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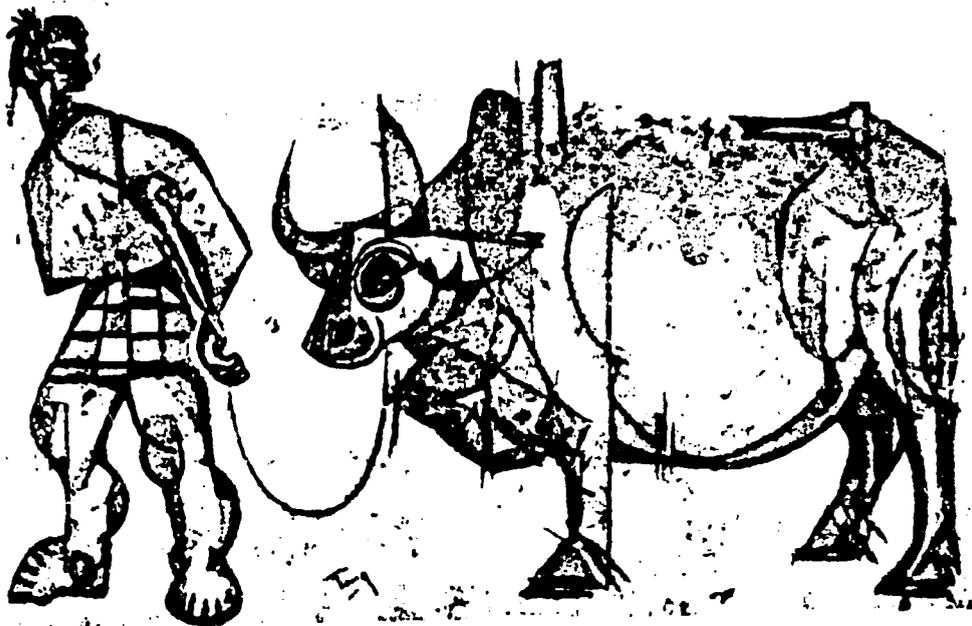
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RURAL DEVELOPMENT COMMITTEE



Bibliography Series

**PARTICIPATION AT THE LOCAL LEVEL:
A WORKING BIBLIOGRAPHY**

by

John M. Cohen
Gladys A. Culagovski
Norman T. Uphoff
Diane L. Wolf

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INTRODUCTION

This working bibliography was prepared for the Rural Development Participation Project, one of several research and action projects currently being undertaken through Cornell University's Rural Development Committee (RDC), an interdisciplinary group working under the auspices of the Center for International Studies. The Participation Project is operated by the RDC under a cooperative agreement with the Office of Rural Development in USAID. In this introduction we describe the Project and the methodology by which the bibliography was compiled and classified. Most of the references in the bibliography are drawn from English sources. However, a review of literature in French and Spanish is included as well. It is hoped that this effort will prove useful to researchers and development professionals working in the complex and critical area of rural development participation.

Rural Development Participation Project

Over the past few years, development specialists have expressed increasing concern over the lack of progress in altering the plight of the rural poor. This concern is based on the realization that one-quarter of the world's people live in conditions of insecurity and privation, with incomes of less than \$100 a year in the rural areas of Africa, Asia and Latin America. The growing gap between rich and poor nations is mirrored by a similar divergence between the well-off and impoverished people within most less-developed countries. The pressing task of Development Decade II has been to begin reversing both trends. Toward this goal, some new approaches have been proposed, among them an effort to get greater participation in rural development activities by those who should benefit from them.

Because of accumulated experience suggesting that projects are likely to be more successful in the long run when local people are involved in design, decision-making, implementation and evaluation activities, many international development agencies have called for participation by the poor majority in all aspects of the development process. The 1973 Foreign Assistance Act of the United States requires that "Decisions concerning the activities to be carried out are to be made, preferably by those benefited (for example, the poor), and if not, at least with effective consultation and substantial acceptance by those benefited." In a manner similar to this "Congressional Mandate," several United Nations General Assembly declarations call for "the active participation of all elements of society, individually or through associations, in defining and achieving the common goals of development," urging UN projects to promote "the adoption of measures to ensure the effective participation of all elements of society in the preparation and execution of programmes of economic and social development." Speaking for the World Bank, Robert McNamara has noted there is greater chance for rural development success if national governments and projects "provide for popular participation, local leadership, and decentralization of authority."

Depending on one's perspective, the importance of participation in rural development projects has either just been discovered or rediscovered. It appears that there are some important distinctions between the "new directions" in rural development work and the earlier approach of community development (or animation rurale as the approach in French-speaking areas was called). Despite initial enthusiasm and some impressive initial results of these earlier approaches, there were some grounds for seeking more satisfactory strategies of development. While concerned with identification of "felt needs" and with mobilizing self-help resources, in some countries the principal goal of community development was to stabilize the rural sector while national development could be pursued by the central government. Moreover, it often focused more on public goods and welfare than on production, giving little explicit attention to the rural poor or to equitable distribution of benefits. To some extent, an emphasis on community harmony and getting quick results led to acceptance of local power structures and continued domination of activities and benefits by local elites. Yet in any case, the experience with such local-level participatory development efforts deserves consideration as its lessons bear on present

undertakings. We are examining this experience in connection with the Rural Development Participation Project.

The new approach is less vague about what "ending rural poverty" means and entails. Its aim is to reach and assist the large number of rural poor and to deal with the structural or institutional constraints that limit their productivity and maintain inequity. The new participatory strategy is concerned with how various development activities, such as range management, cooperative marketing or irrigation improvement, are undertaken, rather than with setting up a new bureaucratic organization as was the case with community development.

Whether this new development thrust is seen as old or new wine, more and more activities have been undertaken to bolster the capabilities of international assistance agencies to promote more participation in their development programs. The United Nations, the World Bank, USAID and other donors, and private voluntary organizations have undertaken studies concerned with participation and begun to design rural development projects insuring more participation by those affected. Yet, even with all these activities, one is faced with a disturbing fact: there is little agreement on how to expand participation of the poor and what forms of participation are most meaningful and effective for them. Nor is there agreement on how to relate efforts to increase participation in different local conditions and traditions.

In response to this need, Cornell's Rural Development Committee has embarked on a four-year project designed to study participation and to develop or evaluate various strategies for promoting it in rural development projects. The cooperative agreement with AID's Office of Rural Development mentioned above will enable the RDC to work in countries and on topics of mutual interest to the RDC and AID, promoting in the process a close interaction between research and action. Among the activities that can be undertaken are assisting missions in developing information needed to design projects that involve rural people, working with local institutions committed to increasing participation in rural development activities, and assisting AID and host governments in their efforts to experiment with new approaches to rural development participation. In these efforts a number of interdisciplinary activities can be undertaken. Examples of activities that would come under the umbrella of the project would be: use of traditional water user organizations in irrigation,

canal or community water pump projects; promoting local identification of public works needs and involving local people in the decision, implementation and evaluation processes of such projects; promoting participation of small-scale farmers in design and assessment of plant breeding research programs; or assisting administrative and local government reorganization so as to increase possibilities for grassroots involvement by rural people in development activities.

Over the next several years, the project will publish studies on various aspects of participation. Four special focuses of concern, because taken together they represent a set of approaches probably most useful for promoting popular participation, are decentralization of administration, local organization, local leadership, and use of paraprofessionals. Specific studies will deal with problems like participation in irrigation management or in agricultural research and development, or with certain groups whose participation is a particular concern, such as women, small farmers or landless laborers.

An initial state-of-the-art paper, on local level participation, was prepared and published by the RDC in 1977.* This lengthy monograph provides a conceptual framework for the analysis of participation in a variety of settings, and it established terms of reference for the project on participation now being undertaken. By the end of 1978, a second state-of-the-art paper will be presented dealing with participatory aspects of specific kinds of projects. Beyond the other kinds of studies mentioned above, project members will be involved in applied research and consulting in a number of countries, providing available knowledge but also building up what is known about participatory approaches. The project will disseminate such information through a network of scholars and practitioners working on these problems whom it will identify for bringing into closer interaction and continuing work on such approaches. The project welcomes suggestions and inputs from any persons involved in these kinds of development activity.

* John M. Cohen and Norman T. Uphoff, Rural Development Participation: Concepts and Measures for Project Design, Implementation and Evaluation (Ithaca: Cornell University, Rural Development Committee, Monograph Series No. 2, 1977).

Bibliography Preparation and Organization

This bibliography was compiled as part of a more general search effort to review the existing literature on rural development. Most entries come from a survey of over 100 development or area related journals between 1960 and 1977 to identify articles on topics that dealt with some aspect of rural development. The "books received" lists of major journals were also reviewed. A search of the footnotes and bibliographic entries in the most promising articles and books located in the initial search produced a number of additional items. This step helped locate conference papers, manuscripts and other kinds of fugitive literature related to local-level participation. There are a few bibliographies available so far, less comprehensive than this one, and they proved helpful in turning up some new references.* Finally, in an effort to locate promising studies that might not yet have found their way into print, we scanned the abstracts of Ph.D. dissertations completed at American and Canadian universities since 1970.

This approach was somewhat unorthodox, different from that followed by professional bibliographers. We know that we may have missed some useful studies relating to participation. However, our principal aim was not to produce a definitive survey at this time since we are just beginning work under the Rural Development Participation Project. We were assessing the state and extent of available literature, seeking also to identify persons working on related problems. The search effort was broad enough that we think we came across most of the work in this field. Since our search produced a listing of books, articles and papers more complete than any related bibliography we have found, and since we think it can be helpful to those entering this new and rapidly expanding area for research, we have decided to publish the product of our work. The format used is based on the University of Chicago Press Manual of Style. It provides complete data on the work listed and is in accord with modern publisher,

*The most helpful of these was produced by the United Nations, Innovative Approaches to Popular Participation in Development: An Annotated Bibliography (New York: Center for Social Development and Humanitarian Affairs, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, ESA/SDHA/Misc. 18, October 1976).

journal and dissertation requirements for full information on bibliographic items.

Classification of the materials was not an easy task. The headings we have used seem from our review of the literature to represent major topics of concern. But few of the articles or books deal with only one aspect of participation. Cross-indexing would have required minute differentiations, for example, whether an article dealing with rural local government should also be listed as covering local elites. Moreover, we have not been able to read every entry and may have been misled by the titles in some cases, so a complex classification system did not seem appropriate. In general, where an entry deals with more than one topic, it is listed according to the "independent variable" indicated. For example, the article by Mial and Mial on "The Development, Training and Use of Leadership Resources in Community Development Programs" is put under "Leadership--Contemporary Roles" rather than under "Community Development." Where two main topics are covered, such as Valsan's book, Community Development Programs and Rural Local Government: Comparative Case Studies of India and the Philippines, we classified according to the first, unless from the article itself it was clear more attention was given to the second.

The headings themselves have some unavoidable ambiguity. Under the first heading, "Participation and Development," are entries dealing most generally and directly with this subject. We have tried to distinguish participation in its general sense from more specifically "political" participation, dealt with in the fourth section, though sometimes the line is hard to draw. The second and third sections deal with "Local Organization" and "Local Leadership," structures and roles having critical bearing on the extent and effectiveness of participation. We have tried to distinguish between more "traditional" organizations and leadership roles as they relate to participation, and more "contemporary" ones. The distinction is often difficult to make, but we felt it was more useful to try to make it than to group the two sets of references together in each section.

"Political Participation" is regarded, as noted above, as a specific kind of participation. We have sorted out references to this in general terms dealing with such dimensions as political institutions or mobilization from those pertaining more specifically to local-level politics and those covering parties and elections in particular. There

are a number of political factors affecting participation (of all sorts) which are covered in section V, considering the impact of patron-client relations, factionalism, and interest groups and conflict.* Under social factors affecting participation in section VI, we would point to rural social structure and stratification, ethnic factors, and caste factors.

Then we consider the institutions and programs thorough which much of the effort to promote participation have been undertaken in the past. We have made some rough distinctions between "Rural Local Government" and "Rural Development Administration," recognizing that there can be ambiguity between the two. Basically, the first refers more to units having accountability to the local community, while the second involves units responsible to administrative and political superiors ultimately at the national level. There are a great many articles and books concerning "Community Development," both as a generic process of self-help mobilization and as a specific kind of development strategy. We have separated out from these the ones that dealt with what has been called "Animation Rurale" in French-speaking areas, but otherwise this section is a large and heterogeneous one.

We hope that this classification is helpful, but in any case we urge the interested reader to look over all the sections, because there are bound to be items in several sections that are relevant to any particular topics. Many interesting insights and research notes are to be found in studies not directly on participatory topics as seen from Robert Lystad's article, "R&D at the Grass Roots," Africa Report, XVIII, 5 (1962), pp. 12-14. Our bibliography's scope catches many of these, but some of the best gems may still be found in items with titles well outside even this compilation's broad focus.

Most of the writing on local level participation has been done in English so far. A somewhat smaller set of studies has been completed

* In none of these have we tried to be comprehensive with respect to the subject, such as caste. Rather we are listing those articles which have enough of a rural or developmental bearing that they seem useful to include. For a full review of the patron-client and factionalism literature, see James C. Scott, "Political Clientelism: A Bibliographic Essay," in Friends, Followers and Factions, edited by Steffen Schmidt et al. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974), pp. 483-505.

in French and Spanish. In order to give English readers access to this literature, summary reviews and annotated bibliographies from both bodies of literature are included in this publication. The French section is the work of Diane L. Wolf and the Spanish section was done by Gladys A. Culagovski. Both sections summarize only the more important studies in each language and are intended to give the reader an idea of the literature's concerns and orientation rather than provide a complete listing of references. A somewhat narrower focus was employed for these reviews than for this publication as a whole, looking primarily at articles and books more centrally concerned with local level participation. Cohen and Uphoff are responsible for the compilation of the overall bibliography. Charles B. Mehl, Arthur A. Goldsmith, and Ketsela Mengestu helped greatly in the search and editing process. The difficult task of typing the manuscript was done by Renee Pierce.

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VIII. PARTICIPATION AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

A. COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT AND SELF-HELP EFFORTS

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B. ANIMATION RURALE

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IX. FRENCH SOURCES ON PARTICIPATION

A. REVIEW OF LITERATURE

The strategy of animation rurale comprises the core of French literature on participation. It emerged in the late 1950s through the joint work of the Institute de Recherche et Formation pour l'Education et le Développement (IRFED) and the Institute de Recherches d'Application des Methodes de Développement (IRAM). IRFED focused on literacy and basic education while IRAM was concerned with economic goals. Their joint efforts led to the view that the key to development lies in active education of rural people in the operation and administration of modern institutions and methods.

The overall strategy flows from Marxist Social Theory and French Liberal Catholic intellectual traditions. These foundations and the development efforts they led to are well described in the work of Jeanne Marie Moulton and need not be elaborated.* The three leading staff members of IRAM were Yves Goussault, the first secretary-general, Roland Colin and Guy Belloncle, all of whose works are presented here. They were the major IRAM theorists and writers during the 1960s. Much of their work product is written in a characteristically French manner which seems to Anglophone readers to confuse theory and practice. A good bibliography on the publications of IRAM was published in 1966 by the journal Archives Internationales de Sociologie de la Coopération under the title "Bibliographie sur l'Animation en Afrique Noire." This journal, Développement et Civilisations and Tiers-Monde published a number of articles on animation rurale and participation.

* Jeanne Marie Moulton, Animation Rurale: Education for Rural Development (Amherst: University of Massachusetts, Center for International Education, 1977).

Foremost among the critics of animation rurale has been Albert Meister, whose major work is presented here. In these efforts he challenges many of the central assumptions of French participation strategies, recounts his own experiences with animation rurale and compares it to the Anglo-American focus on community development. Other critics include the economist Samir Amin and the agricultural economist René Dumont.

French literature on popular participation and animation rurale can be divided into two groups, one which presents and explains theories of participation and animation rurale, and another which describes and discusses specific animation projects.

There are several comprehensive and analytical works representative of the first group, for instance articles and books by Casse, Goussault, and Meister. As these writers show, animation rurale is not intended to help the individual peasant better himself, but to awaken the collective consciousness of the village community and involve its members in development activities. To achieve this end, the strategy attempts to integrate local action with national development plans, by establishing linkages with government institutions and personnel.

Animation rurale is initiated by government field agents who work with community centers and local animation groups. After explaining the animation process, these agents ask the villagers to select an animateur from their village. The individual chosen is sent to a training center, where he receives training in group dynamics and leadership techniques. The goal is for the animateur to return to his village to encourage and lead community action for development projects.

This approach to participation implicitly assumes peasants cannot realize their potential outside of joint action in a progressive social group. This is in keeping with the belief, widespread among French social scientists, that economic growth and equity can only be achieved through collective, not individual effort. At the same time the rural population is often seen as passive, and most proponents of animation believe outside intervention is needed to stimulate community awareness and motivation. Many proponents of this view desire to change traditional patterns and outlooks by introducing and encouraging "progressive" and "modern" social and economic behavior and institutions. The literature also assumes that after the population is made aware of its capacity to initiate change for

its own benefit, participation will become self-perpetuating. Thus, animation rurale hopes to build a grassroots movement that is supported by the local population, but is also integrated with higher government planning and development agencies.

The theoretical efforts found in the French literature are often directed toward heuristic typologies and comparisons. Typical is Meister's "Typologie des Approches de la Participation Provoquée," which elaborates six different kinds of participation. Such analyses are helpful for two reasons: (1) they distinguish animation rurale from other development strategies; and (2) they point out the features animation shares with other approaches to development.

The second major group of articles on animation rurale and participation is empirically based. Examples of this group include writings by Belloncle, Pinatel, Reder and Serreau. They provide data from Francophone Africa on selection and training of animateurs, and the impact of animation of the local community. Others, for instance Combaz-Fauquel and Barbier, examine administrative linkages between center and periphery, and the practical difficulties of integrating local animation activities with regional or national development plans. Some of the operationally oriented writing also addresses the difficulties inherent in applied social research and the conflicts between researchers and animateurs (Meister and LeBoterf).

Some of the normative assumptions in the French literature are challenged by current views on development. Many specialists no longer assume socioeconomic change is necessarily desirable or that social progress is inevitable. Many would also criticize the tendency to view peasant communities as static and closed to change, a view which can be traced to Durkheim and the roots of French sociology. Other common assumptions in the literature, such as that villagers lack awareness, group consciousness, information, and motivation, are challenged by recent research which emphasizes peasant rationality. Perhaps most controversial is the view that the villager's consciousness and the community's norms are major constraints in the development process. Recent studies suggest, to the contrary, that inappropriate technologies, poorly developed infrastructure, and lack of access to inputs are often more crucial constraints.

Missing in much of the French literature is discussion of the participation of women or the use of female animatrices. Only the Aïssa article mentions this crucial issue, perhaps because most writers assume that males do most farming and make most decisions. Also absent in the articles surveyed is much analysis of class differentiation among the peasantry. Nor does the literature address the problems faced by animateurs once they return to their villages after receiving training.

Several French writers do raise the issue of conflict, as both a hindrance to and possible by-product of development. Colin, for instance, examines tensions in Francophone Africa between new participation projects and the political and administrative structures inherited from the colonial period. Meister and Goussault recognize that modernization destroys traditional ties and beliefs, and may lead to intracommunity strife. Nevertheless, many important conflictual problems, such as competition between local and national elites and the tendency for bureaucrats to establish different priorities than villagers, are largely overlooked.

B. SELECT ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Aïssa, Y. Cvlid. "Les groupements précoopératifs de production agricole et artisanale comme moyen de développement" (Precooperative Production and Artisan Groups as a Means of Development). International Development Review/Focus, 1 (1977): 21-25.

This article examines the PUND-BIT project in the Pool and Koukouya regions of the Popular Republic of the Congo. There peasants are trained at state farms in organizational and technical skills. They subsequently return to their villages and establish pre-cooperative groups aimed at increasing productivity, employment and input distribution. In the process they keep building the basis for a cooperative group. The peasants, including women, participate in planning production with the help of the cooperative. Goals of increasing female participation and overall employment are emphasized.

Barbier, C. H. "La formation des cadres intermédiaires dans les pays en voie de développement" (The Education of Intermediate Cadres in Developing Countries). International Review of Community Development, 12 (1963): 21-52.

This article centers on a general discussion of cadre education and foreign aid. The author gives a general overview of the importance and context of cadre formation in the Third World with reference to leadership training methods. He also discusses sending trainees abroad and the possibility for training cadres in their home country, with brief reference to UN projects in Third World countries.

Belloncle, Guy. "L'Animation rurale: facteur crucial du développement agricole" (Rural Animation: Crucial Factor in Agricultural Development). Afrique, 67 (1967): 11-17.

This article briefly examines animation rurale projects in Madagascar, Upper Volta, Cameroon, Senegal and Niger. These projects attempted to motivate rural collectivities to "take their evolution" in their own hands by changing their members' attitudes about their ability to control their own future. The typical animation rurale methods of leadership training, with leaders returning to the village to "animate" the populace, were used by these projects. Successes and problems encountered in each country are discussed, such as generational conflict due to changing crops.

Casse, Pierre. "La participation societal au développement: rouages et mécanismes" (Social Participation in Development: Means and Mechanisms). Genève-Afrique, XI, 2 (1972): 3-18.

The article describes in general terms the mechanisms of development participation. It focuses on three stages of participa-

tion: (1) choosing of objectives; (2) choosing the method of development; and (3) applying the method. It sketches a typology of participation (activist, integrative and mobilizing), while referring to Meister's (1969) typology of participation, pointing out that change cannot be realized harmoniously without active popular participation. Further, participation as a method of development can have adverse effects if human resource mobilization is not coupled with a large scale and broad based rural movement.

Colin, Roland. "Politique de participation et développement technologique" (Politics of Participation and Technological Development). Développement et Civilisations, 49/50 (1972): 11-18.

The author cogently discusses problems African countries face due to national and international economic, technical and educational structures resulting from the colonial era. He describes a popular participation project in education in Senegal, presenting a development method that replaces the traditional approach. This method necessitates that peasants play a major role in defining problems, setting their goals, and designing and evaluating the project. This leads to structures that may employ intermediate technology, for it creates dynamic conditions for peasant innovation similar to the Chinese model. The author advocates abandoning Western models of development to achieve decolonization.

Colin, Roland and Mollet, Albert. "La participation face aux valeurs traditionnelles du Rwanda" (Participation and Traditional Values in Rwanda). Développement et Civilisations, 39/40 (1970): 113-131.

The authors spent six weeks in Rwanda, attempting to discover factors that lead to participation. They examined psychological and character traits, such as people's notion of time and space, social relations, solidarity, motivation, personal needs, and attitudes towards change. Looking at individuals, the family and grassroots groups, they sought to identify participatory and leadership potentials. They concluded that the traditional system does not encourage the emergence of new leaders. However, due to new democratic structures, progressive national leaders can emerge. While recognizing the richness of traditional life, they believe the goal of development is to adjust and educate traditional peoples so they can move toward modernity.

Combaz Fauquel, André. "Comment créer des structures d'intervention et de participation au développement?" (How to Create Structures for Intervention and Participation in Development). Civilisations et Développement, 29 (1967): 66+.

The author discusses the role of government administration in encouraging popular participation, which is seen as a condition for economic expansion. He examines the rural commune in Madagascar, describing its history and its problems, for instance the lack of

dialogue among participants, leaders and administrators. He concludes that state intervention is needed to increase popular participation and insure successful Third World development. Decentralization through communes and other organizations is the most effective means by which the state can promote peasant involvement in development activities.

Desroche, H. "Planification et volontariat--de la coopération comme planification participante" (Planning and Volunteership--Cooperation as Participative Planning). International Review of Community Development, 11 (1963): 17-36.

This historically and philosophically oriented article argues that development cannot accelerate without planning but that planning cannot progress without development. It examines attitudes towards cooperation from the 19th century to more contemporary times. Opinions and writings from Jaures, Mahatma Ghandi, William Penn, Fourier, Rochdale and others are included.

Gagnon, Gabriel. "Animation et participation dans l'est du Québec" (Animation and Participation in Eastern Quebec). International Review of Community Development, 15-16 (1966): 191-200.

This article presents the processes and failings of a project to initiate popular participation in Eastern Quebec. The goal of this project was to replace hired professional animateurs with local people. It failed due to insufficient time to create local leaders, absence of central economic planning mechanisms, and conflict between researchers and animators. The article demonstrates that developed countries encounter the same problems as developing countries when attempting to implement participatory projects.

Goussault, Yves. "De l'éducation des masses à l'animation-participation" (Mass Education in Animation-Participation). Archives Internationales de Sociologie de la Coopération et du Développement, 23 (1968): 72-99.

Animation is "an aggregate of educative methods destined to sustain socio-political processes inherent in the evolution of development structures and to inflect them (the latter) with a sense of participation." The author analyzes principles of animation-participation and mass education. In his opinion, mass education is indispensable for the transformation of development structures. He examines the level of integration, types of intervention, and objectives of animation. He also compares differences in objectives, structures, degree of intervention and methods between animation rurale and community development. He draws on experience in North and Black Africa in this comprehensive article.

Goussault, Yves; Marthelot, Pierre; and Meister, Albert. "Associationnismes ruraux et participation des masses rurales aux programmes

de développement dans les pays méditerranéens" (Rural Associations and Mass Participation in Development in Mediterranean Countries). International Review of Community Development, 15-16 (1966): 89-116.

This article examines the creation of new associations based on voluntary participation. Such secondary associations (e.g., unions, cooperatives and clubs) are indicative of and necessary for modernization. The authors stress the need to stimulate peasant agriculture by encouraging mass participation in more modern associations. They discuss their research into (1) the historical passage from one type of association to another; (2) the role of ideology in creating and sustaining these associations; and (3) structures that facilitate rural mass participation in development. Structures and aspects of rural society in Morocco, Algeria, Libya, Egypt and Tunisia, and development projects in those countries are described. The authors conclude by pointing out the dangers of alienating and traumatizing the peasantry and the subsequent need to involve them in the development process.

Goussault, Yves. "Rural 'Animation' and Popular Participation in French-Speaking Black Africa." International Labor Review, 97, 6 (1968): 525-550.

This article discusses the goals and methods of animation rurale with special reference to Francophone Africa. Animation rurale uses "animation cells" to create a bridge between traditional society and government development organizations. The strategy attempts to link national policies promoting production and economic growth with local leaders and popular participation at the community level. The article sets forth the goals and methods for three types or levels of animation: national, sectoral and community. Much of the discussion is devoted to animation and institutions, i.e., administrative institutions and development planning on the national, regional and local levels. In the author's opinion, progressive peasant organizations must be created that local people can eventually manage. The author also examines the relationship between animation rurale and political institutions, traditional institutions and structural change.

Goussault, Yves. "La participation des collectivités rurales au développement" (Participation of Rural Collectivities in Development). Tiers Monde, II, 5 (1961): 27-40.

Based on experience in North and Black Africa, the author argues that development cells offer possibilities for rural action and development. A coherent base for development can be created if the population is prepared to work to ameliorate its situation. The basic development cell can be integrated in regional and national structures, although to do so requires changes in the rural social structure, distribution of agricultural credit, system of land tenure, and people's attitudes. The author also details the selection, training and work processes of animators. For example, he points to psychological, social and technical criteria sought in animator candidates, such as conviction, adeptness, and a sense of "the earth." Specific reference is made to development cells in Morocco.

Goussault, Yves. "Participation paysanne au développement et aux structures nouvelles" (Peasant Participation in Development and New Structures). Presence Africaine, 43 (1962): 183-189.

This is a short article on methods used by IRAM (Institut de Recherche et d'Application des Methodes de Développement) in Morocco and Senegal with animators and rural collectivities. The background, role, training and purpose of animators is described, in keeping with traditional animation rurale goals and techniques.

Kellerhals, Jean. "Fonctions de la participation organisée: quelques tendances de la sociologie américaine" (Functions of Organized Participation: Some Tendencies in American Sociology). International Review of Community Development, 17/18 (1967): 257-270.

This article presents a critique of American sociological theories concerning functions of organized participation. It is argued that American sociologists have not studied the values implicit in participation, for example the belief in group effectiveness and the ontological superiority of the individual. Theories of participation also ignore social cleavages and differences in ability and motivation among people, as well as the intensity of their participation. Finally, the author examines and criticizes American theories related to the participatory functions of mediation, communication, status maintenance, leadership, adaptation and social change.

La Croix, J. "La coopération de consommation comme expérience de participation" (Consumer Cooperatives as Participation Experience). Archives Internationales de Sociologie de la Coopération et du Développement, 25 (1969): 84-111.

This article discusses in theoretical terms the form and content of democratic participation and cooperation. It analyzes, with specific reference to France, such issues as formal democratic participation (suffrage), the hierarchical structure of cooperatives, types of decisions (strategic, tactical and technical) and consumption. Evidence is drawn primarily from experience in developed countries. A lengthy bibliography on cooperative democracy is included.

Laurent, Philippe. "La participation à la décision économique" (Participation in Economic Decisions). Revue de l'Action Populaire, 167 (1963): 409-422.

The author offers a concrete analysis of decision-centers and responsibility within a democratic economy. This article is not particularly relevant to issues of participation in less developed countries.

Le Boterf, Guy and Pinatel, Henry. "Coopération et formation de cadres: stages de courte durée et éducation permanente" (Cooperation and Education of Cadres: Short Courses and Permanent Education). International Review of Community Development, 23-24 (1970): 101-128.

This article is the result of a study in Morocco of the Culture and Development Association. The authors describe general training techniques used to develop leadership qualities in animators, such as "co-animation," role playing and feedback. A training project is discussed specifically, elaborating on group dynamics and response. The goal of such programs is to mold permanent leadership characteristics in animators. The authors also suggest possible areas of relevant research, such as the relation between power and knowledge and the problems this creates for animators.

Meister, Albert. Participation, Animation et Développement: À Partir d'une Étude Rurale en Argentina (Participation, Animation and Development: The Beginnings of a Rural Study in Argentina). Paris: Editions Anthropos, 1969.

This is a study of participation in development, drawing from experience of farmers' cooperative development in Argentina. Its value is not in the specific case study nor in generalizations about development, but in the author's approach to studying local communities and participation. He examines relationships between the individual and the community in terms of norms, control and change, insisting that social conflict and the local power structure must be examined when studying participation. He emphasizes traits and attitudes of community-perceived leaders and suggests leaders are more likely than non-leaders to come from higher socioeconomic background and to participate in development activities. Because of the intermediary position of leaders, participation is the nexus of modernity and tradition. However, the author fails to explore whether these people are leaders because they participate or if they participate because their socioeconomic position allows such activity. The book contains typologies of participation (traditional, voluntary, spontaneous, encouraged, and imposed) and approaches to encouraged participation. The main principles and approaches to community development and animation rurale are analyzed at length. He emphasizes that cultural fidelity and change are irreconcilable: the price of constructing new relations and opportunities is the destruction of traditional ties and beliefs. (For an elaboration on encouraged participation, see Albert Meister, "Typologie des approches de la participation provoquée.")

Meister, Albert. "Quelques problèmes de la recherche social et sociologique appliquée au développement participationniste" (Some Problems of Social Research and Applied Developmental Sociology). Genève-Afrique, X, 2 (1971): 5-67.

This article is a rigorous examination of the relationship between research and development participation. It discusses at

length problems involved with the application of theory, as well as the results of research. It is argued that social science research is often taken on faith, used for status and employment, and as a pretext for inaction. Goals and functions of institutional research are detailed. The author points to the limits of research for use in development participation, but also offers constructive suggestions. To bridge the gap between research and practice, animators could conduct periodic research in the field, thus increasing their skills without losing contact with the population. The last part of the article suggests possible research directions, emphasizing that researchers should apply a "problematic spirit of participatory development" to their questions, always asking how development participation can intervene in a particular stage or process of modernization.

Pasquer, Roger. L'Animation Agricole (Agricultural Animation). Éditions Universitaires Fubourg Suisse, 1973.

This article states that many development projects are not successful because they are constructed for and not with the population. Animation agricole is a method of agricultural development that encourages peasants to respond by voluntary participation. Drawing from work in Chad, he describes a method of involvement in which the farmers choose a delegate who is trained to be an agricultural agent and then returns to his home to diffuse information. The author envisages them forming farmers' associations. He points out the economic, social and administrative benefits of this approach to development. The goal is to transform traditional agriculture, replacing it with animation agricole, which can be applied to all Third World rural egalitarian societies. This study is based on the belief that traditional farming methods and attitudes must be changed and that farmers must be persuaded to adopt new techniques. Animation agricole encourages local participation after the initial project decisions have been made, and the rules of electing a leader have been explained.

Reder, Alain. "Investissement humain au Rwanda" (Human Investment in Rwanda). Développement et Civilisations, 43 (1971): 40-45.

This article examines the "human investment" approach to development, specifically focusing on a project in Rwanda. This approach aims at having peasants assume responsibility for development through membership in a voluntary working group. This experience leads them to discover and realize their potential as active, responsible beings. In the process, individualistic mentalities will be transformed into collective interest and conscience. The project is decided upon by the government and/or development agency. The peasants are persuaded that it is in their interest to work on the project. After leadership qualities are explained, the farmers elect a leader who represents them in dealing with development technicians. The author also discusses the difficulty involved in instituting change from the top down, as was attempted in Rwanda.

Other difficulties encountered in Rwanda were absenteeism, lack of interest in work and unwillingness to contribute labor without pay. He advocates asking the group to propose solutions and offer critiques as part of the "dialogue game."

Sam, Pierre D. "Le groupe de travail en tant qu'unité de base de la formation au village" (The Work Group as Basic Unit of Village Education). International Development Review/Focus, 2 (1976): 77-120.

The author discusses the GTU (Group Training Unit) as an endogenous catalyst for village development, particularly in Africa. GTUs consist of twenty to twenty-five farmers who select a leader or "animator." Agricultural agents have contact with the animator, who diffuses information and technology to the GTU members. This method increases the number of contacts between agents and farmers. It is a combination of American group dynamics and Chinese production units.

Serreau, Jean. Le Développement à la Base au Dahomey et au Sénégal (Grass-roots Development in Dahomey and Senegal). Paris: Librairie Generale de Droit de de Jurisprudence, 1966.

An essential part of development is economic progress from a subsistence to a consumer economy. Development must also help the individual realize his full potential while utilizing existing channels for change. National mobilization for self-improvement is necessary. In the first part of the book, factors that abet or hinder basic development in Dahomey and Senegal are examined. There follows a discussion of development at the local level, detailing government plans, methods for organizing and monitoring animation rurale and local leadership. The author stresses the need to reform rural society by changing aptitudes and attitudes. State structures must link with community organized development programs to achieve these changes.

Tabari, P. "La promotion nationale: une expérience de participation et de mise au travail des masses rurales" (National Promotion: An Experience of Rural Population Participation and Employment). Archives Internationales de Sociologie de la Coopération et du Développement, 24 (1968): 78-90.

The author describes participation in the National Promotion employment program in Morocco, started in 1961. He concludes that participation is more complex in practice than in theory. He discusses the organizational aspects of this fairly successful program, noting that it made administrators and technicians act in concert with the population. The effects of the program actions and perceptions of different social groups, such as directors, local authorities, local population, are examined. Finally, problems and limits of National Promotion, such as lack of political commitment and remuneration, are analyzed.

"La participation populaire au développement dans les pays de l'OCAM"
(Popular Participation in the Development of OCAM Countries).
Développement et Civilisations, 41-42 (1970): 21-82.

This article is a product of a conference of OCAM. Different committees submitted reports on issues related to popular participation and development. Factors that are noted as hindering popular participation in agricultural production include traditional farming practices and attitudes. The state's role is examined in terms of commercial agriculture credit and grassroots organization. The authors also look at structural tensions and collective animation, asking if economic integration is a means to popular participation or if popular participation is a means to economic integration. Planning at the national, regional and local levels is also discussed, emphasizing regional development plans and the need to "plan planning."

X. SPANISH SOURCES ON PARTICIPATION

A. REVIEW OF LITERATURE

It is difficult to understand the often ambiguous concept of participación campesina without reference to agrarian reform. Since the early 1960s, much of the Latin American literature on rural development has focused on issues of land redistribution and incorporation of peasants into the national economic and political systems. Hence, participación campesina is generally viewed in the literature as a means to enable campesinos to control agrarian reform, whether by granting them direct control of redistributed land or productive assets, or by assuring them input to government agencies charged with implementing reform programs.

Education and training are a general topic of interest in this literature. It is typically argued that the government must provide these services if the land reform beneficiaries are to control the reform process and effectively manage the new assets they have been granted. From a larger perspective, minimal educational skills are seen as essential to the ability of campesinos to participate in formulating a new social order and building a productive rural sector.

Much of the participation literature is underpinned with ideological arguments on the need for profound political change. These are seen as essential to end dependency and backwardness. Perhaps most important is the need for peasants to seize political power at the grass-roots through broad based local organizations. Since those who make these arguments hold that political power is tightly linked to control over land, the link with land reform is quite clear. Among the articles urging formation of peasant organizations and citing examples of successful efforts at broad based popular participation are those by Affonso, Barraclough, and Clifford.

A frequently discussed topic is the creation of community enterprises, such as the group farming organizations established on reformed

land in Chile and Peru. These community enterprises are self-managed units of production whose members make equal capital and labor contributions and who share profits. They are seen as a means "to facilitate the integration of the campesino into a comprehensive humanitarian program" (Araujo). That is, they are central to a development strategy in which the campesino takes an active rather than passive role, and in which peasant participation in benefits is a guiding principle. Those writing on community enterprises include a number of scientists and researchers linked to the Inter-American Institute for Agricultural Sciences (IICA).

The approach adopted or the justification given for community enterprises varies. In some of the writings, the notion of peasant participation is based on the assumption of Christian solidarity and cooperation, rather than the materialist notions of Marxism or interest group theory. From this point of view, participation can be achieved through training and good will, to achieve greater well being for the whole of mankind. Typical of such approaches are the works of DESAL (Chile), CEDIAI (Colombia), and in general those devoted to "popular promotion" and "community development."

Other writers perceive the community enterprise approach differently, as a means to guarantee peasant autonomy and self-reliance (Quiróz, Barraclough, etc.). These writers stress the need for popular participation in rural organizations if a large number of peasants are to benefit from agrarian reform. The economic advantages of community enterprises, which are well documented by Oliart and Araujo, derive mainly from their greater technical efficiency, lower fixed costs, and economies of scale. Perhaps more important than the economic advantages, however, is the fact that these enterprises grant their members democratic control of the local economy, and serve as a mechanism for exerting political influence on the central government.

Another concept found in much of the literature on participación campesina is "marginality." This refers generally to the lack of participation by such groups as the urban poor, landless laborers, and Indian communities. The problem with much of this literature is that it focuses on marginality in the society as a whole, rather than giving explicit treatment to particular marginal groups in the rural sector. Articles on marginality have been written by a number of social scientists with quite

different philosophical backgrounds.

Another body of literature discusses popular participation as a means of generating community support for government development projects. Typical of this view are documents from ECLA, for instance its Latin American Seminar on the Role of Community Development in the Acceleration of Economic and Social Development. The assumption often is that individuals and communities are naturally resistant to change and must be won over to project goals and activities. As one component in what is generally a top-down development strategy, active participation of the rural population is essential to meeting project targets.

In summary, Latin American literature on rural participation focuses on the ideological and political implications of participation, although different authors, of course, evaluate these implications differently. Advocates of participation are often critical of past agrarian reforms and see cooperative grassroot organizations, like the community enterprise, as essential for improving the productivity and welfare of the rural majority. In this view, the absence of effective peasant organization permits continuation of the related processes of marginalization, dependency and backwardness. Despite the strong advocacy of popular participation in writings on Latin American development, theoretical assertions are seldom backed up with strong empirical evidence.

B. SELECT ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Affonso, Almino. "Participación de los campesinos en la reforma agraria" (Peasant Participation in Agrarian Reform). Desarrollo Rural en las Américas, V, 1 (1973): 37-51.

Participation of peasants through organized movements, such as unions or peasant organizations, is indispensable for the execution of agrarian reform and the achievement of economic and social development. This article points out the necessity for peasants to pressure those responsible for implementing agrarian reform. It argues for development of the community and cites several instances where organized peasants have risen in defense of their interests. The author describes the functions of Peasant Councils in Chile, which include transmitting peasant opinion to the government in matters related to the agricultural sector, especially rural development, agricultural production, and agrarian reform.

Araujo, José E. "La reforma agraria y la empresa comunitaria" (Agrarian Reform and Community Enterprise). Desarrollo Rural en las Américas, II, 3 (1970): 193-206.

This article examines the rural community enterprise. This form of organization offers efficiency in production, costs, administration, planning, and commercialization. It also facilitates integration of peasants into comprehensive and humanitarian development programs. The social and political advantages of such enterprises include improvements in community organization, promotion of mutual aid, and changes in values and beliefs of the rural population. Community enterprises must have the following characteristics: (1) physical unity; (2) associative form of production; (3) collective adjudication of land rights; (4) reversibility; (5) assistance from the state, through credit and technical assistance.

Arnove, Robert. "Educación y participación política en áreas rurales en America Latina" (Education and Political Participation in Rural Latin America). Desarrollo Rural en las Américas, V, 2 (1973): 83-96.

The present system of education in Latin America cannot contribute to greater individual political participation, nor add to national capacity to overcome dependency and backwardness. Political ideology, rather than the educational system, is the main determinant of a country's political development. Only profound political changes will make it possible to create a system of education capable of achieving social justice and promoting mass participation in the benefits of modern society. Specifically, under a different setting of social conditions and with different pedagogical strategies, schools can play a dynamic role in preparing individuals to actively participate in society. Such strategies

should seek to: (1) terminate the current role played by schools as custodian of the relations of domination; (2) modify the methodologies and curriculums so as to make them more adequate to national and regional needs (presently, elementary education is oriented towards continuing education at higher levels); and (3) insure access to education to every rural child.

Barceló, Victor M. "Cambios requeridos para la mayor participación de grupos marginados en los beneficios del desarrollo" (Required Changes for Greater Participation of Marginal Groups in the Benefits of Development). Desarrollo Indo-Americano, XI, 32 (1976): 42-50.

In a world of dependency and capitalist underdevelopment, national economies may grow but not develop. Thus relatively rapid economic growth in Latin America has not improved the standard of living of a large segment of the population. Consequently, it is necessary to discard economic models imported from the West, and develop new ones more relevant to Latin America. These new models must provide mechanisms to ensure wider participation in economic growth. This requires that the labor force be expanded to include marginal groups, and that salaries and other payments to workers be increased. Further, the state must adopt redistributive policies, such as providing financial institutions to serve the needs of the poor, raising the interest earned on popular savings, providing technical assistance and inputs to small farmers, instituting price controls, and so forth.

Barraclough, Solon. "Estrategia de desarrollo rural y reforma agraria" (Rural Development Strategy and Agrarian Reform). Desarrollo Rural en las Américas, IV, 1 (1972): 61-79.

To accelerate economic growth and allow effective participation of peasants, major changes must occur in land tenure and the social structure. Peasants must control the land they work, and through their cooperatives and political organizations, exert power over credit and marketing institutions. Fundamental requisites for peasant participation are adequate education, training, and technical assistance. Training in farm management, accounting, and administration of cooperatives and business is especially important.

Barraclough, Solon. "Rol de las organizaciones agrarias en programas de desarrollo rural" (The Role of Agrarian Organizations in Rural Development Programs). Desarrollo Rural en las Américas, II, 2 (1970): 161-180.

The organization of peasants is necessary to change agrarian structures. Unfortunately, experience with rural cooperatives in Latin America has been generally negative. Among the most significant difficulties facing coops are the following: (1) the emergence of new social strata, as some members are excluded from benefits and

decisions; (2) the tendency of government officials to monopolize decisions, reflecting a greater concern with cooperative structure than cooperative education; (3) the often high cost per family of creating and administering coops; (4) the absence of a strong cooperative structure for commercialization and processing. Many of these problems facing coops can be remedied through appropriate government policy. Examples of this would be policies to: (1) include in the planning process representatives of the different components of the agricultural sector; (2) stimulate and strengthen peasant organizations so they can assume many of the functions carried out by government officials; (3) develop strong cooperative education by providing technical and financial support necessary to build a cooperative structure for commercialization and processing; and (4) create a national fund or bank to serve the agricultural groups, whose development is being stimulated.

Blair, Enrique. "La decisión política y la participación popular" (Political Decision and Popular Participation). Desarrollo Rural en las Américas, II, 3 (1971): 29-34.

This is the inaugural address of the 6th Meeting of the Directors of Agrarian Reform of the Central American States held in Panama City in 1970. The speaker discusses the rural and agrarian reform programs implemented in Central America during the 1960s. Despite a decade of efforts to resolve the area's social, economic and political problems, its population is hungrier than ever and continues to suffer high unemployment. The speech emphasizes that reform of the agricultural structure is a prerequisite for economic growth and social progress. Only a more equitable and efficient combination of economic resources, with participation of a majority of the population, will permit achievement of democracy and social peace.

Castro, Leandro. "Las cooperativas del campo y el mercadeo de los productos agrarios" (Rural Cooperatives and Marketing of Agricultural Products). Revista de Estudios Agro-Sociales, XII, 44 (1963): 99-118.

Agricultural cooperatives are the most viable way for small-scale farmers to defend themselves against powerful non-agrarian organizations and enterprises. After studying the various activities undertaken by agrarian cooperatives in Spain, the author examines the conditions for successfully beginning a cooperative. In his view, these are: (1) increasing the earnings members get for the sale of their products; (2) reducing the price or increasing the quality of products bought by members; (3) offering new or better services; and (4) giving more equitable treatment to members.

Clifford, Roy A. "Las organizaciones de base y el desarrollo" (Grass-root Organizations and Development). Desarrollo Rural en las Américas, III, 1 (1971): 45-52.

Campesino organizations in some Latin American countries have served as important channels for participation of the rural population in development. This article analyzes some variables associated with effectiveness of campesino organizations. These include: (1) pursuing objectives that put special emphasis on individual development and social change; (2) building on a common territorial base; and (3) adapting their activities to concrete social conditions. More specifically, the peasant movement has to be directed towards the unionization and the elaboration of a campesino political platform. This has to be articulated through the responsible action of campesinos with class consciousness. They have to elaborate a strategy to achieve new social, economic, political, juridical and cultural structures that allow them increasing opportunities for active political participation. Experience in Latin America shows that campesino organizations can better serve their purposes when formed on the basis of previously established groups at the local level, or at least taking into consideration traditional geo-political divisions. An organization that can influence the local structures is in excellent position to defend itself from external threats. Finally, campesino organizations should orient their activities so as to take advantage of the interdependence of social structures, thereby defending themselves from negative reactions. Some Latin American organizations (those in Bolivia, Colombia, Chile, Mexico and Venezuela) put very much attention on their relations with other entities and on training their members to relate with them. The sindicatos campesinos constantly make efforts to gain support from other groups and to influence them.

Comisión Económica para América Latina. "Participación popular y principios de desarrollo de la comunidad en relación a la aceleración del desarrollo económico y social" (Popular Participation and Principles of Community Development in Relation to the Acceleration of Economic and Social Development). Boletín Económico para América Latina, IX, 2 (1964): 225-256.

The article summarizes points made at the Latin American Seminar on the Role of Community Development in the Acceleration of Economic and Social Development (1964). It discusses the role of popular participation in development, focusing on the potential for conscious and organized local involvement in specific development projects. Before such strategies can be applied to Latin America, however, methods must be found to operationalize and measure participation. The article also deals with principles of community development, which is above all a means to pool government and local resources, and its possible contribution to the region's economic and social development. The article concludes some features of community development have been applied in most Latin American countries.

Fals Borda, Orlando. "El liderakgo rural y la reforma agraria" (Rural Leadership and Agrarian Reform). Estudios Agrarios, III, 8 (1964): 133-144.

The most prominent characteristics of informal rural leaders are that they identify themselves with their followers and exert influence

through primary relationships. Local leaders generally occupy strategic points in the community, understand its problems, and tend to maintain the status quo. Their conservatism is attributable to age, and the emergence of younger leaders is taking place only in communities in rapid transition. Agrarian reform should begin by identifying informal leaders (e.g., through sociometric methods), who are most effective in forming attitudes among campesinos. Subsequently, these leaders should be given ideological training in the benefits of agrarian reform, and technical training in agricultural extension. Finally, these informal leaders should be made formal leaders of campesino organizations. This strategy is designed to win widespread acceptance of rural development activities, and must of course remain flexible, so as to adapt to unique local conditions.

Ferrara, Miguelángel. "Programación de la comunicación social para el desarrollo rural" (Programming Social Communication for Rural Development). Desarrollo Rural en las Américas, III, 3 (1971): 63-75.

The author examines the role of social communication in rural development. It is a means of promoting and legitimating popular participation in decision making and achieving community development. Social communication also has the potential to create awareness of socioeconomic problems and mobilize public opinion against underdevelopment. In this context, social communication refers to the means utilized by the government and other institutions to promote rural development by raising consciousness as to its importance. A social communication plan should pursue the following objectives: (1) lead the people to contribute ideas and efforts to social change; (2) promote the formation and cooperation of locally based organizations; (3) stimulate the creation of mechanisms of popular participation in decision-making; (4) stimulate community-wide organizations that facilitate the ability of people to influence or direct governmental actions; and (5) define objectives and orient national plans toward increased emphasis on popular participation.

Flores Quiróz, Luis. "La empresa comunitaria y la participación campesina" (The Community Enterprise and Peasant Participation). Desarrollo Rural en las Américas, VI, 3 (1974): 77-95.

Many agrarian reforms have not led to peasant participation in economic growth. These reforms failed because they did not meet the needs of a significant proportion of the peasantry, and because they often created new forms of poverty and privilege. To avoid these problems, the new strategy in Latin America is to transfer ownership of large production units to rural communities. Those working the land may thus control disposal of the agricultural surplus. This strategy permits peasants to share in economic growth, ensures that agrarian activities will meet social needs, and yet does not generate new social stratification.

Krotz, Esteban. "Las cooperativas en el campo Mexicano: perspectivas" (Perspectives on Cooperative Organizations in Rural Mexico). Controversia, I, 3 (1977): 72-80.

In agricultural cooperatives individual owners of land band together to obtain goods or services that meet their common needs. To function effectively, cooperatives should be bottom-up organizations. Such is not the case with the many peasant organizations set up in post-revolutionary Mexico. These were implemented from above, and their members remained dependent upon the state for support and guidance. In the author's view, the central government is less interested in development than in using cooperatives to prevent political mobilization of the peasantry.

Lehmann, David. "Hacia un análisis de la consciencia de los campesinos" (Analysis of Peasant Consciousness). Cuadernos de la Realidad Nacional, 2 (1970): 31-59.

This article presents findings from a field study in Central Valley of Chile. It develops a model of three types of consciousness among peasants: dependent, class, and campesino. The objective of this classification is to aid analysis of peasant behavior. After presenting the Chilean data, the author concludes that changes in the central power structure first influence peasant organizations, and have a later effect on peasant consciousness. Expanding on the three types of consciousness, the author sees dependent consciousness as based on the awareness that there is polarization between the landlords and tenants or between elites and poor peasants. In this type of consciousness, the tenant or peasant has a very individualistic notion of dependence. He sees improvements in living or working conditions being achieved through personal petitions to the landlord or big men of the community. Class consciousness goes beyond the individual level by building on common work conditions. Here unions of workers or agricultural laborers become the basis for a more collective consciousness. Land reform gives birth to a third form of consciousness. This form is built on the campesino. It does not nullify the other forms but adds to them. Land reform beneficiaries are no longer involved in conflict relations with landlords. Solidarity to achieve an end to exploitation is no longer necessary. Rather, what is needed is group action to solve problems of production costs and market prices.

Marchioni, Marco. "Iniciativas para el desarrollo comunitario en comarcas rurales" (Ideas for Community Development in Rural Communities). Revista de Estudios Agro-Sociales, XVI, 61 (1967): 29-65.

The article treats theoretically problems of development and underdevelopment, and describes a community development project carried out in Spain. This project had a major impact on social participation. The creation of groups to oversee development activities enriched community social life and allowed authentic local leaders to emerge. It also increased the awareness of groups and individuals that they can develop the knowledge to solve local problems.

Martinez, Jorge. "Las alternativas de la reforma agraria Mexicana frente al proceso de marginalización" (The Alternatives of Mexican Agrarian Reform to Face the Process of Marginalization). Desarrollo Rural en las Américas, V, 3 (1973): 243-261.

After more than sixty years of agrarian reform in Mexico, the old approaches no longer work. The author examines the current situation of the Mexican peasantry, focusing on the process of marginalization. He reviews peasant demands for land and jobs, and explores alternative rural development strategies and their probable outcomes. The first two alternatives continue the process of land distribution. The availability of land for this purpose has been estimated to be enough to reach at the most 7 percent of the rural landless labor force. A third alternative is to promote land concentration in minifundio areas by the formation of collective, block or cooperative group farms. This alternative seems politically difficult to implement and does not solve the problem of the bulk of the landless laborers. The absorption of surplus agricultural labor by the non-agricultural sector is a fourth alternative. However, the non-agricultural labor force will probably keep growing at the present rate, which makes this alternative rather unfeasible. Finally, a fifth alternative would attempt to promote systematic exclusion of "opulent technology" on all kinds of farms so as to increase employment opportunities in the rural sector. This alternative seems difficult to implement especially on large private farms or plantations producing for foreign markets.

Meister, Albert. "Cambio social y participación social en asociaciones voluntarias" (Social Change and Social Participation in Voluntary Associations). Desarrollo Económico, II, 3 (1962): 5-18.

This study offers a number of general hypotheses on social change and its effect on social participation: (1) social change disorganizes and even destroys sociability; (2) voluntary associations are the framework within which individuals and groups manifest sociability; (3) social change does not affect all individuals and groups with the same intensity; and (4) individuals and groups that experience social change more intensely create a greater number of associations and participate in them more extensively. In addition, the article presents the following particular hypotheses: (1) the more social change affects a particular group, the more its members will join voluntary associations; (2) the more sensitive individuals are toward social change (sensitivity being determined by a high level of information or a heterogeneous environment), the higher the level of formal social participation. The author does not define sociability. The term is used to describe the tendency of individuals to group themselves together, or association with others. His general hypothesis is that social change disorganizes and even destroys the frame of sociability, i.e., the groups' system of traditional society. A number of hypotheses are developed by analyzing 120 articles on social participation. Others are derived deductively and then contrasted with the empirical evidence available. For example, from two general hypotheses that "individuals

and groups that experience social change more intensely create a greater number of associations and participate in them more extensively," the author derives the following particular hypotheses: (1) individuals and groups that belong to recently created activities--created by social change itself--make larger efforts to create new frames of sociability, particularly voluntary associations and (2) the more recent the occupation, the higher the social participation; (3) the less manual the occupation, the higher the social participation; and (4) the more independent the position in the occupation, the higher the social participation.

Moran, Michael. "La comercialización agropecuaria y su significación para el desarrollo socioeconómico del campesino" (Agricultural Commercialization and Its Meaning for Peasant Socioeconomic Development). Desarrollo Rural en las Américas, VII, 2 (1975): 137-146,

Increased income is the most concrete manifestation of small farmers' participation in the benefits of economic growth. Where opportunity exists for marketing increased production, small farmers should be given access to additional capital and technical inputs so as to boost output and raise income. This article emphasizes the significance of reaching smaller farmers and the problems and characteristics of marketing.

Murcia, Héctor. "Análisis sobre modelos de desarrollo rural en America Latina" (Analysis of Rural Development Models in Latin America). Desarrollo Rural en las Américas, VIII, 2 (1976): 137-152.

The author examines an associative farm production method, known as the rural community enterprise. He reviews several such enterprises in Latin America, stressing their role in an integrated approach to rural development. Using microeconomic analysis, he demonstrates the advantages of community enterprises, and shows how they are linked with the surrounding environment and economic structure. He argues the community enterprise may lead to important changes in the social structure and to democratization of the production process. For Murcia, the distinctive features of the peasant community enterprises are: (1) land is communally owned; (2) work contributions are more relevant than capital contributions; (3) campesinos are organized so as to control the productive process; (4) members' participation in benefits is in proportion to their (or their families') work or contributions; and (5) the enterprise maintains a relationship with the state through land reform institutions which provide technical and financial assistance and participate directly or indirectly in enterprise management. The author analyzes some examples of community enterprises in Costa Rica, Panama and Colombia. A lack of sufficient studies and the diversity of methodologies used for studies made to date did not allow him to draw definite conclusions on the comparative advantages of this model of rural community enterprises. However, the case studies did permit him to conclude that this production model could have great importance in Latin American land reform efforts. Some of the observed advantages

of the model are: (1) that the average income level of the members was generally higher than their previous income; (2) that the group tended to have a larger marketable surplus than other productive units; (3) that it demanded more production inputs than other productive units; (4) that its members had more equitable income distribution, favored group solidarity and engaged in less absenteeism; and (5) that it helped lower the administrative cost of land reform.

Nieto, María del C. "La agricultura de grupo en relación con las regiones deprimidas" (Group Agriculture in Relation to Backward Regions). Revista de Estudios Agro-Sociales, XII, 42 (1963): 129-150.

Analyzing French experience, the author notes the different organization of the private, professional and cooperative sectors of the agricultural economy. She emphasizes the need to plan the use of resources by the cooperative sector. She presents the principles of French cooperative development and the problems to be solved, especially the need to seize the economic opportunities offered by vertical and horizontal integration. She relates the achievements obtained in France with the new concept of group agricultural action.

Noguera, Anibal. "La empresa comunitaria como estrategia del desarrollo rural" (The Community Enterprise as a Rural Development Strategy). Desarrollo Rural en las Américas, II, 3 (1970): 207-214.

Rural community enterprise experiments carried out in Latin America have challenged traditional concepts of agrarian reform based on private property. In the evolving view of rural development, the campesino is no longer seen as an object, but rather as the subject of development. Active participation in the elaboration, execution and control of planning for change enables the marginal population to advance and to take a positive role in creation of a new society. Community enterprises have been created in Chile, Venezuela, Peru and Colombia. The article analyzes the Colombian experience, where difficulties with human, technical and judicial aspects of an agrarian reform project forced the public officials to experiment with a community form of production which was well received by the beneficiaries of agrarian reform. The experiment was successful in economic and social terms. It included more than 600 families. At the time the article was written, community enterprises in Colombia covered 165,000 hectares and involved 7,500 families.

Oliart, Francisco and Araujo, José E. "Perspectivas de la reforma agraria y las empresas comunitarias en 1974" (Perspectives on Agrarian Reform and Community Enterprises in 1974). Desarrollo Rural en las Américas, VI, 3 (1974): 63-76.

Agrarian reform in Latin America has not ended the political and social marginality of the peasantry. The authors emphasize the

need to develop community enterprises and vertically integrate them with higher stages of the productive process. Peasant participation must lead to control of production and distribution, and to the organization and rationalization of the labor force. Experience in community enterprise will prepare peasants for collective efforts to raise productivity and improve living standards.

Orchard, Jorge and Ortiz, Jaime. "Presión campesina, reforma agraria y empresas comunitarias" (Peasant Pressure, Agrarian Reform and Community Enterprises). Desarrollo Rural en las Américas, V, 2 (1973): 97-120.

Agrarian reform in Latin America is the result of rural and national pressure. The interplay of these two pressures leads to various approaches to agrarian reform and different models of rural enterprise. The community enterprise model promises to achieve the social, economic and political goals of many reformers. These enterprises can help erode the power of established elites and build alternatives to the traditional system of property rights. These authors classify community enterprises as: (1) farms owned and administered by the state; (2) farms owned and administered by the farmers; and (3) farms administered by state and farmers jointly (co-management farms). Their more common characteristics are: (1) they are derived from agrarian reform and consequently are formed exclusively by campesinos; (2) campesinos have the property or common use of land and other production means; (3) campesinos participate in management and planning and in some degree in the control of the enterprise; (4) economies of scale can be achieved in the provision of services given the territorial size of the units; (5) surpluses generated by the enterprises belong to their members and are distributed according to work contributions; (6) part of the surpluses is, in some cases, dedicated to the formation of a fund for the benefit of neighbor communities or the enterprise itself; (7) all the work within the enterprise is done by members; (8) officials and representatives of the enterprise committees are democratically selected; (9) the state role is variable--in some cases it only gives services and exerts some control, in others it participates in decision making; and (10) the state and campesino organizations play an active role in campesino's political, technical and administrative training. Community enterprises primarily focus on production. They are responsible for a larger yield and for the conservation of natural resources. In some cases vertical or horizontal integration of the enterprises has been achieved, forming second grade community enterprises.

Pinto, João Bosco. "Extensión o educación: una disyuntiva crítica" (Extension or Education: A Critical Choice). Desarrollo Rural en las Américas, V, 3 (1973): 165-186.

The author critically analyzes agricultural extension in Latin America. He stresses that if agricultural extension is to result in structural change, its theoretical and methodological bases must be

be revised. Under previous approaches, agricultural extension was seen as a technique for modernizing the agricultural sector by transmitting technical knowledge from an educated elite to an ignorant majority. In the new view, agricultural extension is an agent of liberation, seeking structural transformation to enable rural people to become the subject, rather than the object, of history.

Pinto, Bosco. "Análisis Científico de las empresas comunitarias campesinas" (Scientific Analysis of Peasant Community Enterprises). Desarrollo Rural en las Américas, IV, 3 (1972): 236-248.

Agrarian reform in Latin America has given birth to the peasant communal enterprise. These enterprises have three basic dimensions: (1) economic, expressed by the word "enterprise," which implies rational use of productive resources; (2) social, represented by the term "communal," meaning not just a conglomeration of individuals, but a human group sharing concrete and specific goals; and (3) political, defined as participation in a larger social group, the peasant class. The author analyzes communal enterprises in accordance with the results obtained from the application of the case study technique. He concludes that the production model presents significant advantages over the family units first promoted by Latin American agrarian reforms. Among these advantages, he lists economies of scale and advantages of cooperation in production, marketing and the provision of services. Finally, the article formulates a series of hypotheses: (1) the lack of collective work experience among enterprise members may generate conflicts between the individual and the group; (2) the family structure, in part derived from the dominant productive structure, may weaken group solidarity; (3) the previous work relation (for example, individual tenancy) may reinforce the orientation towards individual ownership of land, weakening class solidarity; (4) in areas where a strong peasant organization does not exist, the enterprise will tend to be isolated; and (5) the lack of a peasant class organization may provoke antagonisms between reform beneficiaries and other peasant groups.

Sampaio, Plinio. "Anotaciones sobre el problema de integración campesina" (Notes on the Problem of Peasant Integration). Desarrollo Rural en las Américas, II, 3 (1970): 229-243.

It is necessary to find means of integrating farmers' cooperatives and settlements into the national marketing system. This article analyzes various organizational patterns to achieve rural market integration. It also explores the conflict in these organizations between the needs to insure good commercial management and to promote widespread peasant participation. To help resolve these and other problems, a fund for the expansion of agrarian reform is proposed. This fund would assist basic peasant organizations, in which peasants would bear management responsibility. The article provides details on organization and management of peasant organizations and the agrarian reform fund.

Sancho, Roberto. "La promoción y selección de líderes locales en el marco del desarrollo comunitario" (Promotion and Selection of Local Leaders for Community Development). Revista de Estudios Agro-Sociales, XVI, 61 (1967): 66-83.

The natural leaders of a locality exist independent of community development projects. They express the community's culture and exert influence through interpersonal relations. Development programs must recognize the importance of such leaders and enlist their support for community development. They can serve the necessary function of bridging the gap between the administration and the local population.

Santos, Paulo de Tarso. "Reforma agraria y cambio estructural" (Agrarian Reform and Structural Change). Desarrollo Rural en las Américas, V, 1 (1973): 52-62.

Education must be extended to the whole rural population. It should focus on methods by which the peasants can participate in the process of change and development. Training must not be based on helping peasants to adapt to existing society; rather, the rural masses need to learn how to understand critically their society. Training should not be limited to production techniques but expand to increase the ability of peasants to participate in the process of change. The agrarian reform as a process of structural change is tending towards a new society and in order to move the peasants towards this society, respecting their condition as subjects of the process, training should provide them with new values through problem related education. The objective, contents and methods of training should be to integrate theoretically and practically the double dimension of rural development: technological change and social change.

Suárez Melo, Mario. "La empresa comunitaria en Colombia: el caso de la Bertha" (The Community Enterprise in Colombia: The La Bertha Case). Desarrollo Rural en las Américas, II, 3 (1970): 215-218.

The article examines an experiment in a Colombian municipality, in which 120 beneficiaries of agrarian reform have taken over management of a sugar mill. This new rural community enterprise has successfully maintained production. The article reviews (1) the antecedents of the sugar mill experiment; (2) the practical problems faced by the campesinos in running their own enterprise; (3) the feasibility of the rural community enterprise as a new way of organizing rural society; (4) the achievements of the Colombian experiment; and (5) the extent of awareness which the campesinos have about the errors, advantages, and future possibilities of their enterprise.

Suárez, Melo, Mario. "Empresas comunitarias en América Latina" (Community Enterprises in Latin America). Desarrollo Rural en las Américas, IV, 2 (1972): 139-159.

The main objective of the Latin American agrarian reform programs instituted in the 1970s is to design the community enterprise, the basic unit of a new agrarian structure. The major problems facing community enterprises are: (1) the need to assure flexibility to reach the entire peasant population; (2) the need to avoid new forms of social stratification; (3) the requirement of maintaining effective participation in the enterprise, especially in the distribution of economic surplus; (4) the problem of redistributing and rationalizing the distribution of land; and so forth. Other problems discussed by the author are: (5) official intervention; (6) economic efforts of the new production methods; (7) social use of surpluses generated by enterprise activities; (8) methods of promotion used. In conclusion, the author judges community enterprises to have been successful but argues that the above problems must be worked on immediately in order to strengthen the enterprise movement.

Vigués, Enrique. "Las organizaciones agrarias y el progreso socio-económico del campesino" (The Agrarian Organizations and Peasant Socioeconomic Progress). Desarrollo Rural en las Américas, V, 3 (1973): 187-194.

To overcome the obstacles to peasant progress, the rural population must be organized. This requires popular participation, to give peasants a sense of importance and of control over their own destiny. The basic conditions for the success of peasant organizations are: (1) that they be spontaneous and not imposed; (2) that they be sustained by their own resources; (3) that they be democratic, independent and have access to decision making authorities; and (4) that they have firm legal guarantees concerning their rights and obligations.