

ASSESSMENT AND PROMOTION OF PARTICIPATORY COMMUNITY WORK

IN THE SAIS "CAHUIDE" LTDA. NO.6, HUANCAYO, PERU

A PRACTICUM REPORT

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For the degree of Master of Social Work
University of Manitoba

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ISBN 0-315-71891-9

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WORK IN THE SAIS "CAHUIDE" LTDA. NO. 6, HUANCAYO, PERU

BY

C. DOUGLAS REIMER

A practicum submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies
of the University of Manitoba in partial fulfillment of the
requirements of the degree of

MASTER OF SOCIAL WORK

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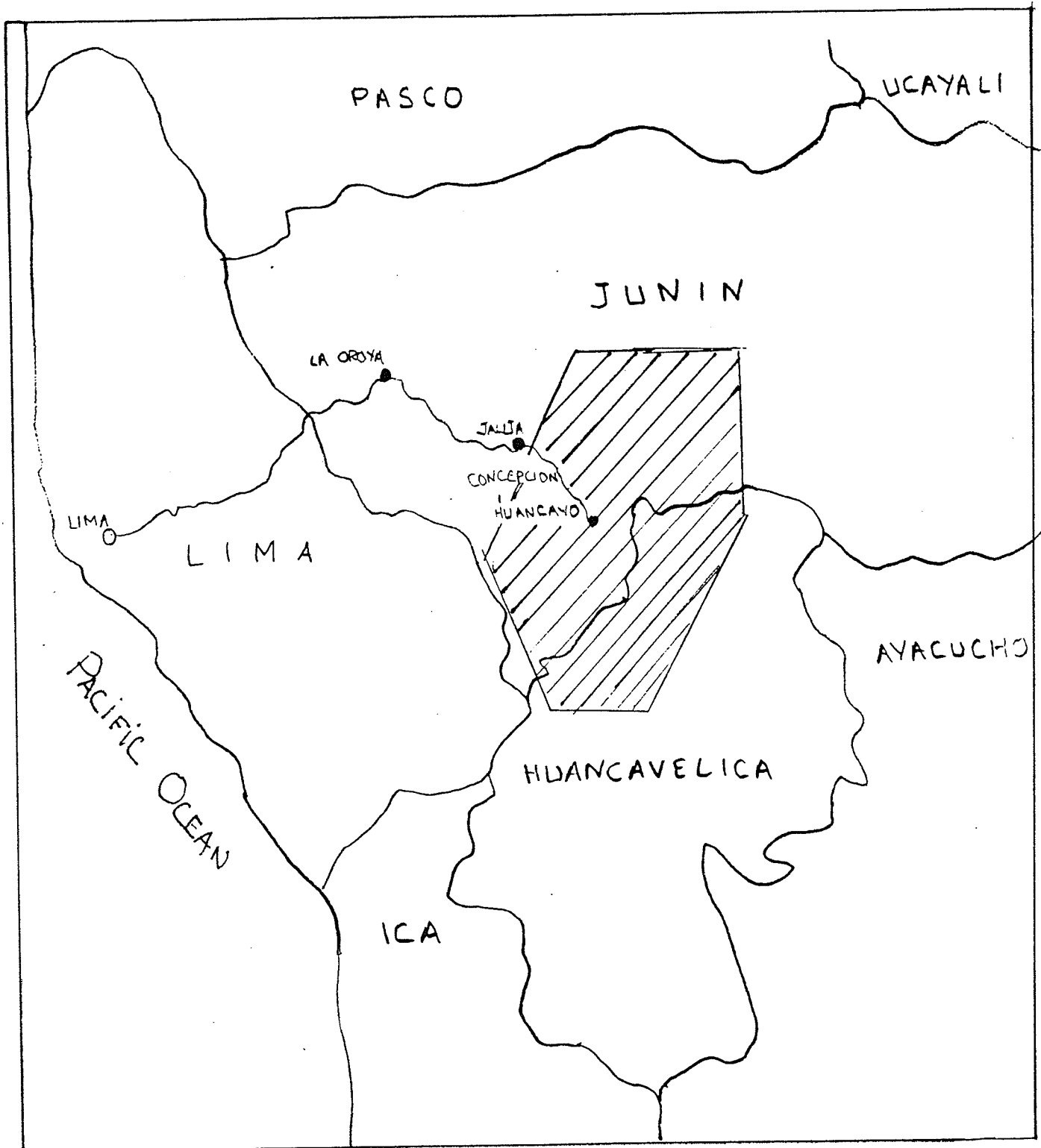
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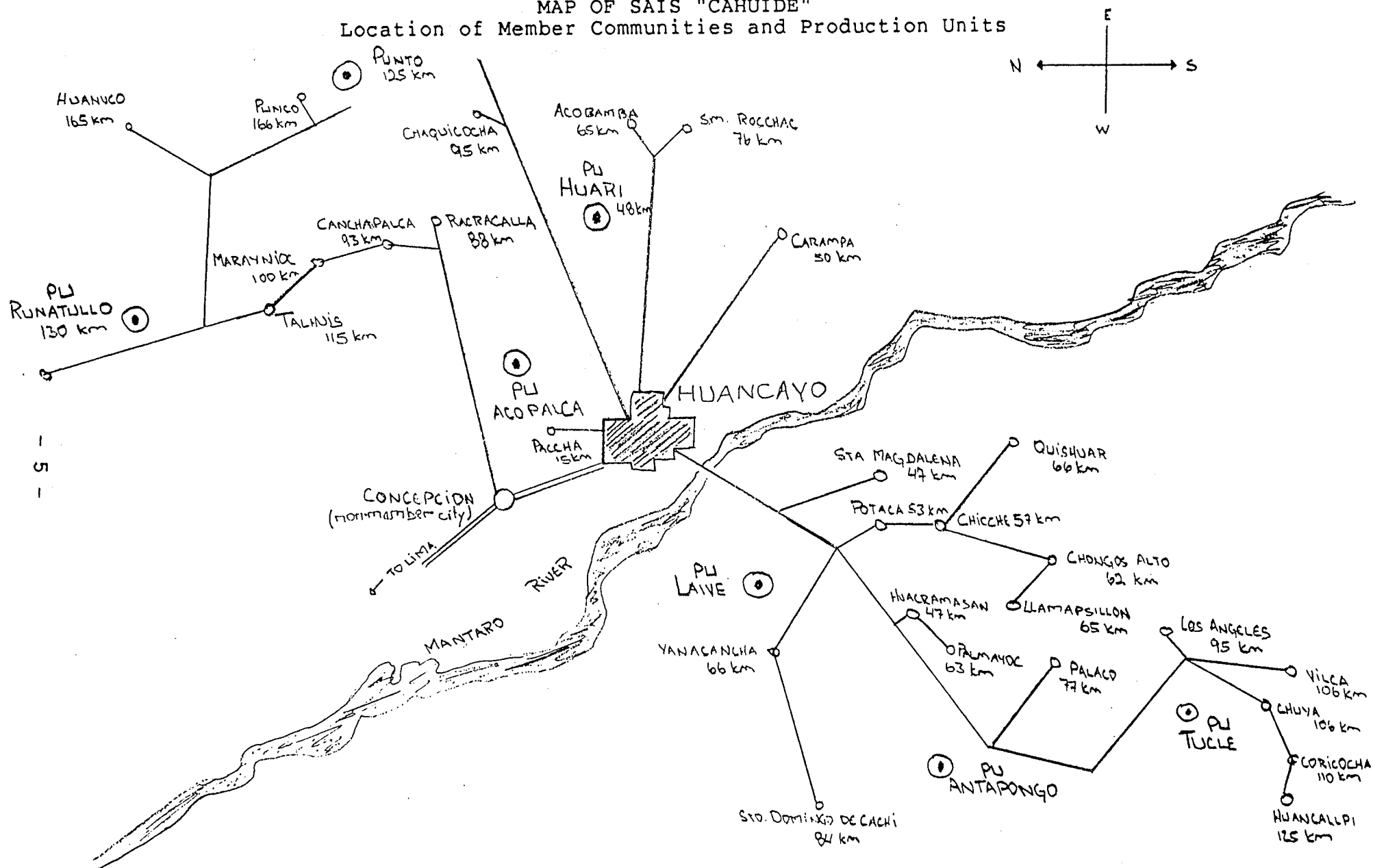
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MAP OF CENTRAL REGION OF PERU:
Location of the SAIS "Cahuide" (shaded area)



MAP OF SAIS "CAHUIDE"

Location of Member Communities and Production Units



CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

During the thirty years since the United Nations declared the first Development Decade, a host of national and international agencies have initiated programs intended to assist the development of "underdeveloped" communities and countries. While these efforts began in an atmosphere brimming with the optimism of post-colonial nationalism and the hopes inspired by technological advances, the gains they have brought to the so-called "underdeveloped" countries have been disappointingly small. Only rarely have the targeted countries and communities been full players in their own development. Increasingly, stronger and more persuasive calls have been made for the integral participation of people as subjects in the process, creating and directing their own development.

This practicum and the international Professional Exchange project upon which it was based took place from August 1987 to June 1988. They represent one small effort among many to promote genuinely participatory community work. The project and practicum began with a belief in the need for meaningful involvement of communities in their own development. The objectives centred on the promotion of community participation in the work of the Community Develop-

ment Division (CDD) of the SAIS¹ "Cahuide".²

Origins of the Practicum: A professional exchange project

The opportunity for this practicum arose with the proposal for an "Exchange of Professionals" between institutions in Canada and Peru. Three organizations were involved in this proposal: the SAIS "Cahuide", a cooperative in the Peruvian highlands near the city of Huancayo; the Marquis Project, a development education centre in Brandon, Manitoba; and Canada World Youth (CWY), a CIDA-funded³ development education exchange, which acted as intermediary and joint sponsor, because of its previous contacts with the other two organizations.

The SAIS "Cahuide" initiated the proposal in order to increase its expertise in the areas of community development and education, and to develop a training program for its community workers, the development technicians (DTs) of the Community Development Division. The proposal called for a worker from the SAIS and one from the Marquis Project to

¹ SAIS is the Spanish acronym for Agricultural Society of Social Interest. This model of cooperative land ownership was implemented during the Peruvian agrarian reform of 1970. I provide further details in following sections. Several good books on the SAIS model including ones authored by McClintock, Montoya, and Paerregaard, are listed in the Bibliography.

² Officially known as SAIS "Cahuide" Ltd. No.6, this SAIS is named in honour of an Incan leader, Cahuide, who resisted the Spanish "conquistadores".

³ Canadian International Development Agency.

work jointly in both Canada and Peru for a total of ten months. The focus of this work was to be on participatory community development and education methodologies, promoting these through training the development technicians (DTs) of the SAIS's Community Development Division.

The motivation for the proposal arose out of the SAIS' analysis of the relationship existing between the workers the CDD and its member communities. This relationship was, according to the authors of the SAIS's Five-Year Plan, characterized by a lack of community participation in the development work of the CDD. These authors described the relationship as "paternalistic" and "non-participatory" in nature (Plan Quinquenal).

This critique and the framework for beginning to address these problems through training and through a professional exchange were contained in the Five-Year Plan or "Plan Quinquenal" adopted by the General Assembly of the SAIS in April 1987 and again in January of 1988.⁴ This Five-Year Plan was the result of a lengthy evaluation and planning process, focusing on both the social and the economic aspects of the SAIS. The final document contained an evaluative description of conditions in the SAIS as well as a general prescriptive plan and direction.

⁴ Changes in the Executive of the SAIS led to a renewed questioning of the Five-Year Plan. Though it was passed a second time by the General Assembly, it was clear that there were strong reservations to it among some of the delegates and communities.

The proposed Professional Exchange project was seen as a means of promoting more participatory working relationships between the communities and the development technicians through the development and promotion of participatory community work strategies and methodologies. The objectives for this exchange were outlined in the project proposal as follows:

- 1) To initiate a program of Exchange of Professionals having a direct relationship to the fields of Education and Community Development both in Canada and in Peru.
- 2) To facilitate experimentation with different methods and techniques of Education and Community Development.
- 3) To elaborate educational strategies for the development of the rural communities, members of the SAIS.
- 4) To establish a system for the training of rural community development workers.
- 5) To experiment with the best methods for the design of educational materials appropriate to the cultural reality of the communities and the means available.

My own involvement as cooperant⁵ in the exchange project came about for several reasons. For one, during the preceding years, I had worked with Canada World Youth on development education exchanges between Manitoba and Colombia. During the Manitoban portion of these exchanges I worked in the Westman region of the province and became involved with some of the work of the Marquis Project. As a result, I had established links with both Canada World Youth and the Marquis Project. Furthermore, it was in many ways natural for

⁵ The term "cooperant" is used to refer to the two individuals Pedro Torres and myself who worked together throughout the exchange in both Manitoba and Peru.

me to consider work in Latin America, given my familiarity with both its language and culture, developed during more than fifteen years of living in Central and South America. Finally, the previous fall I had entered the Master of Social Work program at the University of Manitoba, focusing on community development and cross cultural social work. The opportunity, therefore, to work on this Exchange of Professionals and to develop a practicum in conjunction with it was appropriate to both my personal and professional experiences as well as my academic interests.

Pedro Torres, the Peruvian cooperant, was selected by the SAIS to participate in this project primarily because of his position as the staff person with the Education Committee.⁶ As such he was responsible for developing community education strategies and initiatives and for supporting the educational objectives of the Community Development Division. Through participation in this project, Pedro was expected to contribute to improving the education and community work of the SAIS as a whole and to train the community development technicians.

⁶ In the second part of Chapter II I describe the organizational structure of the SAIS and the Education Committee with reference to the role of the workers of the Education Committee.

Practicum Objectives

The proposal for the practicum arose out of the Professional Exchange project. The practicum and the project on which it was based are, therefore, synonymous in many respects. Important distinctions remain, however, in several areas. For one, the practicum focused primarily on the second half, the Peruvian half of the project. For another, the practicum had its own objectives which, though consistent with, were separate from those of the exchange project.

The practicum objectives, outlined in the initial Practicum Proposal, were as follows:

- 1) To develop greater understanding of the relationship and the application of theories of adult education and of social change to the process of community development in both Peru and Manitoba.
- 2) To develop skills in the development and application of techniques of community development and education.
- 3) To develop training strategies and materials for community development workers of the SAIS "Cahuide".
- 4) To increase understanding of the applicability, across cultural and national boundaries, of strategies in community development and the training of community development workers.

These objectives were given focus through a number of questions developed both before and during the practicum. Five of these questions will be addressed in this practicum report. They are:

- 1) What was the community work model employed by the SAIS?

- 2) What was the nature of community participation in the work of the SAIS's Community Development Division?
- 3) What factors impeded the adoption, by the SAIS's Community Development Division, of participatory methodologies of community work?
- 4) What factors facilitated the adoption, by the SAIS's Community Development Division, of participatory methodologies of community work?
- 5) What strategies were most effective in promoting the acceptance of participatory methodologies of community work and for what reasons?

Issues Addressed by the Practicum

The issues and concerns which the practicum proposed to address were essentially those identified by the SAIS in the proposal for the Exchange of Professionals and in its Five-Year Plan. These were defined, by the reports authors, including members of the CDD and the EC, as paternalism and lack of participation by the member communities of the SAIS in the work of the CDD. The SAIS's project proposal posited these as, primarily, the result of the strategies and methodologies employed by the CDD in its community work. Through the project they hoped to promote changes in these. The practicum accepted, as its own, both this analytical premise and the project's overall objective of promotion of change toward more participatory methodologies.

It is important to note that, while there was this general understanding of the need for community participation and of the failure of the CDD to promote it, there was no clear

analysis of the exact nature of the CDD's relationship with the communities nor of the methodologies that were utilized by the DTs. Consequently, this analysis, in the form of a needs assessment, was later to become a major part of the practicum work.

The Proposed Practicum Intervention

The initial Practicum Proposal envisioned the entire exchange project as the intervention. The key element of this proposal was the development of a training program based on a needs analysis of the CDD. In order to achieve this, a workplan of five general steps was developed in the initial proposal. These steps were taken from the educational model presented by Brundage and MacKeracher (1980) in which the process consists of: problem assessment, establishment of objectives, designing activities to effect change or learning, and implementation of the designed activities. These were selected as the most appropriate method for meeting the objectives of the practicum because of their flexibility in dealing with the uncertainties inherent in a project of this nature. As I wrote in the Practicum Proposal; "While ideally we would be able to proceed through each phase of the project, the implementation of the process that I have outlined will allow for concentration of work and research on all or only some of the components in response to the circumstances encountered."

During the Canadian phase of the exchange the focus of the practicum became more clearly centred on the Peruvian portion of the project, and by the end of this phase a more specific workplan had been developed. It was upon this workplan that we based the majority of the steps we followed during the Peruvian phase of the project. This workplan consisted of nine steps. The first five represented, in essence, an analysis of the models and strategies employed by the SAIS, through consultation with the various constituent groups within SAIS. These five were:

- 1) Meet with the Executive and the management of the SAIS to discuss the objectives of the project and the workplan.
- 2) Meet with the directors of the Education Committee and the Community Development Division to get a clear picture of their view of the SAIS and the problems which they feel need addressing.
- 3) Discuss with the Development Technicians of the CDD their role in the community development process, the difficulties and successes of their work, and the areas in which changes are needed.
- 4) Observe the work of DTs in the communities by accompanying them on community visits.
- 5) Meet with community leaders to ascertain their view of the CDD and the work of the DTs, the problems they identify and the changes that they would like to see in this work.

Through implementation of these steps, the first two practicum questions were addressed.

The last four steps identified in the tentative workplan were all part of promoting changes to more participatory

community work methodologies. The first two of these four were planning steps in which the information gathered in the preceding analysis would be used to identify problem areas and needed changes and then to plan activities which would address these. These steps were:

- 6) Bring together all of the information gathered from the different sources and identify learning needs and needed changes in relationships and methodologies of work.

- 7) Plan learning activities that will address these needs.

The final two steps were:

- 8) Implement the learning activities that will promote the desired changes in relationships and methodologies.

- 9) Evaluate the learning activities and the changes achieved.

Implementation of these final four steps provided the basis for answering the remaining three practicum questions.

This workplan, like the initial more general one, allowed flexibility in designing and implementing learning and change oriented activities. At the same time, with the benefit of Pedro's invaluable input during the Brandon phase, it provided an initial framework for conducting an analysis of the SAIS' models. As we shall see in the discussion in Chapter VII, the workplan and the overall objective of promoting participatory methodologies acquire specific focus through an attempt to promote the DTs' involvement in planning and implementing two experimental community projects.

The Canadian Phase of the Exchange Project

As the initial Canadian phase of the project evolved, a number of the assumptions with which I and the other members of the Marquis Project steering committee⁷ entered the project were challenged. Based on these assumptions we had developed the initial objectives for this phase. These were:

- 1) To research and experiment with techniques in community education and development.
- 2) To plan a training program for community development workers of the SAIS.
- 3) To develop educational resources for use with this training program.

The challenges with which reality confronted our assumptions resulted in changes to some of the objectives and activities of the Brandon phase and led to the concentration of the practicum on the Peruvian phase.

In the first place, whereas the project proposal called for the training of the community development workers of the SAIS, it became clear that Pedro had doubts about the commitment of the SAIS to a training program, and about whether it would be possible to actually conduct a formal training exercise. In an interim report during the Brandon phase I wrote:

⁷ From the outset a steering committee, composed of Marquis staff, board members and community members, was formed to give direction and support to the project. This group should not be confused with the working group that was established upon my arrival in Peru.

the situation within the SAIS and their commitment to the training itself is less than clear. Pedro is apprehensive that direct training will be impossible... The idea then, of planning and conducting a formal training program in which they [DTs] would all participate is perhaps unrealistic. What seems more possible to us is to plan for less formal ways in which needs can be assessed, suggestions and help offered, and the benefit of some changes demonstrated.

Secondly, while we had anticipated that there would have been a preliminary needs analysis completed which would specify training needs and objectives and on which to base the planning for training activities and the selection of community work and education themes for researched during the Manitoba phase, this was in fact not the case. Planning the specifics of training and selecting methodologies for transfer to the SAIS, which had been objectives of the Brandon phase, was consequently made more difficult.

Finally, we had also assumed Pedro would have an academic and experiential background similar to that of myself and the Marquis staff and that he would have a working knowledge of English. The reality of the situation was that differences in educational and practical backgrounds dictated that considerable time be spent arriving at mutual understandings of ideas and concepts related to community education and development. A language barrier also created real difficulties for Pedro's direct involvement in work in Manitoba and limited both what he could share with and learn from his colleagues here.

As a result of these circumstances the objectives of the Brandon phase were altered to more realistically reflect what the steering committee believed would be possible to achieve during the five months in Brandon. These were:

- 1) Provide Pedro with a cultural orientation and language training.
- 2) Arrive at a mutual understanding of our respective organizations, their work orientations, and the development work in which they were involved.
- 3) Begin to identify some potential training needs of the DTs.
- 4) Plan and implement activities that would allow learning and experimentation in these identified areas of need.
- 5) Compile resources for use in the SAIS.

As is evident from these objectives, there was a shift from the development of a formal training program to a more flexible approach. In this approach, the focus was on acquisition of experience and resources to be applied, where possible, in accordance with the reality of the Peruvian situation upon arrival. It was also as a result of these same circumstances, and as a result of the need to limit the scope of the practicum, that the decision was made to focus the practicum on the Peruvian portion of the exchange.

Overview of the Practicum Report

This report will focus primarily on a discussion of the five questions which embody the practicum objectives and on

a description of the processes and work through which these were addressed. Following the introduction contained in this first chapter, Chapter II describes relevant elements of the historical, socio-economic, and political context within which the SAIS operated. The last part of this chapter will outline the organizational structure of the SAIS.

Chapter III presents an overview of the entire practicum work in order for the reader to be familiar, in a general sense, with the sequence of events. Chapter IV develops a three-point framework of community work variables, and reviews orientations to community work found in the literature. In Chapter V this framework is used to describe the model of community work employed by the SAIS, thus answering the first practicum question: 1) What was the community work model employed by the SAIS?

In Chapter VI the focus becomes the nature of community participation in the work of the Community Development Division. In the first part of this chapter, I develop a framework to review the nature of community participation on the basis of three questions: Why should?...Who within the community should?... and How should the community participate? The second part of this chapter applies this framework to an analysis of community participation in the SAIS and answers the second practicum question: 2) What was the nature of community participation in the work of the SAIS's Community Development Division?

Chapter VII describes the process designed for promoting change in the community work orientation and methodologies of the DTs, discussing the development of this strategy, its application, and its subsequent modification. In Chapter VIII the results of the initial and the modified change strategies are analyzed using the Force Field Analysis. In this chapter the final three practicum questions are answered:

- 3) What factors impeded the change to participatory methodologies of community work?
- 4) What factors facilitated the change to participatory methodologies of community work?
- 5) What strategies were most effective in promoting the acceptance of participatory methodologies and for what reasons?

Finally, Chapter IX summarizes the practicum experience and learning, identifying implications for community work.

CHAPTER II

A CONTEXTUAL BACKGROUND TO THE PRACTICUM WORK

In order to more fully understand the work of this practicum, it is necessary to have an appreciation of the historical, socio-economic and political context in which it took place. In this chapter I will briefly describe the most important elements of this context, addressing specifically: the socio-economic reality of the highland regions; the racial and ethnic relations; the feudal history; the period of "Revolutionary Government of the Armed Forces"; and the current economic and political crisis. Each of these themes is relevant to the nature of the SAIS "Cahuide" and to the forces which shape its internal relations, the patterns of community work, and the change processes it experiences. In the second section of this chapter, I will describe the organizational structure of the SAIS.

The Socio-Economic Reality of the Peruvian Highlands

The SAIS "Cahuide" is located in the highland departments of Junin and Huancavelica. Peruvian geographers refer to three distinct geographical regions: coast ("costa"), highlands ("sierra"), and jungle ("selva"). The coastal region has been the centre of Peruvian political power and wealth since the time of Spanish colonization (Guibal, 1987; Palmer, 1980). Rodrigo Montoya (1987) underlines the underde-

velopment of the highlands and its subordinate economic, social, political and cultural role in relation to the coast. He argues that the State has been unable to implement policies capable of addressing the basic needs of the highlands but has instead concentrated social and economic development in the urban coastal centres.

Though the department of Junin, in which the majority of the communities of the SAIS "Cahuide" lie, is better off than are some of the other highland departments such as Ayacucho, Puno, or Ancash (Montoya, 1987), these same realities help shape the life and attitudes of the campesinos⁸ and workers within the SAIS. The introduction to the SAIS's Five-Year Plan (1987) outlines these conditions as they relate to the SAIS (Plan Quinquenal). The figures presented in this document support the argument made by Montoya regarding the failure of the government policies, particularly agrarian reform, to address the needs of the highlands. These conditions are critical for the SAIS in that they provide a ready target for its internal and external opponents whose stance influences the range of options open to the SAIS and the direction it takes.

⁸ Commonly referred to Spanish words such as "campesino", "hacendado", "comunero", etcetera. will appear in quotations at first reference, accompanied by explanatory or contextual notes. After this they will generally appear in normal script without quotation marks.

Racial/Ethnic Relations

While Peruvian society today consists largely of a racially mixed population in which the concept of "Indian" as a racial construct has lost much of its meaning, the distinctions between Indian and non-Indian on ethnic grounds remain highly significant (Montoya, 1987; Gran, 1983). These distinctions are made primarily on the basis of education, language, and such life style factors as clothing and diet. To have adopted the Spanish language and cultural practices defines one as mestizo⁹ rather than Indian. This contributes to the individual being accorded a generally higher level of prestige within Peruvian society and to personal feelings of superiority. These in turn reinforce the generally hierarchical nature of Peruvian society and are a frequent source of tension between those who have adopted western customs and those who have not (del Prado, 1973). This tension is present within the SAIS and, in many cases, aggravates the problems of mistrust and miscommunication between the campesinos and the SAIS authorities and development technicians.¹⁰

⁹ The word "mestizo" refers to a person of mixed European and Indian ancestry who has, particularly in the Peruvian case, adopted western cultural values and ascended the societal hierarchy.

¹⁰ This tension is also found in Peruvian fiction, particularly the works of Jose Maria Arquedas, as a struggle pitting the desire for an inversion of the world and a return of the Inca and to Incan ways against the pressure and need to compromise and accept Western values.

Feudal History

Both the pre-colonial period, in which the Incas subjugated other tribes in forming their hierarchical theocracy, and the subsequent conquest and colonization of Peru by the Spanish have led to the strong sense of hierarchy in the current system¹¹ (Palmer, 1980). During the period of the Spanish colony, from 1570 to 1821, Indians were removed from their lands and placed on "reducciones" (reservations) where it was hoped that they could be controlled and "civilized". Much of their land was sold to Spanish and creole landowners, or "hacendados", beginning a process which consolidated land in the hands of the oligarchy and reduced to serfdom increasing numbers of Andean peasants (Marett, 1969; Bourque, 1985). Hacendados also enlarged their holdings by illegal encroachment on the communal lands surrounding their "haciendas", (Bourque, 1985; Celats, 1986; Hopkins, 1980). By the 1960's virtually all of the best land in the highlands was owned by the hacendados, and the majority of the campesinos were forced to work in a feudal relationship with these landowners (Astiz, 1969; Bourricaud, 1970; Marett, 1969; McClintock, 1981).

¹¹ Frederick Pike (1972) suggests that there were parallels between the Incan and Spanish hierarchies that aided the conquest by facilitating the shift of allegiance from Incan authority symbols to those of the Spanish.

This feudal relationship and the unequal distribution of land from which it arose affected not only past relations between hacendados and campesinos but also the contemporary interactions between campesinos and development technicians and other authorities. McClintock (1981) contributes significantly to this idea with her application of the concept of "clientelism" to Peruvian land tenure. Clientelism is

"a private, hierarchical relationship between people of unequal status, based on expectations of mutual exchange... In such a relationship, the client must adopt attitudes and behavior that are deferential and individualistic, accepting the inequality and atomization that the relationship assumes." (McClintock, 1981: p.65)

Drawing on the criteria developed by Scott (1972) and Powell (1970) McClintock describes a system in which the hacendado held secure ownership and maintained close control over the campesino's contacts with outsiders. In this system the campesino depended on the goodwill of the hacendado. She claims that it resulted in mistrust among campesinos by promoting the concept of "limited good"¹² and by forcing the campesino clients to depend directly on the patron for all their needs. It also caused campesinos to be reluctant to participate in any form of organization, and created fear of and deference to the hacendado and competition between cam-

¹² The concept of "limited good" is used by George Foster (1965) to explain distrust and resistance to change. He argues that these characteristics of peasant society result from a belief that there is a finite amount of goods which can be attained only at a cost to others. In the Peruvian context, this belief, promoted by the "hacendado", led "campesinos" into conflict with one another.

pesinos on and off the haciendas.¹³ Within the SAIS the residual effect of this system manifests itself in the strained relations between campesinos and the SAIS's development technicians and authorities.

The Revolutionary Government of the Armed Forces: 1968-1980

For more than forty years a low intensity conflict existed between the oligarchy and the popular classes. It was characterized by class struggle, land invasions, and strikes. When in the 1960's, against the backdrop of failed national reforms, the military was called to the service of the highland oligarchy to suppress campesino uprisings, its leaders concluded that a civilian government was incapable of resolving the crisis. As a result, in October 1968, the Revolutionary Government of the Armed Forces was declared, and General Juan Velasco Alvarado assumed the role as head of state.

When the military assumed power, General Velasco Alvarado declared the start of a "fully participatory social democracy" (Velasco, 1972 cited in McClintock 1981). Despite the fact that by 1980 disillusionment with the revolutionary

¹³ These conclusions are supported by the findings of the Cornell University's work in the community of Vicos (Dobyns 1971). Cesar Fonseca (1985) also warns against the tendency to view the campesinos as an homogeneous grouping. He argues that differentiation and exploitation between campesinos has long been a characteristic of highland communities.

experiment was such that previously discredited and deposed President Belaunde was returned to power, the period of military government has left a lasting impression on both Peru's socio-economic structure and on its psyche. Government pronouncements which emphasized "authentic participation", whatever their true intent, were a critical part of this. The adoption, during this period, of the language of popular participation raised the expectations of the masses of campesinos¹⁴ (Gorman, 1982; McClintock, 1981; Palmer, 1980). While these expectations have never been fulfilled, they persist as vague objectives in the minds of many rural people and stimulate demands for change within the SAIS. For this reason the military government's failed attempts to forge a new relationship with the citizenry, are crucial to the present-day relations within the SAIS.

The agrarian reform which began in 1969 was perhaps the most significant reform of the Velasco regime. It was carried out by the transfer of land from the hacendados to the campesinos through one of two organizational structures, Agrarian Production Cooperatives (CAPs) or Agrarian Social Interest Societies (SAISs). CAPs were formed by the transfer of single haciendas to the workers of that hacienda and were the form adopted on the wealthy coastal plantations. The SAIS model, reserved for the sierra, involved the trans-

¹⁴ It was not uncommon during my discussions with campesinos and workers for them to quote slogans from the "revolutionary" period to protest or appeal situations within the SAIS.

fer of several neighbouring haciendas, en bloc, to the workers and the peasants of adjacent communities. In this model, land ownership was not granted to the campesinos on an individual basis, but to the SAIS as a collective, controlled by a General Assembly of community delegates.

It is estimated that, in actual fact, the agrarian reform had a direct benefit for only 15 to 25 percent of the rural population (Gran, 1983; McClintock, 1981; Stein, 1985). The result was that the agrarian reform created two classes of campesinos, those who benefitted from the reform as their communities attained membership in one of the cooperatives, and those in campesino communities which received no land and no benefits (Gianotten and de Wit 1987; McClintock, 1981, 1982; Lowenthal and McClintock, 1983). In addition to this form of differentiation between campesino communities, within individual member communities, the wealthiest campesinos benefitted disproportionately because of their greater ability to take advantage of the services and infrastructures provided (Bourque, 1985; Fonseca, 1985; Mosley, 1984).¹⁵ Much of the opposition to the SAIS, both internal and external, and the pressure which is being brought to bear upon the model stems from this differentiation. It has set the stage for invasions of the SAIS's production units by neighbouring communities passed over by the agrarian

¹⁵ David Palmer (1980) shows how similar differentiation took place within the fishing and mining sectors and, in addition, affected not only economic benefits but also political participation.

reform and by member communities disenchanted with their share of the benefits of agrarian reform.

Internal destabilizing pressures also exist within the SAIS model. Rodrigo Montoya (1974), in his study of the SAIS "Cahuide", identifies conflicts between constituent groups which he suggests are inherent in the structure of the SAIS. These conflicts will be discussed in later chapters as I look in more detail at the nature of the SAIS and the relations between its members.

Overall, the agrarian reform did not live up to campesino expectations, either in scope or in substance. It did not provide the promised participatory relationship, but was, instead, a continuation of the top down model. Though land ownership was altered in some instances, attitudes remained largely the same and new hierarchical relationships developed to replace the old, leaving campesinos with little real increase in influence (Hopkins, 1985).

The Current Crisis

The failures of the "Revolutionary" government to command widespread support, of the Agrarian reform to increase production enough to keep pace with population increases, and of the industrial strategy to take hold created the conditions for the electoral return of the deposed president

Belaunde. Since his return and the subsequent election of Alan Garcia in 1985, the political and economic crisis in Peru has grown markedly worse.

The political crisis is highlighted by the sharp increase in guerrilla activity. In May 1980 the Sendero Luminoso¹⁶ initiated its campaign of armed insurrection with the bombing of ballot boxes in the highland department of Ayacucho. In the nine years since then, their influence and range of action has increased to the point that they represent a serious threat to the military's ability to contain their spread. For the SAISs of the central highlands they are a particularly acute threat. Sendero has openly declared that the SAIS's must be destroyed because of their alliance with the "capitalist and imperialist" state. In keeping with this objective SAIS workers have been attacked and killed, and SAIS property has been destroyed on several occasions.

The widespread economic crisis,¹⁷ the acute population pressure on the rural lands and the guerrilla war in the country side are creating steady migration from rural to urban areas. The shortage of land is at the same time one

¹⁶ "Sendero Luminoso", or the Shining Path (a reference to the the revolutionary road of Peruvian marxist Jose Carlos Mariategui) is the principal guerrilla group employing a maoist strategy of war in the countryside in an effort to encircle and cut off the cities from their supply of food.

¹⁷ A price freeze at the beginning of 1988 was broken pushing prices across the board up 33% in March of that year. Inflation for the first quarter of 1989 stood at 48%.

the most severe sources of tension within the SAIS, creating open conflict between communities who wish to divide the SAIS land and those who wish to maintain the integrity of the organization and its properties. This conflict has been contributed to by the policies of both the Belaunde and Garcia governments which have sought to privatize many cooperatives, and have changed the status of campesino communities through the new "Ley de Comunidades Campesinas" (Eckstein, 1983). This new law shifts the focus of development from the SAIS cooperative model to that of the individual communities or to so-called "multi-communal enterprises", undermining the SAIS' ability to act as a catalyst for development within its member communities.

Summary

In outlining the environmental conditions in which the SAIS exists I have highlighted several points of relevance to the practicum. First of all, the historical relations of a hierarchical nature that extended from the Incan empire through the colonial era and were strongly manifested in the clientelist feudal system of the haciendas set the stage for present day relations within the SAIS.

In addition, the period of military rule was extremely important both for the creation of the concrete structures of the agrarian reform model (ie. the SAIS itself) and for

the creation of expectations of and attitudes toward participation and community development. Subsequent civilian governments, in reversing some of the reform programs, have heightened rural tensions and undermined the SAIS model. These tensions and threats affect both the present nature of the work done by the SAIS and the possibility of methodological changes to that work. Finally, the current crisis has, while exacerbating the external and internal pressures on the SAIS, created a national climate of tension and insecurity which, in itself, affects the options available to all parties.

SAIS ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE

The SAIS "Cahuide" Ltd. No.6, with which I had the privilege of working, was created under the Law of Agrarian Reform No.177116 on April 17, 1971. In the following pages I will provide a brief summary of its organizational structure, with particular reference to the Education Committee and the Community Development Division. It was with these two organs of the SAIS that I worked most closely.

The SAIS "Cahuide" was formed by the expropriation of seven haciendas in the highlands surrounding the city of Huancayo. These lands were turned over to its current twenty-nine members to be administered collectively through the General Assembly, the Executive, and the other administra-

tive bodies established for that purpose. The head offices for these entities are located in the city of Huancayo. The ex-haciendas themselves were converted into what are known as production units (PUs). These are owned by the SAIS and its members, providing employment and the financial resources necessary for reinvestment, distribution, and the provision of services to the members. The twenty-nine members of the SAIS include the twenty-eight neighbouring campesino communities and the workers' cooperative, Cooperativa Alta Sierra, into which the workers of the SAIS have organized themselves.

The objectives of the SAIS are articulated in its founding statute and target the economic and social development of the member communities and of the collectively owned production units. They are:

- 1) To constitute a socio-economic organization contributing to the social well being of its members, serving as a dynamic agent for the establishment of a united enterprise.
- 2) To improve the systems of agricultural and livestock production leading to increases in production and productivity.
- 3) To commercialize and industrialize the production of its members and of the SAIS itself.
- 4) To modernize cultivation and animal husbandry through knowledge and application of advanced techniques which permit the rational use of human and capital resources and contribute to local, regional, and national development in keeping with the Development Plan for the agricultural sector.
- 5) To raise the social, economic, and cultural levels of the member communities and their constituents.

- 6) To create new sources of production and employment for the members, diversifying the exploitation of natural resources. (Plan Quinquenal)

Constituent Groups Within the SAIS

The SAIS's founding statutes dictate that the twenty-eight communities and the workers cooperative are the legally constituted members. Nevertheless, within these twenty-nine bodies, there are distinct constituencies. The three main ones are the campesinos of the member communities or "comuneros", the SAIS workers, and the management of the SAIS. In many cases these overlap so that, for example, some workers, are also "comuneros". While on the surface these may seem to be easily identifiable groups, the subgroups and the conflicting interests that exist within and between them make their identification both more difficult and more important.

a) "Comuneros". "Comuneros" are the campesinos registered as heads of households in the member communities. They form the largest constituency within the SAIS. Comuneros can be divided in two groups, those who reside in the community and those who, though still considered residents for purposes of land ownership, voting, and office-holding, reside outside the community, usually in Huancayo. The fact that a large number of the delegates and executives of the

SAIS reside in Huancayo is significant given the current political struggles.

b) Workers. The second major constituency, the workers, also includes important subdivisions. Foremost are the campesino workers of the production units. These workers were the campesinos of the former haciendas and have in many cases lived for generations on the land, though, importantly, without ownership. These workers are not considered "comuneros" since they are not residents in any of the member communities. They are represented in the SAIS by the workers cooperative, Cooperativa Alta Sierra.

In addition to these campesino workers of the production units there are also comunero workers. These are workers who, while employed on the production units or in the Huancayo office, are residents and members of a SAIS community. These workers are associated to the SAIS both through membership in the communities and through membership in the workers cooperative. This dual representation is important to note because, in the debate over the SAIS's organizational control of the production units versus division of these units among the member communities, many of these workers find themselves in a position of conflicting interests.

The third group of workers are those who come from outside the SAIS itself. Many come from Huancayo or from surrounding towns, or, in some cases, from as far away as Lima

or Cusco. Of all the groups, this is the one most dependent on the continued existence of the SAIS for employment.

Within this practicum the workers with whom we are predominantly concerned are the development technicians of the Community Development Division. The majority of these, with a few important exceptions, are from outside of the SAIS. While they have connections to the SAIS by virtue of being employees and through representation in the workers cooperative, they do not share the ties which come from being residents of a SAIS community or even from being campesino residents of one of the production units.

c) Management. Management of the SAIS is comprised of the hired administrators and the elected Executive Council. These hired administrators are the Executive Director and the various departmental directors who are almost without exception hired from outside of the SAIS. The Executive Council includes the Fiscal and Administrative Councils. Its members are comuneros elected to serve as delegates to the General Assembly and then elected by the General Assembly to either the Fiscal or Administrative Councils.

Administrative and Organizational Bodies

a) General Assembly. The General Assembly of the SAIS is its "supreme governing body". It is composed of two dele-

gates elected from each of the twenty-eight communities and from the workers' cooperative, making a total of fifty-eight (58) delegates. It is obliged to meet at least twice a year. At the year end meeting, the members of the Executive are elected from among the delegates.

It is worthwhile noting the disparity in numbers between the delegates representing workers and those representing "comuneros" and the disproportionate influence this accords the communities. The workers which total approximately one thousand are represented by two delegates, while the communities are represented by fifty-six delegates. This becomes important in light of some of the conflicting interests which exist between these constituencies. These will be discussed in more detail in later chapters, but suffice it to say here that, while the workers depend on the SAIS for employment, some of the communities believe it would be in their best interests to discontinue the SAIS, dividing the land and assets among them. Since it is the workers that depend most directly on the SAIS for their employment, this is a source of considerable tension.

b) Fiscal Council. The Fiscal Council is one arm of the Executive. It is composed of five members and is responsible for the fiscal control and auditing of all of the activities of the Executive Council and of the SAIS in general,

including the Production Units and the member communities where necessary.

c) Administrative Council. The Administrative Council, the second arm of the Executive, is made up of six delegates also elected from the General Assembly. They are jointly responsible for "directing the administrative course of the SAIS... administering the economic resources in harmony with the Agrarian Reform Law... establishing, negotiating, and legalizing contracts, conventions, publications, and other documents necessary for the administrative, economic, and financial progress of the SAIS..." (article 50). Both the Fiscal and Administrative Councils are full time bodies whose members operate out of the head office in Huancayo.

d) Executive Director. The Executive Director is appointed by the federal Ministry of Agrarian Reform, and is responsible to the Administrative Council and through it to the General Assembly for the implementation of the policy, plans, and dictates of these bodies. Beneath the director there are three divisions or departments: the Community Development Division (CDD), the Commercialization Division, and the Administrative Division. I will describe the CDD in more detail below, since it is the division with which this practicum was most concerned. The other two are responsible

for the marketing of the products of the productions units, and for administrative and logistical support, respectively.

e) Community Development Division. The Community Development Division was formed to promote the "integrated development" of the twenty-eight member communities. Officially there are nine sectors or departments under the Director of the CDD. Five of these fall under the umbrella of technical assistance: agriculture, veterinary services, business, forestry, and infrastructure. In addition there are provisions in the organizational plan for departments of education, health, social services, and research. In reality, of these last four, only the departments of social services and health are presently staffed.

In total there are twenty-five workers in the CDD. In addition to the professionals associated with each department this includes the director, three drivers, and three machine operators. While at present the CDD is organized along professional or sectoral lines, one of the changes called for by the Five-Year Plan is for the CDD to form multi-disciplinary regional teams. Each team would work in one of four "operation zones" into which the SAIS would be geographically divided.

f) Education Committee. The Education Committee (EC) is charged with the responsibility of formulating and implementing education and training policies for the personnel and the communities of the SAIS. The EC is directly responsible to the Administrative Council and is composed of three members chosen from the management team. Its president is automatically the person selected as first speaker of the Executive Council.¹⁸ The other members of the EC are chosen by the Administrative Council and the Executive Director. In addition to its managerial members, the EC has two full time employees and a part time secretary who coordinate and implement its educational plans and programs. The majority of these programs are carried out in support of and in coordination with the Community Development Division.

With the foregoing description of the SAIS and its organizational structures as a reference point, the following chapter will outline, in general terms, the practicum work.

¹⁸ This manner of selecting a president for the Education Committee, in which the position is assumed by virtue of one's occupying another albeit unrelated administrative post, has the potential to place someone unfamiliar with the educational needs and policies of the SAIS in a position of considerable importance to these.

CHAPTER III

A GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF THE PRACTICUM WORK

This chapter is intended to provide a brief overview of the work done in this practicum. The objective here is not to analyze what transpired but rather to familiarize the reader, in a general way, with the sequence of events, the main activities and the general atmosphere within which the work took place. More detailed description will be included in the analytical portions of this report.¹⁹

Objectives

As I noted in Chapter I, a shift in the workplan and the specific objectives of the exchange project had begun to take place during the Brandon phase. Whereas the original optimistic intent had been to develop a tentative training program for the DTs, before going to Peru, this had not been possible due, in part, to a lack of information concerning the needs of the Community Development Division. Nevertheless, in the Peruvian phase, it was still our initial intent to carry through with a relatively formal training program. The workplan prepared at the end of the Canadian phase was to be the vehicle for developing this. While, as we shall see, the idea of a formal training program began to fade

¹⁹ The reader is reminded that background information regarding the development, during the Canadian phase, of the workplan employed during the practicum work in Peru has been provided in Chapter I of this report.

quickly upon our arrival in Peru, the steps outlined in the workplan remained valid in the overall plan of promoting participatory methodologies. The overall objective of the Peruvian phase and of the practicum work remained the promotion of participatory community work methodologies through implementation of the workplan. Likewise, the learning objectives of the practicum continued to acquire their focus through the five questions listed in Chapter I.

Orientation

The first thing that was needed upon my arrival to Peru was a period of orientation to the SAIS and the work of the CDD. This involved activities for both my general orientation to the geographic and socio-cultural environment as well as to the specific aims and objectives of the SAIS in regard to this project. To this end I met with the directors of the various departments within the SAIS, with members of the Executive, and with workers. During this period I also made several short visits to the nearby SAIS communities and accompanied DTs on their community visits. It was possible as I had anticipated in the tentative workplan to begin to use these activities as a preliminary assessment of the community work model and community participation in the SAIS.

During this initial orientation many of my conversations with the management, executive members, and DTs focused on

my role in the SAIS. It was here that the shift away from the idea of a formal training program as the outcome of the workplan was completed. It became clear almost immediately that, though the management and executive of the SAIS wanted to see changes in the DTs relationship to the communities, a formal training program was not envisioned by any of the actors, with the exception of the Canada World Youth adjunct to the SAIS.²⁰

In some ways my role was unclear for almost everyone within the SAIS. The DTs initially confused my presence with that of previous exchange students.²¹ The Executive had for the most part been replaced since the proposal for the exchange project had been approved in the winter of 1987. While they understood that Pedro and I were to aid in the implementation of parts of the Five-Year Plan, some were, as I soon discovered, actually opposed to this plan. These members were likewise either sceptical of or, in a few cases even hostile to, the exchange project and its objectives.

²⁰ CWY employed a Peruvian to work part time with the SAIS as a community development advisor and promoter of special projects. It was this person who presented the initial proposal to the Marquis Project and, in retrospect, was likely its principal author.

²¹ Canada World Youth had previously placed students (aged 17-21) in the SAIS communities to learn about the development issues of rural Peru through living and working with campesino families. The role of these students was simply to learn from their host families by sharing their experiences and did not involve any attempt to advise or assist in the SAIS's work.

Fortunately, there were also members of the senior management who viewed the exchange in a manner similar to the way in which we understood it and were supportive in seeking ways in which we could work with the DTs. One of the most significant of these was the Executive Director who provided considerable support at the outset, but who was seriously injured in an attack by gunmen during the course of the practicum.²²

The result of these factors was that, while the objective remained the promotion of participatory methodologies, it became clear that this would have to be achieved outside the context of a formal training program.²³ In addition, the attitudes and lack of understanding of the project which were encountered during the initial orientation made it imperative for me to develop an understanding with the DTs, independent of any formal agreement, which would allow us to work together in addressing the question of participatory

²² Although initially attributed to Sendero Luminoso, it seems more likely that this attack was perpetrated by hostile members within the SAIS communities. In many ways it was this incident which confirmed the difficulties of carrying out a training initiative in the existing circumstances and, more importantly, signalled the impending collapse of the SAIS "Cahuide" as an institution.

²³ As I have mentioned, this development was one that I had, to some degree, been prepared for by Pedro during the Brandon phase. He had on a number of occasions expressed reservations about the possibility of conducting a formal training program. These reservations seemed to be based largely on what he felt was his subordinate position relative to the DTs, due in large part to his lack of formal education.

community work.

The Working Group and the Work Plan

It was also during the orientation period described above that a working group coalesced to provide advice and direction to the project. This group was composed of, in addition to Pedro and myself, the CWY adjunct,²⁴ the president of the Education Committee, and the director of the Community Development Division. Other members of the SAIS management, including the president of the Administrative Council and the director of the Personnel Department periodically attended the meetings of this group and provided feedback to it.

The principal role of the working group was to finalize a workplan for the Peruvian portion of the exchange. To this end Pedro and I presented the tentative workplan that we had developed during the Canadian portion. The steps outlined in this plan were accepted and later elaborated on by this group. In this workplan we then had the first steps of a strategy for attempting to promote change in the community work of the CDD.

²⁴ Canada World Youth employed a Peruvian who was seconded to the SAIS as a community work consultant and liaison with international non-governmental organizations. It was this individual, Cesar Salgado, who first came to Brandon to discuss the project with the Brandon working group.

The initial steps identified by the working group were to conduct an analysis of the community work model used by the CDD and the nature of community participation in the work of the CDD. The information gathered through this analysis was to be used in identifying, with the CDD, the areas in which changes in their methodologies were needed as well as to help the working group plan strategies for promoting these changes. It is this information that is presented in Chapters V and VI, answering the first two of the five practicum questions. Following the analysis a more detailed plan was developed to promote the changes.

Analysis of Community Work and Community Participation

The analysis itself was carried out through interviews and discussions with DTs, administration, and community members. Both the methodology and the results of these interviews are discussed in some detail in Chapter V. Many of these took place while we participated in aspects of the regularly scheduled work of the Community Development Division and the Education Committee. The existence and goals of the exchange project did not free Pedro from his other responsibilities as staff person with the Education Committee. Throughout the Peruvian phase he and, to a lesser extent, I were called upon to perform a variety of tasks for the EC which had little direct relevance to the project objectives.

One of the more significant of these assignments was the "Bajada de Bases".²⁵ The Bajada consisted of a series of meetings between representatives of all of the departments and councils within the the SAIS and the General Assemblies of the communities.²⁶ The intent was to establish a dialogue in which the programs and actions of the SAIS could be both explained and questioned and in which the communities could put forward their concerns. In keeping with its mandate to formulate and implement education and communication policy, the Education Committee was responsible for coordinating the "Bajada de Bases". This work became a major task for Pedro as staff person with the Education Committee. For myself it provided an excellent opportunity to become immersed in the work of the EC and the CDD. Though the Bajada was essentially a failure in terms of its formally stated purpose,²⁷ it provided an excellent opportunity for us to engage community members in discussion and provided a detailed look at their views on the work of the CDD. In this way it also con-

²⁵ This translates roughly to "going to the bases". While these meetings had, according to the comuneros of Carampa, been a regular part of the SAIS during the years immediately following the agrarian reform, it was only on Pedro's initiative after his return from the Canadian phase of the exchange that they were reintroduced.

²⁶ Each community has a General Assembly composed of the members of that community and in which the comuneros of the community decide communal issues. For an informative discussion of traditional and legal forms of authority and organization within campesino communities see Paerregaards (198) or del Prado (1973).

²⁷ As I explain below, the fact that the appropriate SAIS representatives declined to attend denied the communities the opportunity to participate in a full dialogue.

tributed significantly to the analysis of the community work model and of community participation in the SAIS.

In large part the failure of the Bajada was due to the lack of participation by members of the management team, both Executive Council members and departmental directors. Many of these people declined to attend despite the fact that it was management itself which had endorsed these meetings. In many cases, if Executive Council members attended meetings at all, it was only in their home communities.

As members of the Education Committee, Pedro and I were sent to the communities of the left margin²⁸ to carry on the meetings. The president of the Education Committee instructed us to explain the Five-Year Plan, and respond to any questions or concerns that the communities might have. Clearly we were in no capacity to represent all of the SAIS personnel who should have been in attendance, and we could not, therefore, fulfill all of the formal objectives of the Bajada. Instead we were able to turn these meetings into discussions out of which emerged considerable information about the concerns of the communities particularly in regards to the work of the CDD.

²⁸ The Mantaro River is used as a geographic reference point. Communities which are located to the north of the eastward flowing river are referred to as the left margin and those to the south as the right margin.

Other work in which I was involved during this analysis portion of the practicum and which provided information for the analysis of the community work and participation included: facilitating a vocational orientation workshop for students from the SAIS communities; participating in a community organization course in the community of Santo Domingo de Cachi; assisting with a census taking in the communities of the left margin; accompanying DTs on numerous community visits as an observer.²⁹

Promotion of Participatory Methodologies Among DTs

This part of the practicum work corresponded roughly to steps 6-8 of the workplan which were, as the reader will recall:

6) Bring together all the information gathered from the different sources and identify learning needs and needed changes in relationships and methodologies of work.

7) Plan learning activities that will address these needs.

8) Implement the learning activities that will promote the desired changes in relationships and methodologies.

The working group was instrumental in elaborating on these steps and designing the change promotion strategies that we employed. These steps were designed to begin in an evaluation and planning meeting with all the members of the CDD.

²⁹ I should add that I provided them no end of comic relief with my attempts to speak Quechua with the campesinos. Fortunately virtually everyone spoke Spanish and communication was maintained.

Here the opinions of comuneros, management and workers, gathered through the community work analysis, could be brought together and specific problem areas identified. From this assessment would emerge areas of difficulty or need. These areas in turn were to become points for concentration during experimental community work projects. The plan called for these projects to be identified by the DTs and become forums for attempting to address the problem areas of the CDD's community work. Two potential projects had already been identified informally by the working group.

Throughout the interviews for the community work analysis, the development technicians strongly maintained that the community needed to play a larger role in the planning and implementation of projects. Indeed, this seemed to be the universal opinion of those interviewed. On the basis of this and other information gathered during the analysis, the working group selected the above change promotion strategy. In actual fact the assumption that the DTs would participate in this proposed plan was shattered as attempts at formal evaluation and planning with the CDD were made. Members of the CDD opposed to the SAIS and the Five-Year Plan prevented the process from taking place as planned. This development forced us to alter the manner in which we attempted to promote DTs involvement in the experimental projects.

In Chapter VII I will describe the development of the initial change promotion strategy, its failure, and revision in more detail. Following the failure of the evaluation and planning session with the CDD, much of our strategy for promoting DT involvement in the experimental projects focused on actually getting these projects going. One of these was a course in the construction and use of solar energy food dryers.³⁰ The other was a training course for newly elected community delegates to the General Assembly of the SAIS.

³⁰ In the damp climate of the sierra, the preservation of foodstuffs presents a problem which can be partially addressed through drying of some fresh meat and produce, especially the dietary staple, potatoes. In addition to their household uses, when diced and dried, potatoes command a high market price as they are used in the preparation of certain national dishes.

CHAPTER IV

THEORETICAL MODELS OF COMMUNITY WORK

A Framework for Analyzing the Community Work Orientation of the SAIS

This chapter reviews the community work literature and develops a framework for addressing the first of the practical questions: "What is the model of community work employed by the SAIS?" The chapter begins with a brief overview of some of the approaches to the study of community work. I then adapt the framework used by Rothman in his discussion of community work orientations identifying variables which will be used in describing the work of the Community Development Division of the SAIS. This framework is then used to review the community work orientations found in the relevant literature.

The expansion of theoretical community work literature has been accompanied by an increasing complexity in its analysis and classification (Roberts, 1979). In what is one of the classic discussions of community work orientations, Rothman outlines three basic orientations to community organization: locality development, social planning, and social action. These he discusses in relation to twelve practice variables: 1) Goal categories of community action. 2) Assumptions concerning community structure and problem

conditions. 3) Basic change strategy. 4) Characteristic change tactics and techniques. 5) Salient practitioner roles. 6) Medium of change. 7) Orientation toward power structure(s). 8) Boundary definition of the community client system or constituency. 9) Assumptions regarding interests of community subparts. 10) Conception of the public interest. 11) Conception of the client population or constituency. 12) Conception of client role. Other theorists, while including similar criteria, have adopted chronologically based forms of description and analysis (Gianotten and de Wit, 1987³¹ Hyden, 1986)³² or those based on differences in training or change strategies (Ahmed and Coombs, 1974).³³

³¹ De Wit identifies six development models (Community Development, modernization and technological diffusion, agrarian reform, green revolution, and appropriate technology) and traces them through a chronological development, claiming that each flows from the shortcomings of its predecessor. He argues, for example, that national strategies of agrarian reform, such as the Peruvian experiment, were adopted due to the failure of the Community Development and the diffusion strategies to address the structural impediments to change.

³² In a manner similar to de Wit's, Hyden identifies a chronological progression of community work orientations. He identifies four which he calls: "trickle down", "integrated development", "small is beautiful", and the "enabling environment".

³³ Ahmed and Coombs identify four rural development orientations based on their orientation to training and change strategies. The four they identify are: extension, training, cooperative self-help, and integrated development.

The framework which I will use for analyzing the community work orientation of the SAIS will identify three approaches to community work. These three are: Community Development,³⁴ Technical Planning, and Social Transformation. While drawing on the work of other theorists, these three roughly parallel those presented by Rothman.

Each approach to community work will be considered on the basis of its orientation to the following basic community work variables: 1) community needs and the objectives of community work; 2) basic change strategies; 3) the community worker's role and his or her relationship to the community. While Rothman's discussion considers community work orientations on the basis of the twelve variables I listed, many of these tend to overlap. In considering only these three I am able to summarize Rothman's twelve and identify the characteristics of community work most relevant to this report.

It should be noted that the intent, in developing this theoretical framework, is not to attach a specific label to the model of community work predominant in the SAIS, but rather to develop an analytical framework which, by identi-

³⁴ Because "community development" is a term that has been used to describe many adaptations to community work, in using it here in its narrower sense I run the risk of it being confused with other orientations. The reader should not be offended if what he or she does and calls "community development" does not fit under that name in this framework. What is sometimes called "community development" may well use strategies and subscribe to philosophies which here I ascribe to one of the other orientations.

ifying relevant variables and orientations, will facilitate a discussion of that model.

NEEDS AND OBJECTIVES IN COMMUNITY WORK MODELS

In his discussion of community organization orientations, Rothman refers to two contrasting types of goals, "task" and "process" goals. "Task goals" are aimed at the completion of a concrete task such as a service delivery, or the construction of a specific element of organizational or physical infrastructure. The aims of "process goals" include such things as system maintenance, forming cooperative working relationships, creating community problem solving structures, improving the power base of the community, stimulating interest and participation in community affairs, fostering collaborative attitudes and practices, and increasing indigenous leadership (Rothman, 1968). He emphasizes that the goals of Community Development, or in his words "locality development", are process goals.

Hakim (1982), from his experience with development projects in the Caribbean, says that the:

"most productive projects are not necessarily goals; rather they tend to be projects in which (1) the local organization and its members have acquired the skills, knowledge, and capacity to solve problems and manage problems; and (2) local resources and initiatives have been mobilized for sustained efforts over time. (p.140)

According to Cary (1970), the primary objective of the Community Development orientation is to assist communities in learning attitudes and competencies to bring about their own development. Roberts (1979) also emphasizes the process goals of community development. For him learning about both one's environment and oneself is the first stage of development. He says that while development is, in a narrow sense, about achieving the substantive objectives set by a community, it is, more broadly, about a view of nature and a sense of order. The central objective of community work then is to promote the learning of the community and of individuals in it, or as he says to improve "the ability of groups of people to make [rational social] choices, to implement them, to judge them, and to revise them so that the condition of life improves" (p.41).

This focus on changes in attitudes and skills makes development a psycho-social problem (Ander Egg, 1976). Rogers (1969) argues that peasants must change their life style and attitudes if countries in which they form a majority of the population are to "modernize".³⁵ Within this school of thought campesino resistance to change is often seen as the result of fatalistic, individualistic and conservative attitudes. Erasmus' (1968) theory of the "encogido syndrome", in which the campesino is seen as timid, suspicious, and apathetic, not wanting to relate to people of superior social

³⁵ Rogers is among those theorists for whom "modernization" and "development" are synonymous.

status, is one example. Foster's (1965) explanation of the lack of confidence and the resistance to change on the basis of what he calls "the image of the limited good"³⁶ is another. He argues that the campesino believes he or she has a finite and limited quantity of goods, and consequently, does not want to advance beyond his or her share of that finite amount for fear of sanctions from fellow campesinos. Gianotten and de Wit (1987) point out that if we accept these views of the peasant, either that he suffers from the pathology described by Erasmus or the unrealistic cognitive orientation presented by Foster, it is impossible to expect any initiative or progress toward development. The attitudes of the peasant will not contribute to development and must be changed.

While this psychosocial orientation has been widely criticized, it continues to be prevalent. In his critique Worsley (1984) emphasizes this in the absence of a political-economic analysis, saying that the Community Development model

"drew upon a de-politicized version of Mid-West populism... from which any vestige of conflict theory had been removed. The central theoretical notion was that the farmers' problems were basically problems of knowledge (i.e. ignorance) and of communication..." (p.145).

³⁶ In Chapter II of this practicum report, the "image of limited good" is described briefly as it relates to the evolution of a hierarchical social structure.

In the Technical Planning model of community work the focus of needs and objectives shifts toward an emphasis on concrete tasks and technical change. This orientation corresponds generally to what Rothman calls social planning, and to the modernization and diffusion theory outlined by Gianotten and de Wit (1987). The theorists in this group include both those who, like the extensionists described by Ahmed and Coombs (1974), base their development strategy on the acquisition of technical skills, and those who are oriented to solving the substantive and infrastructural problems themselves.

In this model of development substantive or task goals rather than process goals become the main focus. The objectives of community work and development are phrased in terms of alleviating concrete problems rather than in the Community Development terminology of building community attitudes and capacity (Rothman). "Much more than the community development experiences, the diffusion theory reduced the problem of development to a problem of technological innovation." (Gianotten and de Wit, 1987: p.137).

In this view of needs and objectives many of the same issues arise that the CD model would identify through a problem solving process. However unlike the CD model, it is the direct and efficient resolution of these substantive issues and not the development of the community's structure, its capacity, and its attitudes that is the main focus.

As with all theoretical and philosophical orientations, the three community work models which this framework discusses are based on underlying assumptions about the nature of our world. The assumptions upon which the third model, the Social Transformation model, is built are quite different from those of the preceding two. The first two start from the assumption of a unity within the community in which the interests of its members both rich and poor can be met simultaneously within existing social and political structures.³⁷ The Social Transformation model rejects this notion of an harmonic community and focuses instead on the conflictual nature of power relations, in which the satisfaction of the needs of one group within a community may be in direct opposition to the interests of another (Gianotten and de Wit, 1987; Worsley, 1984; Rothman, 1968). This model holds that the structural components of society place real limitations on the ability of some groups within the community to develop to their full potential (Brundage, 1980; Akinpelu, 1981).

³⁷ In an article entitled "Campesinado, necesidades basicas y las estrategias de desarrollo rural" in M. Nerfin (ed.) Hacia otro desarrollo: enfoques y estrategias. Mexico: Siglo XXI, 1978, R. Stavenhagen maintains that the assumptions of the harmonic community view lead to a reliance on increased production to automatically increase the income of the rural poor. In his view the need for greater production and increased income are separate problems which do not necessarily share a common solution. While increased rural production may benefit large landowners, there is no guarantee that it will bring increased income to the rural poor.

The perception that the institutional structures of society rather than the psycho-social deficiencies of its members are the main cause of underdevelopment leads to a focus on the need for basic changes in the allocation of power and resources. Criticisms are made of other theories which leave intact the political and social structure. Their essential weakness is a failure to give power to the masses. By being initiated from above they are oriented toward the preservation of the status quo and cannot generally address the needs and aspirations of the majority³⁸ (Wertheim, 1983). In the Social Transformation model, then, the needs of the community are seen in terms of the need of an oppressed group within the community for greater power and equality. A principal objective of the development process becomes to create changes in the structure of society and the allocation of power within it.

A second characteristic of the needs and objectives of this model is that the need for structural change is inextricably linked to the idea that the condition of the marginalized and the poor is, in addition to being a physical condition, a state of mind. Gran (1983) argues that the ability of the powerful within a society to define the "truth" creates a state of mind in which the marginalized

³⁸ In Wertheim's phraseology the term "emancipation" is used to refer to the processes by which demands for inclusion in the rewards of society and for release "from both natural and man-made shackles" (p.2) arise and are met from below.

accept their position as inevitable and the order and priorities of society as correct.

Freire's argument in Pedagogy of the Oppressed is similar. Here the needs of the community are seen in terms of the need of an oppressed group within the community for greater consciousness and control. For him the behaviour of the oppressed class is behaviour prescribed to it by the oppressor.³⁹ These processes, which are part of the social relations between dominant and subordinate groups within society, create the second basic need as perceived in this orientation. This is the need for what Freire calls "conscientization". De Silva (1979, cited in Gran, 1983) defines conscientization as the process

in which men, not as recipients but as knowing subjects, achieve a deepening awareness of the sociological reality which shapes their lives and of their capacity to transform that reality (Gran, 1983: p.56).

The two principal objectives of the Social Transformation model, then, are the establishment of class consciousness or "consciousness raising" and structural change or power redistribution.

³⁹ Other theorists who support this argument include: Kellogg (1980) who relates it to the colonization of the native peoples of North America in what she terms "cultural colonization"; Usher (1981) who identifies the informal processes within society through which people are prepared for differential roles, roles of power, or roles as lawful and respecting citizens; and Illich (1971) who refers to this as the hidden curriculum of schooling in which the student learns, through non-structured processes, to function in the social role which they must fill.

BASIC CHANGE STRATEGIES

The change strategies of the Community Development model are best captured by Chin and Benne (1976) in their description of "Normative Re-educative" strategies. The five elements of the "Normative Re-educative" strategies are:

- 1) Emphasis is on the client system and the client's involvement in working out solutions.
- 2) Problems are not assumed to be technical.
- 3) Relationships with the change agent are mutual and collaborative, starting from the here and now.
- 4) Nonconscious elements are brought to the fore.
- 5) Behavioural sciences and "people technology" are as important as "thing technology" (Chin and Benne, 1976).

In these strategies modifications in action and behaviour are brought about by normative changes, involving knowledge, information, attitudes, values, skills, and significant relationships. The strategies adopted by the Community Development model have typically emphasized leadership training, community participation in problem solving, and the provision of opportunities for community members to learn how to implement and evaluate programs which meet their interests (Rothman, 1968; Cary, 1970; Havelock and Huberman, 1978). The primary focus is on the integral involvement of community members in the development process and on the community worker's personal contact with the community.

Cary (1970) provides the reader with a practical description of the Community Development sequence which may aid our understanding of these strategies. The process begins when the development worker enters the community and begins "building relationships". The worker begins establishing communication on a level comprehensible and meaningful to the community. He or she "encourages a systematic discussion of the problems and guides the villagers in thinking and reasoning about the most important problem to solve first" (p.120). This process of formal and informal discussion, writes Cary, can go on for some time, but the result of it should be that community members agree on what needs to be done.

At this point the focus of the process shifts to how the action is to be taken. The worker helps in the description of a program and needed resources and quite possibly in the acquisition of those resources. Throughout this process community members are learning new skills, forming new attitudes, and acquiring knowledge which is used in the action phase (Roberts, 1979).

As implementation begins the worker participates in the action as one of the community members. He or she must, however, also maintain enough objectivity to be able to support the process when the necessary interactions begin to fail. Cary claims that this role should be minimal since "the com-

mitment and social relationships should have developed to the degree that the people will voluntarily perform the roles required in the action process." (p.121).

As has been implied in the discussion of needs and objectives, the Community Development model's image of the community as an harmonic whole leads to strategies from which the notion of conflict has been completely eliminated. It assumes that the community can work together for the benefits and interests of all its members (Worsley, 1984; de Wit, 1987; Rothman, 1968). Conflict and confrontation are rejected as legitimate means of effecting change. Ahmed and Coombs (1974) claim that the problem solving strategy of Havelock and Huberman is such a basic repudiation of strategies of power and conflict. The focus of community work tends to be the whole geographic community or "locality", rather than an oppressed segment therein. As Rothman makes clear, the locality development model is concerned with all groups in the community and focuses on the "'unity of community life'" (Rothman, 1968: p.33, citing Dunham, 1950). For those theorists who, like the Social Transformationists, believe that the focus of community work should be on the oppressed groups within society and that it must use conflict strategies to change power relations, the Community Development model is inadequate.

In the Technical Planning model the underlying rationale, that people are guided by reason and that the needs of communities are best understood in substantive and generally technological terms, leads to two types of strategies. Both of them have a strong emphasis on scientific research and investigation (Chin and Benne, 1976). The first type includes those which attempt to raise the technical expertise of communities through the diffusion of technical innovation and technical training. Acquisition of technical skill and expertise is seen as sufficient in and of itself to stimulate development (Ahmed and Coombs, 1974; Roberts, 1979).

The second type of strategy focuses on provision of direct service through creation of the necessary physical and organizational infrastructure. These strategies rely on strong central planning and the manipulation of large organizations and bureaucracies in order to address complex issues (Shrivastava, 1982). One of the specific strategic manifestations of this approach is what Hyden (1986) refers to as "Integrated Development". The centrally planned restructuring in the 1960's and 1970's of which the Peruvian reforms were part of this orientation.⁴⁰ Hyden suggests that

⁴⁰ In Hyden's analysis some strategies of "Integrated Development" are associated with progressive transformation of societal structures. This is not born out in the "integrated development" approach of the SAIS. The identification of this strategic orientation with the Technical Planning model does not suggest that the model is oriented toward structural social change.

the inadequacy of the "Trickle Down" approaches and the slow pace at which diffusion strategies were capable of effecting change led many governments to turn to centrally planned restructuring and to some form of redistribution. While centralized power is an important ingredient of the social planning elements of this orientation and is justified on the basis of its contributions to efficiency and coordination, Dalin argues that its efficacy should not be overrated since attitudes and knowledge cannot be coerced.

Om Shrivastava (1982) also identifies several elements which are characteristic of the Technical Planning model. There is a heavy reliance on modern technology, including: high yielding variety seeds, tractors, fertilizers, pesticides and other technological inputs. Secondly, an extensive organizational structure is generally required to make these inputs available to the farmers. A third element is that technically trained people are employed to go into the countryside to disseminate the new information. In addition to this he says that typically there is no expectation that a critical assessment of the social, economic and cultural reality will accompany the infussion of modern technology, nor that rural people will have an important part in the strategy. "Development of people is hardly emphasised as an end goal in itself" (p.3). These strategies "reduced the problem of development to a problem of technological innovation" (Gianotten and de Wit, 1987: p.137).

A critical element of these strategies is the identification of farmers who are more "advanced" and amenable to change. They serve as examples for the rest of the community in adopting improved technology. In Peru, in the 1980's, this idea of the "agricultor de enlace", the link between the traditional community and modern technology, has become prevalent. The idea is that by giving special technical assistance to these campesinos modernization will advance in a chain reaction (Gianotten and de Wit, 1987).

The strategies associated with the Social Transformation model are also of two basic types. These correspond to the two definitions of needs and objectives. The first type involves those strategies that are aimed at the direct appropriation of social and political power, while the second type focuses on the creation of an awareness among people that change is needed and is possible.

Chin and Benne (1976) refer to the first type as "power coercive" strategies. They are aimed at directly amassing power to alter the structure of societal relations. These strategies take the form of mass political actions, of legislative measures and of political lobbies (Rothman, 1968). The idea of people needing to organize in order to be able to make demands and back them up with significant pressure runs throughout the writing of Gianotten and de Wit (1987), on their experiences in the organization of rural people in

Peru, and of Alinsky (1971) in his work with "People's Organizations". Underlying these is the belief that even marginalized people, if united around issues, have at their disposal the means to seize power and create change. These strategies represent a clear break with the "harmonic community" view. They are directed against the external factors and attempt, through conflict, to bring about some change in them. Kettner (1985) says that conflict is one of the most powerful tools for less influential members of the community. This conflict may come about as people attempt to change existing organizations (Alinsky, 1973) or as they focus on the creation of alternative institutions (Gran, 1984; Gianotten and de Wit, 1987; Paerregaard, 1986).

The second type of strategies which belong to this community work orientation are those aimed at the educational or conscientization needs identified in this model. The strategies to achieve these goals come in several forms. Freire proposes what he calls problematization, a dialogic problem-posing process. This process, developed in the field of literacy training, calls for the learner and the educator to explore together, in a horizontal relationship, themes from the experience of the learner. In Latin America, perhaps more than anywhere, the ideas of conscientization have emerged in programs of popular education (Brandao, 1984). Within this context popular education is understood as a form of political education which constitutes a tool for the

development of a class consciousness (Brandao, 1984; Sulca, 1984).

While the definition provided by Brandao and by Sulca reinforces popular education's class orientation, some writers are critical of it for what they perceive to be its failure to explicitly address class conflict. Lovett (1983) and Repo (1977), drawing on a marxist perspective of theorists such as Antonio Gramsci, argue for an educational strategy which focuses greater emphasis on the class analysis. Lovett (1983) argues that Freire is plagued by what he calls "existentialist ambiguity" (p.142), leaving the door open for any kind of education and providing no direction for constructing positive social change. Lovett calls for more rigid specification of definite bodies of knowledge and principles of inquiry which fit the purpose of transformation.

Lovett's criticisms of Freire and the popular educators notwithstanding, there is a common orientation among proponents of this community work model toward education of the community which starts from the "daily practice of the popular classes" (Brandao, 1984) and moves with them to a greater understanding of the reality of their position and of their potential to alter the structures and power relations which create it.

To speak of this orientation as having strategies which address education and strategies which focus on action is not to suggest that there is a complete separation between them. While each program or project finds its equilibrium of education and action, process and task, the Social Transformation approach emphasizes the blending of these two in ever widening cycles of action and reflection, leading to praxis (Freire 1973).

THE COMMUNITY/WORKER RELATIONSHIP

The role of the community worker and his or her relationship to the community in the Community Development model is described by Rothman as "enabler". Chin and Benne say that the "change agent must learn to work mutually and collaboratively..." (p.33). This suggests that, though the development worker should take the lead in stimulating and motivating change through community participation, he or she does not take the role of expert in regard to substantive problems. Instead, he or she aids the community in initiating a process of problem solving. The role of decision making must be left up to the community. Roberts (1979) contends that it is primarily in this area of problem solving and facilitation that the worker must demonstrate relevant expertise, since the community worker cannot, generally, claim any other source of power.

While this participatory relationship may be present in the ideal model of Community Development which these theorists describe, and indeed the literature on Community Development practice is replete with references which espouse it, many critics maintain that in practice it has rarely been employed. Midgley (1987), de Zeutter (1989) and Korten (1980) claim that, within the international context of Community Development, meaningful participation by community members has been the exception. They argue that the failure of Community Development to live up to the expectations which accompanied it has been due, in large measure, to this lack of participation.

In the Technical Planning model the roles of the community member and the community worker are the most clearly differentiated of any model. Authorities and experts control change. Typical of strategies in this model is the top-down articulation of problem and solution. While community participation may be part of the response, it will generally not include involvement in the definition of the problem or planning the solution, nor will it be done from a normative perspective but rather from a "sense of utility" (Rothman p.30). Though within many centrally planned programs and projects of diffusion there is lip-service paid to two-way communication, de Zeutter (1986) argues that it rarely occurs. Max-Neef (1986) describes the form of communication in this model as analogous to an umbrella in which all the

spokes arrive at a centre to which they bring their concerns and from which they receive their direction.

In criticizing the relationships developed through the Technical Planning model, Gran (1983) uses the example of the Tanzanian ujamaa⁴¹ to argue that the result of centrally planned development projects is frequently an alliance between rural elites and sponsoring government or agency officials. He maintains that the lack of authentic cognitive respect for rural people is the central reason for their non-cooperation. In his opinion it is impossible to create participatory relations from the top down. Chambers (1983) supports this idea, pointing to biases against the participation of the poor in centrally designed projects which influence community workers to work in and for the centres of power.

In the Social Transformation model, the role of the community worker is seen in a variety of ways, ranging from the horizontal mutual learning relationship described by Freire (1973) to the more directive educator called for by Lovett (1983) and Repo (1977). Freire's work, which has become a model for a great number of popular education and development projects, calls for a fundamental altering of the relationship between the teacher and the learner. Whereas the

⁴¹ The "ujamaa" were scale efficient socialist villages established by the Nyere government in 1967 in response to the need to extend social and economic opportunities in a context of inadequate national resources.

teacher or the community worker is traditionally seen as an authority who deposits information in a "banking" fashion, provides services or directs projects, he or she must learn to associate with the community in a mutual learning relationship. The redistributive objectives of the transformation model demand reversals in the relationship between community members and community workers which allow the community member to be seen as a "constituent" or an "employer" of the community worker (Rothman, 1968).

At the heart of the Social Transformation orientation then, is a change in roles and the creation of an horizontal relationship which values previously marginalized groups. Still, the domination of marginal groups through cultural oppression⁴² necessitates critical analysis. The community worker must not abdicate his or her responsibility by embracing "consumer sovereignty",⁴³ reinforcing inequality by responding to the whims of community members in isolation from the socio-political perspective of class analysis (Brookfield, 1981; Lovett, 1983). The worker should be pre-

⁴² By "cultural oppression" I am referring to the phenomenon identified by Freire, Illich, Gran, Kellough, Carnoy (in Gumbert, 1984), and others which I previously mentioned (see: Chapter IV, "Needs and Objectives"). The central hypothesis of each of these theorists is that a dominant group can dictate the actions and perceptions of the oppressed.

⁴³ Lovett employs this term to refer to educational projects which respond to the requests of the community with no critical analysis of the forces at work in it and no role for the educator in attempting to help the community select the most appropriate directions.

pared to contribute to the conscientization process by attempting to illuminate the historical, cultural and socio-political context. He or she should be in a position to contribute to the learning of the community just as he or she must be prepared to learn from the experience of the community.

Adoption of the Social Transformation Model for the Practicum.

The Social Transformation model is the one which most closely fits the approach adopted in this practicum. While in some cases it might be argued that there was little in our approach to separate it from the Community Development model, the philosophical basis of the transformation approach, particularly its call for reversals of roles and its goals of structural change and redistribution of power were reflected in our work. By attempting to create changes in the relationship of the communities to the SAIS, increase the participation of communities, and create minor changes in the structure of the SAIS, our approach assumed characteristics of the Social Transformation model.

While adopting the Social Transformation model as the philosophical orientation for this practicum, there were limitations to the extent to which it could be realized within a project of this nature. In its complete manifesta-

tion this model would result in radical structural changes. Clearly it can only be applied in this sense over a long period of time. In this practicum, then, the time factor was a limitation to its full realization.

In addition to the time element, another limitation to implementation of the Social Transformation model was my relatively limited knowledge of the Peruvian reality. To the extent that the consciousness raising approach implies that the worker should have an indepth understanding of the processes of oppression at work in the community and help communities gain a better understanding of this reality, my limited knowledge of and experience with the Peruvian situation was a limiting factor. Still, by focusing on the methodologies of community work used by the DTs and on the participation of the communities in the development process it was possible to take some steps in the direction prescribed by this orientation.

CHAPTER V

THE MODEL OF COMMUNITY WORK EMPLOYED BY THE SAIS

This chapter will directly address the first of the practicum questions outlined in Chapter I, "What was the community work model employed by the SAIS 'Cahuide'?". This question will be answered using the framework developed in the preceding chapter. The community work of the SAIS will be described in terms of its orientation to the three variables addressed in this framework. Once again, these are: the definition of needs and objectives of community work, the basic change strategies, and the role of the community worker and his or her relationship with the community. This description, that is the answer to the central question of this chapter, will be based on information gathered from three sources: 1) The theoretical literature; 2) Interviews with management, workers, and community members; and 3) Personal Field observations of community work done by the CDD and the EC.

This chapter is structured in such a way as to present the information gathered from each source independently. In this way, what the literature suggests about the SAIS model in regard to the three elements will be presented first, followed by the information gathered through interviews and, finally, by the information drawn from my additional observations.

THE LITERATURE

In considering the information that the literature provides, I will look primarily at the literature which addresses itself specifically to the SAIS model, including both the SAIS "Cahuiide" and other SAISs in the central highlands. In the background information provided in Chapter II, however, I made reference to several authors who discuss the national model, describing the reforms and national development strategies of the Velasco years. Before going on, it is worth briefly reviewing what they have written.

These authors suggest that the development needs and objectives identified in the military government's model, the model out of which the SAIS evolved, were seen in two ways. On the one hand, development was viewed from a perspective that saw needs primarily in terms of increased industrialization and increased agricultural productivity (North, 1983; McClintock, 1982). This represents what I have called the Technical Planning approach. On the other hand, there was also a belief in the need for a restructuring of the power relations within the country by shifting social and political power away from the oligarchy to a new urban industrial class and, to a lesser extent, to the popular classes (Cotler, 1983; Pasara, 1983).

The change strategies described by this literature focus on a legislative and planning approach to addressing the needs and objectives. The agrarian reform, the elimination of large and inefficient haciendas, and the input of capital, technical training and equipment into the agricultural system were key elements of this approach (Wiener, 1987; Gianotten and de Wit, 1987). Another key element of the government's change or development strategy was the establishment of centrally controlled mass organizations such as the National System for the Support of Social Mobilization (SINAMOS).⁴⁴

In terms of the relationship between the campesinos and the state, most authors concur with Eckstein's (1983) characterization of the government's program as a "revolution from above" which failed to significantly alter its relationship with the popular classes. Despite the government's claims of a new participatory democracy, the relationship maintained most of its hierarchical features (Cotler, 1975; Gianotten and de Wit 1987; McClintock, 1981; Pasara, 1983; Wiener, 1987)

⁴⁴ SINAMOS was the vehicle which the government, in rejecting the formation of a political party, chose for citizen participation. This centrally controlled organization was responsible for promoting social action and community development. Through it citizens could, theoretically, participate in local and national political action (McClintock, 1981; Pasara, 1983).

LITERATURE REFERENCES TO THE SAIS MODEL

The following discussion will consider what the studies which look specifically at the SAIS "Cahuide" and/or neighbouring SAISs⁴⁵ suggest about the community work variables of the model employed by the SAIS.

a) Needs and Objectives. Montoya's (1988) discussion of the indicators of development typifies the SAIS's orientation to the development needs of the communities. In this orientation the needs are identified as increased production and income generation (both in the communities and on the production units), improved physical infrastructure, and, in the socio-cultural arena, improved housing, health, and education.

While this view of the needs in terms of substantive problems is the most widely evident (McClintock, 1983; Montoya, 1988; Paerregaard, 1987), there is also an underlying acceptance of the need for redistribution of power and for attitude changes. The perception of the need for redistribution of power is seen in Montoya's (1974) analysis of the conflicts and contradictions which exist within the SAIS

⁴⁵ In referring to studies of neighbouring SAIS's within the Mantaro Valley an assumption of similarity is being made. This assumption is justified by the studies of Paerregaard, McClintock, and Montoya in which critical aspects are at times described with no distinction made between SAISs.

"Cahuide". He describes a general feeling among the campesinos that they deserve restitution for years of oppression under the hacendados.⁴⁶ McClintock (1981) makes the case that the SAIS also identifies a need to change the campesino attitudes and eradicate the vestiges of Erasmus' (1968) and Foster's (1965) psychological constructs of "limited good" and "syndrome of the 'encogido'".⁴⁷ Still, the predominant definition of needs found in the literature is task oriented, described in substantive terms as increased production, the delivery of direct service, and the construction of physical infrastructure.

b) Change Strategies. The Spanish terms "asistencialismo" and "infraestructuralismo" are used by Sulca (1984) and by Montoya (1974) to describe the strategies of the SAIS in its community work. By the former they mean the provision of direct services to the communities. In this approach the community worker performs the needed task or provides the needed material rather than facilitating or training the community. The direct service areas in which this takes

⁴⁶ He argues, for one, that there is an attitude of revenge in the communities in which their members wish to take control of the SAIS. This is a result of the fact that the present day technicians and administrators of the SAIS were in some cases administrators and technicians on the haciendas and, as such, were the front line of an oppressive structure.

⁴⁷ These constructs, used by these authors to explain peasant behaviour and attitudes, were described briefly in the preceding chapter in the discussion of the psycho-social aspects of the Community Development model.

place include health care, veterinary services, agronomy, reforestation, financial loans, research and planning, and related areas (Paerregaard, 1987). By the latter term, "infraestructuralismo", they mean a predominant concern with the physical infrastructure of agricultural production and community life, including such things as the construction and maintenance of buildings, roads, and machinery. Montoya makes clear that projects that go beyond the "asistencialismo infraestructural", are the exception to the general pattern of work. This view is supported by the SAIS's diagnostic review which appears in the Five-Year Plan.⁴⁸

c) SAIS/Community Relations. The fact that the agrarian reform gave the communities ownership of the SAIS's lands brought about changes in the relationship between the administration and workers of the SAIS on one hand and the campesinos on the other. McClintock (1981, 1983), more than most analysts, emphasizes the increased participation and political involvement of the campesinos subsequent to the agrarian reform. Montoya (1988) also acknowledges some changes, pointing to the altered relationship between technicians or

⁴⁸ One project that appeared to go beyond Montoya's "asistencialismo infraestructural" was the communal farm in the community of Cachi where, in contrast to the norm in other communities, the CDD worked with the comuneros and the administrator of the adjacent production unit to develop the community's capacities and attitudes for operating and controlling the communal farm. The support included ongoing training and the facilitation of community participation in planning, in addition to continuing technical assistance.

hacienda administrators and the campesinos. These changes reduced the technicians from "technician/bosses" to simply "technicians" and created a situation in which campesino delegates could say: "We, the comuneros, have contracted you to work for us and not to warm a chair in the office in Huancayo" (Montoya, 1974: p.107), something unthinkable before 1969. Nevertheless, in the actual realization of community work, the comuneros' relationship to the technicians and management of the SAIS seems to have changed only marginally as evidenced by Montoya's description: "The technicians make plans, the politicians decide, and the people concerned [the comuneros] wait... What say do they have in their own problems? None!" (Montoya, 1974: p.107).

This position is supported by Paerregaard's (1987) study of the relationship which two communities of the Mantaro Valley,⁴⁹ Usibamba and Chaquicocha, had with the SAISs "Tupac Amaru"⁵⁰ and "Cahuide" to which they belong, respectively. She concluded that, while the SAISs played major roles in the restructuring of the organizational frameworks of the communities and provided considerable economic assistance,

⁴⁹ The Mantaro Valley in which the city of Huancayo is located, is one of the richest agricultural areas of Peru.

⁵⁰ The SAIS "Tupac Amaru" is the largest of the SAISs of the central highlands and also includes portions of the Mantaro Valley and surrounding areas.

ongoing communication between the comuneros and the directors of the SAIS in order to exchange ideas and opinions about the use and purpose of the assistance provided by the SAIS to the communities has not been maintained. A mutual relation between the two parties which could ensure the active participation of the comuneros and allow them to take part in planning for the development of their own communities is lacking (p.99).

McClintock (1981) refers to the SAIS "Huanca", located in the same geographic area and with very similar conditions to the SAIS "Cahuide". She describes the elected executive as being autonomous from their base sites while living in Huan-cayo, having little contact with their home communities, and aspiring to professional careers. Remy (1987) notes that, at least in part, the top down nature of the relationship stems from the tension which exists between the indian and white/mestizo communities. This tension is reflected in a general disregard for what she terms the "saber indigena" or indigenous knowledge.

In his discussion of the conflicts within the SAIS, to which I have previously referred, Montoya (1987) further supports this view and helps us understand the tensions and the hierarchical relationship of the SAIS to its member communities. He suggests that a conflict exists between the communities and the DTs because, despite the formal ownership consigned the comuneros, the technicians have superior knowledge and information regarding the technical issues of the SAIS. Consequently they enjoy greater influence and power than the comuneros. In this way, there is a contin-

ued domination by the technicians in their relationship with the campesinos.⁵¹ This conflict and the DTs domination is, he says, compounded by a second structural characteristic of the SAIS. While the delegates from the communities are the official authorities, their relatively short terms of office of two years make it difficult for them to gain the experience and knowledge necessary to effectively challenge the technicians' decisions. The DTs superior position in the hierarchy is thus maintained.

In addition, the tension between comuneros and DTs is aggravated by a sense of mutual resentment. DTs on the one hand, particularly those who worked on the former haciendas, believe that they have been robbed of what was, in a sense, their land. Comuneros, as mentioned, often see the technicians and administrators as the representatives of the old feudal system.

⁵¹ To say that the DTs have superior knowledge refers to their knowledge of the technical aspects of agricultural production and ignores the communities' knowledge systems. While Montoya's discussion does not address the relative merit of different knowledge systems, the fact that the DTs knowledge is more highly regarded than that of the campesinos is imperative for this domination to occur. For this reason Social Transformation theorists such as Ivan Illich and Paulo Freire insist on the valuing of community knowledge.

INTERVIEWS

The second source of information concerning the community work orientation of the SAIS is interviews and conversations with members of the three principal constituent groups: community members, workers, and management, both the administrative staff and the Executive Council. These took place primarily within the orientation and assessment phases of the practicum work.

Methodology

The basic question in a community participation programme is how the members of a given community with all their problems, traditions and diversities, can be motivated to act together to improve their communal environment. The answer to this question does not depend on surveys but on dialogue (Rifkin, 1980: p.120).

In keeping with this attitude the "interviews" were, in many cases, informal discussions and conversations. They were aimed not only at gathering information, but also at establishing dialogue between us, as cooperants, and the SAIS constituents and among the constituents themselves. Despite the informal nature of many of these interviews, I have chosen to call them "interviews" because of my express purpose of using them to gather information. Where I refer to these as "formal" it indicates that these meetings were prearranged as opposed to spontaneous and that I asked predetermined questions.⁵² In presenting the information gath-

⁵² It should also be noted that, in many cases, the person or persons "interviewed" had issues to discuss and ques-

ered through these interviews, I will not attach more value to that gathered in one form of interview over the other.

The more formal interviews were conducted using open ended questions which addressed the three areas of needs, strategies, and relationships. These took place in the offices of the SAIS in Huancayo. In the informal interviews similar questions were raised within the context of broader discussions. These took place in a variety of situations, for example, astride sacks of potatoes during eight or ten hour trips to communities, in the relative lucidity of the early hours of social gatherings, or over coffee and coca tea in the plaza.

The interviews with management were conducted with both members of the senior administration and the Executive Council. From the senior administration they included: the directors of the Community Development Division and the Personnel Department, the managers of two production units, and the Executive Director of the SAIS. Interviews with the Executive included: the president and vice-president of the Administrative Council, the president of the Education Committee, and the vice-president of the Fiscal Council. These interviews were both formal, during the initial phase of my orientation to the SAIS, and informal later when the themes and questions were pursued more deeply.

tions to ask as well. This was especially true during the orientation phase. with

The interviews with the workers of the Community Development Division, and of the Education Committee⁵³ were conducted, in many instances, in an informal manner during trips to the communities, and during the course of the working day. The close contact which the working environment created facilitated this form of interview. Nevertheless, there were several exceptions to this informal norm which are worth noting. One of these was the series of meetings with groups of development technicians planned by Pedro as part of my orientation to the SAIS. These were initial opportunities to establish a mutual understanding of the practicum project and for me to become familiar with the SAIS. Another was the evaluation and planning session scheduled with the entire CDD to which I referred in Chapter III. In addition, I arranged formal interviews with three DTs with whom I had had little personal contact throughout the project. These individuals had been identified to me as opponents of the SAIS and of the exchange program. I felt that their contributions would help to form a more complete picture of the community work orientation of the SAIS.

Interviews with community members were also held in both the formal and informal manner and in both group and individual settings. The formal interviews were for the most

⁵³ As the discussion of the structure has indicated the EC was composed of two members of the Executive and the director of the Personnel Department. Two workers were attached to this committee. One of these was Pedro Torres my co-worker and the other was Fernando Monguia.

part conducted with community groups during the Bajada de Bases described in Chapter III. Informal interviews or conversations with community members occurred daily.

In presenting the information gathered through all of these interviews, I will highlight the main opinions related to the community work variables of needs and objectives, strategies, and community/SAIS relations.⁵⁴

Needs and Objectives

Information gathered in interviews concerning the first community work variable centred around three themes which roughly paralleled those found in the literature. The first of these related to substantive issues; the second was concerned with changes in comunero attitudes and behaviours; and, in the third, there was a sense of need for a redistribution of power and resources within the SAIS and within the national economic and political structure.

The focus on substantive production needs is perhaps best exemplified by what has been the focus of the SAIS's efforts in the establishment of the high-altitude dairy operation at

⁵⁴ In presenting the interview information I will summarize it and attempt to identify the predominant views of each constituency. In several ways the community work model of the "asistentas sociales", or social workers, of the CDD does not coincide with that of the rest of the CDD. Partly because of this departure, as well as the fact that much of the information about their work came from observation instead of interviews, I have chosen to discuss their perspectives and community work approach under the following section entitled "Additional Observations".

the Laive production unit.⁵⁵ Typical of views within this orientation was the following statement by the manager of one of the production units:

"If we ever want to get ahead and get our campesinos out of the misery in which they live we have to be able to produce enough to build them their schools and roads and help them set up small businesses. It's the most basic thing!"

This view was shared to a large extent by all the DTs. throughout the SAIS. When asked to describe their jobs and the objectives of their work the DTs repeatedly stressed concrete tasks and the direct delivery of services to the communities, such as those described in the preceding discussion of the literature references to the SAIS. To a lesser degree they also referred to the diffusion of agricultural technology.

Comuneros also emphasized direct services particularly in regard to provision of machinery. A common example of this was their requests for the CDD to provide earth moving equipment, bulldozers or dump trucks, to help clear roads that were frequently blocked by mudslides. The fact that this focus on needs as substantive in nature was shared by

⁵⁵ The production unit of Laive, located at an altitude of approximately 3400m. above sea level, is internationally recognized as a leader in high altitude dairy farming. The development of this production unit has involved highly selective breeding processes, extensive mechanization, and the cultivation of specialized pastures. Achieving these advances has also meant financial sacrifices by all the communities. For several years the communities agreed to forego the distribution of SAIS profits.

both DTs and community members seems significant. Because it is shared by community members, in addressing substantive needs DTs are addressing felt needs identified by the communities, and not merely reflecting their own preferences. At least one DT attributed the overwhelming emphasis on concrete task objectives to the disapproval expressed by some community members when he had attempted to lead them in problem solving exercises.

The second theme apparent in the interviews was that the needs and objectives of the SAIS can be defined as changes in the communities' behaviour and attitudes toward each other and toward the SAIS. This orientation had two foci. One was that there was a lack of knowledge and skill among the comuneros. "[They] do not know how to take care of their animals and crops and they have ruined pasture land with overgrazing".⁵⁶ This concern was shared to some extent by all groups, though the preferred responses differed among them.

The second focus was on comuneros' attitudes toward each other and, more importantly, toward the SAIS. It was among members of management and the CDD that the concern for the communities' supposed disinterest in and lack of cooperation

⁵⁶ This was a comment made by one of the agronomists during a trip which took us through some of the pasture land of the Laive PU. While the land had been overgrazed, the community responds to these criticisms by saying that they lack sufficient land while the SAIS has large tracts of land that are unused.

with the SAIS and its objectives was strongest. In an interview with the president of the Executive Council and the General Assembly delegate from Racracalla, both men were highly critical of the community's failure to respond with enthusiasm to the call for a faena⁵⁷ to repair the road through the community. In their opinion the community members had become "individualistic" and "selfish" and had forgotten the benefits which the SAIS had brought them. This idea that the comuneros failed to acknowledge the good which had come from the formation of the SAIS and the work of the CDD was a recurrent one in the interviews with management and CDD workers.⁵⁸ In these ideas we see reflections of the psycho-social analysis of development needs which forms part of the Community Development model.

The third theme regarding needs and objectives focused on an imbalance of power and resources and on the need for redistribution. There were two areas of primary concern here. One was the imbalance between the rural and urban areas and between agricultural and manufactured goods. Here the needs are perceived to be for readjustments in agriculture and economic policy which will contribute to an

⁵⁷ A "faena" is a communal work project organized by the communal authorities or sometimes the SAIS, to which all households are expected to contribute.

⁵⁸ In one of Pedro's presentations at the Marquis Project, during the Canadian phase of the exchange project, he dwelt on this same concern. Afterwards, he and one of the Marquis staff members engaged in a discussion of the problem out of which emerged a portion of the strategy for the Bajada de Bases.

improved return on production. While freezes have been imposed on agricultural products, the costs of inputs into the agricultural production have continued to rise (Gianotten and de Wit, 1988; Wiener, 1987) and the campesino is increasingly less able to overcome what Stein (1985) calls this "price scissor". With the increasing urbanization of the Peruvian population⁵⁹ electoral and political power has become highly concentrated in the urban centres (Stein, 1985). This then resulted in a generalized perception, evidenced throughout the interviews, of a need for a realignment of powers between rural and urban areas. One example relates to the control exercised by the potato marketing cartels of Lima. Comuneros, DTs, and management alike expressed the need to address the overwhelming power of this sector to set prices, control supplies and prevent campesino groups from directly marketing their own produce.⁶⁰

The second perception of redistributive need saw as crucial the redistribution of resources, particularly land resources, within the rural sector and, specifically, within the SAIS itself.⁶¹ There is a strong movement, both within

⁵⁹ While the population of Peru doubled between 1940 and 1971, its urban population increased six times (Stein, 1985).

⁶⁰ The reader is reminded that, while the literature suggests that the rural sectors had reason to believe that there was need for redistribution of power, whether this is objectively the case is less important than the fact that responses in interviews demonstrated that they believed it to be the case and identified it as a need.

⁶¹ Here the effect of the agrarian reform in creating two

the SAIS and in the external communities, for partition and redistribution of the SAIS's lands. Some of the member communities insist on the transfer of direct ownership to them. Non-member communities meanwhile, having in some cases already invaded SAIS lands, look on with interest, hoping that an eventual dissolution of the SAIS would afford them the opportunity to acquire more land. Since the agrarian reform law does not grant the SAIS permanent title to the lands, and as the demand for partition and population pressures grow, the integrity of the SAIS' lands is increasingly at risk, and the conflict over its future grows.

The conflict present in these demands for redistribution is largely one between the management of the SAIS, particularly the administrative branch,⁶² and some communities, both inside and outside of the SAIS,⁶³ The management sees the need as one of legislative action to safeguard its lands, while the communities see their needs in structural terms of redistribution. This struggle has divided the SAIS communities into those who wish to maintain the SAIS and

classes of campesino, to which I referred in Chapter II, is important to keep in mind.

⁶² In Chapter II I described the two branches within the SAIS management, the hired administrators and the Executive Council, elected from among the delegates to the General Assembly.

⁶³ The member communities of the Canipaco which seek to dissolve the SAIS and partition its resources have no intention of this redistribution including non-members. The fear of losing land to outside communities was one factor that helped to keep the SAIS together.

those who think that they would benefit more from its distribution. It has also created sharp divisions between members of management and between workers because of the conflicting interests of these constituent groups, to which I referred in the description of the SAIS' structure. Workers from the communities of the Canipaco which stand to gain from partition are in a position in which their interests as community members conflict with their interests as SAIS workers.⁶⁴ This conflict of interests does not escape their colleagues who, with partition, would lose their livelihood, and creates added tension between them. A similar situation exists between members of the Executive Council.

From these interviews, then, it was apparent that the three orientations to needs and objectives that were identified in the framework of community work orientations are present within the SAIS. The orientation to needs in terms of community capacity building that we find in the Community Development model is the least powerful. And while the orientation to substantive and technical task objectives was the most frequently described in the interviews, the focus on redistribution and structural change may, in my opinion, be the most critical because it concerns the very survival

⁶⁴ The communities of the Canipaco may gain most from a partition of the SAIS, because, while they presently experience the most severe land shortage, they border on the most successful production unit, Laive. Since their plan is that the PUs should be divided among the communities which border on them, they believe that Laive would be theirs.

of the SAIS.

Change Strategies⁶⁵

The strategies described by the three constituent groups, relate to the needs and objectives that they identified. The first of these, responding to the substantive and concrete needs, was the direct performance of concrete tasks by DTs. DTs and comuneros alike described how, during community visits, DTs vaccinated animals, provided medical treatment to comuneros, operated machinery for clearing roads or fields, and provided other direct services to the communities. These visits also included the provision of technical advice to the farmers at critical times in the crop cycle. Through these actions DTs demonstrate an attitude which says; "We'll take care of that..." or "Let us tell you what or how to do that...". These approaches correspond most closely to the strategies described by Shrivastava (1982) and by Gianotten and de Wit (1987), in which trained technicians promote a shift to modern technology through their example in the countryside in work with the more advanced peasants.

⁶⁵ It should be clear that when I speak of strategies I am referring to those that the CDD is currently employing in its work in the communities, and not to the strategies which individual DTs or comuneros might have preferred or hoped for. Still, just as there is sometimes difficulty in separating from the literature actual practice from theory so too, in these interviews, it was sometimes difficult to separate people's hopes, preferences, and criticisms from what was in fact transpiring.

A second strategic orientation, similar to the "Integrated Development" described by Hyden (1986), was the idea of the SAIS and especially the CDD as the planners of projects for the communities. In this approach scientific investigation and research are highly valued and central planning and control are used to maximize the resources and expertise for satisfying the substantive needs of the communities. The Five-Year Plan typified this strategy. In the preparation of this document a team of researchers developed socio-economic profiles of the communities and proposed development plans for each on the basis of presumably technical and scientific data.

The director of the Community Development Division described the process for developing the "Integrated Development Projects"⁶⁶

First, we knew that we must produce a plan for the development of our member communities because our comunero brothers are dissatisfied with the conditions in their communities and Sendero and the enemies of the SAIS are always very opportunistic. So, we spent months analyzing the situation of the communities, the available resources, the skills, the population, and the market opportunities. Then, when the team had gathered all the information, the most difficult part of the work began, because now we had the task of integrating this information into a comprehensive plan that would respond to the needs of each community and also to the global advancement of the SAIS and all its members, workers, and the comunero brothers. We had to work day and night here in the office for weeks to prepare this plan for the General Assembly meeting in January.

⁶⁶ The Five-Year Plan included a proposal for a significant economic development project in each community. These were referred to as "Proyectos de Desarrollo Integral" of the Five-Year Plan.

This description illustrates the central planning aspects of the community work model of the SAIS. The team to which the director referred in this interview was composed of the director, several DTs, a sociologist, and the Canada World Youth adjunct to the SAIS.⁶⁷ One of the frequent criticisms that was heard from community members concerning these projects and the analysis from which they evolved was that, in developing the plans, this team of researchers and planners failed to visit some of the communities.

A third strategy, responding to the perceived needs for knowledge, emphasized a variety of technical training courses for the communities. These courses were conducted by DTs and outside experts for members of the communities and were generally held either on the SAIS's properties in Huan-cayo or in one of the communities.⁶⁸ The needs for attitude changes which were identified by management and by DTs were also addressed through these training courses. There was a strong feeling among DTs and management personnel that

⁶⁷ As I mentioned previously Canada World Youth employed a representative who was seconded to the SAIS to act as a community work consultant and who was part of the project working group during the Peruvian portion of the exchange.

⁶⁸ Participation in these courses varied depending on the nature of the course. On some occasions participation would be limited to one or two persons selected from each community, and on others participation might be open to all interested members of a particular community. These courses will be discussed in more detail in the following chapter on the nature of community participation in the SAIS.

comuneros could be inspired to work harder and cooperate among themselves and with the SAIS if subjected to exhortations during training courses. This idea was expressed repeatedly by both members of the EC and the CDD. Typically they spoke of the need to "motivate" or "educate" comuneros to cooperate with projects of the CDD or other community work. Most often the meaning of this was limited to verbally lecturing them on the need to cooperate and work harder.

As far as the strategies for realizing change in the national economy, the SAIS is committed to lobbying through national campesino and agricultural organizations.⁶⁹ In addition, DTs have encouraged comuneros to join the Confederacion Campesina de Peru (CCP) to pressure government. This has, however, become a less popular strategy in part because of the ambiguous relationship between the CCP and Sendero Luminoso and its increasing opposition to the SAIS model.⁷⁰

⁶⁹ Several organizations, the National Agrarian Confederation (CNA), the Unitary National Agrarian Congress (CUNA), and the National Agrarian Organization (ONA), were established with the agrarian reform to bring together all of the cooperatives (Weiner 1987). Through these organizations the SAIS has attempted to pressure government on such issues as pricing policy, credit assistance, and the restructuring of services to the rural areas.

⁷⁰ Although the CCP was one of the prime movements behind the agrarian reform, the reform's failure to address the needs of the majority of campesinos, and the creation of a new landholders in the country side have made the CCP one of the main opponents of the SAIS model, in some cases working with Sendero to undermine it (Weiner 1987).

SAIS/Community Relations.

In terms of the community/SAIS relations, I will address primarily the DTs' relationship to the comuneros, but also the relationship between the members of the Executive and the communities. The latter is relevant because of the SAIS' structure in which the Executive has close control over the actions of the CDD.

In interviews with the Executive members, I focused on the manner in which they, as policy makers for the CDD, made decisions about which projects to undertake and, specifically, how they knew what the communities needed or wanted. Their responses illustrated that they, as members of the communities, considered themselves to be the representatives of the communities, and fully aware of the communities' needs. For them their relations with the communities was not an issue because they claimed to be part of the community. These opinions are illustrated in the response of a senior member of the Administrative Council. We had been discussing how decisions were made for the CDD, and I asked how he and the other members of the Executive ensured that what they recommended for the CDD's work in the communities was either what the communities needed or wanted. He responded: "We are from the communities, that is my home and we know far better than any technician what is needed there. I don't need to go there to know what is needed." This

response supports the idea held by members of the Executive that they did not need to formally consult with the communities. This attitude was evident in the Executive's failure to attend the meetings of the Bajada de Bases to which I referred in Chapter II.

When this member's response is compared with the reactions of comuneros, some of the contradictions and tensions between the communities and the Executive are apparent. The Executive member's response is particularly interesting in light of the fact that he had not lived in the community since the age of twelve or thirteen and was considered to have become highly separated from the community context and its culture.⁷¹ In the interviews, the comuneros who actually reside in the communities expressed the feeling that the interests of the members of the General Assembly and Executive had, in many cases, become more closely linked with those of the urban or "mestizo" milieu and the concerns of political advancement than with the interests of the communities.

In regards to the relationship of the DTs to the communities, interviews with the comuneros pointed to the conflicts and contradictions identified by Montoya (1987) to which I referred in the preceding review of the literature. In interviews with community members the relationship was fre-

⁷¹ This member had come to be regarded as a "mestizo" in the terms to which I refer in Chapter II.

quently criticized for what they called the DTs' "doctor's visits". By this they meant that the DTs spent minimal time, did not listen attentively to them or get to the heart of the matter, but nevertheless gave orders. At the same time, however, they spoke of themselves as the owners of the SAIS and the DTs as their employees.

Adding to this contradiction was what seemed to be an increasing lack of confidence in the technical or professional abilities of the DTs.⁷² The president of one of the communities told me, in speaking about the development projects of the Five-Year Plan, that; "the Community Development Division has great ideas but they don't explain anything. No one has enough confidence to do something just because they say."⁷³ These comments illustrate the frustrations that community members felt in being nominal owners but at the same time having to depend on the CDD for material and technical assistance. Community members also criticized the training courses as being what they called "capacitacion de salon" or "classroom training". They complained that it was too theoretical, and lacking the needed practi-

⁷² During the practicum this issue became increasingly heated due to two instances in which the DTs interventions contributed to losses on the part of the comuneros. In one case, several head of cattle died after receiving the wrong injection. In the other, several families who had agreed to plant their potatoes as recommended by the CDD obtained yields well below average.

⁷³ Here he was referring to the fact that the CDD proposed that the community start commercial fish farming, but had failed to detail the technical aspects of this nor how the marketing and general operations might be done.

cal component.

Interviews and conversations with the Development Technicians also produced a varied and sometimes complex picture of their relationship with the communities. On the one hand they almost unanimously expressed a philosophical commitment to an equal relationship with community members and described themselves as employees of the communities. On the other hand, they claimed that there was a lack of consultation and communication between the communities and the CDD and spoke of themselves as experts who should tell the community what to do. In this second role they treat and speak of the comuneros in paternalistic terms. In the same instance to which the community president referred in criticizing the CDD's development plans, the community was strongly criticized by DTs and by the director of the CDD for lacking any initiative and not having gone ahead with the project.

This contradictory situation, which gives nominal ownership of the SAIS to the communities but leaves much of the control in the hands of DTs, was summed up nicely by one of the women at the Bajada de Bases meeting in Talhuis:

We are supposed to be the owners of this SAIS. That was what the Agrarian Reform was all about, but they [DTs and Management] think that they can tell us how to do things, and, worse, they don't even know how to use a 'taclia'.⁷⁴ We should get rid of all of them, but then who would vaccinate the cattle?

⁷⁴ The "taclia" is a type of spade used routinely to cultivate in the highland region.

Another aspect of their relationship which reflects Montoya's (1987) analysis and was evident in interviews with both DTs and comuneros was that of resentment and fear to which I have referred. Comuneros are resentful that, though the agrarian reform spoke of them as owners of the lands, their ownership is indirect and the DTs and SAIS administrators continue to exercise great control. DTs are resentful and antagonistic because they believe in some cases that the communities are undeserving owners of the land who hold too much power through their majority representation on the General Assembly, thus controlling the working conditions and wages of all the SAIS workers. They believe that the communities profit disproportionately from the work of the CDD and the production units. This was a position expressed by some DTs and workers of the SAIS offices in Huancayo and the productions units. It harkens back to the rhetoric of the Agrarian Reform which promised "the land for those who work it."

The related feeling of fear within both the CDD and the workers of the PUs came from two sources. One was the possibility of them losing their jobs as a result of attempts to partition the SAIS or attempts to disband the CDD.⁷⁵ The

⁷⁵ An attempt to disband the CDD on the part of the delegates from the communities of the Canipaco Valley was narrowly defeated at the General Assembly meeting in Jan-

more serious, however, was the threats made against the lives of DTs from unknown sources.⁷⁶

One way in which I tried to understand the nature of this relationship was to ask the DTs about what they learned from the community and what they thought they provided the community. By asking this type of question I was attempting to establish whether they viewed the community as a source of knowledge to draw upon for their work or if they perceived themselves to be the sole experts. There was really, as far as I could tell, no one clear answer. Besides references to learning about the "reality of the community", an illusion to the poverty, isolation, and hardship, a considerable number of individual factual bits of information could be mentioned. However, in general these seemed not to have been connected with the broader scope of their work. That is, while DTs readily acknowledged the campesinos knowledge about certain plants, for example, they did not appear to incorporate this into their work. In some cases this was due, it seemed, to a lack of appreciation for the validity of this knowledge and, in others perhaps, to a sense that it was beyond the scope of their job or ability.

uary 1988.

⁷⁶ While these threats were made in the name of Sendero Luminoso, there was much speculation among DTs and other SAIS staff that in fact they were the work of some of the communities who would prefer to see the SAIS disband.

An example might serve to illustrate this point. During a course in Cachi, one of the veterinarians was describing the symptoms and recommended treatments for a variety of cattle ailments. The majority of his prescribed treatments involved the use of fairly costly medications. After the lecture a group of comuneros approached him and asked what he thought of certain indigenous treatments for the same ailments. His response was essentially that he did not have time to worry about that, and, though it might work, he could not be bothered to use or recommend them. The attitude seems to be that he, or the DTs in general, are experts in their field and have this expertise to share with the communities and that, though the communities may also have certain knowledge, it is not really worth learning except as incidental or folkloric information.

A final aspect of the relationship that was revealed in interviews with the comuneros was of the DTs as a link to the external agencies and bureaucracies. This came often in the form of DTs or the director of the CDD finding funding for community or individual projects. One example of this that was ongoing during the project was in regard to a hydro-electric project in several of the communities. In order for the communities to be serviced by the electrical company they had to provide documentation of the number of houses and potential users, make this available to the appropriate authorities, and generally go through the

bureaucratic maze. Several community members spoke of the help of the DTs in walking them through these tasks.

In summary a picture emerges from these interviews of a relationship characterized by conflict, mistrust, and role differentiation. There is no evidence that the role reversals or the mutual learning relationships called for by the Social Transformation model exist. Vertical communication, with requests going up and lectures and instruction coming down, typifies the community/SAIS relations.

ADDITIONAL OBSERVATIONS

The final source of information used in describing the model of community work employed by the SAIS is field observation regarding the nature and conditions of the SAIS's community work. I will describe three observations which are significant for understanding the community work model of the SAIS.⁷⁷

⁷⁷ While these observations were made largely independent of the interviews it would be a mistake to say that they were in all cases entirely so. The case of the "asistentas sociales" work for example was discussed in some of the interviews, but, as I mentioned, I have chosen to discuss it here, in part, because of its departure from the norm followed by the CDD in general.

Professional Representation.

One of the obvious factors which supports the predominant emphasis on substantive and technical needs found in the interviews is the relative representation of the various fields or professions within the CDD. Of the twenty-five DTs, all but four of them represented what might be called "physical" as opposed to "social" sciences. This division was also evident in the leadership of the CDD. Each of the four team leaders^{7 8} within the CDD had a technical background, two agronomists, a veterinary scientist, and a forestry engineer. This predominance of technically oriented DTs reinforces the substantive and task oriented view of needs and objectives.

Community Visit Routines.

During the practicum I made eight trips of 2-7 days to the communities with the CDD 'teams'. In the course of these community visits I was able to participate in and observe the work of the DTs. By far the majority of emphasis and time was devoted to addressing the concrete physical needs of the communities. The following list is a sample of some of the services performed by the DTs on visits to communities in which I participated:

^{7 8} Part of the restructuring called for in the Five-Year Plan was for the CDD to be divided into four geographically based teams. Though this had not yet been implemented, the teams and their leaders had been chosen.

- i) Vaccination of livestock.
- ii) Dipping sheep.
- iii) Taking soil samples for testing.
- iv) Performing minor surgery on horses for removal of an oral tumor.
- v) Clearing roads and leveling land for construction.
- vi) Preparing land for reforestation.
- vii) Selecting sites for wells and sanitary facilities.
- viii) Testing residents for tuberculosis.
- ix) Advising on pesticides and fertilizers.
- x) Performing bookkeeping and accounting tasks.

Each of the community visits followed a similar routine. They were generally not prearranged with the community members or authorities because of the difficulties of transportation and communication.⁷⁹ Upon arrival in a community DTs would seek out the local authorities and the news that the technicians had arrived would spread by word of mouth. Those comuneros who had specific problems or needs would come search out the DTs in whatever locale was provided for our accommodations. Typically, in addition to attending to the concerns brought forward in this way, DTs would visit

⁷⁹ While the CDD owned several small pickups, these were often unavailable either because of frequent breakdowns or because members of the Executive Council would require their use. On several occasions we spent up to two days waiting for public transport or for a SAIS vehicle to be available.

the communal farm⁸⁰ and check on other projects that were ongoing. For example, in the community of Talhuis, one of the tasks was to check on the progress of the reforestation project which had been previously started.

The pattern observed in these visits also serves to reinforce previous information regarding the relationship between the CDD and the communities. In no instance, for example, did I observe a formal needs assessment or problem solving process with the community as a whole. In most cases DTs remained somewhat apart, even isolated from the community during their visits, responding to comunero requests by performing specified technical tasks such as those listed above. An example of the isolation maintained by DTs was a visit to the community of Racracalla. The four DTs with whom I went spent much of the two days indoors waiting for the rain to end or for comuneros to come solicit their help. Even during meals they ate by themselves, and there was very little interaction with the community. While community members went about the potato harvest, the CDD team watched from the window waiting for the rain to stop.

⁸⁰ Most of the communities had begun small community owned farms with which to supplement community needs. These included both livestock, often sheep or llamas, as well as grain or potatoes. While the intent was for all community members to share in the work and the benefits of these, in reality the success of these operations and the importance given them by the communities were, in many cases, questionable.

All of this reinforces the image of the DT/community relationship as one of expert to recipient similar to that described by Shrivastava (1982). In his description of what he calls the "rural development" model, referred to in Chapter IV, the emphasis is almost entirely on the provision of expertise to solve substantive problems with "no attempt to critically assess the social, cultural, economic and political reality of rural society..." or to ensure "...that people in rural areas are in any way important in this development strategy... It is assumed that outsiders (more educated, knowledgeable and competent than rural people) know the answers and can do rural development from outside" (Shrivastava, 1982: p.4). Many of these attitudes were typified in the approach of the CDD.

In addition to what they suggest concerning the community work model of the SAIS, these observations illustrate the tensions that existed between DTs and community members. DTs clearly did not feel entirely welcome in the community. This was in part a result of the conflicts between the communities and the SAIS's workers. They are also indicative of a practical difficulty that some DTs have with the conditions in the countryside, or what they refer to as "la realidad del campo". DTs are, to a certain extent, accustomed to city life and some find it inconvenient and demeaning to tramp around in the mud, eat little besides boiled potatoes, and sleep on sheep skins on the floor. Consequently, they

have a difficult time integrating into the community and gaining the respect which might come from being outside in the rain helping with the potato harvest instead of sitting indoors.

The "Asistentas Sociales".

Within the CDD there was a glaring and perhaps significant division. Of the twenty-five members, twenty-one of them were men while the remainder were female "asistentas sociales" or social workers. While much of the work that they performed conformed to the model of the CDD in general and to the description that has emerged from the literature, interviews and observations, there were some clear departures from it.

Immediately noticeable in the way the "asistentas" described the needs of the communities and the objectives of community work were their references to conscientization, organization, and empowerment. While continuing to work with the rest of the CDD to address substantive issues in the communities, the needs were expressed by this group of DTs in a manner distinct from that of the rest of the CDD. Their work was almost exclusively with the women of the communities and their objectives in this work were principally to organize the women into groups in which they could build self awareness, solidarity, and increase their capacities to

address the needs of the community. Some of the specific needs that the asistentas mentioned were for income generation and health, for a "voice in the community" and to "recognize their power". By this the asistentas meant that the women performed a large percentage of the productive labour and needed to recognize the significance of this and, by organizing themselves, gain the voice within the community to which they believed the women were entitled.

In terms of the strategies of community work that they employed, the last several years had seen the asistentas make a deliberate change in their work. Where they had previously worked largely as "home makers", helping the campesinas with household tasks, they were now primarily working as organizers, and educators, promoting self-help projects. The principal method employed by the asistentas in their work with the women was the establishment, in each community, of a "club de madres" or mothers' club. These clubs were organized around issues identified by the women. Through a process of needs assessment, discussion and training, the groups attempted to deal with community problems. Generally the needs targeted were concrete community issues. Through the process of analyzing them and taking action, the "club de madres" satisfied substantive needs and underwent an educational and self-awareness building process. They also gained increased respect within the community. In the village of Cachi the women had been particularly successful in

marketing produce grown by the "club de madres" and had put the money toward improvements in the school. During one of the community meetings in Cachi, issues regarding the school were brought up; it became abundantly clear that no decision could be made without their approval. According to the asistentas, the principal gains were in the women's initiative, self-respect, and participation in the community.

The "asistentas" relationship with the women of the communities lacked much of the conflictual tension characterizing the broader community/SAIS relations. In the strategies that they employed, particularly the group discussions of needs and solutions, we see a more mutual relationship, one in which the community is empowered to define their problems and solutions. Their role was characteristically less directive and more that of facilitator, instructor in some instances, and organizer in others.

At the same time it is worth noting that there was open resistance from some of the community authorities to these problem solving strategies when used with the community at large rather than with just the "club de madres". The "asistentas" attributed this largely to the fact that the community at large was not accustomed to this approach and preferred the usual immediate authoritative answers to specific problems. While there is ample support for this idea in the literature,⁸¹ the reader will notice the irony of the

⁸¹ De Zeutter (1986), Shrivastava (1982) and Gran (1983) are

communities' criticism of both the authoritative approach of the DTs and the problem solving approaches of the asistentas. The resistance to the problem solving and participatory methodologies used by the asistentas appears to be consistent with the focus on substantive problems and directive, top-down resolution of problems. Given that, as we have seen, the latter was the primary methodological approach both in the SAIS and in general societal and government relations, a certain degree of resistance to the new and relatively untried methods is understandable. This may be particularly so when, as the "asistentas" pointed out, the alternative methodologies were being implemented by women. In their opinion the opposition to participatory methodologies encountered among community authorities was also due in part to their being women. That these approaches were relatively more successful among the women than the men of the SAIS may reflect the closer relations and better acceptance that the asistentas were able to develop with the women.

SUMMARY OF THE COMMUNITY WORK MODEL OF THE SAIS

but a few of the theorists who speak of the need to thoroughly prepare a community for its role in any participatory community work process.

Needs and Objectives. The orientation to needs and objectives within the SAIS is weighted heavily toward substantive issues. These include:

- 1) Improving the technology on the productions units and in the communities.
- 2) Improving the agricultural techniques used by comuneros.
- 3) Raising the community economic standard.
- 4) Improving the physical infrastructure within the communities, including roads, buildings, wells, sanitation facilities, etcetera.

There is also evidence of a belief in the need for behavioural and attitudinal change, especially toward the SAIS as an institution and the comuneros responsibility to it. While all the constituent groups believe this need exists, they, as I have shown, hold different views of the solutions to it.

The need for structural change has taken on increasing significance as the threats to the continuation of the SAIS mount. As these increase, it becomes more and more difficult to address other needs without first resolving these.

Needs for community solidarity and for building self-awareness and the communities' capacity for addressing their needs are also recognized particularly among the "asistentas sociales" in their work with the women of the communities. However, this appears to be a somewhat isolated perspective,

encountering some resistance at the level of DTs and community authorities.

Basic Change Strategies.

During the course of the practicum the following change strategies became evident. First, related to the primary identification of needs and objectives, was a strategy of the DTs providing direct service to the communities. Second, was a strategy of providing technical training for communities. A third strategy was that of centrally conducted research and planning in the Huancayo office for the development and implementation of community projects. A fourth strategy or group of strategies which was used by the different constituent groups for varied ends was directed at structural change. It included political lobbying by the SAIS's representatives, direct community action, mass demonstrations, strikes, and even violence and the threat of violence.

Community/SAIS Relations.

In analyzing the relations between the communities and the SAIS I have focused on the communities' relationship with the DTs. The relationship is generally a hierarchical one in which information flows vertically to the centre.

Both the literature and the interviews demonstrate that, while there is a rhetorical recognition of the need for two-way communication and problem solving, this does not in fact take place. Instead, the communities request and requisition, and the CDD directs and lectures.

The relationship is further characterized by conflict between the communities and the DTs. This conflict stems from the historical relations between these groups and from the contradictory situation in which the communities are owners of the SAIS and employers of the DTs, while at the same time DT's, as employees, are in possession of technical knowledge and the power and title associated with it. This situation is aggravated by feelings of resentment and fear, heightened in the current climate of threatened dissolution of the SAIS. Ultimately this overshadows all activities which the SAIS undertakes.

CHAPTER VI

COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION IN THE WORK OF THE SAIS "CAHUIDE"

This chapter addresses the second of the five practicum questions: What was the nature of community participation in the work of the SAIS's Community Development Division? To do this I begin the chapter by developing a framework that will facilitate the description of participation in the SAIS. This is followed by a description of the nature of participation, based on my observations of three community work projects.

A THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK FOR ASSESSING PARTICIPATION

The concept of participation seems to have lost considerable definition. It seems that "community" as a modifier as in "community radio" or "community controlled projects..." which is intended to connote participation is in effect used as a "marriage of political convenience and justification" (Brookfield, 1981). The concept has become vague, meaning different things to different people and can be found equally in the development rhetoric of capitalists, socialists and others (Repo, 1977; Smith, 1982).

Despite this, the demands for participation of communities in their own development are legitimate and even critical. Surely the health of a community can be measured, at least in part, by the existence of opportunities for participation in its institutions that are accessible to all its social and interest groups (Brager, 1987). Goulet (1989) claims that participation is indispensable to development and that the quality of development is largely determined by the quality of participation.

Brager (1987) suggests that we need to ask several questions regarding participation: why, who, when, and how should people participate? Ralph Kramer (1969), on the basis of work with Community Action Programs in California, poses similar questions, asking what the role of community people should be and who should speak for them. In the following discussion, I will address three questions which form a framework for analyzing participation: 1) Why should the community participate? 2) Who should participate? and 3) How should the community participate?

Why should the community participate?

The first broad distinction which can be made in regard to this question is that made by Denis Goulet (1989). He suggests that participation can be seen in the "instrumentalist" fashion as the best means for achieving diverse ends or in the "teleological" manner as a good, an end in itself.

For his part Brager (1987) identifies three motivations for participation: integrative, socio-therapeutic, and external change. Integrative goals are concerned with stability and conflict avoidance in the relationships between communities and workers. The community worker or agency seeks to involve the community in the development process primarily to gain their support for it rather than out of a genuine concern for communication and feedback. Brager claims that, where this latter concern exists, it is secondary to the desire for stability.

Rothman's (1968) discussion of community work suggests that these goals are most consistent with the Technical Planning approach, as planners attempt to get community members "on side". However, the criticisms of many development initiatives suggest that these goals are common even within the Community Development orientation despite its philosophical commitment to participation (Gianotten and de Wit, 1987; de Zeutter, 1986). Havelock and Huberman (1978) suggest that the integrative motivation may arise from the contradiction that commonly exists between the felt needs of the community and the needs that a sponsoring agency or government may have identified. De Zeutter describes how a sponsoring agency can become so enamoured with its own agenda that it finds it impossible to make the changes which the community demands. The result is that the efforts of the "development team" or agency become focused on convincing

the community of the validity of or the need for the project as it has been planned from the outside (de Zeutter, 1986).

Brager's second motivation for community participation, the socio-therapeutic rationale, maintains that "the specific outcome of the community effort is less relevant than whether the social and political development of the participants has been advanced" (Brager, 1987: p.75). Advocates of this perspective believe that by involvement in the community development process the community will gain the competence and attitudes necessary for its development. This rationale for community participation is most commonly espoused by the those within the Community Development orientation. Its lack of focus on concrete achievements may be its most serious weakness.

Environmental change is the third motivation addressed by Brager for community workers to promote the participation of the community. Here, while the utility of community participation as a process which develops the necessary skills, knowledge, and attitudes for development is not denied, the participation of communities is seen chiefly as a source of power to promote substantive or structural change. The objectives may be changes in local services, basic alteration of the social system itself, or amelioration of a specific substantive problem in such areas as health or housing. One of the common ways in which participation is used

to create substantive change is by having the community provide the labour needed for the implementation of a particular development project. As I noted in the discussion of the Community Development orientation, this limited focus for community participation has often been one of its shortcomings.

Who should participate?

As noted in the discussion of community work orientations, the issue of who should participate in development initiatives is often couched in ambiguous references to the community as a homogenous and harmonic whole (Cary, 1970; Rothman, 1968). What much of this discussion has tended to ignore in its sometimes ambiguous calls for the community as a whole to participate is that even poor communities are differentiated and that there is a process of domination which takes place within them (Hollnsteiner, 1982; Stein, 1985).

Where a recognition of differences exists it was and is often spoken of in terms of two ill-defined groups, the "elite" and the "grassroots". Alternatively, the recognition of differences has been based on an analysis of who is most likely to change and to modernize (Gianotten and de Wit, 1987; Rogers, 1969). Rogers and Shoemaker (1971) developed a list of criteria attempting to identify those

most likely to change in order to target diffusion and extensionist strategies at those most likely to participate. Since studies have shown that participation is positively correlated with income it is not surprising that development strategies, which have targeted those identified as the most likely to participate, have frequently contributed to inequality by benefitting wealthier members of a community disproportionately (Wolfe, 1982; Wertheim, 1983).

The increasing recognition of this differentiation and of the ineffectiveness of the "trickle down" (Hyden, 1986) approaches to address the needs of the poorest community members has led many theorists to call for more concentrated attempts to involve the poor in the development process (Galtung, 1978; Gran, 1980; Shrivastava, 1982). Hollnsteiner (1982) argues that it should be poor individuals and not the community as a whole that participates, and Galtung (1978) calls for evaluations of development to be undertaken from the perspective of the poorest and least powerful. He says that means must be found for the direct participation of these groups in local decision-making.

In calls by Chambers (1983) for "reversals of learning" and by de Zeutter (1986) for genuine two-way communication, we find similar attempts to value the experience and knowledge of the non-elites in a system that has, for the most part, marginalized their contributions. Crucial too, in the

discussion of who should participate, is the argument that "indigenous" or "native" leaders be involved as opposed to the establishment of new leaders or of new organizational structures. (Alinsky, 1969; de Wit, 1987; de Zeutter, 1986)

How should the community participate?

This question can be seen to have two parts: First, when or at what moment in the development process should community members be involved? Second, to what degree should they be involved? Brager (1987) identifies three needs, the need for leadership, for expertise, and for participation, which must be considered in determining to what extent the community should participate. He suggests that a balance must be struck between the accomplishment of substantive tasks, for which the community may not have the requisite expertise, and the gains in learning and conscientization or attitude formation that may result from community participation. Goulet (1989) makes a similar observation suggesting that participation's "dual nature as both goal and means implies unending compromises between antagonistic requirements of efficiency and equity".

If we look at the process of community work as involving several stages: needs analysis, planning stage, implementation, and evaluation, it is possible to describe community participation based on the stage at which the community is

encouraged or allowed to become involved (Goulet 1989). Within each of these stages it is also possible to consider participation along a continuum which measures the degree of involvement.

Kramer (cited in Brager, 1987) devised such a continuum, plotting the degree of involvement that participants may have within the development process. He identifies seven points on the continuum or possibilities for community involvement:

- i) The community member does nothing and is told nothing of the agency or worker's plans.
- ii) The community receives information.
- iii) The community is consulted as the agency seeks support.
- iv) The community has an advisory role and the agency or worker is prepared to make some modifications if necessary.
- v) The community is involved in joint planning.
- vi) The community has delegated authority in which the agency asks the community to make a series of decisions around an identified problem and within set limits.
- vii) The community both identifies a problem and makes the key decisions. The agency "is willing to help the community at each step to accomplish its own goals, even to the extent of administrative control of the programs." (Kramer, 1970 cited in Brager, 1987: p.67)

Summary of the Framework

In considering the nature of community participation in the process of community work, we have asked three crucial

questions: Why should the community participate? Who within the community should participate? How, or when and to what extent, should the community participate?

Three basic approaches are generally found to the first question: community participation to create various levels of cooptation or agreement with agency plans; participation for the learning of the community; and participation as a strategy for creating change.

To the second question, regarding who should participate, community work theorists respond by pointing to the "whole community", to the disadvantaged in a recognition of significant social differentiation, or to some form of elite in a trickle down approach.

Finally, the third question concerning timing and extent of participation requires a response at two levels. First it addresses the stage or stages at which the community participates. Second, it describes the degree to which it participates in each stage.

The Participatory Model of the Practicum

Using the preceding theoretical framework developed for describing the nature of community participation in the SAIS, I will briefly describe the model of participation which was adopted for this practicum. This model, or what

might best be described as a philosophical orientation to community participation, provided one of the fundamental bases, along with our community work orientation and the community work assessment,⁸² for the strategies, objectives and work of this practicum.

While the participation of the community is frequently justified on the basis of the three motivations or goals listed in the framework, I approach the question of why the community should participate, first of all, from the teleological perspective identified by Goulet (1989). That is, I accept the inherent right of the community, recognized throughout community work literature, to participate in its own development. From this starting point, the socio-therapeutic and external change goals also provide motivation for the objective of increased community participation central to this practicum. In this orientation, however, I specifically attempt to avoid the cynical form of integrative goals described by Brager (1987), in which participation is sought only as a means of, to use McClintock's terms, "getting people to do what outsiders think is good for them" (McClintock, 1981: p.99). While it is essential that people feel ownership and commitment, these should be genuine conditions which arise out of authentic and meaningful participation and not fabricated for the maintenance of stability or the

⁸² When I refer to "community work assessment" I am referring to the assessment of both the community work model employed by the SAIS and the community participation in the work of the CDD.

advancement of an agency's own goals.

The orientation adopted in this practicum to the question of who should participate finds its focus in the goals of community work. The goals of transfer of power and of equality, which are an essential part of the Social Transformation model adopted by the practicum, lend strength to calls for the deprived and disadvantaged to participate in the development process. Believing that the participation of community members is a means of transferring power to them, this orientation calls for the participation of those most in need of this transfer. The participation of elites, in the absence of participation by the oppressed, serves to maintain the status quo and thwart the objectives of equality (Gran, 1983; Worsley, 1984).

In terms of how the community should participate, this philosophical orientation adopts the idealistic starting point found in the literature of the United Nations which calls for community involvement in each stage of the development process.

"Genuine participation leading to self-reliance and continuity in community-based social services grows most often out of people's involvement from the first phases of problem identification and data collection, through programme and project design, to ultimate implementation, management, and evaluation" (Unicef, 1982: p.122).

Likewise the degree of participation at each stage should, as closely as possible, approximate the seventh point on

Kramer's continuum, in which it is the community that makes all the key decisions.

Naturally this orientation represents a guide or an ideal toward which to strive. In the world of actual practice, and certainly in the world occupied by the SAIS "Cahuide", there are limitations to the extent to which it can be achieved. There are at least four significant limitations to the successful implementation of this orientation.

a) Lack of spontaneous participation. While it is preferable that the community initiate development work, its failure to do so should encourage the community worker to demonstrate to people their options. As Alinsky (1976) says, people must feel that they can achieve something before they will become involved.

b) Difficulty in the definition of need. While the belief that the community is able to define its needs is central to community work (Hakim 1982), the control exercised by elites through "opinion leaders" and less subtle forms of coercion can create a discrepancy between the felt needs of a community and the goals of development and the principles of participation.

c) Lack of resources. The idealistic orientation to community participation of the United Nations suggests that the community should provide the resources for development.

Bugnicourt (1982) warns, however, that too often the majority of the burden of participation has been placed on the poor. It is unreasonable to expect the poorest to contribute the most in terms of time and effort when they have the least to spare. Furthermore, in a situation such as the SAIS where community workers are paid, albeit indirectly, by the communities, it is reasonable to expect them to do some of the work and make some of the decisions.

d) Lack of skills and/or knowledge. In each of the stages of a community work project, the lack of skill or knowledge is a limiting factor to community participation. Particularly where the goals are largely substantive, a lack of needed skill and knowledge will cause a community worker's role to increase and the community's role to decrease or change.

In addition to these general limitations, there were others, specific to the work in the SAIS, which also affected the attainment of the participatory ideals. One of these relates to the nature of the projects through which we attempted to promote the changes to participatory methodologies.⁸³ At least one of these, the delegate orientation, was by definition aimed at the community elites. While we could and did attempt to get the participation of other community members in the planning stages, the primary focus in this

⁸³ See Chapter VII for a full discussion of this process and these projects.

project remained centred on these elites.⁸⁴

Another limitation, relating to our rationale for promoting participation, was the extreme concern of DTs for the protection of their jobs. As a result of the insecurity surrounding the continuity of both the SAIS and the CDD, DTs were often more concerned with participation solely for the integrative goals that our orientation attempts to avoid than for external change goals or as an inherent right of the community. In promoting participation, then, as will be clear in the discussion of change promotion strategies in Chapters VII and VIII, this concern for integrative goals was recognized and used as a driving force to help persuade DTs to experiment with participatory methodologies. While a possible inconsistency with the stated participatory orientation needs to be acknowledged, its potential for getting DTs to experiment with participatory methods seems to justify its use.

Despite these limitations, the orientations to participation adopted in this practicum and the Social Transformation approach to community work provided the framework for the promotion of the participatory methodologies of community work which were the practicum's essence.

⁸⁴ These delegates are not considered "elites" merely because of their position as delegates, but also because, as I explain in the following assessment of community participation, they typically come from among the wealthier members of the community.

DESCRIPTION OF PARTICIPATION

In the second portion of this chapter, I will directly address the question of community participation in the SAIS. The information which forms the basis of this section is drawn largely from my observations of three community work projects, as well as from the interviews and conversations with members and workers of the SAIS. The three projects were: a reforestation project, the Bajada de Bases to which I have referred, and a leadership training course.

The reforestation project took place in the community of Carampa.⁸⁵ This project was the responsibility of the CDD's forestry engineer, and involved planting approximately two hundred and fifty trees in the areas of the community most affected by erosion.

The second project, the Bajada de Bases, has already been briefly described in foregoing chapters. It was designed as a series of meetings between members of the CDD, the EC, the management and the communities. These meetings, in which information regarding both the plans of the SAIS and the

⁸⁵ similar projects were being conducted in other communities, but it was only in Carampa that I had the opportunity to speak at any length with community people about this project. From the conversations with the DTs and observation of the reforestation project in Cachi however, I am lead to believe that the situation in Carampa was roughly parallel to that in other communities.

concerns of the communities could be exchanged in dialogue fashion, were scheduled for each of the member communities. Looking at what actually happened during the Bajada provides us with an example of the structured participation of the communities in the SAIS and the nature of communication between the various constituents.

The third activity which forms the basis of this analysis was the leadership training course in the community of Santo Domingo de Cachi (Cachi).. Consideration of this project allows some understanding of the participation of comuneros in a specifically educational project.

Why does the Community Participate?

In the theoretical review I identified three motivations for workers to encourage the community to participate: integrative, socio-therapeutic and environmental change goals. In the three projects described, participation was encouraged or allowed primarily for integrative and/or environmental change goals.

Participation in the reforestation project, served environmental change or, in Goulet's (1989) terms, instrumentalist goals, in so far as the intent was for the community to provide the manpower to accomplish concrete tasks. The initial participation of the community in identifying the num-

ber and type of trees that they needed could normally be seen to flow from both integrative and environmental change goals. However, the failure on the part of the CDD, by not providing the requested trees and by not ensuring that the project met community approval, alienated the community and resulted in the community's withdrawal of all participation or interest.

The Bajada de Bases, inspired by the criticisms of and threats to the CDD,⁸⁶ also had integrative goals as its primary aim. Management, particularly, sought to convince communities of the need for the CDD and the value of the projects identified in the Five-Year Plan. The fact that the Bajada was not completed as intended and that many members of management declined to become involved illustrates the lack of commitment to it as a means of achieving external change or even socio-therapeutic goals.

While integrative goals were the predominant motivators, it must be noted that there was also, on the part of some individuals, genuine motivation to promote participation for external change goals and because of a belief in the inherent value of participation. These people believed that, by allowing two-way communication, the bajada could stimulate alterations in the patterns of work of the DTs and identify areas of focus and highlight community concerns. An example

⁸⁶ The criticisms of and threats to the SAIS and the CDD are described in detail elsewhere in this report.

from the work of the Education Committee's coordinator will illustrate these motivations.⁸⁷ The coordinator was responsible for some of the meetings of the Bajada, and, though he was, like Pedro and I, left to carry them out on his own, he went to great lengths to write a full report of community concerns and comments.⁸⁸ This represented, on his part, a commitment to external change goals. At the same time, not only did members of management rarely accompany him, but his report was rejected by the president of the Education Committee as unnecessary and trivial. This example illustrates a cynical focus on integrative goals by people such as the president of the EC and a commitment to external change and possibly socio-therapeutic goals on the part of such individuals as the EC coordinator.

Participation in the Cachi leadership course centred on the community identifying a need for the course and making the request. More than anything the comments of the director of the CDD led me to believe that this illustrated the instrumentalist objectives of participation in the SAIS. The director of the CDD indicated that this form of participation served a valuable function in determining which services will be provided to which communities based on the

⁸⁷ As described in Chapter II, the EC had two full time staff people, one of which was Pedro, and the other of which was a coordinator with roughly parallel duties.

⁸⁸ It should be noted that the coordinator wrote this report, in part, to support our analysis and aid the change process. Information from it supported our findings and the development of a change strategy.

number and stridency of requests.⁸⁹ While this type of participation could serve each of the three goal categories, and undoubtedly did to some extent, these comments demonstrate the CDD's perspective on this participation as a part of the planning process in an instrumentalist fashion. The participation provided the CDD with information needed to make a decision. It was not for socio-therapeutic goals nor solely for the integration of the community into the process.

Who Participates?

The reforestation project was initiated by the CDD in response to a national campaign for soil conservation in the highlands. The CDD made trees available to each of the communities and proposed that they decide how many and of what kind they wanted. The forestry engineer was responsible for assisting in the technical aspects of the project including selection of planting sites, planting, and care of the trees.

⁸⁹ This manner of determining the type of course or project to be carried out corresponds to Brookfield's (1981) description of "adult education in the community" in so far as the community dictates what course will be offered regardless of its focus. It also correlates, to some extent, with the "consumer sovereignty" against which Lovett (1983) speaks in demanding a more class focused educational endeavour.

In the case of Carampa, two hundred trees were requested, and it was specified that these be eucalyptus. The DT responsible delivered two hundred and fifty pine trees, instead of the eucalyptus requested, and left them with instructions to plant them but with no explanation or demonstration of how to do it. The result was that the trees died in their burlap sacks before they were planted.

Two instances of actual or intended participation can be identified. The first took place at the planning stage of the process. The community's General Assembly instructed the president to request two hundred eucalyptus trees because of the superior lumber that the eucalyptus provides, and because they had previously attempted to plant pine trees and these had died. There was also intended participation in the DTs instructions to the community. The community was to be involved by planting the trees in a communal work project. This demonstrates the idea that it is the community as a whole that should participate. In this case there does not seem to be any attempt to differentiate between different sectors of the community.

The "Bajada de Bases" also officially targeted the community as a whole. Nevertheless, of all the community members it was the community authorities who were most likely to participate. These tended to be younger men from wealthier families⁹⁰ creating a bias in favour of the more powerful in

⁹⁰ Gianotten and de Wit describe the positions on the commu-

the community. In the description of the practicum work I noted that not all of the communities actually received visits from the SAIS representatives as scheduled in the Bajada. This means that some of the communities did not participate at all. This division between who participated and who did not was a matter of chance, in so far as poor road conditions or other extenuating circumstances prevented scheduled visits from taking place. On the other hand, it also had much to do with family ties between members of the management and Executive and members of the communities. In the case of the visits made by Pedro and I to the communities of Canchapalca, Talhuis, and Chipche the fact that Pedro has family members in each of these was a deciding factor. Paerregaard (1987) supports this, describing how family ties form the basis of most communal relations.

The fact that the Bajada de Bases took place in the communities rather than at the office in Huancayo is also significant for the question of who participated. By having the delegates, management and directors go to the community more people within the community had the opportunity to participate. This can also be seen to support the idea of

nity councils as responsibilities that young men are expected to fulfill. They are generally positions filled by young often unmarried men because of the time commitment that they involve. There is in addition a certain amount of financial obligation in that the members of the council and especially the president are expected to sponsor certain yearly festivities as "padrino" or godfather. This was generally supported in conversations with comuneros and with community authorities.

indigenous leadership espoused in the literature to which I have referred. The Bajada provided opportunity for poorer comuneros to participate without leaving the community and tended to legitimate the community as a place of importance worthy of a visit by the upper echelons of the SAIS management. This lent importance to the Bajada as an exercise in community participation and two-way dialogue, but also made more significant the overall failure of the SAIS to follow through with the Bajada in its intended form.

By looking at why the leadership course was held in Cachi, we can infer some things about who participates within the SAIS. There are two principal reasons for the course being conducted in Cachi. For one thing, according to the figures found in the Five-Year Plan, Cachi was the community with the highest percentage of its members residing outside of the community, mainly in Huancayo. This provides them with easy access to the CDD office where requests are placed for a variety of services. The director of the CDD confirmed what seemed apparent throughout the practicum, namely, that one of the main criteria for determining which projects the CDD would undertake was the persistence with which a community demanded services.⁹¹

⁹¹ I would suggest that this orientation also relates to the leadership style of the director, which in Chapter VIII I identify as "conserver", and to his weakened position within the SAIS, which made him particularly wary of and susceptible to criticism and pressure both from the communities and the workers. The discussion in Chapter VIII elaborates on these.

The other reason for the selection of Cachi for the course has to do with the perception that the comuneros of Cachi were more amenable to change and more accepting of new ideas. There was a belief that communities which raise livestock are more likely to change than those devoted to agriculture because the nature of their work, which involves travel to diverse communities and to urban centres, tends to expose them to new ideas. This opinion, shared by members of the CDD and by officials of the agriculture ministry, is also one of the conclusion reached by Ruiz and Cordova (1973) in their study of the SAIS.⁹²

In this we see then that who participates has a great deal to do with the pressure that they can bring to bear on the CDD, and that it is also based on a concept of a differentiated community in which some members are targeted for participation because they are considered more open to change. It is important to note, however, that in none of the three projects was there a conscious effort to target the poorer or more marginalized segments of a given community.

⁹² In an interview, the director of the departmental government's agriculture extension office, a man who had previously worked with the SAIS, supported this concept of amenability to change, claiming that it explained the relative dynamism of these communities. Some of the criteria upon which Ruiz and Cordova draw for their study of change within the SAIS are those identified by Rogers and Shoemaker (1971) to which I referred previously.

How does the Community Participate?

As discussed, this question has two parts, when and to what extent does the community participate? The question of when refers to the stages outlined in the framework: needs assessment, planning, implementation, and evaluation. The question of what extent refers to Kramer's (1970) seven point continuum of participation as described by Brager (1987).

In the reforestation project the community of Carampa participated, during the planning stage,⁹³ in an approximation of what Brager describes as an advisory role. They request the type of tree that they believe would be most appropriate to address their needs. However, given that the community's request was ignored by the DT involved, this participation loses significance. The second element of participation, or more accurately, intended participation, was in the planting of the trees. The project presumed that the community would participate in the implementation in this way. This participation at the implementation stage would occupy a low level on the continuum of community participation, at which the community is informed or instructed in what to do, but does not make decisions or provide information. As has already been noted, the failure of the CDD to accept the advice or request of the community resulted in

⁹³ The assessment of the need for reforestation in the community appears to have come from the director of the CDD himself.

a premature end to the project and with it a virtual absence of participation. Still, this case illustrates the nature of participation that the CDD intended for the community to have, the lack of respect they accorded this participation, and the community's reaction to this. In addition, it must be recognized that the decision to not participate in the implementation stage, ie. the planting of the trees, can in itself be considered a form of participation and of control over the project. In essence the community has, though not at the behest of the CDD, made the most important decision.

The Bajada de Bases was an initiative of the Education Committee. The communities were informed of it after the planning had taken place, thereby eliminating the opportunity for community participation in the planning stage. Community delegates did, however, provide impetus for the Bajada by their strong criticisms of the CDD and the SAIS administration in general. In this way they had an important role in the needs assessment stage of the project.

Community members also participated actively in the implementation stage of the Bajada in the communities in which it actually took place. The communities' formal role in this phase corresponded to what Brager (1987) refers to as consultation and advisory roles. At this point on the continuum, the workers or the agency seeks support, is prepared to listen and is willing to make modifications to the

program. However, as I have already described, the participation which actually took place failed to live up to this formal intent. The failure of SAIS management, Executive, and DTs to participate fully in the Bajada minimized the significance of the communities' participation. Just as in the project in Carampa, there seems to be a lack of respect for the communities' right and ability to participate. This is, of course, consistent with the analysis made in Chapter V regarding community/SAIS relations.

The leadership training course in Cachi was initiated due to community participation in identifying the need and in requesting the course. In subsequent stages, however, there was little community involvement. The planning was conducted in total isolation from the community and in large part by experts from outside the SAIS. The course material itself was delivered through didactic lectures, leaving little room for active participation by or feedback from the community members. It was in relation to this that the comuneros complained of the "classroom training" I refer to in Chapter V. There was also concern expressed by both community members and by DTs that the community was not involved in an evaluation of this course.

Summary of Community Participation in the SAIS

Observations of three community projects conducted during the time period of the practicum has provided us with the preceding description of community participation in the work of the CDD, based on questions of why, who and how the community should participate. The description provided responds to the second practicum question: What was the nature of community participation in the work of the SAIS' Community Development Division?

Most encouragement of community participation by DTs stemmed largely from integrative motivations. The CDD and the SAIS in general sought to promote community participation largely to dampen some of the criticisms which were leveled against it. There was, however, on the part of some individuals, a focus on external change or instrumentalist goals. This focus also appeared in some of the participation which was intended in the reforestation project.

In terms of who should participate, promotion of community participation was seen to be generally directed toward the community as a whole with little differentiation between members of the communities. Where there was a focus on the participation of one group within the community over another, it related primarily to the notion that these groups would be more amenable to change than would others. There appeared to be little if any conscious effort to iden-

tify those groups within specific communities that were more in need of assistance.

Consideration of the questions "when" and "to what extent", which are embodied in answering how the community should participate, reveals that participation took place, or was intended, at several different stages. These included the needs analysis, planning and implementation stages. The extent to which the community participates, however is found to be low, corresponding largely to the lower half of Kramer's continuum. Participation was generally restricted to the community receiving information, being consulted as the CDD seeks support, or taking on an advisory role. This low level of participation occurred in spite of projects in which greater participation was theoretically envisioned, due to a lack of respect for the community's potential role.

CHAPTER VII

CHANGE PROMOTION STRATEGIES

A Description of the Process Used to Promote Participatory Community Work Methodologies

As a description and analysis of the community work of the CDD emerged from interviews and observation, we, the project cooperants and the working group, began to focus on the identification of the desired changes in the practices of the CDD and a process or strategy for promoting these among the development technicians. As the reader will recall from the discussion in Chapter III, during the orientation phase of the practicum the working group agreed to a workplan for promoting participatory methodologies which had as its first step the analysis of the community work of the CDD. This analysis was intended to assist both in the identification of desired changes and in the development of the strategy for promoting them. In this chapter I will describe the application of this analysis to the planning of the change promotion strategy, the implementation of this strategy, and subsequent modification of it.

Up until this point the change sought through the practicum has been broadly identified as the adoption of participatory methodologies of community work. The need for this change was supported at all levels of the community work

analysis. During this next phase the change itself is operationalized as the participation by the DTs in the planning and implementation of two experimental community projects. These projects are the learning activities provided for in the workplan. While more specific areas of needed change have also been suggested by the analysis, the process which the working group developed for promoting change required that the identification of specific problems and needed changes to be addressed by the experimental projects be done by the community development technicians themselves.

The Change Promotion Strategy

Throughout the analysis phase of the practicum, strategies for promoting change within the SAIS were discussed with the working group; however, it was only as this phase ended that the working group agreed to the specifics of a change promotion strategy based on the framework provided by the workplan.⁹⁴ Many of the strategy's specifics evolved from a proposal for a "Plan of Cooperation" between the EC and the CDD. This proposal was developed by the project cooperants, Pedro and myself, in an effort to stimulate the planning of a change strategy. The change promotion strat-

⁹⁴ It is important, as I have mentioned, that the reader not begin to think of this process in the strictly linear fashion that a written description tends to impose upon it. While each phase of the practicum had its particular characteristics which make it distinct from others, they each also overlapped both in chronology and in activities.

egy itself consisted of the following, roughly chronological steps, designed to begin in a two-day planning and evaluation meeting with the CDD.

The first step, at the two-day meeting, was for the results of the community work analysis to be presented and discussed with the entire CDD. Out of this would emerge a common picture of the SAIS' community work, a picture in which the communities' perspective as presented in the interviews would be seen by the DTs. This presentation of the communities' perspective was in itself important given that the community work analysis suggested that it was not understood by the CDD.

The second step was for areas of strength and weakness to be identified in the work of the CDD. This in essence constitutes a needs analysis for the CDD. This identification of the problem areas within the CDD's work was to be achieved through discussion, and was to focus primarily on the methodologies and approaches used as opposed to the technical or logistical concerns.⁹⁵

Once a common understanding of the difficulties faced by the CDD was arrived at, the third step was for experimental community projects to be identified. Through these projects

⁹⁵ DTs frequently complained of logistical impediments to their work such as lack of reliable transportation. While the decision to not focus on these limited the participation of the DTs to some extent it was believed to be necessary by the working group in order to allow us to concentrate on the methodological questions.

the identified problems would be focused on and the necessary methodological modifications attempted. As mentioned, the working group had already identified several potential projects. These would be presented to the CDD as options, but the possibility remained that other projects would be considered more appropriate.

Depending in part on the projects selected as well as on interest of the members, a regional team would be selected to participate with Pedro and myself in planning and implementing the projects. In the planning and implementation the concerns and problem areas listed were to be given particular attention in experimenting with alternative, participatory methodologies of work. While this work would focus on one of the regional teams, to be agreed upon in the evaluation and planning meeting, the rest of the CDD would have input to and feedback from this team through weekly meetings.

Development of the Change Strategy

This change promotion strategy emerged from several sources. Principal among these was the community work analysis. As described, the analysis was intended to inform both the changes sought and the strategy for promoting them. This it did, contributing to the strategy by providing the information and analysis described below.

In the first place, almost without exception, the people with whom we spoke in the interviews expressed the belief that the communities should be more involved in the community work of the CDD. This fact led the working group in general, and me in particular, to conclude that the DTs would willingly associate themselves with attempts to increase community participation. It suggested that what was needed more than anything was a forum or a plan within which the DTs could evaluate and modify their methodologies. Through the evaluation and planning meeting and the experimental projects we attempted to provide that forum.

A second factor that influenced our planning of the strategy was the opinion expressed by the communities that their concerns were not heard by the DTs. This led us to begin the process with a meeting in which the communities' opinions, as represented in the analysis, could be presented to the CDD. At the same time this would, we hoped, help to increase the value of community information in the eyes of the DTs. If we look back to the community work analysis and the DTs' view of what they could learn from the community, we see that this was demonstrably missing.

Another factor highlighted in the analysis which the working group felt would contribute to the success of the change promotion efforts was the communities' criticism of the CDD. Comunero dissatisfaction with the work of the CDD

reached such a level that, just prior to the start of the Peruvian phase of the project, a motion in the General Assembly to disband the CDD was narrowly defeated.⁹⁶ This event and the continuing criticisms of the CDD, typified by comunero descriptions of the DTs' "doctor's visits", had convinced many DTs that changes were needed in their relations with the communities. Consequently we believed DTs would be ready to seize the opportunity to explore alternative methodologies of work and relations with the communities.

While the comuneros' criticism of the CDD and their sense that it was deaf to their concerns lent importance to our strategy which promoted the presentation of these views, our strategy did not envision a joint evaluation and planning meeting between these two constituencies. This was in large measure because of what the analysis revealed about the intensity of fear and resentment that existed between the two groups. As a result of these tensions and the fact that DTs needed to be a part of the process, the members of the working group agreed that an evaluation and planning meeting at this point would best include only members of the CDD.

⁹⁶ The motion to disband the CDD was in fact defeated only after the workers of several production units arrived at the site of the General Assembly meeting to pressure delegates to maintain the CDD. This is an example of the direct political action that the workers' organization, Frente Unico de los Trabajadores, used to overcome their relatively weak representation in the General Assembly.

Another characteristic of the CDD that was evident in the community work analysis and that contributed to the strategy that we adopted was its central planning focus. In previous sections I have described how the CDD planned projects for the communities. While this process was criticized within the analysis, the plan for a meeting of the CDD in which the analysis could be discussed and problem areas identified, fit well with this central planning style of work. By commencing the process in this way it could be familiar and nonthreatening. At the same time recognition of a general lack of community participation as problematic could motivate planning for inclusion of comuneros in the preparation of experimental projects. It might be added that our strategic approach also appealed to the composition of the planning group, particularly the presence of the director of the CDD who maintained significant control over the process.

Another element of the change strategy was that it focused, through the experimental projects, on the substantive or technical work of the SAIS. The community work analysis pointed clearly to these as the main focus of the CDD's work. Consequently, in selecting potential experimental projects, we focused on those with task oriented goals or substantive and technical objectives. Methodological changes and increased community participation in this type of project were seen to fit with the overall orientation of the CDD's work. In the same way comuneros' demands for

"practical" as opposed to "classroom" training also influenced our decision to use experimental community development and education projects as the means of promoting change or, in other words, as the learning activities of the overall workplan.

Through the analysis we had also become aware of alternative approaches that had been used in the CDD. One of the most significant of these was the work of the "asistentas sociales" or social work DTs. We believed that in order to gain the support of the CDD and the other DTs for the proposed participatory methodologies, it would be important to include these people and their experience in the planning process. By having an evaluation and planning meeting with the entire CDD we believed that the voice of these DTs could be raised in support of the proposed changes, and, just as importantly, provide criticism and ideas from the practical experience of their community work.

In a similar manner, the presence of DTs within the CDD who were in favour of and in some cases working for the dissolution of the SAIS contributed to a strategy of a meeting with the entire CDD. It was believed, mistakenly as it turned out, that the "dissident" DTs would not openly oppose the process in a meeting of this nature. We believed that they would conform to the official position of the CDD and their formal status as members of the organization.

In addition to the community work analysis there were other sources of information or influence which guided the development of the change strategy. One of these was our philosophical commitment to participation and the Social Transformation model described in Chapters IV and VI. These orientations made it imperative that the DTs have a role in defining the problems within their work and the changes to be sought. Partly for this reason we employed an approach which left the identification of needs and changes up to the DTs. Within the working group there was some disagreement around precisely this issue. Some members advocated an approach in which Pedro and I would independently identify the projects, the work methodology, and the problems to be addressed and the CDD director would assign a team to work with us.

There were also other factors which we learned that, though not reflected in the community work analysis, influenced our selection of the change promotion process. One of these was the fact that the CDD was in the process of being divided into regional teams. This factor affected the change strategy in so far as it meant that the DTs had to become involved in the experimental projects as a team of four or five. The implication was that it would not be possible for DTs to decide whether or not to participate on an individual basis. Consequently, the involvement of all the DTs in identifying experimental projects was more important.

I also became increasingly aware, both through members of the SAIS and my association with people from outside of the SAIS, that there was considerable external legitimation for change in the SAIS as well as public awareness of the conflicts within it. The external legitimation came from other community work professionals who expressed publicly and privately their opinion that the community work of the SAIS needed changes which would give communities a larger role in decision making. At a workshop with the SAIS "Tupac Amaru"⁹⁷ and various community organizations prior to the Peruvian phase of the exchange project these criticisms had been shared with the CDD and management.

In addition, many members of the public with whom I had contact outside the SAIS expressed the opinion that the SAIS administration was acting as the new landowner or "hacendado" in its relations with the communities. The opinion that only those at the top of the SAIS's hierarchy benefited and that its communities were as marginalized as they had been under the prerevolutionary structures was common on the streets of Huancayo. I believed that all of this would further influence the DTs to explore the use of alternative and more participatory methodologies through experimental community work projects.

⁹⁷ The SAIS "Tupac Amaru" is the largest of the SAISs of the central highlands. It is generally considered, by the community organizations with which I had contact to be relatively progressive in terms of its methodologies and relations with its member communities.

A final factor that influenced our strategy was the composition of the working group which developed it. The fact that this group included the director of the Community Development Division and the president of the Education Committee meant that any desired changes could theoretically be imposed on the CDD. In my opinion this may have led to our underestimation of the resistance to the proposed change. In addition to this, the composition of the working group probably influenced the decision to not include community members in the evaluation and analysis meeting. While I have previously explained this as a result of the tensions existing between the two groups, in retrospect, it was undoubtedly in part influenced by the presence of directors who themselves may not have regarded the communities' presence as very important.

Implementation of the Change Strategy

Once the working group had agreed on the approach to promoting the change, a meeting with Pedro, myself, the director of the CDD, and the leaders of the regional teams was planned. It was in this meeting that we organized the evaluation and planning session, including dates and times, agenda, format, and those to be in attendance. At this point team leaders were optimistic about the outcomes, though they expressed concern that some of the DTs might not

be able to fit the meetings into their schedules because of obligations to certain communities.

It was as the evaluation and planning session itself began that obvious barriers began to appear. It was almost immediately evident that a group of approximately five DTs led by the ex-director of the CDD intended to prevent the process from going ahead. This opposition was not so much aimed at the promotion of participatory methodologies itself, but was more a general opposition to the SAIS as a whole and to the director of the CDD in particular.⁹⁸

The meeting was scheduled to begin with Pedro and I providing a summary of the information contained in the analysis and highlighting the concerns expressed by the communities. The opposing group prevented this from taking place initially by raising several concerns which successfully focused the attention of the DTs on other concerns and led to the disintegration of the process. This meeting ended in disarray with the DTs split between those who wanted to go ahead with the process and explore their community work approach and relationship to the communities and those who were either entirely opposed to this or felt that other issues needed to be resolved first.⁹⁹

⁹⁸ This was an extension of the opposition we saw during the analysis phase, coming in large part from the communities and delegates of the Canipaco Valley.

⁹⁹ While I have not described in detail the tactics of the opposing DTs, they focused on several issues. One of these was their objection to the location of the meeting;

It is perhaps important to note the position taken by the asistentas sociales in this process since they were identified as a group that could promote the acceptance of the proposed changes, given their inclination toward participatory methodologies. The DT's, including the ex-director, who opposed the changes were successful in focusing the attention of the asistentas sociales on important issues of remuneration and time off rather than on methodological issues. In the case of two of the four asistentas who had families, these issues were extremely important and took precedence over dealing with the proposed changes. As a result, the contribution that these workers could make to the promotion and planning of the change was minimized.

Modifications to the Change Strategy

In the face of this resistance it was clear that we needed to develop an alternative strategy to promote the desired changes. The initial reaction of the working group was to disregard the CDD altogether and work directly with the communities on the experimental projects. The director of the CDD, not wanting to become further embroiled in confronta-

another was the absence of the director and of certain support staff. They also focused on uncertainties surrounding the implementation of the Five-Year Plan, the regional division of the CDD, and longstanding disputes regarding remuneration for days in the field. It was in part the considerable influence of the ex-director which, as I explain in Chapter VII, came in part from his association with certain members of senior management that made these tactics successful.

tion with the ex-director who had amassed considerable political support within the SAIS, was willing to let the whole project go ahead without any involvement of the CDD. While this might have been logistically possible, Pedro and I, and the Canada World Youth adjunct resisted this course of action because we still believed that it would be possible to involve DTs in the projects and thus promote some methodological changes. For us the goal of using the projects as learning activities for the DTs was more important than completing the projects solely for the immediate benefit of the communities.

In the end we agreed on a modified strategy of change promotion. Where the first strategy had been based on a formal process of evaluation, needs identification, planning and implementation, this modified strategy focused on informal contacts and voluntary involvement of the DTs in the experimental projects. The director of the CDD provided the flexibility within the department for DTs to become involved if they so chose. Pedro and I for our part began to go ahead with the experimental projects without the formal commitment of any team to it. The main steps in this modified strategy were, first, to decide on and begin to implement the projects, and secondly, to establish closer informal contacts with the DTs, discussing the planned projects whenever possible and making sure that they understood that they were needed in order to implement them.

The rationale for the second strategy lay in the recognition of several factors through a preliminary application of the Force Field Analysis (FFA).¹⁰⁰ These factors or forces will be identified in the analysis contained in Chapter VIII as restraining forces or impediments to change. At this point in the application of the FFA the discernible forces included the ex-director's strong and influential opposition to the SAIS and a sense of uncertainty about what the change might mean to the DTs in terms of working conditions and status. I believed that if DTs could see one of the experimental projects in action and possibly gain a positive sense of it, they would be much more likely to become involved.

Another contributing factor to the changes in the strategy was that throughout the work up to this point I had experienced much more success communicating and establishing relations with the DTs on an informal basis than in formal meetings within the SAIS. An example may illustrate what I mean by the relative success encountered in establishing informal relationships. During the early part of my work in the SAIS I became aware of rumoured suggestions that I was in fact working in collaboration with the CIA. Absurd as this may sound from the vantage point of the 5th floor of the Tier Building, in the context of the Peruvian political

¹⁰⁰ This analytical framework and its application will be discussed in detail in the following chapter. At this stage of the practicum I began to use the FFA as a tool to help understand the resistance to change that we experienced.

situation and past relations with the United States, it gains the benefit of doubt. One of the workers who seemed to believe in this possibility was the president of the workers organization, the Frente Unico. Early on I attempted to involve him in one of the formal interviews, in this way hoping to dispel his suspicion, but I met only quiet hostility. Later, however, I was presented with the opportunity, quite by coincidence, to share several drinks and several hours of discussion about the SAIS and our work. The result was a remarkable turnaround and an amicable relationship in which he openly supported and encouraged our efforts among the other workers.

I believed that this might carry over to the change promotion and that it might be easier to get DTs involved if I spoke to them informally. In addition, I felt that informally DTs might be less swayed by the opposition of the ex-director. This was particularly true with regards to the asistentas sociales whose support we believed could be enlisted both to promote and plan the changes. We believed that by moving toward an informal process the asistentas would be less constrained and would be able to support their colleagues in adopting participatory methodologies as well as provide them with insights from their experience in the communities. The initial application of the FFA suggested several reasons to substantiate these assessments which will be discussed more fully in the next chapter. In part they

address the degree of commitment required, the reversability of the change, as well as the issues of control.

Another contributing factor in the decision to go ahead with the projects without any formal commitment from the DTs, was that both projects that were chosen, the solar food dryer project and the delegate orientation, were, by general consensus, needed in the communities and would be of benefit on their own. The delegate orientation particularly was needed preparation for the year-end General Assembly meeting at which new delegates would assume their positions. Therefore even if we failed to involve DTs, by definition failing in the change effort, the projects, with the support of the Centre for Rural Development, would be beneficial to the SAIS in and of themselves.

Implementation of the Modified Strategy and the Experimental Projects.

Once the working group had agreed to this informal approach Pedro and I began to plan for both projects and to make an effort to interest DTs in them. We met with the director of the Centre for Rural Development to coordinate the course in solar energy food dryers. At the same time we invited any interested DTs to accompany us to the community of Canchapalca where the solar food dryer course was to be held. Here we discussed with the community the potential use

for the course, the most appropriate course participants, the nature of the resources that the community could provide, and the logistics of accommodation and transportation. The project had three objectives: to instruct community members in the construction of solar energy food dryers and their use; for the community to construct a food dryer for its own use; and to provide DTs with a practical demonstration and experience in a participatory training course. From the point of view of the practicum objectives, this last was the most important.

We also began to plan for the training and orientation of delegates to the General Assembly by meeting with former delegates and community members to discuss needed areas of learning. The planning of the delegate orientation was typically a responsibility of the Education Committee and Pedro. In attempting to promote it as an experimental project in participatory methodologies, we encouraged DTs to join us in these discussions with former delegates and to help us plan the delivery of the components of this orientation. In some cases DTs were asked to deliver parts of the orientation. In other cases, members of management or Pedro and I were responsible for sessions. Pedro and I were also responsible for the overall coordination. We used our role as coordinators to influence the approach used by DTs in planning and presenting aspects of the orientation. We did this both by encouraging them to talk with the new delegates

about the orientation and by suggesting techniques that could be used during the presentations and discussions.

DT Participation in the Experimental Projects

The results of this second strategy were immediately evident. Within a matter of days three of the four members of the regional team in whose area the solar food dryer course was to be conducted began to take part in our work. They accompanied us on our visit to Canchapelca in which we sought additional information regarding community interest and use for such a course. Although the meeting with the director of the CDR took place in Lima and none of the DTs could attend, the regional team leader for the Canchapelca region approached me to ask that I ensure that certain aspects were considered during the planning. It was after this meeting, when the dates had been set and the purchase of needed materials made, that most DTs began to take a more active interest in the course.

When the course commenced a total of six members of the CDD came to Canchapelca to participate. While they initially took on an observer role, they gradually became more involved in the construction of the solar dryers and in assisting the campesinos with the technical aspects of it. The most significant involvement during the course itself took place at the suggestion of one of the CDR instructors.

At his suggestion DTs met in the evening to discuss and evaluate the work of the day. Toward the end of the course, I suggested that course participants became involved in these discussions, and DTs agreed.

Finally, what I consider an important achievement took place after the course was completed. The director of the CDR and one of the instructors, unhappy with some portions of the course, asked me to assist them in redesigning the presentation of material. I in turn invited the DTs who had been involved to assist us in this, and in the end three of us, including one of the DTs spent two days redesigning the course.

The delegate training course while also providing some good opportunities for DT involvement was not as successful. This was due in part to the fact that our planning was interrupted by armed attacks on one of the production units and the attempted assassination of the Executive Director. After these incidents, the plans for a General Assembly were temporarily placed on hold. Even when it was decided to go ahead with the Assembly and the delegate orientation the dates and site were not announced until the very last moment for safety reasons.¹⁰¹

¹⁰¹ Despite these precautions on the first day of the delegate orientation, two individuals tried unsuccessfully to plant explosives in the main offices in Huancaayo.

Despite these circumstances DTs joined us in discussions with present and former delegates concerning needed themes for the orientation. Several of them also assisted in the planning of the sessions on communication and identification of problem areas for the SAIS, which Pedro and I delivered. In these sessions we used approaches which involved the delegates in active exercises and discussion. Two of the DTs helped us with the preparation and implementation of these.

In all, approximately ten of the twenty-five DTs became actively involved in planning and implementing the experimental projects subsequent to the modifications in the change strategy. While this was clearly not the total involvement of the CDD that we sought through the formal approaches of our initial strategy, it did represent a significant individual commitment to attempting some degree of change toward more participatory methodologies. In the next chapter the reasons for the different results of the two change strategies will be assessed using a Force Field Analysis.

CHAPTER VIII
AN ANALYSIS OF THE DIFFERENTIAL RESULTS OF THE CHANGE
STRATEGIES

In the preceding chapter I have described our attempt to promote change toward more participatory community work methodologies. Our change goal has been operationalized as the involvement of DTs in the planning and implementation of two experimental community projects. While the initial change strategy failed, modifications to it resulted in some significant success. In this chapter I will provide at least a partial explanation for the differential results encountered by these two strategies, through an analysis of the factors which either impeded or facilitated the acceptance of change by the development technicians. This analysis will apply a theoretical model adapted from Brager and Holloway's (1987) description of Kurt Lewin's Force Field Analysis (FFA). This model will be described in the first portion of the chapter. Through the analysis of the change effort, this chapter will effectively address the last three of the five questions which were articulated as the focus for the practicum's learning objectives. These are:

- 3) What factors impeded the adoption, by the SAIS Community Development Division, of participatory methodologies of community work?
- 4) What factors facilitated the adoption by the SAIS Community Development Division, of participatory methodologies of community work?
- 5) What strategies were most effective in promoting the acceptance of participatory methodologies of community work and for what reasons?

Answers to all three of these questions have already begun to appear in Chapter VII's description of the process. In the case of the last question particularly, I have already described the strategy which, in our case, was most effective. However, by responding to questions 3 and 4 and by assessing the ways in which the modified change strategy altered the factors that impeded and those that facilitated change, I hope to directly address the second part of this question. That is: Why were we able to promote change to participatory methodologies as operationalized in our description, through a strategy of informal contacts, when a strategy of formal cooperation, evaluation and planning failed?

THE FORCE FIELD ANALYSIS

Force Field Analysis is a model developed by Kurt Lewin (1951) in which opposing forces within a change situation are systematically identified (Kettner, 1985). It has as its basis the idea that apparent stability in social systems is the result of opposing and countervailing forces that interact to create what we perceive to be stability. If these forces shift, that is if their relative strength is altered, the stability of the system is also altered (Brager and Holloway, 1978).

The Steps Involved in the Force Field Analysis

In my application of the framework I will make several modifications which enhance its relevance and applicability to the present analysis. These will be noted as each step is described in detail.¹⁰² The principal modification is that I apply the framework twice by considering the balance sheet of forces present in each of the two change efforts. By doing this the analysis will suggest reasons for the greater success of the second effort, thereby responding to the last of the practicum questions.

The steps in the FFA as Brager and Holloway (1987) identify them are: 1) Specification of the Change Goal. The FFA begins at the time a change goal emerges in the mind of the change agent or catalyst. Brager and Holloway (1987) suggest that the FFA may be applied initially to choose between possible change goals and then more comprehensively to determine a course of action.¹⁰³ As more realistic goals

¹⁰² Though for the purposes of description and analysis these steps are outlined in a linear sequential fashion, they are in fact performed to some degree simultaneously and are repeated in a spiral-like manner.

¹⁰³ Though Brager and Holloway (1987) suggest that Force-field analysis might be "employed at any point in this process of goal development (i.e., whenever the worker has an approximate notion regarding what she or he would like to achieve) or it may be used more than once to help him choose among alternate possibilities." (p.156), Kettner (1985) seem to present a more limited definition of FFA as applicable only once the goal has been clearly defined.

are devised, the analysis is carried further to suggest areas and methods of intervention.

2) Identification of critical and facilitating actors. The next step in the application of the FFA is to list the critical and facilitating actors. Critical actors are those whose support for the change goal is necessary and who, if they choose, can bring it about. The facilitating actors, on the other hand, are those whose approval must be gained before the issue can reach the critical actor or those who exercise significant influence over the critical actors.

3) Development of a balance sheet of forces. Having articulated the desired change goal and having identified the critical and facilitating actors the change agent constructs a balance sheet of the driving and restraining forces by listing specific elements of the organization and its environment that will promote (driving forces) or impede (restraining forces) the change goal. In this analysis the balance sheet of forces represents the answer to the practicum questions 3 and 4, concerning which were the factors that facilitated or impeded the change and the adoption of participatory methodologies.

4) Categorization in terms of amenability, potency, and consistency. Consideration of these three attributes, in planning a change effort, allows the change agent to identify the forces on which to focus his efforts. For our purposes

es of analysis they will help to explain the results of the change efforts.¹⁰⁴ Amenability to change refers to the ease or difficulty with which a restraining force can be weakened and a driving force strengthened. Because this analysis takes place after the fact, amenability can be judged by whether the force was, in fact, altered in the modified change effort.

The potency of the force refers to the degree of effect that it has in contributing to or blocking the desired change. In the development of the balance sheet, I will rank the potency as "low", "moderate", or "high". These rankings are based on the qualitative data gathered through interviews and observation. To assist in ascribing a value to the potency of each force, I take into account several elements of the data. I consider the frequency with which a particular force was mentioned, reasoning that those which are referred to more frequently have greater potency. The generality of references to a particular force is also considered. If people throughout all levels of the SAIS made reference to a particular force it would be given a higher potency ranking. I also consider some forces to have more potency based on their effect on the DTs or the organization. For example, I believe that the restraining force

¹⁰⁴ Only the first two of these, amenability and potency, will be explicitly considered in my application of the framework due largely to the short term nature of my association with this change effort which makes any significant consideration of consistency impossible.

arising from the death threats against DTs will be, by its nature, more potent than the force arising from threats to their professional status. Using qualitative data, supported by description, quotations, or case examples, allows me to make estimations of the potency or significance of a force to the change effort.

5) Definition of forces as working or framing. Working forces are those that are moderate to high in all three of the attributes. Framing forces are those that create a context of predictability for the worker's efforts. These are low in amenability and high in consistency, and do not independently contribute to the change efforts.¹⁰⁵ In this analysis working forces are those which, in the modified change effort, are identified as driving forces of moderate or high potency. Framing forces are those which maintain the same potency and status as either driving or restraining forces in both change efforts.

6) Development of a balance sheet of forces for the modified change strategy and comparison with the first one. In order to adapt the theoretical framework to my analysis an additional step will be incorporated into the FFA. Here a balance sheet will be developed for the forces present in

¹⁰⁵ Brager and Holloway (1987) do not suggest what proportion of the forces should be working forces before the worker can reasonably expect success in his or her efforts. The results of this analysis may suggest what proportion of driving to restraining forces was necessary for change to be accepted and implemented in this case.

the modified change effort, reflecting the changes in driving and restraining forces brought about by the modifications in strategy. This balance sheet and its comparison with the initial one will explain the reasons for the relative success of the modified strategy.

Sources of Driving and Restraining Forces.

In order to accurately identify the driving and restraining forces that were present in the practicum's change effort, it is necessary to be aware of the types, or categories, of forces that may be present in a given change environment. In this section I will draw on the writings of several theorists, principally Rino Patti and Yeheskel Hasenfeld, to identify five categories in which restraining and driving forces are found.

1) Environmental factors. Self-evidently no organization or individual operates in isolation from its environment. Hasenfeld (1980) identifies two elements in the external environment that are significant forces in the change situation. The first is the availability of financial resources. While the scarcity of financial resources is likely to create restraining forces, if a change will free up or lead to the acquisition of additional resources, driving forces can be expected. External legitimation is the second factor that Hasenfeld claims is important in the change effort.

"The greater the external support for change, the greater the ability of the change agents to neutralize resistance to the change" (Hasenfeld, 1980: p.513). In this way external legitimation becomes a driving force for change.

While explicit mention of possible legitimation provided by the client group itself is conspicuously absent from the writings of both Patti (1985) and Hasenfeld (1980, 1983), we will see in the following analysis that this can in fact become an important force in the change environment.¹⁰⁶

2) Organizational factors. Organizational factors out of which arise forces for and against organizational include:

a) The values and ideologies of the organization. The more closely the proposed change reflects the existing ideology, values and goals of an organization the more likely it is that it will be implemented (Brager, 1978; Hasenfeld, 1983).

b) The value orientation of the leader. Patti (1985) suggests that there are three types of leaders - "conservers", "climbers", or "professional advocates" - with dif-

¹⁰⁶ Admittedly it could be pointed out that the client group might be included in the external environment to which Hasenfeld refers. However, given the fact that he refers specifically to professional groups and not to the client group, and given the possibility that these two could be in opposition to each other, I believe it is reasonable to conclude that this factor is absent from his framework. It should also be noted that Kettner (1985), do refer to "public awareness", which would include the client group, as a third aspect in assessing the political environment.

fering propensities for encouraging change. On a continuum from consolidation to innovation¹⁰⁷ the conserver will fall near the consolidation end, addressing demands within existing structures. The professional advocate, on the other hand, is generally nearer the innovation end of the continuum, and is prepared to "adopt fundamental and far-reaching changes..." (Patti, 1985; p.327). The response of the "climber" to change opportunities is the most difficult to predict and will depend on what he determines to be the most personally expedient course of action.

c) The change agents ability to provide inducements. Hasenfeld (1980) claims that it is important for change agents to be able to offer assurances and inducements to staff that fear adverse effects of changes, and to be able to enlist sources of power to combat the threat to existing relations represented by the proposed changes. The change agents ability to do this will depend first of all on his position within the organization and on his success in enlisting executive support, forming coalitions, or entering areas of high uncertainty and risk within the organization.

d) The presence or creation of sunk costs and slack resources. Sunk costs refer to those expenditures of time, energy, commitment, and money that have been made in the

¹⁰⁷ These terms are attributed to Louis C. Gawthrop in Bureaucratic Behavior in the Executive Branch: An Analysis of Organizational Change. New York: Free Press, 1969, p.181-2.

existing system. These become restraining forces. Slack resources, in the form of money and personnel that have not been firmly committed to a particular program, can partially absorb these sunk costs,¹⁰⁸ and are, according to Hasenfeld (1980), essential for the implementation of change.

3) Nature of the Change. The third category of factors that must be considered is the nature of the change itself. Here we will consider the "depth" and the "generality" of the change.¹⁰⁹ Patti suggests three "depths of change": procedural, programmatic, and basic.¹¹⁰ Procedural changes are those that alter the day to day operations without substantially changing the program itself. Programmatic changes are those which alter the programs and services provided by an agency to enhance the degree to which it achieves its mission. Basic changes are those which alter the core objectives of an agency.

¹⁰⁸ Hasenfeld's discussion seems to presuppose that change will involve increased demands on organizational resources; where this is not true, the same resistance created by sunk costs cannot be expected.

¹⁰⁹ Though not directly mentioned in the literature, a third aspect of the nature of the change that will be evident in the analysis of the change effort was its association, real or imagined, with other changes. This association can affect the perception of both the depth and generality of a proposed change.

¹¹⁰ Brager and Holloway (1987) refer to a roughly equivalent typology including: people-focused, technological, and structural changes.

The scope or generality of a change refers to the number of units within an organization that are affected by the change. Patti (1985) identifies three levels: "Component", change that affects the change agent or a small group; "Sub-group", change that affects an entire unit or class of organization members; and "System", change which affects, directly or indirectly, the entire organization.

The relevance of this for the analysis of the force field is that "as either the generality or the depth of a proposal increases, the resistance to be expected from organizational decision makers is, all other things being equal, also likely to increase." (Patti, 1985: p.323)¹¹¹

4) Personal Characteristics. The first of these is what Brager and Holloway (1987) refer to as "organizational self-interest". This includes an actor's power or autonomy, share of organizational resources, and accrual of prestige. They also hint at a broader realm of self-interest as "anything an actor wants" (p.82). This suggests the inclusion of working conditions as a factor out of which may arise restraining or driving forces. As we shall see in the analysis of the change efforts, the concern for the protection of certain working conditions, though having little to do with power or prestige, generated strong restraining forces.

¹¹¹ It should be clear that I am assuming that this is true not only for management but also for workers as "organizational decision makers". The restraining forces increase for workers as well as for management as the depth and generality increase.

The second element of personal factors is individual values and professional ideologies. As in the case of the organization as a whole, the values and philosophies of individual workers affect their propensity to accept or reject a given change. To the extent that a change mirrors the values of an individual, these values will present a driving force for change (Brager, 1978).¹¹²

A final factor in this category is what Brager and Holloway (1987) refer to as social attributes, or the social appeal of an actor, his or her connections with the "old boys's network", and his or her shared professional perspectives. In my analysis this element will become particularly evident in what I will refer to as "croniism", or the alliance of persons from similar backgrounds or regions against those from the outside.

5) Technological Factors. Two technological requisites for change are, one, adequate knowledge and expertise, and, two, clarity and specificity of the new tasks (Hasenfeld, 1980). The lack of a clearly specified technology leads to confusion and ambiguity which can create resistance to change. It is important that specific short term and intermediate goals be set (Binstock, et al, 1966) and the tech-

¹¹² While maintaining that values can lead people to act in apparent contradiction to their self-interest, Brager and Holloway (1987) contend that values are largely justifications of self-interest, pointing to the writings of Lazarsfeld and Thielens, to support this (The Academic Mind. New York: Free Press, 1958).

nology operationalized (Hasenfeld, 1980) in order to reduce the uncertainty and instability that raises the cost of change.¹¹³

This concludes my theoretical framework. I have thus far outlined the steps in the FFA and provided the theoretical basis from which to develop the balance sheet of driving and restraining forces. I will now turn to the analysis of the change effort.

APPLICATION OF THE FORCE FIELD ANALYSIS

In the following section I will apply the FFA, proceeding through the six steps which I have outlined. The primary focus will be on building and analyzing the balance sheet of forces. The objective here will be, first, an identification of the principle driving and restraining forces, and, secondly, an understanding of the way in which the modifications to the change effort, which were described in Chapter VII, affected the balance of these forces and allowed increased acceptance of the desired change.

¹¹³ While this need for clarity and specificity is argued on the one hand, there are also suggestions that ambiguity in change situations is valuable in reducing conflicts and allowing broader coalitions with differing values to form in support of the change effort (Binstock, et al, 1966). Berman (1980) indicates that while ambiguity can be a limiting factor from the perspective of programmed implementation, from the adaptive implementation perspective, rigidity, overspecification, and excessive control are the factors that create resistance to change. In the analysis of the forces in the change environment these must be weighed against one another.

Specification of the Change Goal

As has been repeatedly stressed, the desired change focused on the adoption of participatory methodologies by the development technicians in their work with the member communities of the SAIS, and was operationalized as participation by the DTs in the planning and implementation of two experimental participatory projects. The specifics of both of these projects were to be defined during the planning process. The change effort would be regarded as successful if the DTs participated in implementing the two projects, and in planning the process for community participation.

Identification of Critical and Facilitating Actors.

Brager and Holloway (1987) state that the critical actors are located by asking "Who (or what group) has the power to deliver my change if he perceives it to be in his own or the organization's interest to do so?" (p.158). In this case the DTs as a group, and particularly the regional team leaders, could do most to deliver it.¹¹⁴ The other person that could be identified as a critical actor was the director of the

¹¹⁴ In identifying the critical and facilitating actors, I prefer to regard the nature of the different actors as points on a continuum of importance to the change. I do not believe that I can say with certainty that the decision of a particular actor or group of actors would have assured the implementation of the proposed change.

Community Development Division. While, as we shall see in our subsequent analysis, his power was undermined for several reasons, he did possess the hierarchical authority to implement the change.

Facilitating actors included the Executive Council and the president who had considerable influence over the CDD through control of needed resources. The other group of facilitating actors was the hired administration, most importantly the Executive Director.

Development of the Balance Sheet of Forces.

This balance sheet represents the answer to the practicum questions about the impeding and facilitating factors to the adoption of the proposed change toward participatory methodologies. To develop the balance sheet I will look at each category that has been described in the framework and identify the restraining and driving forces that were present within it. In brackets at the beginning of each entry I estimate the potency of the force.¹¹⁵

¹¹⁵ Using the framework to analyze the success of a change effort after it has occurred presents the risk of evaluating potency and amenability on the basis of what transpired thereby minimizing its contribution to the analysis of why it transpired. For example, in the case of an unsuccessful change effort, the tendency might be to rate the driving factors as low in potency thereby explaining the results, but at the same time creating a meaningless circular argument. Consequently it should be noted that the estimation of potency and amenability has not been made solely in the aftermath of the change effort. These estimations were in fact being made as the

1) Environmental Driving Forces. a) External legitimation (Low),¹¹⁶ as referred to by Hasenfeld (1980) was evident within the change situation. Various professional groups including other SAISs, non-governmental national and international development organizations, and state agencies, expressed strong support for the need and the direction of proposed change. At a conference on development strategies for the Sierra region sponsored by the SAIS, representatives of these groups were invited to comment on the direction of work within the the SAIS, with particular reference to the issue of community work methodologies. At this conference participants were highly critical of the lack of participation by the SAIS's communities in the decision making of the CDD.

I rated this driving force low due to the fact that DTs only rarely referred to either this conference or other external pressure in this direction. It was not from the DTs that I heard about this conference but rather from the CWY adjunct. Even when I questioned DTs directly they seemed to attach little significance to it.

change effort evolved, and I have remained faithful to these original calculations.

¹¹⁶ In rating the potency of these forces I am concerned primarily with their effect on the critical actors, the DTs.

b) Financial resources (Low). The availability of financial resources from organizations that were supportive of the changes also provided a driving force. Centre for Rural Development (CDR) in Lima made funds available for the proposed projects. The Marquis Project also, through its material support of the exchange project, provided financial support to the projects. I have rated this force as "low" in part because the existence of these resources was not widely known. Also, the CDR resources were targeted for a specific project. They could not be applied throughout the SAIS to projects in which DTs might have more interest.

c) Client pressure for changes (High). Members of the SAIS through their representatives as well as independent of them were demanding an increased role in the development projects and training initiatives in their communities. While much of this pressure was unfocused and expressed in terms of general discontent with the work performed by the CDD, it was recognized by many DTs that without greater community participation the CDD risked being disbanded. After one particularly rancorous meeting in Chongos Alto, one of the agronomists commented,

It's become impossible to plan anything that will satisfy our comunero brothers. It would be best just to let them decide everything and I'll just do whatever they say, because even if I planned a miracle they'd think it was bad or that I was just doing it to get some benefit for myself.

The "high" ranking is due to the frequency with which this was mentioned, the emotion and intensity of debates such as the one in Chongos Alto, and the contextual factor that, as I indicated earlier, the jobs of many DTs depended on the continued existence of the SAIS.

d) Public awareness (Low). A growing awareness, on the part of the general public outside of the SAIS, of the problems faced by the SAIS in its relations with its communities may also have been a driving force for change, albeit a minor one. It was generally recognized by the "man on the street" that the SAIS suffers from poor representation and low levels of participation, and there was widespread belief that the SAIS' administrators and DTs had become the new landed class of agrarian reform (Sulca, 1984). Despite this I believe that it was a "low" force because, while some of the administrators and office staff occasionally mentioned it, I got no indication from DTs that they were concerned about what people outside of the SAIS thought about what happened within it.

2) Environmental Restraining Forces. a) Environmental instability (High). In addition to the environmental factors of external legitimation and financial resources mentioned by Hasenfeld (1980), the instability that threatened the very existence of the SAIS was clearly a factor which affected the possibility of change taking place. According

to Binstock (1966) instability is a restraining force which creates inertia and impedes change. The instability in the SAIS was a result of the conditions to which I referred in Chapter III, among them the fact that the federal government had taken legislative action by passing the "Ley de Comunidades Campesinas" which many fear is the first step to the dividing up the remaining SAISs between the member communities. The instability was also the result of attacks against the SAIS by the Sendero Luminoso.¹¹⁷ One indication of the DTs concern and sense of instability was that they spoke frequently about the political involvement of Sendero in the communities. Another factor which contributed to the ranking given this force was the fact that several of the DTs had received death threats from unknown sources claiming to be associated with Sendero Luminoso. This circumstance understandably raised the anxiety and instability level and with it the inertia impeding change.

b) Resistance to outsider control (Moderate). While Hasenfeld (1980) rightly points to the importance of external support for change to counteract the internal resistance, the recruitment of outsiders to support or help implement the change may be resisted if members fear a loss of control (Binstock, et al, 1966; Burgher, 1979). In this

¹¹⁷ Senderistas had been actively politicizing within the communities and were responsible for the executions of administrators from the SAIS "Cahuide" in November of '87 and March '88, as well as attacks and assassinations on other nearby SAIS's.

case the working group included members from outside of the CDD, namely myself and the CWY adjunct. It is difficult to assess the potency of this as a restraining force, but one of the factors that suggests this as a "moderate" force was the rumour of a possible association between myself and the CIA. In addition, on several occasions I heard DTs criticize the CWY adjunct of attempting to unduly influence the SAIS when he had "no interest as a member". Likewise, the fact that the changes were supported at the highest level of the SAIS by an Executive Director who was generally well liked and respected, and that Pedro, who also had widespread respect, was involved in the promotion acted to dilute the potency of this restraining force.

Organizational Driving Forces. In order to understand the forces that arise out of organizational factors it is necessary to understand that the SAIS is a product of opposing orientations to community development. The philosophies and ideologies embodied in these orientations created conflicting views of the proposed change.

On one side of the equation are the formal and rhetorical philosophies of the agrarian reform and, more recently, the introduction of popular education into the community work arena within Latin America as a whole. These have influenced the relationships between the DTs and the communities in ways generally consistent with those of the proposed

change. On the other side are the rural development models of technological diffusion (Gianotten, 1987), and the hierarchical educational traditions of the Peruvian system which shape to a large extent all educational and formal exchanges (Gianotten, 1987; Sulca, 1984).

a) Value orientation (Moderate). The agrarian reform and popular education orientations which, if not present in the work of the DTs, were forces within Peruvian community work, placed the "campesino" at the centre of the development process. While the initial passion of the agrarian reform rhetoric was gone, and popular education was not a recognized part of the CDD's work, participation of communities in the development process was always officially espoused. That fact created formal support for the changes sought and was a moderate driving force. This force was "moderate" because, while it had not been successfully incorporated into the work processes, as was shown by the analysis, it maintained a persistent presence in the rhetoric of the CDD and the aspirations of the campesinos.

b) Slack resources (Low). Though in general the SAIS was short of workers, my presence represented a temporary slack personnel resource.¹¹⁸ This contributed to the change effort because at least some of the additional work that might be created could be taken on by me. As a driving force I con-

¹¹⁸ The concept of slack resources is defined in the preceding section "Sources of Driving and Restraining Forces".

sider it to be of only "low" potency, however, precisely because there was a perception that participatory methodologies in themselves are more labour intensive and that the experimental work projects might be "in addition to" rather than "instead of" the DTs normal work load.

c) Support of key people within the Organization (Moderate). There were at least three people in potentially influential positions who supported the changes sought. The executive director of the SAIS was one; the president of the Administrative Council and the director of the CDD were the others. This support might have been a "high" potency force except for the specific circumstances that affected each of these individuals. The executive director was seriously wounded by gunmen, effectively removing him from the change effort just as the change promotion was moving out of the analysis phase. The president of the Administrative Council was in a weak position within the Executive because he was an interim president chosen after the resignation of his predecessor. He also found himself opposing powerful councilors on several issues. As for the director of the CDD, his position was tenuous because of the poor job that the CDD was perceived to be doing under his guidance and because of the strong opposition of the ex-director who worked as a DT under his leadership. As a result of these circumstances, support that might have been a strong force for the change was muted.

Organizational Restraining Forces. a) Internal ideological opposition to SAIS (High). Influential members of the CDD, the Executive Council, and community councils were fundamentally opposed to the continuation of the SAIS for ideological (and personal) reasons. They consequently opposed any changes that they perceived to be attempts at strengthening the SAIS or improving its function. The potency ranking of this force is calculated on the basis of the increasingly forceful manifestations of this opposition. The efforts prior to the start of the Peruvian phase of the project to which I have referred were part of this. The death threats to the DTs, the public protests and demonstrations organized by the communities of the Canipaco, the "hostage taking" during the final General Assembly¹¹⁹ and quite likely the attacks against the production units and the assassination attempt against the executive director were all part of the internal opposition to the continued existence of the SAIS.¹²⁰ While it is campesino discontent

¹¹⁹ At the General Assembly meeting near the end of the practicum, and with the heightened tension following the assassination attempt against the executive director and the attacks on the production units, the communities of the Canipaco organized public demonstrations in Huancayo against the SAIS, attempted to take over the head offices, and took all the other delegates hostage by forcefully preventing them leaving the meeting place until they had agreed to certain demands.

¹²⁰ The attacks against the production units and the assassination attempt were initially blamed on Sendero but were never claimed by them. It became increasingly common speculation that the opposing communities had a hand in these acts, if not as the main perpetrators at least in support of them. It should be noted though that this was not proven. Still, the perception that this was so

that also provides a driving force for change, the opposition by these groups was so complete that any constructive efforts at change that would strengthen or give credibility to the SAIS were opposed. In my estimation the severity of these efforts to undermine the SAIS leave little doubt that this represents a "high" restraining force. This is further illustrated by DT reluctance to visit the communities of the Canipaco, by the temporary cancellation of the General Assembly meeting, and by the days following the attack on the executive director and the production units in which all activity was brought to a halt.

b) Orientation to change (Low). The CDD director was, despite his basic support of the change, a conserver who felt the need to attempt to consolidate to save his position in the face of decreasing favour among the Executive Council. This factor essentially negates the driving forces created by his support mentioned above. Together these two factors partially neutralized the director as an active player in the change effort, though he did provide the opportunity for Pedro and I to attempt the change promotion efforts by freeing DTs for the evaluation and planning meeting and later to work on the experimental projects.

contributes to the restraining force of these communities opposition to the SAIS.

c) Sunk costs (High) were present in the commitment of time and energy that at least some members of the CDD staff had made to the present processes. The fact that only two of the twenty-five DTs had been there for less than two years, and that sixty percent of them had been with the CDD for seven or more years contributes to the potency of this force. This is further illustrated by a comment made to Pedro by one of the longstanding DTs. He said that the problems that the CDD was experiencing "[were] not methodological problems because we have been doing things this way for fifteen years. The problem is that the comuneros don't want to work hard anymore; now they want everything given to them."

d) The lack of inducement (Moderate). Pedro and I as the primary promoters of the change could offer no formal inducement because of our position outside the CDD. The only inducements that we could point to were those to be found in increased job satisfaction. Other members of the working group, the director of the CDD particularly, had the power to offer some inducements, thus moderating the restraining nature of this force.

Nature of the Change Driving Forces. a) Procedural or People-focused depth (Moderate). The change that was sought had what Patti (1985) calls "procedural depth" and what

Brager and Holloway (1987) call "people focused". That is, the change was concerned primarily with procedure or methodology leaving intact the programs and services themselves. The fact that the change was of this lesser depth was a factor that would more readily allow its implementation.

Nature of Change, Restraining forces. a) System generality (Moderate). At the same time as the change had a procedural depth, it was designed to affect, in a formalized fashion, all the members of the CDD. As both Patti (1985) and Brager (1978) suggest this can be seen as a restraining force. The fact that those to be affected by this change were both those opposed and supportive of it contributes to this being a "moderate" restraining force.

b) Association with "deeper" changes (Moderate). It became apparent in talking to DTs that the change was associated in their minds with other structural changes that had been previously proposed by management. One of these was the regionalization of the CDD. This change would see DTs working and living in teams in one region for lengthy periods of time. This was a change with greater impact or depth on DTs perceived interests and was largely opposed by them. As a result, the association of the change we proposed with this other change was a restraining force. While DTs opposition to the regionalization was in some instances very

strong, it was possible to demonstrate to the DTs even in the initial change effort that the two were not necessarily linked. This mitigated to some extent the restraining potency of this force.

Personal Characteristics, Driving Forces. a) Personal value orientation (High). The expressed personal work philosophy of some members of the CDD, notably but not exclusively the social workers, coincided strongly with the change proposal. There was repeated insistence by a number of DTs, that community participation was of great importance. Despite a lack of concrete results, this illustrates a strong value orientation and creates a driving force for change.

b) Increased prestige (Low) associated with successfully implementing new methodologies of work. It is possible, as Brager and Holloway (1987) suggest, that increased prestige may have accrued to those DTs capable of modifying the methodologies of community work and reducing the alienation between the communities and the CDD. Still, this was not a commonly mentioned consideration, and the fact that any action of the CDD was opposed by some influential members in and outside the CDD reduced the potency of this as a driving force.

c) Job satisfaction and intrinsic rewards (Moderate). Some increases in job satisfaction could be expected if the changes were successful in increasing community participation and involvement. There was obvious tension between the CDD and community members, and DTs frequently expressed frustration with the lack of both process and outcome results leading me to conclude that there would be a measurable driving force generated by this possibility.

Personal Characteristics, Restraining Forces. a) A loss of power vis a vis the communities (High). In many instances DTs felt that to involve community members in the planning or implementing of development projects would be to sacrifice their standing as experts (development technicians), and depreciate the value of their formal education. This is tied closely to the value placed on the hierarchy and the differentiation between the DT "engineers" with post secondary education and the poorly educated "campesinos". This belief was a restraining force to changes that proposed a dilution of that distinction through more horizontal interaction and participation. Because of the historical context which, as was shown in Chapter II, has consistently reinforced hierarchical relations, and because of the belief on the part of both DTs and campesinos that there was significance in these differentiations, this force was a "high" potency restraining force.

b) A deterioration in working conditions (High) was of great concern to the DTs in that the changes implied, at least in the long term, spending more time in the remote communities and away from the urban centre in which the offices of the SAIS and the majority of their families were located. DTs illustrated on many occasions that they would much prefer to spend the majority of their time in Huancayo. DTs were in fact fighting the regionalization plan on precisely these same grounds.

c) The croniism (Moderate). Relationships among DTs and between some DTs and members of the executive acted to consolidate the opposition to the changes. A power struggle was ongoing between the ex-director of the CDD and the present director. Other DTs and members of the executive from the same region tended to support this ex-director. In the meetings prior to the evaluation and planning meeting as well as during that meeting he was able to generate support from a group of DTs who came from the same region as he. He was also supported by executive members from this region, notably the president of the Education Committee. While this support was strong, I have ranked the potency of this force as "moderate" because I believe that this shared opposition came more from shared concerns, than from a sense of personal loyalty or "croniism".

Technological Driving Forces. a) The availability of knowledge and expertise (Low). This came in the form of support from various persons and organizations within and without the SAIS.¹²¹ While, as Hasenfeld (1980) points out, the presence of this expertise is crucial for the success of the change effort, this force was low during the initial change effort because its existence had not been practically demonstrated.

Technological Restraining Forces. a) Ambiguity and uncertainty about the change sought (Moderate). The fact that the proposed change called for its operationalization to take place in a participatory process among DTs created some uncertainty and ambiguity as to what exactly the change goal signified. While some DTs, mainly the "asistentas", spoke with clarity about the methodologies they would apply, the majority demonstrated uncertainty about the exact nature of the methodological changes.

Summary of the Initial Balance Sheet

A review of the initial balance sheet of driving and restraining forces reveals twelve driving forces and twelve restraining forces. Of the former six are what Brager and

¹²¹ These included the support from a newly hired education coordinator, a member of the Five-Year planning group, the Centre for Rural Development, as well as the considerable knowledge and expertise of the DTs themselves which they had never had the opportunity or encouragement to utilize.

Holloway classify as "working forces". These are forces of moderate or high potency. Of the latter, the restraining forces, eleven are of moderate or high potency. In the following portion of this chapter, I will discuss how this balance of forces was altered by the implementation of the modified change strategy and the implications of this for the relative success of the latter change effort.

The Altered Balance Sheet of Forces.

In the preceding chapter I described the central modifications which were made in the change promotion strategy. The primary shift in focus was from formal bureaucratic relations between the change agents and the DTs to informal and interpersonal relations. Another shift that took place was toward demonstrated implementation of the change. These each impacted on the presence and potency of the forces.¹²² Having already described this modified strategy, I will point out the changes that it brought in the balance sheet of driving and restraining forces, comparing this to the balance sheet of the initial change effort. The development of this second balance sheet and its comparison with the first will respond to the question of why the modified change strategy was more effective in promoting change. In doing this I will address each of the five categories of

¹²² As Brager and Holloway (1987) note, a reduction in restraining forces will have the same net affect as an increase in driving forces.

forces, discussing the changes that took place in the potency and direction of the forces within them.

1) Environmental forces. The fear of outsider control that was identified as a restraining force seems to have been exacerbated by the formal relations between the working group, the CDD director, and the DTs. The informal nature of the subsequent relations reduced this perception and its restraining potency. In the initial change effort I and the the CWY adjunct were both seen to be orchestrating meetings and events, because of our direct role in facilitating and calling meetings. In the less formal, modified effort a noticeable shift in attitude was evident in the tone of the discussions. Questions about the intent of the change and the processes began to be asked with interest rather than with guarded suspicion.

The driving force associated with resources and support from other institutions was given additional weight because they became a reality instead of a promise. The fact that the projects were initiated with the financial and technical support of the CDR verified and enhanced the existence of these environmental supports.

2) Organizational forces. The removal of the change effort from the official sanctum of the CDD (both physically and intellectually) helped by making the change less risky

for the director of the CDD, who as we have noted was essentially a conserver. Since his credibility was now less tied to the changes and the experimental projects he was freer, he said, to informally promote them among his DTs.

The second change strategy, by commencing the implementation of the experimental projects, also increased the driving force present in the support of the key actors. As the projects were implemented these actors were able to demonstrate their support by providing needed resources. The support of the president of the Administrative Council for example was demonstrated in the provision of transportation for the team from the CDR and the CDD, as well as in the purchase of materials for the course.¹²³ The initiation of the projects also allowed individual DTs to demonstrate their support and for others to see who would or would not participate before making their own decision. One of the DTs who joined the course in Canchapalca for its final two days told me that he had come because there was no one left in the office and he wanted to find out what was going on.

In addition, the formal nature of the first strategy and its focus on the entire CDD implied a less reversable and in many ways more threatening change. In the altered change

¹²³ The community of Canchapalca was approximately eight hours away. Transportation and room and board were provided for the course instructors as well as for a popular theatre group which we invited along. The president of the Administrative Council and the executive director of the SAIS also facilitated the purchase of the construction materials needed for the course.

process, the sunk costs, in terms of energy invested in the present system, were less at risk since DTs saw that they could more easily return to former practices. Though this of course reduces the strength and permanence of the change it was viewed as a necessary trade-off. This alteration in forces was evident in the statement of one of the regional team leaders. He said that he would work with us and the community because "I have no obligation to continue this or even to stay for the whole course if I don't want, and maybe it will work. Anyway this course is needed and I would like to see it in my community."

3) Nature of the change forces. By ceasing to work with the CDD on a formal basis we reduced the generality, which was seen as a restraining force, from that of the entire system to the level of the individual DTs or at most the unit. This meant that DTs could become involved with the change on an individual level without implicating or having to gain approval of the entire CDD.

There may also have been some effect on the depth of the change. While the change was and remained a procedural people-focused change, by making its acceptance an informal and largely personal matter it may well have shed whatever vestiges of policy it had.

4) Personal forces. One of the major ways that the modification of the change strategy worked on the personal characteristic forces was in removing those DTs who favoured the changes from the structural and social influence of those who opposed it. While, for example, few DTs were willing to cross the former director of the CDD who opposed the changes, once outside the group setting many of them were less influenced by his views. In this way the croniism which I have identified as a restraining force was reduced. I believe that this is seen by the fact that one of the DTs from the Canipaco who, during the formal evaluation and planning meeting, aligned with the ex-director against the process, participated in the solar energy food dryer course in Canchapalca.

The shift in strategies toward informal and interpersonal contact also allowed the working group to target the DTs whose personal philosophies coincided with the proposed change, in this way maximizing this driving force. Instead of having to get the entire CDD on side or even an entire regional unit, it was possible to approach individually those DTs who had expressed most interest in improving community participation in their work. This we consciously did with favourable results in some cases. Again this is illustrated by the participation of one of the DTs who, though not from the Canipaco himself, was on the regional team with two DTs who were. The composition of this team would have

made it very difficult for him to participate if it required the support of the entire team.

Likewise, the initial implementation of the experimental projects allowed some limited demonstration of increased job satisfaction through greater community participation and interest in the projects. After our pre-course visit to Canchapalca to discuss the course with the community leaders, the regional team leader for the area spoke very favourably of the meeting and of the community's enthusiasm for the course in the weekly CDD meeting.

5) Technological forces. This same situation was true in the area of technological factors. By initiating the projects the driving force associated with available expertise was strengthened. DTs were able to see that Pedro and I had specific ideas about how we would increase community participation and that these could actually work. One of the DTs commented, after a visit to one of the communities in which Pedro and I had been discussing with community delegates what they wanted to see in the delegate orientation, that he had never seen comuneros get excited about a course before. While this is probably an exaggeration it demonstrates the possibility of convincing DTs of the viability of a different approach through demonstration. At the same time, the restraining force caused by ambiguity and uncertainty as to what the changes might mean was reduced as DTs

saw concretely some of the implications of a more participatory methodology.

While all of the forces listed above were affected by the modified strategy in a manner consistent with our goals, there were also some counterproductive effects which deserve mention. These relate primarily to the level of communication and information flow concerning the change and the experimental projects. While I have shown that the modified strategy improved communication in several ways, in terms of ensuring that all members of the CDD were aware of plans and activities, the informal nature of the communication made it more difficult and time consuming. The modified strategy also reduced the formal importance of the change. By doing so the potential for permanency may also have been reduced.

Summary of the Altered Balance Sheet.

If we look at the effect of the modified strategy on the restraining and driving forces in terms of their amenability, we see that the potency of sixteen forces was altered. This is illustrated by the following charts. Among the driving forces, the potency of nine was increased, at least marginally. These nine were: i) The support of external organizations. ii) The availability of additional resources. iii) The opportunity for value based support. iv) Availability of slack resources. v) Increased support of

key internal actors like the president of the Administrative Council. vi) The people-focused or procedural nature of the change. vii) The philosophical commitment of individuals within the organization. viii) Job satisfaction through community approval. ix) Presence of appropriate expertise.

ILLUSTRATION OF CHANGES IN THE POTENCY OF DRIVING FORCES
BROUGHT ABOUT BY MODIFICATIONS TO THE CHANGE STRATEGY

	<u>Initial Potency</u>	<u>Effect of Modifications</u>
External legitimation	Low	Increased
Finacial resources	Low	Increased
Client pressure	High	No change
Public awareness	Low	No change
Value orientation	Moderate	Increased
Slack resources	Low	Increased
Support of key members	Moderate	Increased
Nature of change	Moderate	Increased
Personal values	High	Increased
Increased prestige	Low	No change
Job satisfaction	Moderate	Increased
Technological forces	Low	Increased

Among the restraining forces, the potency of seven was decreased. These seven were: i) The fear of outsider control. ii) internal opposition. iii) The conserver nature of the director of the CDD. iv) Sunk costs. v) The general

scope of the change. vi) The croniism found in the influence of the ex-director. vii) The ambiguity concerning the nature and implications of the change

ILLUSTRATION OF CHANGES IN THE POTENCY OF RESTRAINING FORCES
RESULTING FROM MODIFICATIONS TO THE CHANGE STRATEGY

	<u>Initial Potency</u>	<u>Effect of Modifications</u>
Environmental instability	High	No change
Resistance to outsider control	Moderate	Decreased
Internal opposition	High	Decreased
Orientation to change	Low	Decreased
Sunk costs	High	Decreased
Lack of inducement	Moderate	No change
Nature of the change (includes both generality and association with deeper change)	Moderate	Decreased
Loss of power	High	No change
Deterioration of working conditions	High	No change
Croniism	Moderate	Decreased
Technological uncertainty	Moderate	Decreased

As can be seen by these illustrations and in the preceding discussion, there were significant changes in the driving and restraining forces brought about by the modifications to the initial change strategy. Whereas in the

balance sheet associated with the initial change effort there were six high or moderate potency forces of a positive or driving nature (working forces), the potency of a total of nine driving forces has been increased in the second change effort. Perhaps more importantly, whereas the initial effort was restrained by eleven moderate or high potency forces, the modified strategy has reduced the potency of seven of these. I believe that this change in the quantity and the potency of the driving and restraining forces, brought about by the modifications to the change promotion strategy, accounts for the increased success that we experienced in promoting change through the modified strategy.

CHAPTER IX
CONCLUDING COMMENTS REGARDING THE PRACTICUM AND ITS
IMPLICATIONS

The practicum itself began with four principle objectives listed in Chapter I. In this report these objectives have found expression in five questions:

- 1) What was the community work model employed by the SAIS?
- 2) What was the nature of community participation in the work of the SAIS's Community Development Division?
- 3) What factors impeded the adoption, by the SAIS's Community Development Division, of the participatory methodologies of community work?
- 4) What factors facilitated the adoption, by the SAIS's Community Development Division, of the participatory methodologies of community work?
- 5) What strategies were most effective in promoting the acceptance of participatory methodologies of community work and for what reasons?

The answers to these questions became the report's central focus. In this brief and concluding chapter I will revisit the responses to these questions, suggesting possible implications for community work and some additional questions that deserve further consideration.

The community work model employed by the SAIS in its work with the communities has been described in Chapter V. In that chapter I have shown that their model was characterized by a primary orientation to concrete, substantive needs

through the provision of direct services and centralized planning. In Chapter VI I have described the nature of the communities' participation in the work of the CDD. In analyzing three community work projects, there emerged a view of a low level of community participation, in large part due to the lack of importance accorded the communities' contributions.

As I discussed in Chapter VII, the findings of the community work assessment informed the goals and the planning of a change promotion strategy. For the evolution of the practicum these findings were, therefore, significant. For the community worker at large they may also be of importance in that the orientation that was found reinforces the need for increased efforts to promote participation. Recognizing the lack of meaningful participation illustrated in these results, the community worker should be aware that the gap which exists between the rhetorical and philosophical stance of an organization and its practice of community work may be wide. He or she should be particularly aware of this danger in the international arena where, while tending to romanticize so-called popular movements and projects, there are fewer opportunities to verify their participatory nature.

The remaining three practicum questions focused on identification of the forces which influenced the change effort and on the promotion of a change to more participatory meth-

odologies among the development technicians. Some of the strongest and most significant restraining forces included: the high level of instability and risk in the external environment, which while making change necessary, also made it a very uncertain and risky - even life threatening - proposition; the internal philosophical or ideological opposition to the SAIS; sunk costs in the existing system; the potential loss of power that the DTs may suffer vis a vis the communities; the fear of outsider control; and the deterioration of working conditions.

Among the key driving forces contributing to the acceptance of participatory relations we found the following: the client pressure for change was considerable; the stated value orientation of the SAIS; the personal value orientation of many DTs; intrinsic rewards such as increased prestige and job satisfaction; the support of key actors; the resources made available by or for the changes;

While all of the impeding and facilitating factors which acted upon the adoption of participatory methodologies may be of interest to the community worker or change agent in his or her attempts to promote change, several of these merit additional comment. Of particular interest is a comparison of the relative potency of the driving forces associated with external legitimation and with client pressure. The low potency of the former and the high potency of the latter

suggest we should focus on strategies of change which employ the client or community group as principal catalyst of change.

The restraining force arising from a resistance to outsider control of the process is also significant. It signals an area of potential conflict in all change promotion and community work endeavours and reinforces the need to devote significant energy to building relationships with and transferring control to target groups. In the practicum, the association of respected members of the SAIS with the change reduced the potency of this force, and by making the change informal we were able to transfer some control of it to the individual DTs.

This practicum report has also pointed to deep conflicts and serious tensions within the SAIS itself. The effect that these had on the promotion of change and on the DTs' relations with the communities illustrates that the external community worker or change agent is by no means immune to them. Prior to the beginning the practicum I was to some extent unprepared for the intensity of these conflicts and was surprised by the degree to which they pervaded the work of the CDD. This fact must promote a heightened attention to and respect for the internal and external conflicts of a community and their impact on a change process. It also points to the need for a more thorough understanding of the

cultural context of community work. Had I, for example, been aware of the extent to which the identity of the highland communities is tied to the ownership of land I may well have better anticipated and prepared for the intensity of the internal SAIS conflicts.

In the analysis there also emerged two restraining forces to which I found no direct reference in the theoretical literature. The first of these was the association of the proposed change with other changes about which the DTs had particularly strong negative feelings. To analyze the impact of a proposed change as if it were an isolated adjustment is inadequate for understanding people's reaction to it. In advocating change one must be aware of past attempts at change and their impact on the current effort. The second of these was what I called "croniism", or the personal alliances based on a sense of common origin. While similar personal allegiances are acknowledged in the literature, these were notable for their inclusion of people on the basis of their communities of origin.

With regard to the change promotion strategies that proved most effective, I found that a strategy based on informal rather than formal contacts within the organization and on the implementation of experimental projects prior to a formal commitment to participate was more effective in producing the desired changes. As stated in the summary to

Chapter VIII, the success of this strategy lay in its effectiveness in increasing the potency of driving forces associated with such things as internal and external support, and with job and client satisfaction, while, at the same time, reducing the potency of restraining forces. While this strategic approach may provide an option for the community worker involved in change promotion, its relevance will depend on the existence of a similar combination of circumstances. The convergence of factors in this practicum allowed changes to be made in the nature of relations, formal to informal, and in the timing of the experimental projects. Where similar possibilities and similar driving and restraining forces exist it is possible that this work experience may provide a relevant model.

Out of this experience emerges an additional observation of note. That is that the creation of the conditions for community workers in which they can, in relative safety, experiment with alternative methodologies is a key to promoting change. As indicated, a significant part of our strategy lay in identifying the DTs who shared a concern for participatory community work. By providing these DTs with opportunity to experiment without fear of job loss, sanctions from other DTs, or extra work, impetus arose from within the CDD for the change.

In addition to the conclusions and implications which can be drawn directly from the answers to the five practicum questions, there are other insights that, although not explicitly addressed, should not be lost. One of these relates to the duration of community work. Clearly the complexity of a community work project of this nature and of the situation within the SAIS made the relatively short period of time a limiting factor to what could be achieved. The phases of orientation and the community work analysis occupied the majority of my five month stay, leaving little time for the actual promotion of change through the experimental projects.

An additional observation pertains to the source of the exchange project and the practicum's initial focus on the establishment of a training program as the primary objective. The negative reaction of the DTs to this idea suggests that they had no role in its development and illustrates the importance of involving all levels of an organization in the planning of similar projects. In other words, it reinforces the importance of the use of participatory methodologies when planning a project focusing on the promotion of participation. The difficulties and misunderstandings which were encountered in this process of establishing objectives highlight the difficulty of planning international projects and arriving at mutual understandings of objectives and processes when meetings with all concerned

are not possible. While this does not mean that such projects are not feasible, it should instill, in the organizations and individuals involved, a degree of caution or at the very least openness to substantial modifications in approach. Pushing ahead with the initial plan to develop a formal training program in spite of the CDD's reluctance, would certainly have reduced even further the effectiveness of the change promotion.

In writing the practicum report I focused on five questions. Still there remain many questions and areas of inquiry that would need to be considered before we could say that this practicum experience has been fully analyzed and that it has taught us all that it might. Principal among these are two related questions which, in the early optimism of planning the practicum, I had hoped to be able to address, but which I have found myself obliged to leave, at least temporarily, untouched. One of these questions focuses on what the role of the external community worker, particularly from countries of the North, can or should be in community development work in the South. Related inextricably to this is a second, the question of culture in community work and the impact of work performed across cultural boundaries.

While the scope of this report has not allowed for inclusion of these questions they are ones that still need to be

asked, and I would like to suggest a starting point for further investigation. In the analysis of community work and participation in the SAIS, I believe that we saw clearly the need for increased participation and a role for the change promoter, perhaps even one from the outside. In the writing of Jose Carlos Mariategui, to whom many Peruvian Transformationists owe considerable allegiance, we find calls for the adaption of Western European knowledge and social experience to the evolution of a Peruvian revolutionary alternative. For Mariategui, in the 1920's the question was how to incorporate these into the knowledge of the Peruvian popular classes while at the same time valuing the traditions and cultural expression of the masses. That question remains largely unchanged. How do I or do you as community workers bring new knowledge which, rather than supplant and subvert the collective traditions and understanding of the people, build on these? Though this question is not one that is directly addressed, I believe that the careful reader may have begun to see examples within the discussion of our work in such areas as the bajada de bases, the delegates training, and the solar food dryer course, upon which to begin to construct a positive and creative response to this important question. Such a response might flow from the overall principles of community involvement in planning as in the example of the reforestation project which has been analyzed in the report, or it might flow from small specific actions

such as the evening meetings that were part of the solar food dryer course in Canchapalca.

While this practicum and its results have not been analyzed from the perspective of the cultural interaction inherent in it, this dynamic was undoubtedly at work. Implicit throughout this practicum and indeed throughout virtually all community work literature is an assumption that if given the opportunity a community will want to participate and that community participation is in and of itself good. But what of the cultural orientation to participation? A multitude of questions could be posed, but a starting point for this investigation might well focus on questions which relate the concept and objective of broad based participation to cultural manifestations of community involvement. Essentially, what are "culturally appropriate" forms of participation, and how does the external community worker separate these from his or her own cultural and ideological biases?

Nor should we forget that the realities of a dangerous political situation, in which some DTs were facing threats to their lives, play a significant part in determining the level and type of interaction with the community. In reflecting on this work then we must also ask what the real impact of these circumstances is and how in the face of them an appropriate form of participation can be achieved?

A final question that I believe is worth raising for additional consideration relates to the differences that were noted in the community work methodologies employed by the asistentas sociales as compared to the other DTs. In the work of Sulca to which I have referred we find a suggestion that the participatory nature of their approach is rooted in the training that they receive during the course of their formal studies. What other factors might be involved in creating this difference, and, if in fact this is an adequate explanation, could elements of that training be adapted to other community work professionals?

I began this practicum report by saying that the practicum represented one effort among many to contribute to participatory community work. Though clearly incomplete, in its attempts to value the participation of the popular classes and to construct a horizontal relationship between them and the authorities and technicians, and in its successes in promoting the DTs' involvement in participatory community work, I believe that this practicum does, in fact, represent one very small and peaceful step along this path.

GLOSSARY OF ACRONYMS AND FREQUENTLY-USED SPANISH TERMS

Asistentas Sociales (or "asistentas")... Social workers within the CDD.

Bajada de Bases... A series of meetings in the communities between officials of the SAIS and community members.

Campesino(a)... peasant or small farmer.

Club de Madres... Mothers' Clubs or organizations established in several communities to help women address community issues.

Comunero... The head of a campesino household in a member community of the SAIS, usually but not always men.

CDD... Community Development Division of the SAIS.

CWY... Canada World Youth.

CDR... Centro de Desarrollo Rural, the Lima-based rural development centre which provided the technical expertise for the training project in solar energy food drying.

DT(s)... Development Technicians, the professionals of the CDD including the "asistentas sociales" who worked directly with the communities to improve their level of socio-economic development.

EC... Education Committee of the SAIS.

Faena... A communal work project.

Hacendado... The wealthy owner of an "hacienda", usually living in a feudal relationship with the campesinos.

Hacienda... Large expansive privately owned farms of which seven were expropriated and turned over to the SAIS.

PU... Production Unit, the large farms, previously haciendas, that were now owned collectively by all of the member communities of the SAIS.

SAIS... Sociedad Agricola de Interes Social. Agricultural Society for Social Interest.

Senderistas... Members of the Shining Path, or Sendero Luminoso, guerrilla movement.

Sendero Luminoso... Shining Path guerrilla movement, lead by Abimael Guzman.

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