private school had a budget larger than the whole public school system.

To see the disparity, Sagristá merely had to compare two nearby schools. Colegio San Calixto occupied the colonial mansion of an ex-president. Its students followed the footsteps of parents who were lawyers, doctors, dentists, engineers, and political leaders. Its tiled corridors, elegant courtyards, well-furnished classrooms, bulging library collection, and state-



Fernando Soria

*Students learn programming at the computer lab of the Centro de Multiservicios Educativos (CEMSE) in La Paz. CEMSE is combining modern technology with recovery of ethnic heritage to educate youth for the twenty-first century.*

of-the-art science labs invited one into an environment of serious learning. Teachers earned four times the salary paid by the public sector, and concentrated on developing analytical skills among students rather than imposing lessons by rote.

Colegio Reyes, by contrast, was a typical public school, a massive box of concrete block peering through layers of peeling white paint. Its students were several shades darker in skin and hair color than those of San Calixto, and came from families of street vendors, low-rung civil servants, taxi cab drivers, and unskilled construction workers. A shelf of books, a television for educational videos, or even a retort for mixing chemicals were as likely to be found here as a flying saucer. Students had to cope with emotional problems without the aid of psychologists and plan careers without guidance counselors. Teachers earning approximately \$70 monthly were more intent on moonlighting than class improvement.

Sagristá envisioned a facility to bridge the growing gap between public and private education, and he was sure the high density of neigh-

borhood public schools made the idea economically feasible. He would create a hub to serve the 17,000 children of 43 nearby schools. This facility would offer opportunities unusual for Bolivia: remedial tutoring; use of science labs and computers; a library to cultivate the pleasures of reading; music and dance workshops to explore cultural heritage; clinics for medical checkups; a cafeteria serving nutritious foods; and teaching methods designed to develop social and analytical skills for building a better society.

Sagristá noted an additional factor that reinforced his drive for maximum efficiency. "The high number of students in school for half-day shifts," he says today, "guaranteed that computer and chemistry labs would not be flooded a few hours in the afternoon and sit idle the rest of the day. We could lower the expenditure per student and spread the educational benefits across an entire school district. It looked like a cost-saving model for Third World governments, and maybe even some city governments in the First World with

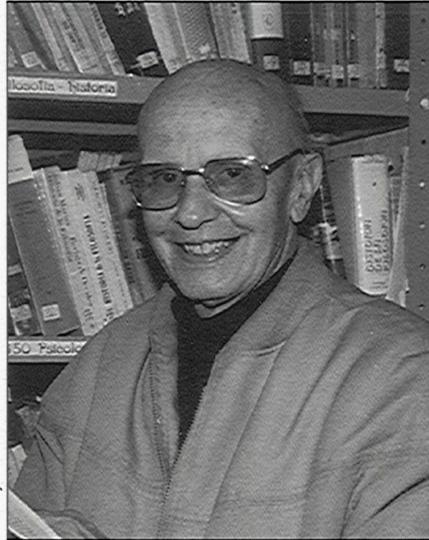
limited funds for satisfying growing educational needs."

Sagrístá had an abiding conviction that Bolivian youth were as capable and motivated as any. He was convinced, in fact, that opening the door to the "facilities of a late-twentieth-century school would enhance student pride and self-esteem, and make it possible to use the advance of science to leap ahead instead of falling further behind." Yet he must also have sensed, as a Catalanian who had grown up in a Spain whose "official" language was different than his own native tongue, that Bolivians did not need to be remade in the image of the West in order to modernize. Yes, modern resources and technology were necessary for making social, economic, and political progress as a nation, but if they were not adapted to Bolivia's own cultural values, the edifice would rest on a weak foundation.

Building a strong foundation would not be easy, as soon became apparent. Sagrístá had hoped to cut costs by persuading alumni from Colegio San Calixto, many of whom were doctors, lawyers, and dentists, to contribute their time and skill. "Each professional had to volunteer only a few hours a week for us to offer comprehensive services to the needy students and parents we hoped to reach," he explained. "Here was a relatively undemanding way for the better-off to channel knowledge and services to the poor, and create greater equality of social opportunities."

To his disappointment, Sagrístá learned that alumni, despite their Jesuit educations, were chiefly interested in gaining a private backdoor entrance for San Calixto students to the new center. "The idea for that door sent all the wrong messages," Sagrístá insists today. "It would have given the middle- and upper-class kids from this exclusive school a private pass key into CEMSE's collection of services, elevating them above whoever walked in the main entrance. I knew CEMSE would not work unless the public school teachers and students felt it was for them, so I had to hold my ground in defending the original plan. I had seen too many development projects unravel as a result of influential community members pulling strings."

To formulate the project proposal for CEMSE, Sagrístá surveyed students who attended public school in the neighborhood. He found they were coming to the district from other neighborhoods whose schools were in even worse shape, and their needs were more than educational. Health problems were rampant, and the level



*Antonio Sagrístá, founder of CEMSE, browses through the Centro's library on a recent visit to La Paz.*

of family support for children was increasingly shaky. Convinced by these findings of the need for comprehensive services, the Jesuits agreed to close several parishes in the city to free up staff for the educational experiment. Soon Sagrístá was off to England, Spain, the Netherlands, West Germany, and the United States in search of funds to get CEMSE off the ground. Although he eventually persuaded a half-dozen donors to sign on, the Inter-American Foundation financed 60 percent of the center's construction costs.

I first heard of Sagrístá in relation to an agricultural marketing study in the rural highlands. People I respected raved about the "hard-working, brainy economist" whose sophisticated analysis had made their final report so persuasive. I also knew about his personal interest in people with disabilities. We met for the first time when he approached the IAF on behalf of CEMSE.

I was impressed by his passion for reducing educational inequalities and by his scientific mind, which worked with clocklike precision. Yet the decision to fund seemed less clear back in Washington D.C., where staff review meetings failed to reach consensus. I called him to explain the difficulty. The IAF was not sure what to make of CEMSE since it did not fit into the kinds of nonformal educational projects, run by nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), that received first claim to resources. Wasn't it the state's responsibility to reform the formal school system, and what did constructing such a large facility have to do with grassroots social change?

Eventually, Sagrístá flew to IAF headquarters at Jesuit expense to defend his proposal face to face with skeptical staff. It is most unusual for a prospective grantee to be thrown into the ring to discuss a proposal with a review committee. Sagrístá more than held his own, however, and the committee eventually approved \$198,000 to construct and equip the center.

The building opened in 1986, at a pivotal moment for the national economy. Three years of hyperinflation—which crested at 20,000 percent—had led to policies of structural adjustment that produced severe economic contraction. Incomes for barrio dwellers dropped through the floor and kept falling; tens of thousands of miners and factory workers lost their jobs; and La Paz sidewalks were more crowded than ever with indigenous women selling trinkets. Yet Sagrístá found hope-filled words to offer on the day of CEMSE's dedication.

"In this time of reversal and frustration," he said, "it is difficult for us in Bolivia to envision works of size and importance. Yet this work is pioneering and ambitious in its belief that physical and human resources can be mobilized here and now to raise levels of primary health and education. It will show that these two needs are inextricably linked in ways existing institutions have not imagined. This is a work capable of disarming cynics and making fatalists wonder."

On the day CEMSE actually opened its doors, Sagrístá was heard remarking to colleagues, "What will happen

if no one comes to the feast after we have set the table?"

The quip was not far off the mark. One CEMSE staffer remembers how "the neighborhood was papered with fliers announcing the program, but for months the place stood empty, with only an occasional teacher poking around. Frankly, we would look at one another, at the walls, down at the ground, and wonder if we had a white elephant on our hands. Finally, a few students were lured in with some classes in puppetry, painting, and music."

What those curious visitors saw whetted their appetite for more. Boris Mamani, a high school junior at the time, explained the attraction. "This place was totally different," he says, "from everything else we knew." There were no grades, no attendance rolls, no teachers with backs stiff as sticks, looking over your shoulder as if they were carrying a stick. Students were free to follow a curiosity until it was exhausted. Mamani concludes, "Here, in discussing topics no one had ever thought of raising at school, I felt, for the first time in my life, that adults valued my opinions and ideas."

The trickle of students became a flood. Demand for services quickly grew to more than 25 different educational and other social programs and attracted thousands of regular users to CEMSE's classrooms and other facilities. To meet the demand, support from international donors carried CEMSE from an annual budget of \$20,000 to \$230,000, while staff nearly quadrupled to 44 employees, 8 of them supported by the Bolivian government. The number of users kept climbing, until it would one day reach 64 percent of area students.

In 1988, the Jesuits decided to replace Sagristá with Jorge Triás, also a Spaniard, and a former director of the order in Bolivia. CEMSE's amazing institutional growth and complexity required an able administrator, and the affable and energetic Triás, whose commanding presence and wavy silver hair gives him the demeanor of a distinguished parliamentarian, filled the bill. He mastered the sometimes onerous task of fund-raising. Under his leadership, the annual budget has reached \$300,000, supporting 37 programs and a staff of 55 persons, including

25 professionals from the fields of psychology, social work, finance, education, medicine, and dentistry. He has also successfully mobilized local sources to cover 20 percent of CEMSE's costs.

Today, CEMSE is the impressive hub of educational services for students, teachers, and parents that Sagristá envisioned a decade ago, and as he acknowledges on his regular visits, something more. Each day 700 students walk from nearby schools to take advantage of vocational, legal, health, and psychological counseling programs, to undertake projects in science labs and the audiovisual and computer centers, and to find a quiet place to study. Some 8,000 people are regular users, spending several hours, two days a week, in one program or more. Teachers also bring their classes to CEMSE for group exercises, and come themselves for specialized instruction to improve teaching techniques, plan lessons, and upgrade their own schools.

To understand the dynamics of CEMSE, what has been accomplished, it is useful to wander its halls and explore some of its services on one's own.

## What Is a Library?

When Sagristá first explained the CEMSE project proposal to me, he opened to a page in the appended social survey I had not expected. He pointed to the figures and said: "You know, practically speaking, that public schools in this area are trying to educate without books. According to our findings, only eight high schools have more than 20 books in their collections. One principal who claimed to have a library took me aside to see the two books he kept under lock and key so no one would steal them." Harried secretaries doubled as librarians during recess and faced impossible tasks, such as trying to divide a single textbook among 300 chemistry students. Of course with no encyclopedias, dictionaries, atlases, or other reference texts, Sagristá mused, at least the secretaries did not have to worry about setting up and maintaining card catalogs.

By opening a modern library, which quickly expanded to 5,000 volumes, CEMSE transformed these deplorable conditions almost overnight for the zone's 43 schools. The effort was spearheaded by Costa Andrade, who received rigorous on-the-job training



Fernando Soria

*Working side by side, teachers and students from schools in downtown La Paz pore over texts in the reading room of CEMSE's library. The library also sponsors literary events and helps students to form study groups.*

under the watchful eye of a professional from La Paz's largest social science library. Andrade made sure that the library had a well-lighted reading room and that its display cases were stacked with an enticing array of up-to-date texts and periodicals.

The room seats 50, and once card catalogues and library cards were in place, she established a program of cultural events to bring people in and make sure the seats stayed full. There were discussions about poetry and short stories, a series of book fairs and exhibits, and courses on library use and the formation of student study groups. Poetry readings by students helped them overcome shyness about public presentations. Andrade also created an innovative method of book distribution dubbed the *maleta viajera*, or traveling suitcase, which makes it possible to circulate a set of children's literature, science texts, or other supplementary reading materials within the schools themselves. The suitcase brings students to the reading room looking for more, and they can take books home over the weekend if necessary. Today the library boasts a regular readership of 23,741 persons, including over 1,000 teachers.

### Counting on Computers

In 1986, the computer age was in its infancy in Bolivia, and computers were considered "luxury" items beyond most IAF project budgets. Yet Sagristá was determined to get them into the school system. Given the subsequent economic deterioration in the city's public schools, one wonders whether computer training would have reached the public schools at all if not for CEMSE. And given what we now know about the computer's potential for reducing inequality in educational opportunity, Sagristá's insistence seems prophetic.

Sagristá beams excitedly as he recalls the clamor from elementary and high school students to enroll in computer training courses. Soon the center's 19 computers were humming nonstop. About 1,000 students sign up each year for courses in Word Perfect and Lotus 1-2-3, and the lab is one of the few services at CEMSE that covers its own maintenance and repair costs. Even parents and teachers come in for classes on Saturdays,



Fernando Soria

*High school biology students examine tissue samples under a microscope at CEMSE's science lab. Teachers learn how to conduct low-cost experiments in ecology and are inspiring critical analysis in their classrooms of the fate of the nation's rainforests and the sources of urban pollution.*

taking advantage of course fees among the lowest in the city.

It gives him special satisfaction, Sagristá says, to follow the learning curve of the 68 active members in the computer club, because "they become much more than keypunchers as they learn FORTRAN and other languages in which they can think and program for themselves."

The idea has caught on that computers, like books, are keys to a future in almost any professional field.

### Making the Natural Sciences Real

In preparing a needs assessment for the project, Sagristá had visited the public schools in the neighborhood and asked to sit in on science classes. He could not believe that students were trying to learn biology and chemistry with only blackboard exercises and mimeographed handouts. From the outset of CEMSE, he was determined there would be science labs with state-of-the-art equipment so that students could get a feel for things with their own eyes and hands. Yet these labs largely sat idle.

Santiago Bolívar, a Spanish educator working for CEMSE says that "during the first year not a single teacher came round to use our labs on a regular basis. That number increased to 10 by the second year and jumped to 50 during the third. You have to realize that not only were students unfamiliar with labs, but most teachers didn't know their way around any better because teachers' colleges in Bolivia are badly equipped also. Teachers were intimidated by all this shiny equipment, afraid it would expose them to embarrassment. So we decided to push teacher training courses beyond the original plan."

Over the next few years, some 18 courses were offered on subjects such as low-cost chemistry experiments, how to use a microscope and other materials, group biology projects, and methods to study ecosystems. It made all the difference. By 1993, according to Sagristá, utilization rates for the labs had reached 75 percent of capacity. And a group of instructors felt so revitalized by their new competence and sense of mission that they reorganized the high-school science teachers' association, which had been moribund for years.

Students also come to the labs on their own after taking orientation courses and workshops. They have organized science clubs at CEMSE, and at their own schools, that have sponsored science fairs to demonstrate the fruits of hands-on work in the labs. A recent fair drew over 370 participants, in which public school projects held their own with competition from the best private high schools of the city. The science clubs sponsor field trips and conferences, show educational videos, and monitor results coming out of Bolivian universities and other research facilities. CEMSE recently has begun to focus on heightening awareness in the local schools about ecology, laying the groundwork for real discussion and serious debate about the fate of Bolivia's tropical rainforest and the sources of urban pollution.

### Making Facts Clear by Bringing Them to Life

Because 98 percent of the Ministry of Education and Culture's budget for public schools funds teacher salaries, there is little to spare for classroom

materials. CEMSE has tackled the problem in two ways. First, its audiovisual center has accumulated 480 videos on geography, math, and a host of other topics that school teachers can schedule for class viewing in CEMSE's auditorium. Videos on sex education, one of those instructors explains, have been especially important, "allowing us to chip away at long-held taboos blocking discussion of teen pregnancies and sexual abuse." CEMSE's growing reputation as a venue for informed discussion has also attracted the interest of Bolivia's best directors, who show their work at the center and teach courses. A new critical perspective has formed among interested students and led to seminars that analyze the impact of media, including how the soap operas so popular on La Paz television perpetuate ethnic, gender, and social stereotyping.

Second, CEMSE set up an educational resource center, the Centro de Recursos Educativos (CRE), to develop low-cost classroom materials. The center's director, Luis Sardines, believes that challenging teachers to use their imaginations is the key. The CRE's six staff members have shown

how to adapt familiar games such as bingo and dominoes to teach mathematics, and how cardboard boxes, milk cartons, balloons, straws, and other items can be rescued from the trash, or purchased for next to nothing, and transformed into educational toys for schoolchildren. Old photographs are combined with newspaper and magazine cutouts to produce posters on dental hygiene or the condition of the rainforest.

At first, local teachers were lukewarm to this flow of ideas. The CRE distributed packets of materials that wound up at the bottom of desk drawers. One reason, says Sardines, is that Bolivia's "teachers' colleges fill graduates' heads with cloudy abstractions about pedagogy that have little to do with the dynamics of educating real students." And when the teacher arrives in the classroom, innovation is not rewarded by the system, so why make waves or take on new responsibilities?

"This led us," Sardines explains, "to go into the schools, especially elementary schools, and demonstrate how these materials could make teaching more rewarding for both the student and the instructor." This outreach effort is geared to training teachers to produce their own materials, and to sow the idea that real education is a question of active participation rather than passive consumption. The intent is dual: to break the cycle of dependency that presumes worthwhile ideas and information must be imported, and to allow the CRE to maximize its limited resources by concentrating on training rather than production.

A number of schools in the zone now make their own relief maps, wall posters, and educational games. The CRE is also booked up with requests for training sessions in the other schools and even in other cities that have heard about the program. Recently staff from the national planning office charged with developing a comprehensive educational reform plan requested briefings on the center's operations, and, Sardines comments wryly, "the word has somehow reached the military's geographic institute, which recently called upon us for help."



Fernando Soria

*A tutor uses cut-outs she has devised to improve the reading and spelling skills of students. CEMSE not only acts as a backstop for costly services unavailable in a school system, it dares teachers to engage students in a dialogue of the imagination.*



*A doctor at CEMSE's clinic gives a boy his annual checkup. All grade school students in the zone now receive primary care for the first time in its history.*

## Active Minds Need Healthy Bodies

Sagrístá's original survey convinced him that basic health services had to be improved if students were to take advantage of new educational opportunities. Only 12 percent of public school students were considered to be in good health; 57 percent suffered from nutritional deficiencies; 87 percent had serious dental problems, averaging 10 cavities per child; and only 8 of every 1,000 had access to health care services. To redress these conditions, Sagristá hired Dr. Virginia Roncal, an articulate Bolivian physician who had been working for six years in some of the city's poorest barrios.

Roncal began by opening a medical and dental clinic and a pharmacy at CEMSE, and starting nutrition and health education programs. Although their doors were open to the entire community, elementary schoolchildren were given priority for annual checkups. Between 1986 and 1991, the number of physicals quadrupled, eventually reaching full coverage of the zone's 14 grade schools and their 4,655 students. The Ministry of Health, by contrast, reached only 2,287 children from the city's 147 public schools during 1991.

CEMSE's clinic has become a community fixture, providing 13,373 patient consultations between 1990 and 1991 alone. Every day, waiting areas are crowded with students in school



*A nurse stocks the shelves of CEMSE's pharmacy. CEMSE's medical services emphasize preventive care. A student health brigade, the first of its kind in Bolivia, organized a zonal campaign that stopped the recent cholera epidemic in its tracks.*

uniforms sitting next to indigenous women in bowler hats and striped shawls, who have brought their babies in for primary care and immunizations. Roncal is especially pleased at the new level of cooperation from schoolteachers. "Formerly," she says, "they felt helpless to do anything for a sick child. Now they send the student right over to us. And it isn't only the ones who are sick. They send others over to do research assignments on health topics assigned as classwork. There is a growing awareness in the schools about the need for preventive care."

The annual checkups of students have also fleshed out Sagristá's original survey, highlighting the need to correct visual deficiencies and improve nutrition levels. Nearly 35 percent of students need glasses, yet they are a rare sight in the classroom. In a system that has relied almost exclusively on the blackboard for transmitting information, these children are at serious disadvantage. From the

very beginning, Roncal says, they fall farther and farther behind.

Diagnosing the problem does not resolve it. At \$70 a pair, eyeglasses remain beyond the reach of most families. And the general level of need is so widespread that a television-radio personality who donated spectacles to indigenous guests appearing on his programs became so popular he was able to form his own party and run for president. Of course there are not enough slots on such a program even for the children of the San Calixto zone, so CEMSE subsidizes the eyeglasses it prescribes. Thus far, only 25 percent of those in need have been able to take advantage of the offer.

The checkups also revealed that a school breakfast program was imperative for chronically undernourished students, with follow-up monitoring to chart gains in weight and height. Each morning, some 200 children sit at long tables in CEMSE's first-floor cafeteria and are served a hearty meal of fresh fruit, milk, quinoa (a



*Students get the day off to a good start by eating a hearty breakfast in CEMSE's cafeteria. The program is designed for chronically undernourished children and includes regular monitoring to check weight and height.*

highly nutritious Andean cereal), tea, and bread. Most of the parents in the area have yet to take advantage of the program, however, perhaps out of pride. To reach more students, CEMSE has begun a pilot program that allows teachers to pick up breakfasts for classroom distribution.

Roncal realizes CEMSE must reach out if it is to begin solving the area's endemic health problems. That requires staffing. Fortunately, the clinic has become a magnet for students and faculty from nursing and medical schools in La Paz who want hands-on training for careers in public health. But the real key to CEMSE's effort has been the recruitment of *brigadistas de salud*. These health brigades of student volunteers, who range in age from 9 to 16, are carrying the message of preventive care into the schools and into their neighborhoods and homes.

The idea, Roncal says, "came from examples elsewhere in Latin America, including the literacy brigades of

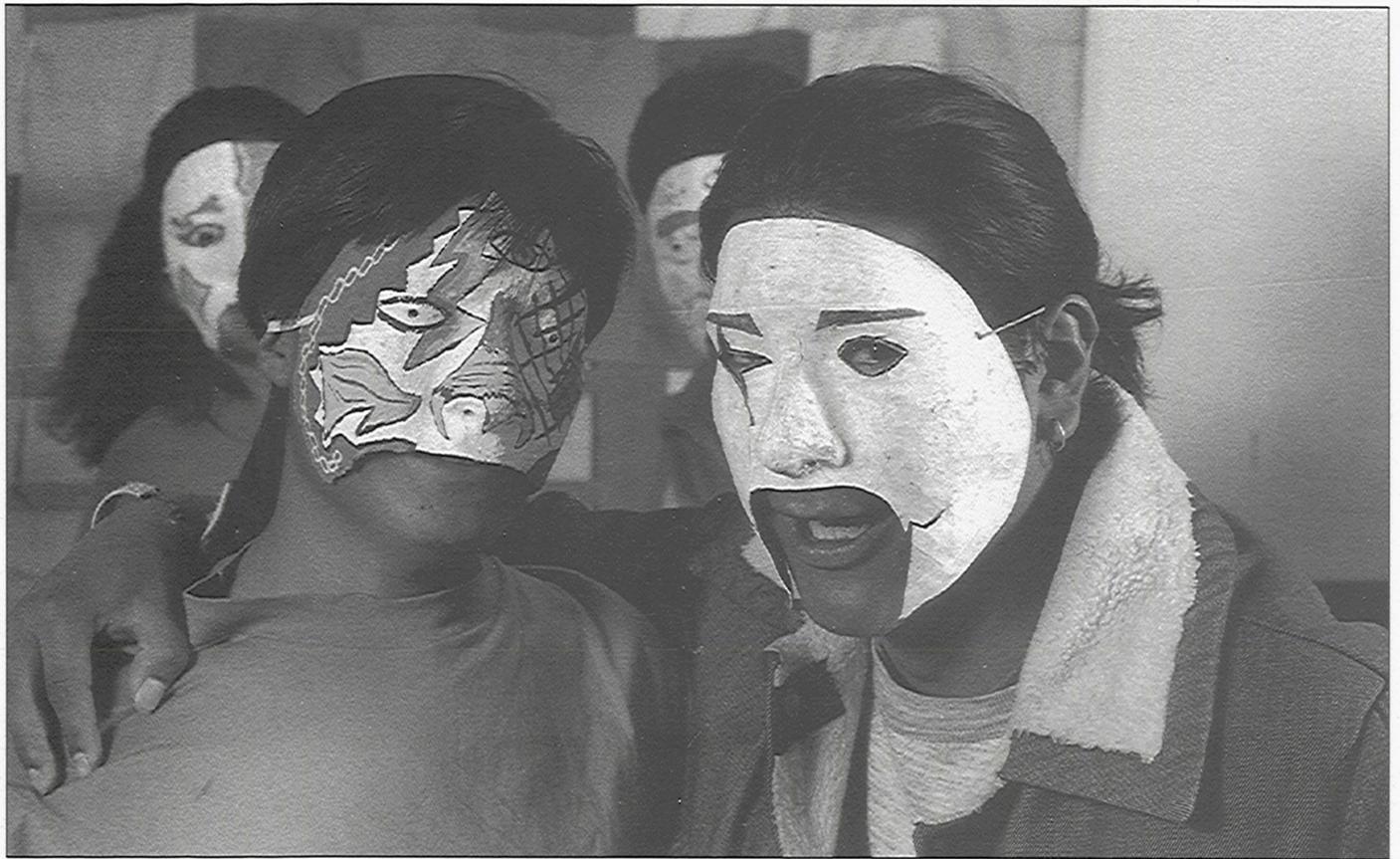
Nicaragua, but this is the first effort of its kind in Bolivia." The brigades currently consist of 20 grade schoolers, 80 high schoolers, and several university students who are CEMSE alumni. Working with the center's doctors, nurses, and social workers, they have designed an education program that concentrates on five areas: malnutrition, dental hygiene, cholera, skin disease, and tuberculosis. Brigadistas learn to see local health problems in the wider social context of economic privation and the lack of potable water and adequate sewerage, allowing students to think about what effective national health policies might look like. The brigades then design comic books, prepare skits, compose songs, and use puppets and dance to inform their peers. Perhaps their most effective performance was during the recent South American cholera epidemic. Forming small teams of three and four students, brigadistas wearing white smocks fanned out into the schools, alerting the whole area to the

need for proper hygiene to avoid infection and about treatment during the crucial early hours of the disease to reduce mortality from dehydration and minimize further contagion.

### Students and the Energizing Power of Tradition

From the outset, the organizers and staff of CEMSE had a vision that student participation, through activities such as the brigadistas de salud, was essential for institutional effectiveness. The form of that participation has deepened over the years. Drawing upon his experience in Yonkers, Sagristá began by helping students organize an umbrella organization, the Asociación Estudiantil MINKA, to operate as a kind of mutual fund that would permit individual members to buy textbooks and other supplies at discount rates.

When Jorge Trías became CEMSE's director, he expanded that role. Trías understood the importance of em-



Members of CEMSE's "Luis Espinal" cultural brigade don masks for a skit exploring how ethnic identity persists beneath the fabric of mestizo life. Student revival of Andean cultural forms has inspired commitment to community service.

powering students from his experience leading one of the country's first NGOs, which had pioneered the use of nonformal education methodologies for organizing campesinos in the valleys of southern Bolivia. Trias opened the door, and a half-dozen Bolivian educators, psychologists, and administrators stepped in to help MINKA forge an identity of its own.

José Nuñez, in his thirties, son of a migrant mineworker, helped lead the way. He had worked as an organizer with several NGOs and knew the field of popular education inside out. His experience had taught him that effective programs build self-esteem through the recovery and strengthening of cultural identity. Key to this process was the use of "generative words," a technique pioneered by the Brazilian educator Paulo Freire in teaching adult literacy. Generative words embody concepts that allow communities to name, analyze, and remake their reality. In thinking

about MINKA, Nuñez drew upon the experience of Warisata to provide some of those words for the students of CEMSE.

Warisata is a small altiplano town that started an indigenous Aymara school in the 1930s. Its people had broken with colonial conventions for running a school district, and organized public education by joining several nearby communities within the political framework of an indigenous *ayllu*, under the supervision of a *parlamento amalpa*, or council of elders. The council tapped two forms of traditional Andean communal labor—the *minka* and the *ayni*—to build the school and organize an active student body to maintain it. The unusual degree of local autonomy and the fact that the curriculum was grounded in the Aymara language aroused skepticism and then hostility among national educators, who shut the school down.

Nuñez and another nonformal education specialist, Augusto Román, noted that 80 percent of the students using CEMSE spoke Aymara at home. The public schools were not only providing them with an inferior technical education but treating their traditional culture as a handicap to overcome rather than a foundation to build upon. The two educators hoped to adapt the educational and cultural principles of Warisata to CEMSE by allowing MINKA to tap the creative energy of its Aymara roots.

Their first step was to help stimulate student involvement by reinforcing group identity through Andean rather than Western cooperative modalities—instead of being based on the individualistic notion of one man, one vote, MINKA would become an organization of organizations. Each of the programs within CEMSE—the computer lab, the science clubs, the library, the health brigade, and the others—would or-

ganize itself as a *comunidad de trabajo* and elect a representative to a student council that would act as a kind of *parlamento amalpa* for focusing student enthusiasm and helping govern CEMSE.

MINKA representatives began by participating in CEMSE's high-level planning sessions and, as they gained experience, joined community council meetings with parents and teachers. MINKA assemblies not only allowed youth of one *comunidad* to learn about the activities of another, they inspired students to explore how services could be improved and new ideas introduced into the schools in which they spent the greater part of their days. They created a new awareness of traditional culture and critical analysis that challenged CEMSE to look beyond the task of supporting public schools toward revitalizing the system by making it genuinely multicultural.

Leading this effort are the *animadores juveniles*, 25 students who are trained for five months in nonformal communication techniques, workshop planning, and social research to develop opportunities for nurturing cultural pride and identity. They are supported by 70 university student volunteers, many of them former MINKA leaders and *animadores*, who are majoring in a variety of disciplines and also back up CEMSE's core staff in providing technical services.

Perhaps the most prominent and popular MINKA members are the cultural brigades, which work tirelessly to inject the spirit of Warisata into CEMSE's service programs. The brigades grew out of a program called Free Time that was sponsored by La Paz businessmen in 1988 to get students to say "no" to illegal drugs. The students of CEMSE discovered it was better to find something to say "yes" to, and the program became a vehicle for exploring ethnic identity through social and cultural activities. The brigades have a membership of 350 youth, drawn from the three levels of public schooling. The elementary group calls itself Ayni, the junior-high group is named Ayllu. The high-school group has named itself after Luis Espinal, a national folk hero and Catholic priest who was

gunned down by the military in the early 1980s.

The brigades confront the cultural alienation of barrio youth by recovering traditional art forms, including Andean music. "During CEMSE's early days," Nuñez says, "we tried to stir up interest in this music, but there wasn't much interest. All you heard was hard rock being played at local festivals. Finally, we arranged for a workshop through the brigades, and over time this grew into six bands that became quite adept at the *panpipe*, flute, *charango*, and guitar. They didn't stop with learning the old songs; they made a real effort to understand the culture that produced the lyrics and tunes in order to convey this knowledge to audiences at their concerts. Today, most students at CEMSE are being pulled in the same direction."

The Ayni and Ayllu brigades have also helped sponsor an orchestra of students between the ages of 8 and 14 that plays contemporary music on traditional instruments. More than 1,400 young people have taken a turn during the orchestra's history. One of its most notable concerts featured an original composition that wove together different melodic themes for each of Bolivia's 14 main ethnic groups.

The brigades are also playing a key analytic role in helping students restore pride in their own families and develop positive self-images. One girl, for instance, noted how television promotes an image of feminine beauty that most women cannot fit. Today, she says, the important issue for her is not access to cosmetics or fashions that disguise her Andean features, but discovering whether her ancestors were Quechua or Aymara.

The process of cultural recovery is often painful when it uncovers the deep-seated shame embedded in the psyches of a colonized people. Nuñez notes how many students are embarrassed by mothers who show up in the *pollera* garb of multilayered skirts, bowler hat, and vividly colored shawl that brazenly tells the world they are *cholitas*, pieces of rock that refuse to be pulverized into the mestizo/criollo values of the city's mainstream. "But we are changing this," he says, pointing to the many students who now sit beside mothers wearing *pollera* at

community meetings, "without betraying the slightest discomfort."

MINKA, led by the cultural brigades, played a highly visible role in La Paz during the Quincentenary year marking Columbus's arrival in the hemisphere. *Los 500 Años* became the generative word for a series of educational events that culminated with a cultural fair held on Columbus Day itself. Conferences took place in which intellectual luminaries held forth on topics such as indigenous religions, resource management, and political systems. Students addressed poetry, short stories, and letters to the dead Columbus and the Spanish landlords who followed in his wake, and presented skits that dramatized the conquest and its aftermath up to the present. CEMSE was plastered with thematic posters such as "El Mestizaje Religioso," which depicted the sun, moon, and mother earth on one side and the crucifix on the other.

More than 5,000 students and their families visited the fair, which probed beneath the lingering injustice to seriously consider what it meant to be a twentieth-century Bolivian. The dominant tone was expressed in letters written to Columbus and signed with Aymara names for everyman and everywoman—Huanca and Huaynoca:

*We, the dark-skinned people of America, must cease our lamentations. We must find and value whatever good the past holds for us, and use it to transform this day into a tomorrow that welcomes us.*

This is the spirit that drives the youth who have passed through CEMSE and MINKA. Betty Márquez, a former MINKA leader who still volunteers her time, described what CEMSE has meant to her and her generation. "My father is a cab driver, and he was not happy that his young daughter was showing so much independence, spending money on bus fares downtown to CEMSE, and wasting time pursuing these strange interests. But a whole new world opened up to me, a world of responsibility and self-discipline and hope. This place offers more opportunity for self-directed learning than the university I now attend, so I come back here to keep learning and growing."



Students in CEMSE's communications center polish their radio-broadcasting skills. With support from Manos Unidas of Spain, the IAF, the Bolivian government, and others, CEMSE has provided a critical mass of innovative projects and services that is preparing Bolivian youth to recover their past, analyze the present, and invent their own future.

MINKA and student volunteers like Márquez are turning a bright light on Bolivia's past to see what its future might look like. They travel outward on field trips to mining towns and ancient Inca trails to see where history has been made, and they are turning sharp eyes on the present to see how history is being made.

If you ask José Nuñez what kind of history these young people will make, he will tell you about a recent national election campaign when a number of them served as *reporteros populares*, or peoples' reporters, for a local radio station. "Their observations of voter manipulation, self-aggrandizement by paternalistic politicians, and disparities in election spending among the parties," says Nuñez, "gave MINKA members a lot to think about. After careful analysis, they modified a number of organizational practices they had blindly copied from political parties without considering how such mechanisms were misshaping the world they would inherit, the very same world they were committed to changing for the better."

### A Model for Reform

Sagristá is certain that CEMSE has much to offer Third World governments searching for an affordable way to provide first-class educations to their rapidly growing populations. Indeed, a number of those governments, including several state and municipal jurisdictions in Brazil, are building multiple-service magnet schools on their own.

The issue, however, is not simply achieving economies of scale. CEMSE's real virtue lies in the fact that students who are not compelled to attend, do attend. Dropout rates among regular users of the center have plummeted to near zero, while the overall rate for La Paz hovers at 40 percent. Students come to CEMSE and keep coming back, even after graduation, because the facility's purpose is not to remake them but to help them find themselves.

There are indications that this message is being heard by the Bolivian government. The Fondo de Inversión Social (FIS) has proposed establishing 11 urban and small-town Centros

Multiservicios e Interculturales (CEMEI) through NGOs and municipal governments throughout the country. Each would serve as many as 15 schools and 10,000 students. The fact that these centers have been designated "intercultural" shows that the lessons of MINKA, and the experience of grassroots initiatives across the country, have not been lost on government planners.

The plan ran into a snag, however, when the World Bank held up funds because the per-pupil cost seemed too high. FIS set out to consult Sagristá to see if the proposal could be salvaged. They found him in the tiny town of San Ignacio de Moxos, site of a former Jesuit mission in the tropical hinterlands of eastern Bolivia, where he was busy adapting the CEMSE model to a rustic setting. To overcome the lack of electricity, he had pored over manuals and installed solar panels that were soon powering computers, labs, and other facilities for indigenous students of surrounding villages.

Sagristá quickly found the error in FIS's proposal: It had not prorated infrastructure costs across the expected life of the plan. When the World Bank learned per-pupil costs were as little as \$7 annually, it approved the loan and recommended that Sagristá join the Bolivian team negotiating loans to revamp the national educational system.

The new reforms will redistribute resources from an inefficient university system to support primary and secondary schools starved of basic equipment and quality teachers. At the same time, the government will decentralize administrative responsibility to local communities, promoting bilingual education and greater respect for the country's multicultural heritage. Sagristá has long wished to see these changes, and the inclusion of the CEMSE model at its heart will help bring his vision of greater educational equality within the nation's grasp. ❖

*KEVIN HEALY is the Foundation representative for Bolivia. This article is adapted from a chapter in his forthcoming book about the new multicultural development paradigm emerging in that country.*

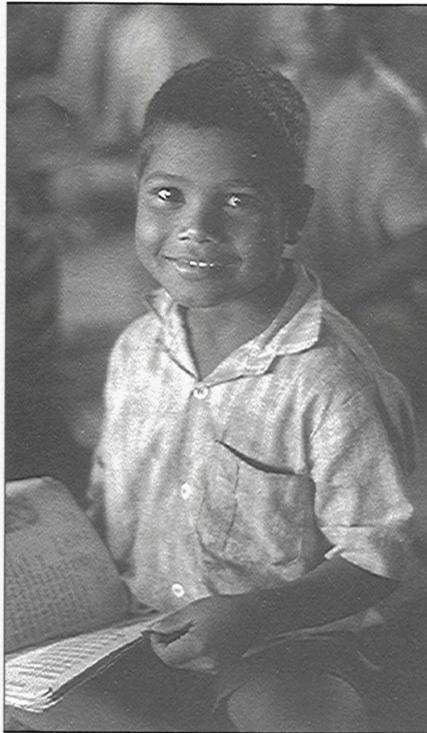
## The Future of Youth Is Now

Carol Michaels O'Laughlin

*By the year 2000, roughly half the world's population will be under the age of 20. This is already so in many countries: the Philippines, Mexico, Egypt, Kenya, Nigeria, and Pakistan, to name a few. Despite their growing numbers, all too often young people are voiceless on critical issues affecting their physical and emotional development, the environments in which they live, and the prospects of the societies their generation will one day govern.*

Popular rhetoric claims that "young people are the future." Demographics show they are increasingly the present. And the reality of that present is that most of the world's children grow up in poverty. Although these youth work in the fields, raise livestock, care for siblings, and earn income for their families on the streets, they do not receive basic goods and services in proportion to their numbers. More than 40 percent of children in the so-called developing world lack access to clean water; 75 percent have inadequate sanitation; and 33 percent of primary school enrollees drop out before completing the fourth grade.

It is estimated that up to 90 percent of international funding for young people goes either to meet the survival needs of children aged zero to five, or to higher education. Traditionally the family and the government have had the responsibility for meeting the needs of youth during the critical years between ages five and twenty that develop the practical skills needed to exercise citizenship and earn a livelihood. Both institutions are now in crisis. Family support structures have weakened in cultures worldwide as a result of economic pres-



Sean Sprague

*A boy attends school on the outskirts of Bombay, India. The mission of the IYF is to expand and strengthen innovative youth programs and policies around the world.*

ures, urbanization, and changing social roles. The state has often been hamstrung by budget shortfalls and misplaced priorities. The net result is that a majority of the planet's youth are not being prepared to actively engage in efforts to secure their own futures. Without a clear vision of how things can be made better, too many succumb to drugs, violence, prostitution, and other negative forces in order to escape from, or survive in, the stark world around them.

To help fill the void, nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) have emerged to find new ways of meeting the needs of youth. Youth-oriented NGOs vary in capacity, service provision, and methodology, but the more effective ones tend to share a common vision of human development. They begin by envisioning young people as protagonists, and not as passive recipients of resources. They strive to strengthen the skills, confidence, and self-reliance of young people rather than focus on isolated problems. They enable youth to participate in the life of their communities, and mobilize support for them as leaders and builders of society.

The International Youth Foundation (IYF) was founded in 1990 to identify, strengthen, and expand effective youth programs. Criteria for effectiveness (see box) were developed in consultation with childhood and adolescent development practitioners from many countries. These were then used to evaluate the more than 2,000 program nominations the IYF received from governments, NGOs, and businesses and through partnership in a growing international network of indigenous youth foundations. Of these nominees, approximately 163 have been selected to form YouthNet International, a global forum of effective programs.

Participating NGOs span the planet. Among them are the Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee, which has pioneered literacy training among rural youth who never attended school; Bosconia La Florida, which has opened up doors for the homeless youth of Bogotá, Colombia, to a life beyond the city's streets; Jobs for America's Graduates, which assists at-risk and disadvantaged youth across the United States to graduate from high school and obtain quality jobs through a school-to-work transition system; and the Senegalese Associa-

tion for Help in the Training and Placement of Disadvantaged Youth, which uses nonformal education to create career paths for young people in four West African countries. These and hundreds of other surveyed programs have shown that young people are responsible and can contribute to their societies if given a chance.

Millions of young people have benefited already, but the IYF is learning two things: Only a small fraction of those in need are being reached, and even exemplary NGOs face major obstacles not only to expanding service delivery but to maintaining present levels of performance. Most of these NGOs emerged from ad hoc charitable activities and relief efforts; some were started by charismatic leaders touched by the suffering of the young; and still others have religious inspirations for roots. Increasingly they realize that vision is not enough, that disciplined long-term planning and the development of new financial strategies are needed to safeguard their futures. Some of the best programs have relatively weak evaluation systems, limiting their ability to share innovative methodologies with others. Only a handful involve children and youth in program design, implementation, and governance. Lastly, most work in isolation from other NGOs and thus have limited impact on social policy.

If NGOs and their supporters are to help overcome the external and internal obstacles preventing more young people in need from being reached, four policy guides must be followed. First, the limited supply of resources must be channeled into identifying and expanding *comprehensive* programs, nationally and internationally, that nurture self-reliance among the young. Second, the capacity of youth-oriented NGOs must be strengthened

through funding to upgrade management, evaluation systems, and staff training. Endowments and other financial instruments can be created to provide a floor for independent, long-term project planning and implementation. Third, investments must be made to facilitate networking so that NGOs can share knowledge to refine their own programming, and can raise public awareness of the problems confronting youth and the need to revise public policies based on what has already been learned in crafting solutions. Finally, children and adolescents must take an active role in identifying their needs, designing and implementing solutions, and participating in the governing bodies that set program agendas.

No one organization can make *the* difference for children and teenagers. Governments, businesses, and the NGO sector must pool their efforts, expertise, and financial resources to ensure that young people are served and are able to serve others. If such an effort is made to strengthen programs and policies that we already know work, we can—with the help of our young people—make the world better. And we can do it in their own time, which is *now*. ❖

CAROL MICHAELS O'LAUGHLIN is the director of programs for the International Youth Foundation. Previously she worked as a senior Foundation representative for the IAF.

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

## Seventeen Criteria for Effective Programs

- Primarily serves young people between the ages of 5 and 20.
- Focuses on prevention and early intervention.
- Promotes competence, connection, character, and confidence.
- Offers activities that are age and developmentally appropriate.
- Involves the community in program implementation.
- Is culturally relevant and conforms to the needs of the community.
- Contains components that appear to be appropriate in other contexts.
- Shows evidence of success in meeting identified needs.
- Has potential to serve a significant number of children and older youth.
- Provides a cost-effective means of achieving its goals.
- Involves parents, extended family, and/or "significant" adults.
- Includes training and support for project staff and other participants.
- Provides monitoring, evaluation, and feedback.
- Involves youth in planning, implementation, evaluation, and dissemination.
- Includes a feasible plan to become self-sustaining.
- Is coordinated with other child and adolescent services.
- Demonstrates organizational capacity in financial, technical, and managerial terms.

# Development Notes



UNICEF/Schylte

*An educator uses materials from a UNICEF project to teach a class in southern Africa about the AIDS epidemic ravaging their community. Such efforts were discussed at the September U.N. International Conference on Population and Development in Cairo.*

## Making the Voice of Adolescents Heard

Advocates for Youth, a multidimensional nonprofit organization founded over a decade ago to help youth make healthy decisions about sexuality, coordinated efforts with groups in Brazil, Colombia, Kenya, and Nigeria to make sure that the voice of adolescents was heard at the September 1994 International Conference on Population and Development in Cairo, Egypt. There, youth spoke out on a variety of reproductive issues and asked other delegates to remember their own struggles to reach adulthood.

It is obvious to adults who work with teens and to the real experts, teenagers themselves, that healthy adolescents often think themselves

invulnerable and want to try everything in their race toward independence, sometimes taking thoughtless and unnecessary risks. In engaging a constructive dialogue to shape policy, Advocates for Youth will stress what it has learned from experience. The lack of comprehensive health information and services blocks young people from realizing their potential by contributing to too-early childbearing that increases the danger of toxemia and other life-threatening conditions, and to the spread of sexually transmitted diseases, including the AIDS virus.

Following the Cairo conference, Advocates for Youth is determined to continue its efforts to inform, educate, and assist organizations, professionals, policymakers, and citizens concerned about the condition

of young people. A number of specific services are available.

First, training sessions that provide life-planning curricula for young people are held throughout Latin America, Africa, and Asia. Program planners and facilitators are trained in administration and evaluation techniques and are given access to research findings. They learn a participatory methodology for interacting with adolescents that has been cited by numerous academics. Materials and technical assistance are available in English, Spanish, and Portuguese.

Second, Advocates for Youth operates a resource center and clearinghouse to collect and distribute comprehensive information on teen health from around the world. It helps eliminate the isolation that many programs experience in devel-

oping countries, and distributes a variety of newsletters and publications. They range from fact sheets that present concise research findings, to guides for parent-child and peer-group communication, to how-to manuals for advocates and planners. The international newsletter *Passages* (and its sister publications *Reflexión Juvenil* in Spanish, and *Un Age Transitoire* in French) are available free to individuals and organizations in developing countries. Other international publications include inventories of programs and donor organizations, and educational materials that cover selected topics such as AIDS or teenage fertility.

Finally, fora are sponsored to educate policymakers, the media, and the public on issues of concern. Two years ago, Advocates for Youth cosponsored the first Inter-Africa Conference on Adolescent Health. This year there will be an evaluation initiative to assess adolescent programs in Latin America and an effort to devise a media strategy for reaching the Brazilian public.

For more information about training, publications, and technical assistance contact: Advocates for Youth, International Programs, 1025 Vermont Avenue, NW #200, Washington, D.C. 20005 (phone: 202-347-5700; fax: 202-347-2263).

—Marjorie Moscoso Macieira

### Making Development User-Friendly for *Campesinas*

Rosa is an Afro-Ecuadorian woman from Esmeraldas, on the northern coast. She wakes at dawn to join other *concheras*, women who gather scallops, at the dock. After hours in mosquito-infested marshes, holding a smoky lantern up to keep the insects at bay, she brings in a catch of 20 scallops, half of which is paid to the boat owner. A single mother of 11 children, Rosa's workday continues



Juan García Salazar

*The issue of women's roles in development activities was addressed when women from 17 grassroots organizations met outside of Quito.*

at home. Not long ago, she joined fellow *concheras* to organize the group Las Marías so that they could improve their lives and begin to see some light at the end of the day.

Laurita, a 16-year-old Quichua from Cañar in the southern highlands of Ecuador, attends school and is active in the women's group of the provincial federation. Lively and outspoken, she has participated in many training activities.

Late in 1993, Rosa, Laurita, and 22 others from 16 grassroots organizations representing the highlands, the coast, and the rainforest met at the Nueva Vida camp outside Quito to discuss the situation of women in grassroots development. The first Encuentro de Mujeres y Desarrollo Comunitario was sponsored by COMUNIDEC—the IAF's In-Country Service organization. It was

designed to identify obstacles to greater participation and opportunities for overcoming them by women in development projects.

Two planning sessions with women leaders of indigenous and Afro-Ecuadorian grassroots organizations were held to formulate objectives, discussion topics, and a methodology for the meeting. To help participants share their experiences and devise strategies for strengthening women's organizations, planners put several topics on the table: the roles of women in agriculture and land use, in other productive activities, and in community health, as well as their needs for education and training.

Encuentro sessions on land use and farming highlighted differences among regions. Rainforest women traditionally play an active role in

growing food crops for daily consumption. Highlanders explained how women are increasingly bearing the double load of farm and household duties as men temporarily migrate to cities in search of work. Coastal women, often landless, earn income by gathering shellfish, rearing small animals, and tending family gardens.

The need to better clothe and feed their families is the primary reason participants gave for starting their own organizations or trying to access community organizations. Most were committed to serving their communities and to affirming their ethnic heritage. Some expressed frustration at the lack of support and the sometimes violent opposition from husbands and parents protesting that duties will be neglected. These women persisted, explaining that their households were better off financially and had access to new knowledge because they were able to contribute.

Several obstacles to participation in development activities were cited, and suggestions were offered for improvement. It is crucial to make men aware of the value of women's work, and that requires allowing women the space in which to analyze and articulate their own reality. To increase participation in decision making, women need to manage their own productive activities. Nongovernmental organizations and community leaders often do not take women's dual workload into account, making it difficult for women to participate equally. Women need training in the design, administration, and evaluation of development activities to ensure that projects tap the human potential of the whole community and improve the likelihood of success.

The methodology of the meeting, the use of songs and role playing, allowed women to openly voice their

concerns. For many, like Rosa, it was their first opportunity to speak their minds on these issues. Through sociodramas and frank discussions, they affirmed the value of their contributions and learned how their challenges transcended cultural boundaries. The meeting concluded with affirmation that women must be included in the decisionmaking and implementation of projects that affect their lives.

COMUNIDEC has responded by organizing two internal workshops on gender issues and is organizing a follow-up encuentro for fall 1994 to develop tools for incorporating gender perspectives into grassroots development activities.

*María Isabel Barboza*

### Capitalizing on the Yen for Organic Coffee

What campesino-owned company had its product advertised in *The New York Times Sunday Magazine*, *The San Francisco Chronicle*, *Time*, *Newsweek*, and network television commercials and has its name plastered on the sides of public buses motoring around major cities in the United States? AZTEC HARVESTS. But what does all the fanfare have to do with grassroots development?

AZTEC HARVESTS distributes coffee grown by small-scale farmers in environmentally fragile areas of Mexico. The company provides its suppliers with access to the lucrative international premium-coffee market. It is trying to increase family incomes through organic agriculture that lowers production costs and is environmentally friendly to farmer and consumer. Former IAF Dante Fascell Fellow Arturo García Jiménez was one of the cofounders of the company.

Several IAF grantees produce coffee for AZTEC HARVESTS. These grantees work through former

grantee Coordinadora Nacional de Organizaciones Cafetaleras. Current grantees include the Unión de Ejidos La Selva, in Las Margaritas, Chiapas; the Unión de Comunidades Indígenas de "Cien Años de Soledad" S.C., in Pochutla, Oaxaca; the Asociación Rural de Interés Colectivo, Unión de Productores de Café de Veracruz, R.I., in Jalapa, Veracruz; and the Coordinadora Estatal de Productores de Café del Estado de Oaxaca, in Oaxaca.

Ben & Jerry's, the socially conscious ice-cream company based in Waterbury, Vermont, is behind the media blitz designed to snare consumers with "hip" ads. The centerpiece of the campaign is a poster featuring activists and cultural figures of the 1960s as well as current icons like filmmaker Spike Lee. Each is shown enjoying one of several new ice cream flavors. The rock musician Carlos Santana proudly displays his guitar and a pint of AZTEC HARVESTS coffee ice cream. Proceeds from sales of the poster go to the U.S.-based Children's Defense Fund.

AZTEC HARVESTS was also featured on "Market Place," distributed by Public Radio International and heard on many public radio stations. And passengers on United Airlines daily flights to and from Mexico can now sit back, relax, read a magazine, and sip the AZTEC HARVESTS coffee freshly brewed by airline staff.

All this high-visibility advertising should keep coffee sales by small-scale Mexican growers constant if not brisk, helping families put food on the table. This is due in no small part to the ingenuity and commitment of companies like AZTEC HARVESTS and Ben & Jerry's, which are showing that campesinos can make their presence felt at the tables of North Americans.

—Ellen C. Murphy



Patrick Breslin

*A Lenca Indian from the Belén Gualcho municipality of Honduras picks apples for sale. The Lenca are now marketing their apples throughout Central America.*

## Developing a Regional Taste for Apples

Does conservation pay for itself? The 8,000 Lenca Indians who inhabit 24 isolated villages in the Celaque mountains of southwestern Honduras are betting that it does. They have planted more than 200,000 apple trees to reforest denuded slopes buffering a major national park, and are making ambitious plans to corner the Central American market.

No, these are not the star apples of the tropics, but the imported North American fruit that every household in the region, however poor, tries to put on its table for Christmas celebrations. If the Asociación de Productores Lencas (APL) and the grassroots support organization Proyecto Aldea Global (PAG) have their way, the Christmas season will extend over much of the year.

The idea for marketing apples is actually the latest phase of an ambitious program in integrated development. When PAG set up shop in the county of Belén Gualcho a decade ago and offered leadership

training to local farmers, no one suspected the effort would bear such fruit. The Lenca were cut off from government health, educational, credit, and agricultural services, and scratched out a meager living growing maize and other subsistence crops on woodlands cleared by slash and burn. Average family income was \$50 monthly. The training course let them know something more was possible.

Forest cover throughout the region was vanishing rapidly, and unless changes were made, the Lenca faced a bleak future. PAG helped train local farmers as agricultural extensionists, introducing contour planting, intercropping, no-till sowing, green manures, and other techniques to boost subsistence yields 270 percent. The Lenca formed the APL to manage a credit fund for buying seeds and other farm inputs, building metal silos to protect crops from insects and rodents, and digging irrigation ditches to permit a second harvest, during the five-month dry season. PAG also worked to improve health through installation of latrines and potable water systems.

When food security was established, PAG began the search for cash crops to boost family incomes. Fruit orchards looked promising and offered an ecological bonus—by forming retention barriers to combat soil erosion, they helped protect a vital watershed for the Lempa hydroelectric dam in neighboring El Salvador. Several strains of apple were tested, and the Ana, a Washington State variety, was selected.

For the past four years, members of APL have organized their own nurseries to grow seedlings, planted 500 hectares of trees, and cleared feeder roads to facilitate marketing. Farmers have learned how to prune and spray trees and how to graft shoots to develop hardier hybrids. Cold storage facilities are being built in Belén Gualcho to hold fruit harvests for processing. An additional 10,000 peach trees have been planted, and plans are under way to introduce plums, pears, and cherries (where appropriate) in order to stagger production and maintain a steady stream of income.

PAG is working hard to strengthen the capacity of APL so that the Lenca will soon be able to manage the project on their own and handle the sudden infusion of wealth that is expected. Nearly 60 percent of Hondurans live in the countryside, and 77 percent of these are considered to live in abject poverty. Many have been pushed onto marginal lands that are being environmentally degraded. They and campesinos in communities throughout Central America will be watching to see if this experiment in organic cash-cropping and regional marketing offers a paradigm for rural development that is more sustainable and less exclusionary than the export model being pushed by multilateral funding agencies and national governments.

—Norman Sagustume ❖

# Reviews

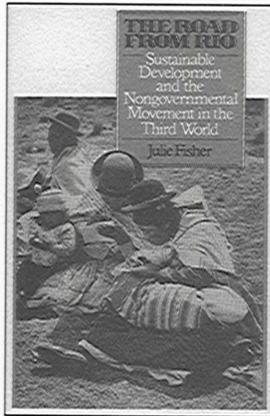
**THE ROAD FROM RIO: SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT AND THE NONGOVERNMENTAL MOVEMENT IN THE THIRD WORLD**, by Julie Fisher. Westport, Connecticut: Praeger Publishers, 1993.

Charles A. Reilly

As the twentieth century grinds to a close, politics and economics reluctantly yield space to civics. The boundaries marking the spheres of state, markets, and civil society are shifting; solid lines grow blurred; and innovative dynamics unfold along the borders. Can ordinary citizens melt the spheres forged by eighteenth- and nineteenth-century thinkers and mold the obsolescent models of the twentieth century into new shapes that fit the demands of a new millennium? In *The Road From Rio: Sustainable Development and the NonGovernmental Movements in the Third World*, Julie Fisher bets that they can.

Fisher treats us to a rapid but thoughtful survey of how nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) are rapidly proliferating in societies across the planet. If we did not live in the age of space shuttles circumnavigating the globe in 90 minutes or nearly instantaneous electronic transfers of money between London, New York, and Tokyo, this sweeping survey might seem too much to absorb. Worldwide comparative studies are always tricky, but Fisher makes the journey easier through tidy chapter summaries of lessons learned that offer the busy, the lazy, or the casually curious glimpses of accumulated wisdom.

If the global approach is salutary, it also has costs. I, for one, miss the lack of historical and regional depth. Distinct periods have shaped NGO evolution in Latin America—many organizations emerged in opposition to totalitarian states, adapted to



and communications. The staggering of these phases has led to great variation within countries, and even subregions, over time.

The book does touch on the major actors among the NGOs and social movements of Latin America, including faces familiar to the IAF. It is reassuring to see that IAF publications and evaluations have contributed many brush strokes to the global picture Fisher paints. Yet, in reading of Asian NGOs that dramatically surpass the scale of their Latin American counterparts, one must be impressed by the sheer numbers. Documentation by the Grameen Bank in Bangladesh of the enormous mass of very poor people helped through its very small-scale loans reminds those of us who celebrate the qualitative side of human endeavor that the quantitative measurements of the bottom line cannot be ignored.

This is the first of two volumes, and the second, entitled *Cultivating Civil Society: NGOs, Donors, and Governments* (forthcoming from Praeger Publishers), will explore NGO relationships with governments. That book is eagerly awaited because I believe NGO relationships with markets and the state have begun to exercise greater influence on NGOs than intrasectoral networking, and because the combination of all three

neoliberal adjustment policies, were disappointed by the first fruits of electoral democracy, and are now responding to the global pull of markets

forces is accelerating the pace of organizational evolution. The current volume offers telling glimpses of where we have been, but I sense that strikingly different coalitions are forming, and with them, new organizational models.

Fisher is upbeat about NGOs, isolating performance characteristics and comparative advantages. But the sector has a seamy side. Some organizations are hastily strung together to cash in on the discovery by donors of civil society. At the U.N. Conference on Environment and Development in Rio, which Fisher's title alludes to, these opportunists were dubbed "ONG-lites"—because their activities in the real world have neither substance nor flavor.

As Fisher makes clear, of course, the number of committed NGOs with substantial track records is impressive. Yet one senses that many are caught in a whipsaw of expectations that poses great dangers. Some analysts celebrate NGOs as a pretext for eliminating the state, as though civil society and markets alone could fully reconcile economic development and social equity. In some countries, such as Chile, a trend is under way to contract NGOs to deliver social services and administer social policies. It has not happened yet, but one wonders what the consequences will be if NGOs, struggling to survive in a time of scarce resources, are co-opted from their role as organizers of the poor and marginalized, and become arms of the state.

Indeed, the NGO world Fisher describes is subject to large forces beyond the control of the sector, including not only the push of states but the pull of markets and donor fads. Care must be taken to preserve diversity since it ensures a continuous flow of new ideas and the means for testing them with different populations. As NGOs are "discovered"

# Resources

by multilateral banks and agencies, clear information is needed about the strengths and weaknesses of the sector so that we can identify and encourage those alliances with the market and the state that deliver greater benefits to the poor. And if these partnerships are to work, responsibility for scaling up cannot fall solely on NGOs; multilateral banks, bilateral programs, and states must figure out how to scale down. They must design mechanisms that can be accessed by organizations which come in an assortment of sizes and shapes largely foreign to the hierarchical structures and operational imperatives of large institutions.

The volume is curiously silent about the role of donors, but that is partly a question of where various actors are on the development continuum. Fisher recognizes that foreign assistance has played a role in many, but hardly all, of the organizations she profiles, and sees this aid as a transitory distortion on the road to creating a sustainable process of development.

*The Road From Rio* is a valuable reference, offering readers an alphabet soup of acronyms that help clarify and classify the diverse collection of social actors making up the NGO movement. The next volume can't come soon enough to keep us abreast of how far those actors and civil society itself have traveled in the world taking shape before our eyes. ❖

CHARLES A. REILLY is the thematic studies officer for the IAF. He is the editor of *Nuevas Políticas Urbanas: Las ONG y los Gobiernos Municipales en la Democratización Latinoamericana*, available from the IAF. The English edition, *New Paths to Democratic Development: The Rise of NGO-Municipal Collaboration in Latin America*, is forthcoming from Lynne Rienner Publishers in Boulder, Colorado.

*As the worldwide campaign to improve childhood nutrition and cut infant mortality makes headway (see article on page 2) it is urgent that steps be taken to open opportunities for a better life for surviving infants, their siblings, and parents. Education, nonformal and formal, is one of the most important ways to help youth reach their full potential.*

*However, for grassroots and other organizations to effectively communicate with adolescents, for instance, it is clear that media must tailor their message differently from messages directed at children and adults. Many institutions are now fine-tuning their communications to target the needs of very specific audiences in developing regions.*

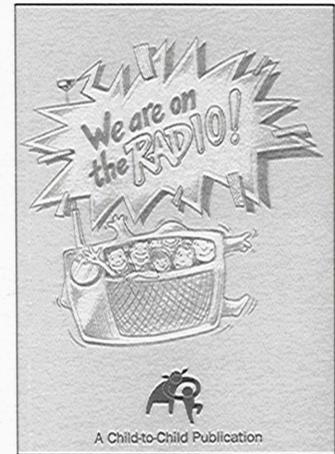
*One reason organizations are now able to hand-fit development materials is the revolution in information technology. Where it once took weeks or even months to publish educational books and pamphlets at great expense, institutions now readily select from an array of technologies to get their messages across, at a fraction of the previous cost.*

*For the first time, there may be too much information circulating in the development community and among its intended audiences. Increasingly, the task is how to select the best materials available. Institutional "resources" cull and preselect materials carefully, saving time, work, and expense for end users in the office or field.*

*The following "resource" institutions target a range of youth issues, beginning with efforts to improve the health of infants and children. They offer a range of communication materials, including directories of other institutions, technical support, and instruction manuals. Their flow of information is steady and up-to-date rather than occasional.*

How to grab a child's attention? Use other children, according to **We are on the Radio**, a Child-to-Child publication. Child-to-Child is an education project that believes peer pres-

sure can be harnessed to help children work together to spread ideas for improving health and sanitary practices in school, at home, and in the community. An offshoot of the Child-to-Child Trust housed at the University of London, it produces innovative health and education materials, assists projects in using those materials, and coordinates a worldwide network to share project information.



"We are on the Radio" is intended for groups and individuals who want to involve children in radio broadcasting about health. It introduces adult organizers to basic planning skills and shows them how their own ideas can be turned into effective radio spots. An audio tape and printed text, which can be used together or separately, include health messages and songs from children around the world.

The text explains equipment and production techniques, explores methods for honing radio skills and getting programs on the air, and suggests ideas for songs, stories, and plays. The ideas can be adapted to convey a variety of themes—from environmental cleanup to household sanitation.

Child-to-Child's experience shows that children who learn

through broadcasting radio messages take that message home with them to persuade peers, siblings, and parents.

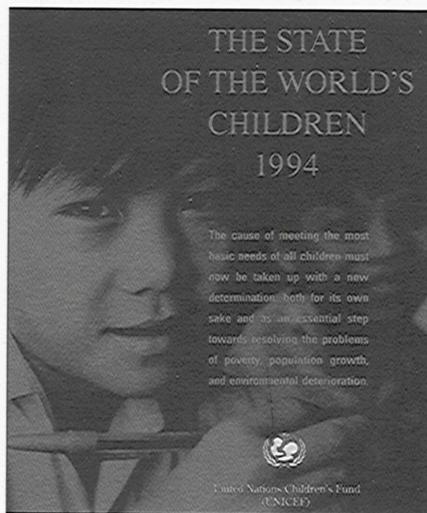
The Child-to-Child Trust can be reached at the Institute of Education, 20 Bedford Way, London, WC1H 0AL, United Kingdom (phone: 71-612-6650; fax: 71-612-6645).

**Mothers & Children**, previously a bulletin on infant feeding, maternal nutrition, and other tightly focused technical issues, has now broadened its focus to include articles on new methods of outreach such as "Video as a Community Empowerment Tool." Another article emphasizes how "documentation centers" can better address user needs by being systematic, incorporating new technologies, and coordinating regional information networks to avoid duplication.

Also included in this print publication is an annotated listing of other resources, accompanied by information about audience, region, type of material, language, and source. It quickly allows a user to select materials for a specific need, and highlights development institutions around the world for a researcher wanting more in-depth information or additional materials on a particular subject. Among those is SateLife, which provides a not-for-profit service called HealthNet—a store-and-forward e-mail system, transmitted by satellite, that disseminates health education data.

*Mothers & Children* is published three times yearly in English, French, and Spanish; is distributed free in Asia, Africa, and Latin America by the Clearinghouse on Infant Feeding and Maternal Nutrition; and is supported by the U.S. Agency for International Development. For information on how to receive this

publication, contact Clearinghouse, American Public Health Association, 1015 Fifteenth St., NW, Washington, D.C. 20005 (phone: 202-789-5600; fax: 202-789-5661).



Health worldwide *is* getting better, according to the **United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF)**. Seventy years ago in the cities of the industrial world, child mortality rates were higher on average than in Africa today. UNICEF publishes and disseminates facts and figures to convey progress country by country. It also offers a wide array of materials that families and communities can use to boost health, such as *ORT: A Solution for Survival*, a pamphlet extolling the virtues of oral rehydration therapy in combatting fatal infant diarrheas.

UNICEF has recently moved into a new area, initiating education-for-peace programs in countries experiencing armed conflicts. Children who have no other means of schooling are exposed to different cultural and religious backgrounds to defuse tensions and learn the value of diversity.

UNICEF also recognizes the importance of peer pressure, and it has

tailored its AIDS educational approach to actively involve youth both in and outside of schools. In Central Africa, peer-to-peer projects where youths choose their own leaders and develop their own educational materials have proven successful.

UNICEF has also increased its efforts to coordinate and collaborate with other development health organizations. It works closely with the U.N. Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), for instance, to improve the quality and timeliness of data collection and methods of testing to measure learning achievement. Meetings have been held with the World Bank, the United Nations Development Programme, and UNESCO to pool information and coordinate activities.

To reach wide public audiences through broadcasting and video, UNICEF has initiated the International Children's Day of Broadcasting in more than 70 countries. An information kit and specially recorded television spots were distributed to help organizers get started. UNICEF also distributes health-related videos in response to requests from around the world, distributing more than 8,000 tapes in 1992 alone.

Working with the Global Communication Support Fund, UNICEF also helps develop the capacity of directors, producers, and distributors to address child-related health issues through multimedia presentations. One-hundred-thirty Spanish-language episodes of "Sesame Street" resulted from these efforts, as well as other specialized productions for children.

Further information about UNICEF and its educational materials can be obtained from UNICEF Headquarters, UNICEF House, 3 UN Plaza, New York, NY 10017.

Beginning in 1990, the Pan American Health Organization (PAHO) launched a **Communication for Health Series** as part of its social communication strategy. It aims to disseminate health information in nontechnical language appropriate for the media, schools, and the community. PAHO hopes the series will help develop a well-informed public that takes individual responsibility for promoting personal and collective health.

Series papers are published in English and Spanish. Each publication in the series focuses on a specific health topic and gives an overview of risk factors and preventive measures.

PAHO also publishes periodicals to offer readers timely and regular access to scientific and technical health information. Reports on national and multinational research and development activities, including the latest information on tropical diseases, and reports on various programs and initiatives carried out by PAHO are published and disseminated regularly in both English and Spanish.

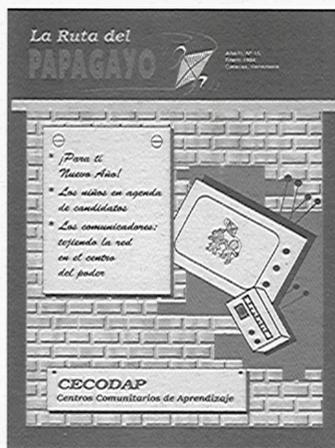
Contact the Pan American Health Organization, Distribution and Sales, 525 Twenty-third Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037 (phone: 202-293-8129; fax: 202-338-0869).

For up-to-date, informative materials dealing with children's issues, **Centros Comunitarios de Aprendizaje (CECODAP)** in Caracas, Venezuela, ranks at the top. CECODAP has more than a decade's experience meeting the educational needs of preschool children in low-income barrios. CECODAP publications distill what has been learned in the field and emphasize the importance of the family in child development.

*La Ruta del Papagayo*, a quarterly magazine, invites readers in with concise, clear articles, punctuated by lively photographs and clever illus-

trations. Magazine sections are devoted to specific topics, covering such diverse issues as the legal rights of children, how children fare in the political arena, and children's social development.

Among its many other publications, two deserve special mention. *Formación Familiar y Comunitaria para la Atención del Niño—Mecodap, una Metodología Comunitaria de Atención Preescolar* is a training manual for community groups, individuals, and educators, providing an inter-



disciplinary approach to improving childhood health, nutrition, and education. *Venezuela: Entre Tú y Yo* is a digest of articles written by Oscar Misle, CECODAP's director, that were first published in Venezuelan newspapers between 1990 and 1993. These articles focus on how the rights of children are vital to creating a prosperous democratic society.

A listing of CECODAP's other publications and training manuals is also available. The *Catálogo de Publicaciones 1993* and any of the other publications listed here can be purchased from CECODAP, Apartado de Correos 63171, Chacaíto, Caracas 1067-A, Venezuela (phone: 951-40-79; fax: 951-58-41).

Recognizing that youth problems are worldwide and that cross-cultural collaboration can pay dividends, the **Centro de Formación en Educación Especializada (CFEE)** in Uruguay and the **Fundación Cristiana de Acción Social y Educativa (FUNCASE)** in Chile have teamed up to develop an interdisciplinary approach to helping marginalized youth of all ages, especially street children. In designing materials, CFEE brings to bear its long experience training nonformal educators working with poor children and youth, while FUNCASE contributes what it has learned through providing direct support to at-risk young people and their families.

This binational venture focuses on education that addresses five primary areas: environmental conservation; community health; technical and professional training for young people who may be excluded from employment opportunities; communication; and recreational activities and games for children of all ages.

Three publications have been produced for distribution by both organizations. *Educación y Trabajo: Como Relacionar la Educación con la Economía y el Desarrollo Local* explores how educators and manufacturers can work together to provide training to young people excluded from formal education. *Juegos y Mancha Aportes* and *Recreación desde la EBC* compile and describe games and recreational activities that have proven to be effective in allowing young people to find and build upon their own powers of creativity.

To purchase the above materials or for information about this binational program, contact: CFEE, Zabalá 1322, Apartado 201, Montevideo, Uruguay (phone: 95-50-34; fax: 96-10-73) or FUNCASE, Santa Mónica 1924, Santiago, Chile (phone: 698-64-64; fax: 697-38-71). ❖

—Barbara Annis and Maria Barry

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## 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



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