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THE ADULT EDUCATION PROGRAM OF *ACCION CULTURAL POPULAR HONDURENA*

Summary

AN EVALUATION OF THE RURAL DEVELOPMENT POTENTIAL OF THE RADIO SCHOOL MOVEMENT IN HONDURAS

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SUMMARY REPORT

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An Evaluation of the Rural Development Potential of the Radio School Movement In Honduras

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THE EIGHT REGIONAL AREAS OF THE RADIO SCHOOL MOVEMENT IN HONDURAS

• Leadership Training Centers

FOREWORD

The foreword is often the most revealing part of a book or report because in it the author comes out from behind his mask of anonymity and objectivity to reveal something of himself, his background, and how the book or report came to be written. Increasingly we are recognizing that "complete objectivity" in any research, as scientific as it may purport to be, is something of a myth and there is always very much of the person and a series of accidental insights and experiences which influence the observations, the analysis, and the conclusions. It is only being fair to the reader to give something of the background of this report.

A good deal of my thoughts about the campesino of Latin America and his struggles to improve his conditions of life go back to experiences which I had in southern Colombia in 1964 working for a few months with Gastón Jiménez, and others of the Federación Agraria Nacional. Meeting Gastón Jiménez in the final year of my Jesuit theological studies in Colombia was a chance occurrence, but it was in the few months of the participant observation of his work in the organization of campesinos and pacification during the period of "la violencia" in southern Colombia that my personal interest and commitment to research on the problems of the small farmer in Latin America took shape. Before, I had spent nearly eight years studying the urbanization of the Sioux Indians in South Dakota, and I had prepared part of a manuscript for publication on the cultural change of the Sioux. But the experience in Colombia brought back interest in agricultural development stemming from my activities in farm youth organizations in Kansas and my sharing in the experiences of my father who was long active in the Kansas Farmers' Union and its cooperatives.

When I returned to Cornell University in 1965 to begin studies for the doctoral degree it was to study rural development in Latin America in the rural sociology and agricultural economics departments there. My studies at Cornell on the problems of agricultural extension systems in Latin America, studies on agrarian reform under Solon Barraclough, and especially the study of campesino movements under Henry Landsberger served to focus my interests more. The longitudinal rural development research of William F. Whyte and Lawrence K. Williams in Peru served as a model, and I used some of their questionnaires. And, with fellow graduate students such as Jan and Cornelia Flora and Peter Weldon, I gradually began to see development in terms of basic structural changes.

In August, 1969, when I went to Honduras to gather data for the doctoral dissertation on the social change effects of interaction of communities within a region, I finally chose the southern region centering on Choluteca, in part because it was the center of a great variety of development activities, but also because the rural leadership patterns were less disturbed by the recent conflict with El Salvador. Once in Choluteca the Bishop of Choluteca, Mons. Marcelo Gerin, generously invited me to live with the research team he had assembled to evaluate the extensive social action work of his Diocese.

From September to January of 1969, a great part of my time was spent surveying the region of southern Honduras and visiting outlying communities by jeep and on horseback, gathering data for my doctoral dissertation. With a small team made up of Carlos Vigil, Jorge Fidel Dias, Marcelino Palma, José Umberto Cerrato and Juan Nuñez, more than 250 rural communities in southern Honduras were visited in an initial analysis of community organizations and leadership structure. It was during this period that I began to form personal acquaintances and friendships with hundreds of campesino leaders in southern Honduras. I also began to become quite familiar with the work which the radio school movement was doing in southern Honduras.

In these first months of 1969 I renewed an acquaintance with Mr. Ed Astle, then working with U.S.A.I.D. in Tegucigalpa. Mr. Astle had long had a strong interest in the rural development potential of the radio school movement and had supervised financial assistance to the radio schools through U.S.A.I.D. beginning in 1965. In discussions with Mr. Astle and with Mr. Andrew Gregg, the idea of an evaluation of the development potential of the radio school movement evolved. I was personally becoming very interested in studying just why the radio school movement appeared to be effective. I had already had the impression from studies at Cornell that private and volunteer agencies were especially effective in working with the lower-status population in Latin America, and I was interested in seeing just how effective they actually were in this instance.

I was initially hesitant to accept a contract with U.S.A.I.D., even though this would not mean that I was an employee of U.S.A.I.D., because of the doubts about the use of the information by U.S.A.I.D. But it was agreed that academic freedom would be respected and that the data would be treated as public information. After consulting with Fernando Montes, then the director of the radio schools of Acción Cultural Popular Hondureña, I began the evaluation in

January, 1970.

Although this was one of various evaluations of U.S.A.I.D.'s projects in Honduras, the scope of this research, as it was originally planned, was to be something much broader than a routine evaluation of the literacy campaign of the radio schools. As it will become apparent to the reader, the radio school movement gradually became the basis for a wide range of rural development activities: community development, rural housewives' clubs, the promotion of credit union cooperatives, the formation of campesino organizations and even the reform of rural municipal government. The main site of the research, southern Honduras, was, at the time, in the midst of an almost convulsive process of social change with widespread campesino land occupations and the formation of aggressive campesino organizations. It was felt--impressionistically at the time--that the radio school movement might have been a factor, at least in laying the groundwork for this process of social change. Thus, to carry out an adequate evaluation of the effects of the radio school movement it was necessary to do a general study of the factors of social change and the role of various social agencies working in southern Honduras, not just the radio schools. Two assistants worked almost a year studying the campesino movement, and one assistant spent one whole year studying municipal government. This report focuses primarily on the radio schools, but the results of these other studies have greatly influenced my general conclusions.

The team of Honduran assistants who were assembled to carry out the interviewing were also influential in shaping the study. All had at least a secondary school education, but all were of campesino background and had a strong personal commitment to the campesino. Three of them, Carlos Vigil, Ersol Tábora (who did most of the field work for the study of municipal government), and Juan Moreno had been Voluntarios de Honduras (Honduran volunteer agency working in rural communities) and had also been Volunteers to America, working among Puerto Rican and Mexican minority groups in the United States. Ezequiel Velasquez had worked with the radio schools briefly. José Umberto Cerrato, Juan Nuñez, Jorge Fidel Díaz, José Orellana and Rosalina Linares had been rural school teachers. Fidel Ramón Pineda, who did much of the field work in the study of the campesino land occupations, had worked with the Honduran National Agrarian Institute in 1963 in the Buena Vista Project. On the whole, they all performed superbly under the most difficult conditions: traveling to outlying mountain communities on horseback and even on foot, and building relations with campesino leaders. The secret of their success, I feel, was

their respect for their campesino, and nearly all are now working or preparing to work in rural development in Honduras. All of them contributed many invaluable insights regarding the social structure and cultural values of the campesino of Honduras. They also made the work of the research an enjoyable, humanly rewarding experience.

In February, 1970 the original director of the research team assembled by Mons. Marcelo Gerin resigned, and, somewhat reluctantly because of my previous commitments, I accepted the administration of the evaluation of the rural educational activities of the Catholic Diocese in southern Honduras, supported by the Canadian International Development Agency. My time was dedicated almost entirely to the evaluation, on a national level, of the radio school movement. But by integrating all of the research into one large project with distinct facets, we were able to broaden the scope of the research to include many more aspects of rural development and greatly enriched each particular evaluation.

Economist Rodney Stares, British Volunteer with training at the University of Sussex, carried out studies of the credit union and production cooperatives, a family budget study, and a general analysis of the processes of economic development in southern Honduras. Many of the ideas of Chapter II have come from or have been influenced by the studies and the ideas of Rodney Stares.

Colombian Anthropologist, Sonia Lopez, with training at the University of the Andes in Bogota, carried out an exploratory but careful study of the rural family in southern Honduras and the results of her studies also contributed to the description of the social dynamics of the rural community in Chapter II. Luz Marina Barrios, trained in sociology at the Universidad Bolivariana in Medillin, Colombia, carried out studies of the religious institutions and evaluated the Celebration of the Word of God organization. But her years of experience in survey research in Colombia were also of immense help in training the research team and in designing both the techniques and the methodology of the field work. She was virtually assistant director of the research team during a good part of the study. Melba Zúñiga, Honduran sociologist who came to our research team just as she was finishing her studies in development sociology at the University of Laval in Quebec, Canada did almost all of the analysis of the ideology of the radio school movement which is presented in Chapter III. But she also contributed many valuable insights into the local power structure and a healthy skepticism about the effectiveness of the radio school movement.

Jeff Boyer, who came to the team with training in anthropology, together with his wife, Mary, did some of the best analyses of the histories of the radio school movement in the communities and provided profoundly insightful analysis of just how the radio school movement functioned. Later the Boyer's did the very careful survey of the radio school movement in the eastern Honduran department of Olancho and in the central area, Comayagua. They also were experts in smoothing out disagreements in a team of very diverse backgrounds.

Early in the research it was determined that these evaluations should be oriented toward producing some practical designs for improving the work of each agency involved: the radio schools, the cooperative federations, leadership training centers, etc. As the analysis of the radio schools developed it became apparent to me and to others on the team that this adult education program was not really affecting the lives of the people. There was often a great deal of hope and elan in the movement, but the daily lives of the campesinos continued on the same. I could see the great potential of the radio school movement as a development communication system and as a force for potential social change, but unless there were a different educational content, it would not be able to help the campesinos solve their real problems of agriculture, health, homemaking, and the quest for a sense of personal worth.

Discussions with Patrick Mulvaney, specialist in tropical agriculture with training at the University of Oxford and some experience in Africa, who was at the time establishing an agricultural training school for the Diocese of Choluteca, provoked many very fruitful insights into the nature of the agricultural problems of the area. Together with Patrick Mulvaney, I was able to work out the basic plan for an agricultural education program working through the radio school movement which, I have felt, is the major result of my research. Mauricio Hernandez, then the agronomist with the central office staff of the radio schools, was also of great help in designing this plan. With funds from the Canadian International Development Agency we were able to move the agricultural education plan to the experimental stage under the direction of Agronomist Antonio Bourdette and another English Volunteer, Agronomist Peter Hughes-Hallett. By the end of the research project in December 1971, this program had been transferred completely to the direction of the central office of the adult education program of Acción Cultural Popular Hondureña in Tegucigalpa. The studies of agricultural and marketing practices, carried out by Bourdette and Hughes-Hallett when they were setting

up the agricultural education program, provided much background information and many insights into the agricultural institutions of the campesino.

Throughout the study we wanted to insure that the information and recommendations coming out of the research be of the greatest possible value to each of the agencies concerned. One of the studies supported under the grant by the Canadian International Development Agency was the evaluation of the rural housewives' clubs. Since CARITAS of Honduras was administering this program, we subcontracted the study of the life and homemaking practices of the campesino women to CARITAS and Maria Ondina Mendoza, who was to work with this program as a supervisor, did the field research under my general direction. Thus, we were, at the same time, gathering data and training a future supervisor. All of the practical experience which Maria Ondina Mendoza gained in the field was carried over directly into the administration of the program.

As the research progressed, and I was working more closely with the central office of the radio schools and with the directors of other closely associated programs, individuals such as Orlando Iriarte, director of the radio schools of ACPH, Vilma de Pacheco, Juan Ramón Martínez, Adan Palacios, Rodolfo Sorto, and, above all, Fernando Montes, helped me to see the real goals and potential of the radio school movement and the other programs closely associated with it. At the start some of these people may have been justly skeptical about the implications of this research, but they were always very helpful in collaborating. Our mutual confidence grew through the study and, certainly, the more I came to know their work, the more my admiration for them increased.

Eugene and Lorraine Skelton, who had worked in the central office of the radio schools from 1964 to 1970 first as Peace Corp Volunteers and then as U.S.A.I.D. technical assistants, were helpful regarding the early history of the radio schools and in maintaining a healthy realism in the evaluation.

Most of this research was carried out in southern Honduras. We could never have maneuvered a team of ten to fifteen assistants into remote mountain communities if we would not have had the assistance and personal backing of the rural pastors and the radio school coordinators in such practical matters as rounding up horses, getting directions to outlying communities, and getting introductions to rural leaders. Fr. Pablo Guillet, who acted as the liaison between the Diocese of Choluteca and the Canadian International

Development Agency, was of constant help from the planning of the research to the publishing of the reports. And since he was the first director of the radio schools, I conferred with him on many details.

Throughout the study, the whole team lived in continual contact with many campesino leaders in southern Honduras. The research center was open to them every time they came to Choluteca and rarely was there a day that some people from rural communities did not stop in to discuss a problem or simply to visit about what they were doing and what was going on in their communities. The team felt very much a part of the stirring process of land occupations, the struggle to establish a series of cooperatives, and the day-to-day problems of the radio school movement. It was a pleasure to sit down with these small farmers to plan community projects. We felt that we could not just stand by and dispassionately observe, but had to become personally involved in the problems which they were trying to solve.

The field work was virtually finished by July, 1971, and this manuscript was written in rough draft by December, 1971. I returned to Cornell University in January, 1972, where I had the computer facilities and the library resources to finish the final draft.

As one can imagine, the job of analyzing and organizing the immense amount of data collected was not easy. This is only one of a series of reports which have been written, and some reports, for example, the complete analysis of the campesino movement in southern Honduras and the municipal government, remain to be written. But I have attempted to summarize the results and recommendations as briefly as possible in a Summary Report. I had to leave out of the Summary Report most of the tables and fuller descriptions of the methodology. However, the complete supporting data, the more detailed analyses of the results, and the questionnaires are in the two volumes of the Full Report for those who wish to refer to them. The Summary Report, which contains the full detailed recommendations, is being translated into Spanish, since it is written primarily for the administrators of the radio schools and others working in rural development in Honduras and for the leaders in the radio school movement. A very brief mini-report of ten to fifteen pages is also being prepared.

For those who may be interested in copies of the Full Report, you may write to me through the Department of Anthropology and Sociology at St. Louis University, St. Louis,

Missouri, where I am a research associate, or to Centro Loyola, Apartado Postal 676, Tegucigalpa, Honduras.

Robert A. White
October, 1972

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INTRODUCTION

A STATEMENT OF THE RESEARCH PROBLEM

It is now more than twelve years since the first group of Hondurans began to meet to discuss the possibility of establishing in Honduras a program of radio schools similar to that established by Monseñor Joaquin Salcedo in Colombia. Out of these meetings has grown a system of radio schools and a general adult basic educational movement which today, in 1972, extends to approximately three fourths of the rural areas of Honduras.

A great deal of the emphasis of the radio schools has been no more than to teach basic educational skills: literacy; elementary arithmetic; some fundamentals of citizenship, agricultural technology, health and moral principles. But from the very beginning the objectives of the radio schools and the radio school movement have been much broader than simply teaching reading and writing. A general stated objective made by Acción Cultural Popular Hondureña (ACPH), the administrative body of the radio schools, is "To awaken in the campesinos a spirit of initiative which allows them to make use of their own resources and mutual help in order to raise their standard of living, and consequently inspire in them the search for the goal of a better future."

The realization has become increasingly clear with the directors of the radio schools and the leaders of the radio school movement that the ignorance and backwardness of the rural lower-status population is not due solely to the inability to read and write. It arises from the institutions of the rural neighborhood which shape the campesino's thoughts and actions and from the social structure of a society which keeps the lower-status rural population in a state of isolation and dependence. For this reason what began as radio schools has gradually expanded into a broad basic educational movement which is attempting fundamental changes in rural institutions and in the social structure of the whole country. The scope of the present study is the analysis of the radio school movement as an instrument in accomplishing this broader objective: developing more adequate values in campesinos and changing institutions in rural communities.

The scope of this research has not included a detailed evaluation of the central office staff of the radio schools (its administrative procedures, fund raising, preparation of staff, and so forth) nor has it attempted to evaluate the educational techniques (the effectiveness of particular teaching

methods, texts, charts and selection of materials). These aspects have been analyzed only in so far as they relate directly to the goals of changing values and social institutions among the rural lower-status population.

The Use of Terminology in This Study

At the outset it is important to clarify how the terms "radio schools," "the radio school movement," Acción Cultural Popular Hondureña," and the "Christian Social Movement" have been used in this study so that the reader understands what is the subject of analysis. In actual fact these different organizations are very closely interrelated, and it is sometimes difficult to distinguish among them. Consequently the terms themselves sometimes overlap in meaning.

The "radio schools" in general refer to the system of radio broadcast classes and monitors acting as assistant teachers of pupils attending radio school classes in their rural neighborhoods. The term also includes the campesino supervisors or coordinators of the radio schools in the rural areas and the central office staff in Tegucigalpa which prepares the radio school classes, trains the monitors, prepares the texts and other teaching materials, and administers the field staff. It is the administrative structure concerned most directly with the literacy program of the radio school movement.

"Acción Cultural Popular Hondureña" (ACPH) refers to the policy-making structure over the radio schools: an elected board of directors of business and professional men, an annual general assembly, and key members of the administrative staff of the radio schools. It tends to be the legal structure and the public relations body representing the radio schools before the general public in Honduras, the government of Honduras, and the international agencies. It is also the official fund raising group for the radio schools. However, as the activities of the radio school movement expand and "radio schools" is a less adequate term to describe these activities, ACPH is being used as the more general title to refer to an organization directing various kinds of adult education activities in the rural areas of Honduras, one of which is the literacy program.

The campesino leaders who have for years been involved in the various activities promoted by monitors, coordinators, and others associated with the radio schools, do not commonly refer to their work as that of the "radio schools," but as "el movimiento." In describing the history of their involvement they begin by telling of community-oriented work in the religious parish organizations before the radio schools were initiated (at least the older, more important leaders). Later

the parishes brought in the radio schools with its supervisory system of neighborhood monitors, municipal and parish level coordinators, and directors from Tegucigalpa, and they became involved in this. Later came community development activities promoted by the pastors and the radio school directors, and the campesino leaders became involved in this. When the credit union cooperatives were established in Honduras, they incorporated cooperativism into their movement. Through all of this the campesino leaders have had their own goals, which were often not precisely the goals of the radio schools: the solution of the problems (principally socioeconomic problems) of the people in their communities. They saw in the radio schools, the cooperatives, and the other development organizations instruments which they could use for their own goals, the benefit of local communities.

Sociologically a "movement" is not simply an organization, nor is it a series of individuals who separately adopt new behavioral patterns. It is a "collectivity acting with some continuity to promote or resist change in the society or group of which it is a part. . . . It is the effort of men to intervene in the process of social and cultural change."[1] A movement has a definite structure of leaders and followers, specific goals and an ideology which define the problems and solutions that they are concerned with, and a sense of membership (a distinction between those who are "for" and those who are "against").

It was the introduction of the radio schools which gave to this movement its original orientation toward socioeconomic change in rural communities, and the radio school supervisory system gave it a more organized system of leadership and communications. It is also the radio schools which have given the movement its overall tenor or organizational culture with emphasis on certain values and methods of procedure. It is for this reason that it is probably most appropriate to refer to it as the "radio school movement."

Given the administrative support of the parishes and the influence of Christian social philosophy in its general ideology, would it be better to call this movement simply a "Christian social movement"? This term would describe its broad sociocultural goals (radio school connotes only its literacy program), but we prefer to reserve the term "Christian social movement" to refer to a group of social-reform minded individuals of middle-class background who are strongly influenced by formal Christian social philosophy, but are largely

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1. Lewis M. Kilian, "Social Movements" in Handbook of Modern Sociology (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1969), p. 430.

urban based in Honduras. They presently are very much involved in a series of development agencies allied with the radio school movement: the central office of the radio schools, CARITAS of Honduras, La Fundación Hondureña de Desarrollo, to some extent in FACACH (the credit union cooperative federation of Honduras), and the leadership training centers in various parts of the country which are connected with the radio school movement. Each of these organizations is a quite separate administrative entity, but many of the key personnel are bound together by friendship and common philosophical ideals. The leaders of the radio school movement tend to look upon those of the Christian social movement as very helpful, urban-based allies and often depend on them very much, but they do not consider them to be precisely a part of "el movimiento" made up of campesinos.

In various regions the emphasis and the tone of the radio school movement differ considerably: in the southern region (Departments of Choluteca and Valle) where the parish has been an important administrative support, the emphasis is strongly religious; in the Comayagua area where the radio school central office is more directly involved, the emphasis is community development; in Olancho, where the influence of the Christian social movement is stronger, the emphasis is more aggressive structural reform. In some areas such as the south of Honduras the radio schools have played such an important role that it is clearly a "radio school movement," whereas in areas such as Olancho the radio schools have had a subordinate role. But in all areas the same basic concepts of popular promotion have been used, and the organizational culture is similar.

At the community level the radio school movement is a group of from five to fifteen trained leaders working for the total development of the community in a series of organizations: a radio school with its monitor, auxiliary monitor and students; a housewives' club which supervises the distribution of milk to preschool children, carries on various programs for the improvement of hygiene and health such as the purification of water and the building of latrines, good housekeeping practices, and so forth; and a credit union savings club or at least a collection of credit union members actively promoting the credit union cooperative in the nearby town. Nearly every region where the radio school movement is active has at least some rural-based credit union cooperatives and in regions such as the South every municipio has a credit union cooperative. Communities in which the radio school movement is active often have a consumer cooperative (a small store) and at times an agricultural cooperative. Every community has a community development committee which is promoting projects such as building schools. This neighborhood leadership team also includes the lay ministers (delegados) of the religious worship group, The Celebration of the Word of God, which is not directly a part of the radio

school movement but is very strongly development-oriented and supports the radio school movement. In many communities there is a compesino special-interest-group organization which is also distinct from the radio school movement, but which is in continual communication with the leaders of the radio school movement and usually works along with them.

At the municipal or parish level (depending on the region) the radio school movement is a team of the more outstanding campesino leaders from communities in the area who are responsible for the promotion of the organizations at the community level. Many are working full time or at least part time in promotional activities and receive some small salary. This team usually meets once a month to plan and integrate its activities. There is also a monthly meeting at the municipal level for all of the radio school monitors; usually there is a monthly meeting of the leaders of each type of neighborhood organization, directed by the municipal level campesino leaders.

At the regional level the radio school movement is a leadership training center with its staff which is running courses constantly for the systems of organizations within the region. Usually each of the organizations has a regional supervisor (the radio schools, the housewives' clubs, the cooperatives, and so forth), and these form, with the staff of the training center, a regional-level development team. In some regions such as the South there is a radio broadcasting station oriented to the radio schools and other organizations linked into the movement. The supervisory staff of the various organizations either directs the programs or works closely with the staff of the broadcasting station. The municipal level promotional personnel tends to form a regional fraternity linked together by the leadership training center and the radio broadcasting station if there is one.

Thus, what we are referring to as the radio school movement is a promotional organization made up of leaders of campesino background and their close followers within rural neighborhoods. It is a campesino movement which is interested in resolving the problems of campesinos, but it is linked together at the regional level by more fully trained and educated professional development personnel. The central office staff of the radio schools selects, trains, and pays most of the full time activists in this movement; the central office also is responsible for much of the "ideological input" of the movement, although this is translated into campesino thought patterns and goals by the leaders of the movement. In many ways the central office has been <u>one</u> of the main initiators and the main supports of the radio school movement over the years (though not the only one). Because of the close association of the central office staff as part of the radio school movement, we shall include it as part of the <u>independent</u> or

causal variable. However, the effective agents of the central staff's input are the leaders of the radio school movement at the local and municipal level.

The focus of this analysis is the local rural community, a collection of fifty to one hundred nuclear families engaged in semisubsistence agriculture usually in an isolated mountain valley. We will be interested in the social and cultural changes--not so much in the individual campesino but in the campesino community. How has the community changed as a result of the radio school movement operating within it?

However, we are concerned with the community as an open system carrying on constant interchanges with other communities within a region and with the various regional agencies which are involved in the collective decision making of each community. As we have noted, the radio school movement operates as a municipal and even as a regional system and must be analysed at that level too.

Who Is A "Campesino"?

Although nothing in the constitutions of ACPH or the methodology of the radio schools restricts their activities to campesinos, de facto the radio schools and the radio school movement have been concerned almost entirely with the rural areas and with those directly engaged with agriculture in the rural areas. Consequently, it is important to define what is meant by campesino and who is included in the study.

"Campesino" in the present study refers to a rural lower-status person. At the outset of the study a scale for determining rural socioeconomic status was developed using land ownership as the principal indicator. As we shall show in much more detail in Chapter II, land ownership is one of the principal avenues to power, prestige, and opportunities for various kinds of life styles in the rural community. It is also an indicator which has the advantage of being objective, measureable, relatively easily applied, and reliable. With land ownership as the principal indicator, a seven point scale of stratification was developed with four subgroups. This scale follows the general lines of the division of subfamily, family, medium multi-family, and large multi-family agricultural units established by the Interamerican Committee for Agricultural Development.[2] Since the social stratification system of the rural

2. Solon L. Barraclough and Arthur Domike, "Agrarian Structure in Seven Latin American Countries," in Agrarian Problems and Peasant Movements In Latin America, ed. by Rodolfo Stavenhagen (New York: Doubleday and Company, 1970), p. 48.

community is so crucial to understanding the rural power structure and the processes of social change in rural communities, we shall describe this in some detail.

In schematic form the social stratification system of the rural Honduran community may be described as follows:

1) Large landholders (300 manzanas or more; one manzana contains one and seven-tenths of an acre); In the terminology of ICAD this is a large multi-family unit.

2) Medium multi-family or mediano:

   a) Large mediano: 50 to 300 manzanas;

   b) Small mediano: 20 to 50 manzanas.

3) Single family units or small farmers:

   a) Small land holders: 5 to 20 manzanas;

   b) Renter-small landholder: 0 to 5 manzanas;

   c) Renter: has no land, but rents sufficient land for a single family.

4) Day Laborer-renters: may rent land, but subsists principally through wages.

The large landholders (terratenientes), those with approximately three hundred manzanas or more, usually have a second (or principal home) in the nearby municipal town or the regional city and do not identify themselves as campesinos. They usually have a foreman or manager resident on their land who supervises the actual agricultural production process. They mix socially with the other large landholders of the region and with the managerial and professional people of the town or the regional city; they have vehicles to travel back and forth from the town to their hacienda and to Tegucigalpa; they live with most of the amenities of the urban style of life in Honduras; their children attend the secondary schools in the regional city and frequently they attend postgraduate schools or the university. They are exclusively involved in commercial production, usually for foreign export, and are taking advantage of all of the facilities of credit, technical assistance, and modern agriculture available in Honduras.

The mediano or medium multi-family unit farmers are those who usually live in the rural neighborhoods, but have more than sufficient land to support a single family according to the accepted style of life in the rural neighborhood. These

are divided into two groups: the small mediano with from twenty to fifty manzanas and the large mediano with from fifty to three hundred manzanas. The mediano has enough of a capital base (in terms of land and improvements) to establish a commercial type of agriculture in which he can calculate cost and benefits in response to existing markets. In so far as he produces for markets and not only for the sustenance of his family, the mediano ceases to be a typical subsistence or semi-subsistence farmer. He also has sufficient resources so that he has the possibility of a margin of surplus each year and thus has a basis for continually increasing capitalization. The small mediano has little more than the minimum necessary to supply the subsistence needs and a relatively small base for capital growth, while the large mediano has a solid base for a dynamic, increasing capitalization. Much depends, of course, on the propensity to consume what surplus he can manage to produce. Even small farmers and small medianos are known to have developed sizeable land holdings in a life time.

Although the mediano lives in the campesino neighborhood, he can begin to afford better housing and certain "luxuries" for his children such as a partial secondary school education. The mediano, however, is his own manager and he works on his land. One can say that he lives as a campesino, but in a much more secure fashion. Most important, the mediano has sufficient land and resources so that he can be a petty capitalist with regard to the rest of the community. The three to five medianos in the community are a major source of employment and land rental for those without land. Thus one can describe the mediano as a multi-family unit.

The mediano identifies himself as a campesino and is identified as such. But to the other small farmers the mediano (especially the larger medianos) is the riquito (the rich one) of the community, and there is frequently a feeling of resentment and disassociation from the mediano in certain contexts. The medianos, especially the larger medianos, tend to identify with the local town merchants and the politicians. They are almost always literate and travel outside the community much more than other campesinos. They often serve as the intermediaries between the local community and the larger power structure of the region and nation.

The small farmer class is divided into three groups: 1) those who have sufficient land (five to twenty manzanas) to provide the subsistence needs of one family using traditional farming methods; 2) a renter-small landholder group which has less than sufficient land to provide subsistence needs for a single family and must supplement this by renting land and seeking wage work from other large farmers in the neighborhood; and 3) the renter who has no land and supplies all food needs for his family by renting and possibly wage work. As we shall

demonstrate in Chapter II, it is estimated that five or six manzanas is the minimum amount of land necessary to supply the food needs for the average family for one year. Thus, those who have from five to twenty manzanas are included in the single-family-unit group, while those with less than five manzanas are subfamily units.

We have included small landholders, renters, and mixed small landholders-renters in the same group because their pattern of agricultural production and their style of life is relatively similar. They live in the dirt-floored houses of mud-daubed poles, have a roughly similar diet, and similar styles of clothing. But the small landholder with more than five manzanas of land has considerably more security in life, and he can maintain much more independence with respect to the larger farmers in the neighborhood. The small landholder also has much more freedom to participate in community activities and a greater margin to consider improving one's life. This small farmer group (all three categories) are the typical campesinos we are considering in this study, and they make up approximately 80 per cent of most rural communities. We shall also see that they are the major participants in the radio school movement.

The final social stratum of the rural community is the day laborer-renter or jornalero group. These are the campesinos who work full time or nearly full time as laborers and may not even plant their own milpas. We have called them day laborer-renters because usually they rent at least a small plot even though it is not enough to supply their subsistence food needs. They are often the full-time employees of the large terratenientes or larger medianos of the neighborhoods. They are also the increasingly large group of young men who cannot find land to rent because the larger landholders prefer to cultivate their own land.

For reasons that were not altogether clear from our studies, these day laborers appear to be marginal to the campesino community. Perhaps it is due to their complete dependence upon the large landholders, their complete powerlessness, and their lack of stability within the community. Often they must travel outside of the community looking for work, and their life does not follow the usual pattern centering around the yearly cycle of semisubsistence farming. Thus, their values and goals tend to be somewhat different. Their style of life is usually even below that of the renter category of the small farmer group.

Thus "campesino" in this study includes the mediano, small farmer, and day laborer strata, but most typically it refers to the three categories of the small farmer group.

A General Model of Sociocultural Change

One of the dangers in analysing the supposed effects of the radio school movement is to forget that there are many factors of change influencing a rural community in Honduras, and that the radio school movement is only one of them. What appears to be caused by the radio school movement may be the effect of another factor or several factors including the radio school movement. It would be wrong to think of values and institutions as static, inert objects which are moved mechanically from "state one" to "state two" by a simple application of force. Any given state of social institutions may better be conceived of as the result of a counterbalance of influences moving in various directions. The radio school movement could be thought of as one such influence. Changes taking place within a community are thus the result of a very complex set of influences, and the sociocultural organization of the rural community is a dynamic equilibrium that is constantly changing and seeking a new state of integration. There are factors which are operating to produce and maintain a given state of organization and factors which are operating to change the present structure. The radio school movement may very well be the result of these forces as well as a cause of further change.

This perspective views the generation of new institutional structures in terms of a natural history which starts from a situation of disequilibrium or "social unrest," and a tendency toward breakdown or rejection of existing traditions and institutional controls, and proceeds through various forms of spontaneous collective behavior (crowd or mob action, public discussion, and opinion formation) to more organized forms of collective decision making and action (social movements and political party formation), culminating in some cases in the institutionalization of a new order.[3] At the same time there are forces of social control which are counteracting this tendency to generate a new institutional order. These two tendencies are constantly present in any social system, and they tend to be mediated by a kind of bargaining process which legitimizes a given state of the system.[4]

The fact that tendencies toward institutional reorganization often have impressive beginnings and then fail has prompted an analysis in terms of a life cycle or natural

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3. Walter Buckley, Sociology and Modern Systems Theory (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1967), p. 137.

4. James S. Coleman, "Foundations for a Theory of Collective Decisions," The American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 71 (6), (May, 1966), pp. 615-627; Buckley, op. cit., pp. 138-140.

history similar to that described above.[5] These tendencies pass through "stages" such that the conditions that facilitate the transition from the first stage to the second are not the same as those present in the transition from the second to the third. A society may be experiencing severe social unrest, but no movement toward change will eventuate because there is no ideology present to guide vague frustrations into concrete channels of action, or because there is no precipitating factor electrifying enough to push a discontented population to the point of mobilization.

In the language of Smelser's thesis of collective behavior the rise of movements toward a new state of social integration may be analyzed in terms of six combining factors: 1) conduciveness; 2) structural strains; 3) a set of generalized beliefs or ideology; 4) a precipitating factor; 5) mobilization; and 6) social controls.

Conduciveness refers to the factors which permit or are conducive to certain kinds of structural strains. These factors are the conditions which cause a given institutional order to be dysfunctional for the actors of the particular social system.

Generally when the institutional organization begins to be dysfunctional for fulfilling the goals of the actors involved, dissatisfaction and anxiety are generated. Structural strains refers to the growing awareness of a discrepancy between the way the situation is and the way they think it should be.

The awareness that the situation is not what it should be is the source of motivation to change the social structure, but in itself it is not enough to start a movement. Usually, only when there is a much clearer definition of what the problem is, and clear cut solutions (or what are thought to be solutions) begin to be proposed do people see the road open to action. It is possible that this definition of problems and solutions or ideology may be present among a people for a long time. But, until the structural strains develop or an ideology is specifically linked to the structural strains, that ideology lies idle.

Often structural strains defined by an ideology lie dormant or are put up with until there is a precipitating factor which dramatizes the disequilibrium and convinces the people that they can no longer tolerate the situation as it is.

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5. Ralph H. Turner, "Collective Behavior," Handbook of Modern Sociology (Chicago: Rand M. Nally, 1969), pp. 392-393.

Mobilization refers to that stage in which an explicit social organization is formed to realize more or less specific goals which are thought to be effective in establishing a new order.

Social controls may be operating throughout all phases of the formation of a movement either to prevent the movement from reaching the mobilization stage (easing the tension of structural strains or instilling a set of beliefs which are tolerant of strains, and so forth), or to destroy the social organization of the movement once it is mobilized.[6]

The tendencies toward a reorganized social structure may move through these stages in many different ways. It may occur as a sociocultural drift, the changes coming as the result of many individuals making independent decisions. It may begin as a spontaneous outburst of collective behavior which crystallizes public opinion. Or it may be part of a planned intervention to produce specific social changes. When the tendencies toward change are organized and directed toward specific goals they are usually referred to as a movement. Two elements seem to be characteristic of a movement: 1) it is a conscious planned effort to intervene in the process of social change; 2) it is an organized effort of actors (not simply a passive response) who are engaged in a collective enterprise. A movement has shared values or ideology, a definite structure of leaders and followers, and a definition of the agents of evil against whom it is acting collectively.

The radio school movement is a case of planned intervention with definite goals and a definite organizational culture. But it too has arisen out of factors of conduciveness and structural strain; it is part of the total process of change going on in Honduras today. In our analysis we shall pay particular attention to these general factors of conduciveness and trends of institutional development because, in general, the radio school movement has seldom introduced a particular social strain or a new social institution but has strengthened existing trends and social institutions already present. The radio school movement intervenes to cause an even greater awareness of the dysfunctionality of certain social institutions or to reinforce structural strains. It may also communicate an ideology which defines the specific problems and sets forth solutions which serve as a basis of mobilization. But usually it builds upon value elements which are already present.

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6. Neil J. Smelser, Theory of Collective Behavior (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1963); Robert A. White, "Mexico: The Zapata Movement and the Revolution," in Henry R. Landsberger, Latin American Peasant Movements (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1970).

We have sketched this general theoretical framework as inclusively as possible in order to avoid introducing a bias into the analysis from the start. Rather than assume--by definition--that the radio school movement is or is not causing a certain effect such as increased leadership capacity among rural lower-status people or "democratic institutions" in rural communities, we simply ask at the outset, "What sociocultural changes has the radio school movement proposed to effect at both the local community and national levels (its goals), and what has this movement actually accomplished within the context of other factors of change but distinguishable from the other factors of change?"

In Chapter I we will consider very briefly the overall social structure of Honduran society and the factors which are tending to maintain this structure as well as the forces of system instability which are moving toward a new institutional framework. This will provide a basis in our conclusions for evaluating the significance of the radio school movement in terms of longer range trends of social controls and social change.

In Chapter II we will focus upon the institutional structure of the small rural community, the real unit of analysis in this study and again analyse the factors of stability and change which are inherent in the local community social system.

In Chapter III we will analyse the development of the radio school movement and the specific goals that it has projected over the years. It is at this point that we will be in a position to advance the hypotheses which have served as the guides in this empirical study. Given the goals of the radio school movement, the means which it has to effect these goals, and the context of sociocultural changes within which it is operating, what results are predictable?

Chapter IV evaluates the results of the literacy campaign of the radio school movement and the effectiveness of the radio school movement as a communication system which breaks the barriers between the campesino sector and the urban, technical sectors of Honduran society.

Chapter V analyses the changes in values and attitudes influenced by the radio school movement, and Chapter VI looks at the development of collective decision-making institutions in campesino communities.

Chapter VII takes up the contribution of the radio school movement to the reform of political institutions and the development in the campesino of greater capacity for participation in the national decision-making process. Finally, in the conclusions we will be able to summarize our evaluation.

The Data Collecting Process

In order to evaluate the effectiveness of such a complex social phenomenon as the radio school movement with a series of diverse goals, and to distinguish its causality from other factors of social change, an extremely complex research design was necessary. The operationalization of concepts and the techniques used in data collection are presented further on in the study as part of the explanation of the results. However, it will be helpful to the reader to have a general overview of the methods of data collection from the outset.

This study has attempted to evaluate the radio schools and the radio school movement at the national level and nearly every region of the country was visited during the research. However, since the movement has been most active over a longer period of time in the southern region (the Departments of Choluteca and Valle), the more intensive analysis was carried out there.

The general structure of the research design was a series of stages. At each stage the total area covered and the size of the sample of communities was reduced, but a progressively deeper and more detailed analysis was carried out.

In the first stage the regions where the radio schools were operating or were beginning to operate were visited, and the history and problems were discussed with individuals in the regional promotional teams.

In the second stage a general survey of more than five hundred communities was made in the southern region, Comayagua, Olancho, and Santa Barbara. In nearly all cases the communities were visited at least briefly so that the level of operation of radio schools could be evaluated, and the quality of other community organizations and promotional activities noted.

In the third stage a survey of historical development of decision-making institutions was made in one hundred and twenty-five communities. In these visits the radio schools, the rural housewives' clubs, the community development projects, and the activities of leaders were also evaluated.

In the fourth stage approximately twenty-five communities were selected for very intensive analysis of the history of institutional development, especially the step by step development of the radio school movement in the community. This visit often lasted a week.

In the fifth stage thirteen communities were selected for individual interviewing. Six hundred and thirteen subjects were interviewed to measure attitudinal and value orientations

in these communities. Another sample of communities was selected to test the literacy achievements of radio school pupils.

Finally, smaller studies of different aspects of the radio school movement were carried out: the functioning of the coordinators, regional supervisors, and the central office of the radio schools; the history and the ideological development of the radio school movement; the contributions of supporting agencies such as USAID; the role of the leadership training centers and the regional radio broadcasting stations; and a study of the housewives clubs which are so closely associated with the radio schools.

Parallel with the study of the radio school movement studies of the problems of municipal government were made, and the contribution of the radio school movement to municipal government reform was specifically analysed. A very extensive study of the causes of the campesino movement of 1969 and 1970 in southern Honduras was also carried out and, again, the possible relationship of the radio school movement to this campesino movement (in southern Honduras) was investigated.

During this research the author served as the coordinator of a larger team of sociologists, an anthropologist, and an economist engaged in a series of specific studies of social, religious, cultural, and economic institutions in southern Honduras. These separate studies--the analysis of religious institutions by Luz Marina Barrios, the analysis of the family in southern Honduras by Sonia Lopez, and the economic analyses done by Rodney Stares--were immensely helpful in understanding the institutions in the rural neighborhood. All of the studies which were carried out over a period of two years, from September, 1969 to November, 1971, were done in an atmosphere of discussion and interchange of ideas. Without the contributions of an interdisciplinary perspective, this broad analysis of social change could not have been done.

During the course of this research the author was also engaged in designing an agricultural education program which demanded a great deal of reflection on agricultural institutions. This program of agricultural education has now been incorporated into the basic educational programs of the radio schools under the overall direction of ACPH. The more than a year and a half of discussions with the staff of the radio schools, working out the details of this program, helped to understand and appreciate the directors and personnel of the radio schools. Finally the author also participated in developing with campesino leaders an experimental project of small industrial cooperatives as a supplement to agricultural income. The discussion of economic problems and the constant contact with the campesino leaders over two years were extremely valuable in giving an intimate, personal insight into the problems of the campesinos of Honduras.

CHAPTER I

FACTORS OF STABILITY AND CHANGE IN HONDURAN SOCIETY

The Underlying Structure of Honduran Society

Every society has a certain logic of functioning, a set of fundamental values, if you will, influencing the form of its structure and determining the path of social growth--the pattern of progressive differentiation and integration--that it will follow. This logic often stems from the combination of factors present and the options that were open when the social institutions of that society took shape. In Middle America (Mexico and Central America) the general outlines of social structure were defined by the end of the sixteenth century. Honduras, along with other Central American countries, has experienced many important social changes since then, but once the precedents had been made and the basic form of the social institutions had been decided, the social growth tended to unfold itself within the restrictions of that mold.[1] In order to understand the factors of stability and change in Honduras, we must go to the essential logic and the underlying structure upon which its social institutions are built.

The general model of social development resembles in many respects the model of biological development: social structure follows a line of evolution (with halts, divergences, and regressions) from a state of very simple distinction of roles toward progressively more complex states of role differentiation. Most primitive societies usually have little more than age and sex role distinctions. As the amount and flow of information increases in a society, the division of labor becomes more complex, and that society continues to differentiate into ever more complex masses of roles, always integrating and reintegrating in new ways.[2]

Accompanying this continual differentiation there is an increasing variety of social statuses which open up the

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1. Stanley J. Stein and Barbara Stein, The Colonial Heritage of Latin America (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970).

2. Smelser, op. cit.; Frank W. Young, "A Proposal for Cooperative Cross-Cultural Research on Intervillage Systems," Human Organization, Vol. 25; and Buckley, op. cit., Ch. 4.

possibility of a much more complex prestige ranking and a more complex system of personal identifications. In all societies, simple and complex, there is some kind of prestige ranking, but as the social differentiation grows more complex there tend to be many different subsets of rankings of roles. Society tends to be divided into institutional sectors (economic, political, religious, etc.), and each sector has its subsectors each with a series of organizations. Not only are there rankings within each organization and rankings within the sectors and subsectors as well as the rankings of organizations within the sectors, but there are rankings of sectors within the society. With such a complex system of prestige rankings and so many different bases for prestige, prestige tends to be much more diffuse. No one person or group of persons can amass so much of it.[3]

In complex societies power and personal identification with social power segments also tend to be more diffuse and shifting. In modern industrial society there is access to many new types of resources for influencing the decision-making process, and there is a tendency toward the dispersal rather than the accumulation of inequalities.[4]

However, in many Latin American societies there tends to be a very fundamental rigid ty which arrests this continuous differentiated growth. Honduras probably has a much more open and flexible type of society--in part, because it was further from the major spheres of influence in the colonial period--but it also has many of the same rigidities found in other areas of Latin America. There has been a continual differentiation of roles as the institutions of an urban, industrial, technical society are introduced, but the society as a whole tends to split into poles of social status and personal identification: those who identify with an urban, technical, managerial elite and those who identify with the so-called popular classes, mainly involved in manual labor. The urban, technical, ruling half of the dichotomous society tends to be defined by the prevailing values as inherently superior in all aspects so that the two halves of the society form an almost caste-like hierarchy. Instead of prestige and power tending to be diffused by industrialization and the complex differentiation of social growth, there is a continued (if not increased) concentration of prestige and power.[5]

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3. Gerhard Lenski, Power and Privilege (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1966), p. 308.

4. Robert A. Dahl, "Equality and Power In American Society," in Power and Democracy in America, William V. D'Antonio and Howard J. Ehrlich, eds. (South Bend, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1961), pp. 73-89.

5. Claudio Veliz, "Introduction," Obstacles to Change In Latin America (London: Oxford University Press, 1965), pp. 1-8.

Measured in terms of occupational and economic role definitions there are quite complex systems of social stratification, but in terms of cultural behavior and self identification a fundamental bifurcation is maintained.[6] In spite of the urbanization and gradual industrialization, this dichotomous, hierarchical society has the basic form and logic of functioning of what anthropologists call a peasant society.

Peasant societies are usually described in terms of a fundamental dichotomy between a ruling elite and semisubsistence agricultural producers. There is a differentiation of roles, but it is relatively simple and bifurcated: the semisubsistence cultivators who may have part-time craftsman roles and the ruler (or rulers) with a court of warriors, lawyers, counselors, priests, court wise men and teachers--all of whom are closely identified with the rulers.[7] The elite sector may become quite urbanized, but the society remains basically a peasant society; indeed, both Redfield and Wolf include Central America in the areas described as peasant societies.[8]

Peasant societies appear to develop when isolated communities (usually agricultural) are grouped together to form a nation-state and the concentration of population and complexity of governing demand full-time rulers.[9] In so-called primitive societies ruling is a part-time role for chieftains, and they are expected to fill productive roles along with the other male members. The technology is simple, there is a narrow margin of food surplus, and all are expected to be involved in productive roles. Social power depends more on personal prowess in the hunt and battle, and there are no hereditary, ascribed ruling positions. Each man must prove himself. Consequently, the collective decision making is a much more inclusive process, and there are no full-time rulers.[10]

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6. Richard N. Adams, The Second Sowing, Power and Secondary Development in Latin America (San Francisco: Chandler Publishing Company, 1967), pp. 47-49; Ralph L. Beals, "Social Stratification in Latin America," American Journal of Sociology, 1953, LVIII, 327-339; and Michael G. Smith, "Pre-Industrial Stratification Systems," in Social Structure and Mobility In Economic Development, Neil Smelser and Seymour M. Lipset, eds.,(Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1964), pp. 172-173.

7. Lenski, op. cit., Chs. 6, 7, 8, and 9; Eric R. Wolf, Peasants (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall Inc., 1966), pp. 1-17.

8. Wolf, op. cit., p. 2.

9. Ibid., p. 11.

10. Lenski, op. cit., p. 125.

But in peasant societies, which are usually agrarian with a more advanced technology and a sufficient productive surplus to maintain positions not directly involved in productive occupations, the rulers are freed from productive roles.

The ruling caste is made possible by the increased productivity of the peasant society, and one of the continual sources of tension in a peasent society is the necessity of supplying a surplus for the maintenance of the rulers. "It is when a cultivator is integrated into a society with a state--that is, when the cultivator becomes subject to the demands and sanctions of power-holders outside his social stratum--that we can appropriately speak of peasantry."[11] What is important to realize, however, is that the peasants and the rulers are not two societies, but the interdependent halves of the same society which are constantly interacting.[12]

In most peasant societies the position of ruler tends to develop an accompanying charisma of inherent superiority, and the status of ruler tends to be ascribed and hereditary. A ruler is a ruler and cannot be a peasant, and a peasant cannot be transformed into a ruler. Since the rulers have access to power, wealth, and the accumulated information of the literate tradition, their inherent superiority becomes a self-fulfilling prophecy.[13] The fact that the rulers also generally have a monopoly over the use of arms and warfare is another source of power. Thus, all social power and decision making is located in the ruling sector, and the peasant by definition is incapable of participating in the decision-making process. In many peasant societies the charismatic myth exalts the rulers to the level of superhuman, divine powers, thus removing their decisions from questioning.

But the peasant generally accepts the hierarchical order as natural, sees in the rulers the source of internal order and protection from external marauders, and takes pride, in a vague way, in the mythical power and splendor of his ruler. The ruler is presented as a wise, kind father who establishes peace between villages, unites the country, and brings prosperity to the land. The ruler is looked upon as the good father, and the peasants (as in biblical Palestine) "create" a king because he seems to be essential to their well being. The concentration of power and decision making in the rulers is acceptable

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11. Wolf, op. cit., p. 11.

12. Robert Redfield, The Little Community--Peasant Society and Culture (Chicago: Phoenix Books, 1960), pp. 36-39.

13. Lenski, op. cit., pp. 164-176.

because of the values which define the inherent capacity of the rulers to make decisions and the inherent lack of this capacity in the peasant. The court of the ruler, his counselors, priests, and wise men, tend to share in this charisma of inherent superiority.

The peasant lives isolated in his community, engaged in subsistence cultivation and concerned more with the problems of prestige and power within his local community than his lack of prestige from the point of view of the ruling sector. He is perhaps involved in a regional marketing economy, but he has only a vague notion of the whole nation-state of which he is a part. His social interaction is in terms of his extended family and horizontal alliances with others in his village with an occasional vertical alliance with more powerful farmers in his area or with intermediaries between the peasant and the ruling sectors.[14]

The peasant is distinguished from the modern farmer in that his system of production and the use of what he produces responds primarily to the needs of his nuclear family, his extended family, and his immediate community. The peasant cultivator supplies nearly all of his needs within his community and has relatively little dependence on either outside markets or outside supplies. What he sells is a surplus that he happens to have.[15] The farmer usually has become quite specialized, supplying for a distant market only what his particular soils and climate are especially suited for. He is, in turn, dependent on that same market system for the supplies of not only necessities for living but productive inputs such as seeds and fertilizers. Attempts to produce all of his needs within his own community would be uneconomical, and his whole productive system is geared to a strict cost-benefit calculus. While the peasant is geared primarily to the subsistence needs of his family, the farmer is linked into a much larger national and international economic system.

One of the most important distinctions between the peasant and the ruling sectors is that the transactions and traditions of the peasant are oral while those of the rulers are literate. The possession of writing by the ruler and his court transforms legends into literature, word of mouth orders into laws and constitutions, ecstatic utterings into sacred books, and wise sayings into a philosophy and incipient science. This literacy gives a permanency and sense of history across generations just as the ruler links together isolated communities into a nation-state.

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14. Wolf, op. cit., Ch. 3.

15. Ibid., pp. 38-40.

Literacy tends to emphasize the distinction between the sectors since it is a special skill of the rulers. A class of specialists within the ruling sector is created which serves, in one way or another, the rulers: wise men to teach the fund of knowledge and the values to the sons of the rulers and others associated with the ruling class; lawyers to interpret the legal tradition; the priests and other religious functionaries to interpret the sacred books; the poets and dramatists to entertain; the host of clerks to maintain bureaucracies; the tax collectors and other intermediaries between the ruling and peasant sectors; some of the more important merchants--all of them literate because in some way they were connected with the ruling function. But the peasant does not need to be literate because he is not a ruler, and there are no values which compel or justify the incorporation of the peasant into what Redfield calls the great or literate tradition of a peasant society.[16]

In the classical peasant society much of the great or literate tradition has its origins in the little tradition of the peasant sector of society. It is based on the oral legends, beliefs, customs, and values, but tends to universalize and integrate local traditions. The great tradition is a form of rationalization and justification of the beliefs of the people for that cultural area; in so doing it rationalizes the dichotomous, hierarchical nature of the social order. Intermediaries such as wandering monks, village priests, and school teachers may translate the literate tradition back into the terminology of the peasant, but the peasant has to rise to the status of the ruling sector to gain access to the literate tradition.

The relationship between the two halves of the peasant society is of special interest, and it is the focal point of stability or change in a peasant society. As long as the division of labor between producers and rulers is felt to be satisfactory and logical for all involved, there is no movement to change it. As long as the peasant sees the ruler as his needed paternal overseer who provides for him and does not demand too much of him, he is content with his powerless role. There is no more objection to the "splendors of the court" and his own deprivation than there is to the success and well-being of a good father. The rulers are simply different sorts of people who live differently.[17]

The two sectors of a peasant society are usually linked together by a series of hierarchical intermediaries: tax

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16. Redfield, op. cit., Ch. 3.

17. Ibid., pp. 37-39.

collectors, religious functionaries, political representatives and other bureaucratic positions. But again these local representatives of the ruling sector may not be perceived as exploitative. The local paternalistic representatives of the ruling order are often intermediaries in solving the personal problems of the peasants in their personal or family crises. They may be able to obtain favors for the peasants from the centers of power. The relationships are usually personalistic and paternalistic in the best sense of those terms.

In the classical model of the peasant society there is constant cultural interchange between the sectors: the peasant accepting the more abstract, learned interpretations of the world handed down to him through cultural intermediaries, and the learned, literate tradition, in turn, constantly being rejuvenated by revitalization movements which rise out of the peasant world. The literate tradition tends to become over-institutionalized, ritualized, and sterile in its interpretation of the reality of the area. The enthusiastic movements rise on the force of charismatic personalities who are in contact with the peasant tradition, but proclaim a more adequate explanation of reality which is eventually incorporated into the literate tradition.[18]

Thus, in most peasant societies the ruling elite is not Herodian, that is, identifying with poles of civilization and culture located in foreign urban centers. They share the same basic culture and tradition except that it is a written, abstract and elaborated version of the peasant culture.[19]

The dichotomy between the peasant and ruling sectors does not imply that there is not some vertical mobility from peasant to ruling sector. History is full of the legends of peasants who have risen to roles within the ruling class. But in so doing they have adopted the behavior and attitudes of the ruling class, leaving behind their peasant status and usually trying to forget and to cover as well as possible their peasant origins because of the stigma of inferiority that this carries. This kind of individual vertical mobility, far from disturbing the distribution of power, reinforces it because it leaves open to ambitious peasants the opportunity of participating in it--as long as the system itself is left untouched.

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18. Ibid., pp. 49-50.

19. Ibid., pp. 40-43.

The Origins of a Dichotomous, Hierarchical Society in Middle America

The society of Middle America (Mexico and Central America) seems to have taken on this dichotomous, hierarchical logic of functioning very early in the colonial period. For many reasons the factors which were present in the confrontation of the conquering Spanish and the indigenous peoples left them few alternatives.

The Spanish arrived to conquer and to rule the indigenous peoples, and since there were relatively few of the former, most had to be engaged in some aspect of ruling: in actual governing, extracting tribute directly or indirectly in terms of the precious metals for the support of the metropolitan government, managing the encomiendas (later evolved into haciendas) which were the instruments of subjugation and forced acculturation rather than economic units,[20] or in military and policing operations. As conquerors, power and decision making was necessarily concentrated in the hands of the Spanish.

In the regions where the more advanced agrarian empires had developed (The Aztecs, Mayas, and Incas), there were already peasant societies with ruling overlords before the Spanish arrived, and the Spanish merely installed themselves in the role of the former rulers with the Indians continuing in their accustomed peasant roles.

The superimposition of the Spanish racial and cultural tradition, both of which were defined by the Spanish as inherently superior, emphasized and justified the hierarchical dichotomy in a striking way, and the indigenous peoples, overwhelmed and controlled as they were, tended to accept that superiority as a fact.

Finally the fact that the Spanish had defined their major achievement in Spain as reconquering the peninsula from the Muslims and ruling once again led them to define their role in America in a similar way. Achievement was not defined in terms of economic, scientific-technological or even cultural superiority, but in terms of the old Roman-Byzantine ideal of ruling.[21] In many ways the Spain they came from was a classic case of a peasant society, and in extending it to America they defined the logic of the new society.

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20. William P. Glade, The Latin American Economies (New York: Van Nostrand, 1969), pp. 111-112.

21. Ibid., p. 48.

The Spanish also brought with them the Mediterranean tradition of the concentration of the elites in urban centers and the identification of the literate, superior culture with the town and the city life. While the English and Germanic gentry tended to maintain their manors in the rural areas closer to the peasantry, the Mediterranean overlords gravitated toward the cities.[22] In America this was emphasized even more since the Spanish tended to congregate in urban enclaves, somewhat fearful of the Indians and the wildness of the backlands and reluctant to live cut off from Spanish culture on an isolated hacienda. Thus the political, racial, and cultural division also became a geographical urban-rural division. To live in the rural areas in itself carried a stigma of inferiority.

A further hierarchical, dichotomizing factor was the Herodian tendency of the Spanish urban elite to identify with the Western European centers of culture turning away from the interior of the country while the campesino could do nothing other than identify with the country he was born in, the food and clothing available, and so forth. With better communication and stronger economic ties during the republican period this foreign identification increased rather than decreased. Thus, in many ways the urban and rural sectors are culturally more different today than they were two hundred years ago.

In the late nineteenth and especially in the twentieth centuries Middle America has begun to industrialize and with this to introduce a much more complex technological order and a more complex division of roles. The urban centers have grown enormously reproducing the urban, technical life of any city in the industrialized world. But given the fact that the technical order has entered through the literate tradition, it has likewise been concentrated in the urban, traditional ruling sector.

There is increasing documentation of the fact that as new technical elites and the bureaucratic middle class appear they are absorbed into the old literate, ruling sector and have adopted the traditional attitudes of this sector.[23] "In the

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22. Redfield, op. cit., p. 20.

23. Osvaldo Sunkel, "Change and Frustration in Chile," in Obstacles to Change in Latin America, Claudio Veliz, ed. (London: Oxford University Press, 1965), pp. 116-161; Rodolfo Stavenhagen, "Seven Fallacies About Latin America," in Latin America, Reform or Revolution, James Petras and Maurice Zeitlin, eds. (Greenwich, Conn.: Faucett Publication Inc., 1968), pp. 23-26; and Moisés Gonzalez-Navarro, "Mexico: The Lop-Sided Revolution," in Obstacles to Change in Latin America, Claudio Veliz, ed. (London: Oxford University Press, 1965), p. 227.

absence of an alternate set of cultural values and prestige symbols--which the rising middle class proved unable to create--the only possible way of obtaining at least a measure of social prestige is by associating with the traditional aristocracy. This the urban middle classes have done systematically and successfully."[24] The concentration of wealth and political power in the hands of the urban, technical elite has continued unchecked. Institutions such as the education system have been especially important in maintaining the value premises of the hierarchical dichotomous society.[25] The reallocation of the opportunity structure which might create conditions for a differentiation of wealth, decision-making power, and prestige has not occurred.

Thus, the urban, literate, ruling elite has gradually been transformed into an urban, literate, technical ruling elite with all of the value premises of a dichotomous, hierarchical society retained. The society is now divided into the urban, technical sector and the producer sector which, in addition to the campesino, includes an urban proletariat. The latter, as Oscar Lewis has pointed out, maintains many of the "rural" characteristics within an urban setting.[26] Especially, the urban proletariat retains the characteristics of non-participation in the economic and political decision making of the country. And, just as there was no compulsion to include the campesino in the literate sector, so there is now no value which dictates the incorporation of the campesino into the urban, technical sector.

Factors of Stability in Honduran Society

Normally, we would expect that as social differentiation occurs, differentiated segments would obtain in varying degrees a sense of self identity and pride in their identity.[27] This cultural pluralism provides a base for a series of quite distinct forces within the national decision-making process and a diffusion of political power. With such a diffusion there is the possibility of a new kind of decision-making process by coalition and bargaining which opens up the possibility of the spread of the opportunity structure to formerly excluded groups.

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24. Veliz, op. cit., p. 7.

25. Sunkel, op. cit., p. 139.

26. Oscar Lewis, "Urbanization Without Breakdown: A Case Study," in Contemporary Cultures and Societies of Latin America, Dwight Heath & Richard N. Adams, eds. (New York: Random House, 1965), pp. 424-437.

27. Veliz, op. cit., p. 6.

But in the Latin American social context the prestigeous identities have continued to be concentrated in one social identity with a continuing tight concentration of decision-making and the opportunity structure. The dichotomous, hierarchical type of society seems to be inherently rigid and resistant to more complex forms of differentiation and integration. There is a certain inertia in this kind of social system which makes it difficult to move from a dichotomous, hierarchical structure to a differentiated, diffuse status structure.

Given a fundamental dichotomy a free-moving differentiation is inhibited because it must follow the lines of the ruler or producer identities. This tends to slow down the appearance of technical, engineering sorts of roles which are a mixture of the technical and production roles.

The hierarchical nature of the society with prestige, power and decision making concentrated in one sector discourages the identification of the urban, technical sector with the campesino sector, and vertical mobility means leaping the gap and abandoning the campesino sector altogether. Technology which is so important for economic growth never becomes truly characteristic of the campesino-producer sector, and the campesino tends to remain technologically underdeveloped and socially undifferentiated. The classical transition from peasant to farmer is inhibited.

Also, within the different sectors what differentiation does take place is blurred: public administrators are engineers, doctors are poets, and subsistence farmers are also carpenters.

Changes in a highly differentiated society take place continually in subsectors, leaving other social subsectors untouched. Changes are thus less disruptive and less feared. But in a simple dichotomous society even small changes affect the whole urban, technical or campesino sectors and tend to affect the relations between the two sectors a great deal. Thus when campesinos began to press for land reform, we find resistance throughout the urban, technical sector because doctors, businessmen, university professors, and all sorts of supposedly distinct professions are also landowners and hacendados. Consequently, changes are feared as disruptive and avoided as much as possible to preserve the stability of the society.

The fact that the urban, technical elites, who are also the decision-making elites, are so isolated in their urban enclaves and oriented to the sociocultural centers of Europe and the United States, cuts the decision making off from any real identification with the interior and from any real understanding of the problems and the aspirations of the popular classes. Attempts to make major social, economic, and political adjustments have not been realistic or well adapted to the

environment. Consequently, they tend to have little or no effect.

However, it is not just the inertia of the system which preserves it, but the positive advantages it offers. The "crash programs" of economic growth have used the traditional elite sector, and the centralization of power and decision making is perhaps greater than at the time of independence.

In the drive toward industrialization and the attempt to make the leap from a preindustrial to an industrial society in competition with the more advanced, technologically efficient, and heavily capitalized countries, there has often been an almost unconditional allocation of resources toward entrepreneurial elements of the urban, technical sector. This industrialization was aimed to supply (in a quite inefficient manner) a small elite market within the urban, technical sector and largely benefits those within the urban, technical sector. The maintenance of relatively low wages (since this is the major competitive advantage) and the tendency to use the agricultural sector as a basis for capitalization of the urban, technical sector are but two examples of this policy. Even Mexico's revolution was cut short because this was seen as the only means to foster industrialization. Thus, in spite of populist movements, the traditional structure reasserts itself.[28]

This industrialization policy may be interpreted as an attempt of the traditional ruling elites to maintain their control, not as an essential measure. Indeed, economist Miguel Wionczek states that the very promising Central American Common Market program of industrialization will fail in its goals if it persues the same short-sighted, import-substitution policies and neglects the expansion of the regional market through income redistribution. "It is difficult to believe that economic integration can proceed in the longer run under the conditions exemplified by the following data: only one-third of the population of Central America participates significantly in the market economy, the middle classes do not account for more than one-eighth of the population, and the degree of illiteracy (among people over fifteen years of age) varies from 20 per cent in Costa Rica to 70 per cent in Guatamala."[29]

A second factor has been the tendency to develop the Latin American economies as an appendage of larger economic empires with centers in the economic systems of Europe and the

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28. Navarro, op. cit., pp. 206-229; and Raymond Wilkie, San Miguel, A Mexican Collective Ejido (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1971).

29. Miguel S. Wionczek, "The Central American Integration Experiment, Early Success and Growing Limitation," B.O.L.S.A. Review, Vol. 1, No. 3 (March, 1967), pp. 134-136.

United States. As the advanced industrial economies expanded rapidly in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries, there was a sharply increased demand for raw materials and the foodstuffs to provide for growing populations with increased buying power. Most Latin American economies were not in a position to provide either the large amounts of capital or the managerial and technological expertise for large-scale extraction. Thus, instead of allowing for a relatively slowly developing, balanced, domestic-centered economic system, all the above-mentioned inputs were rapidly brought in by foreign developers. These economies developed as quite modern enclaves surrounded by a domestic economic system as primitive as ever. The methods of producing and marketing bananas in Honduras may be among the most modern in the world, but the domestic production and marketing of fruit and vegetables is not notably different from the systems used one hundred years ago. As Glade notes, the overall effect of these export enclaves was to dampen the growth of technological and entrepreneurial roles and to stress opportunities in the legal profession, government bureaucracies, and in the military, the traditional "ruler" roles. "The general situation (export enclaves), however, retarded the creation of more intermediate positions in the socio-economic structure and thus hindered the lateral extension of occupations which typifies modern societies and which creates social differences and distinctions that lie outside the conventional means of assigning social status along a single scale."[30]

Movement after movement in Latin American countries has purported to be socially revolutionary and integrative, but the rigidity which appears to be inherent in the logic of the social systems seems to be stronger. When all of the speech making is over, the social structure remains essentially dichotomous and hierarchical with power and decision making as well as the literate and technical capacities squarely located in the urban, technical sector, and the allocation of resources still oriented primarily to that sector.

Factors of System Instability and Change In Honduran Society

The focal points of change, like those of stability, are centered around the relation of the two halves of the dichotomous, hierarchical society, especially the allocation of power and decision making and the consequent allocation of resources. In one form or another the structural strains which are the sources of system instability are dissatisfactions over the concentration

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30. Glade, op. cit., p. 274.

of power and decision making in the urban, technical sector.

In the classical peasant society the semisubsistence cultivators are oriented primarily to their local communities. The nation-state is made up of these enclosed, self-subsistent units, none of which are too interdependent except for regional marketing systems. As long as the ruler adheres to a rather paternalistic, redistributive ethic, there is no widespread discontent. The peasants are satisfied to leave the rather minimal national decision making to the ruling elite along with the special style of life that is "befitting to their station in life."

But as social differentiation increases and transportation and communication linkages bring isolated communities into regional and national systems, the local community begins to be affected by a whole series of new forces. The peasant also has new reference points upon which to judge the legitimacy of his position. There are challenges to the allocation of power and decision making almost exclusively to the urban, technical elite because those decisions affect him more than before. There is also a challenge to the special charisma of superiority and the inherent right to the literate, technical tradition.

The growing supremacy of the "common man ideologies," whether they stem from the experience of the American, French, Russian, or other revolutions, has been an important factor in this "revolution of rising expectations." Undoubtedly these populist ideologies are important in the popular classes taking more privileged rural and urban elites as reference groups and believing in the legitimacy of their aspiration to the same level of participation in the national resources. They are no longer accepting the premise that they are different kinds of people. But these ideologies are easily used to mask the real forces operating in the social system with words and empty forms--as happened in importing political institutions in the nineteenth century. The real forces for change are the inherent systemic instabilities which can develop their own ideologies rapidly enough.31

Among the major factors of change are the improved means of transportation and communication which are tying isolated campesino communities into a national communications and economic network. The campesino becomes much more aware of events outside of his community, and the urban centers are much more likely to become significant reference points. He becomes more aware of new opportunities and new technological advantages. As the local and regional economies are linked together, economic events in the urban centers or in other

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31. White, op. cit., pp. 142-146.

regions affect him much more. All this leads to the desire and the necessity to participate in the national decision-making process.

But often the means of communication make him aware of new possibilities without making available the resources to actually obtain and employ them.[32] Much of the technology is not immediately available or usable in his small-scale semisubsistence agriculture and in the rural home. It is very difficult for him to incorporate himself into the urban, technical sector, and the campesino often finds little real assistance in the urban, technical sector. The result is that the rural elites (the larger landowners) are linked into the new communication and transportation systems, but the campesino, as we have defined him, is still largely outside these systems in Honduras.

A second factor of instability in the dichotomous, hierarchical structure is the change in the relationship of the campesino to the rural elites and other representatives of the urban, technical sector from one of benign paternalism or simple non-contact to one of increasing economic exploitation. Until the 1950's markets for the larger agriculturalists were not very deep because there were no large urban concentrations and little articulation with world markets. Transportation to markets was also very poor. The large landholders were content to use their land extensively in many parts of Honduras and were generous with small subsistence farmers in renting or even in allowing them to occupy land with little or no rent. Surpluses had relatively little market value and were readily distributed to needy families in rural neighborhoods. Land was plentiful in nearly all areas, and it was easy to occupy national land as an alternative to rental or labor arrangements with larger farmers. The small farmer did not experience a great deal of competition from the larger landholders because the facilities for more intensive use were not available for either, and the methods of both were equally primitive.

But in the post-World War II period transportation began to improve and foreign markets opened up for cotton, meat, and other products. Both land and labor became much more valuable for those who could penetrate the foreign and growing Central American urban markets. The larger farmers began evicting the campesino from national or ejidal land (or at least to deny rental), and because of the former's more rationalized methods and contacts with better markets, they were in a better competitive position to buy the land of the small farmer. At the same time the rural population was increasing and competing for

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32. Everett Rogers, Modernization Among Peasants, The Impact of Communication (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1969), pp. 12-13.

available land resources. While rental prices have risen steadily, wages have stayed relatively the same or have even dropped. Not only have the rural elites begun to capitalize their farming operations more, but they have improved their style of life considerably. The once paternalistic relationship between larger and smaller farmers in rural neighborhoods and between patrones and peons has disappeared, and there is increasing bitterness not only against some very large landowners but against the local "riquito" of the rural community.

Also, as domestic urban markets have developed, the intermediary, buying from the campesino and selling in the urban markets (or to other intermediaries) has grown in importance. In his interchanges with these intermediaries the campesino, who is selling his small surpluses or few farm animals in bits and pieces, is in a very poor bargaining position since he is often selling in a crisis to tide himself over until the next harvest. The campesino is increasingly aware of the exploitative nature of these relationships with intermediaries--often the same local rural elites who market the produce of small farmers of the neighborhood with their own--and this is another source of resentment. As human relationships have become more rationalized and economic, the campesino senses that he is now simply an exploitable object.

The chances of the campesino reversing this process of unequal competition and establishing a set of institutions whereby he can employ his land and labor for his own benefit on a competitive basis are poor unless he can mobilize his numbers to exert pressure in the national decision-making process and win the support of the central government. For example, Honduras, like most Latin American countries, has an agrarian reform agency, but it is controlled by the national congress and the supreme court which are strongholds of the interests of the urban, technical, ruling elites. As a result the National Agrarian Institute has either adopted a very conservative policy or has been hampered in its efforts. But the formation of a widely-based, coherent campesino interest group is difficult because of the localism of campesinos. Once the immediate crises of the campesino are solved in his own community, he begins to lose interest in a long-range movement that may benefit others or obtain other long-range benefits for himself.[33]

And if the campesino is successful in mobilization, the new technology has also improved the means of repression. The traditional fear of the urban, technical elite of allowing the "crude, unlettered masses" some measure of independent power leads the former to see in the campesino a potential enemy, not

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33. Wolf, op. cit., pp. 91-94; and Rogers, op. cit., p. 37.

a potential ally. To give the campesino independent power is, in their view, to invite disorder.

However, if the campesino is able to mobilize an effective power base, he must replace the old supposedly exploitative institutions with a series of new institutions whereby he is truly an effective force in agricultural production and marketing. To do this the campesino needs allies who are both technically competent and interested in the special problems of the smaller producer. At the present time most technicians are in the employ, directly or indirectly, of the rural elites who are, in reality, part of the urban, technical sector. The best salaries and the most prestigious positions are to be found working with the larger agriculturalists, and there is a strong tendency for the agronomists, agricultural economists, and other agricultural technicians to move towards these jobs. The whole agricultural system continues to be geared to the needs of the rural elites, and the belief that the smaller producer is a hopeless cause is a self-fulfilling prophecy. The success of the campesino in developing competitive production and marketing institutions depends on forming an alliance with elements in the urban, technical sector.

However, the chances of finding allies within the urban, technical sector are better with increasing social differentiation within that sector. Traditionally the urban, technical sector has been a tight knit group--a series of interrelated families and long-time friends--who have agreed on their own superiority and the necessity of maintaining control. The church and the university were the principal supports in fabricating and maintaining the values behind the dichotomous, hierarchical structure. But the church and the university are examples of the cracks in the former solid front of the elites. As the literate, ruling elite have become an increasingly technical elite, the church and some sectors of the university (the poets and the social scientists!) have become less important as an influence within the urban, technical sector. The church does maintain support within the campesino sector, however, and is increasingly seeking an alliance with the campesino. Elements within the university also seek such an alliance, but often do not have the base in the rural areas or the lines of communication as does the church.

But both the church and the university are also examples of the paternalism of the urban, technical sector. They find it difficult to submit <u>really</u> to campesino aspirations because of the ingrained characteristic of ruling in all <u>roles</u> within the elite sector. Given, also, the rather idealistic framework of ideology which often is responding more to intellectual traditions (and problems of different eras and different places), they tend to impose an ideology on the situation rather than to respond to the ideology the campesinos themselves are forming, that is, the campesino's own definition of his problem and the

solutions he deems to be necessary. It is true that the campesino solutions to his problems tend to be traditional--looking back to a golden age before a new technical order upset his world and very simple solutions would suffice.[34] The representatives of the urban, technical sector are in a position to translate the peasant aspirations into a more technically adequate ideology and into more universalistic values, thus insuring a more enduring movement.[35] But there is a very delicate balance between translating and imposing. There has to be a strong campesino leadership which is confident of support among campesinos and self-assertive in the face of representatives of the urban, technical sector. This leadership must know how to incorporate the technician and extract his contribution, but at the same time subordinate him to campesino goals.

Allies within the urban, technical sector are also hesitant to let the direction of campesino movements be controlled entirely by campesino leaders because they are not sure where they might stand in the final analysis. This is especially true when the alliances are built through new movements coming out of the urban, technical sector. There is always the danger that the campesino will be only the base of political power, and as the party begins to aggregate the interests of a number of social segments of the country, the interests of the campesino sector will be compromised and subordinated to dominant tendencies within the urban, technical sector. As was noted above, Central American, like other Latin American countries, face the dilemma of industrialization and where to allocate development resources. The small agricultural producer is left out in the planning because there is no clear technical formula which shows how the campesino can contribute to the overall development of the country. As a result the human potential of the rural, lower-status population is also neglected--a problem which returns to menace the very plans for a modern, industrial nation.

Another factor of system instability is the growing nationalism. As Latin America is drawn ever more tightly into the cultural and economic systems of the industrial, technical centers, the threat to the economic, cultural and eventually the political independence becomes more apparent. Perhaps the strongest motivating force is a kind of cultural identity crisis that many within the urban, technical sector are experiencing. This is causing them to turn to their own indigenous Indian and even campesino roots with a kind of identification with those who were supposedly racially and culturally

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34. Wolf, op. cit., p. 106.

35. White, op. cit., pp. 149-151.

inferior. The classical case of this is the cultural aspect of the Mexican Revolution with the emphasis in literature and philosophy on agrarismo and indigenismo which was prevalent from 1920 to approximately 1950, but Bolivia, Cuba, and Peru have also been experiencing this as part of their nationalistic revolutions. Indirectly these cultural movements encourage various nationalistic policies such as the development of an independent, domestically controlled economy; agrarian reforms; and other moves to increase income for the campesino sector as a means of opening up a domestic market and production for domestic consumption. It also attempts to build the campesino and urban labor sectors into the national political influence system.[36]

But it is often difficult to transform rapidly an economy oriented toward foreign markets into a self-sufficient domestic economy. The campesino is not easily incorporated into a modern economy, and the urban, technical elites, motivated by their own identity crises, find it hard to really identify with the campesino sector sufficiently to actually work in the rural areas. So often the "cultural missions" to the rural areas fail because of a lack of really dedicated personnel.

Conclusions

The present chapter has attempted to sketch briefly a general framework for the analysis of forces of social stability and change which are operating in the national social system in Honduras. The overall conclusion is that Honduran society, like much of Latin American society, has tended to maintain the basic dichotomous, hierarchical poles of identification (in spite of a certain amount of social differentiation introduced by urban, technological social institutions) and with this a concentration of prestige, power, and decision making. As overly sanguine social and political planners have found, it is difficult to introduce radical discontinuities with the past.

Structural strains have existed in Honduran society for a long time and these are increasing in intensity as the logic of the dichotomous, hierarchical society breaks down. However, not only is the inertia of the system tending to maintain it, but the strengthening of the present structure is seen by some to be a positive advantage for socioeconomic development. What might be called the orthodox thesis of development in Latin America is that the urban, technical sector must be strengthened (the thesis of the growing middle class) until it "trickles down" and incorporates the whole population. The campesino

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36. Glade, op. cit., pp. 347-373.

sector with its urban proletariat spillover will just disappear. The fact that the so-called "backward sectors" are not disappearing,but that there is a tendency to concentrate the increasing wealth, prestige, and power of the urban, technical sector even more should raise questions about how easily the logic of the system changes.[37]

Moreover, the tendencies toward change which are rising out of the system instabilities are weak in themselves. We have outlined four major system instabilities (without excluding the possibility that they could be enlarged upon): 1) the breakdown of the isolation of the rural community and the demand to control the forces which are now entering in; 2) increasing campesino dissatisfaction as he loses in the competition with an increasingly rationalized, exploitative economic system; 3) the increasing differentiation within the urban, technical sector, the breakdown of the old solid front, and the formation of alliances with the campesino sector; and 4) a nationalism which turns the urban, technical sector in upon the interior of the nation and its own Indian, campesino roots. We have also indicated the opposite conservative tendencies inhibiting change. Implied in each tendency is a solid and real coalition between the campesino sector and elements of the urban, technical sector. The tendencies all fall short if they each occur in an isolated fashion. The traditional dichotomous, hierarchical system is a balanced, integrated system, each part supported by the other parts. Unless all of the tendencies toward change are linked together and operate simultaneously, there is little chance for fundamental change.

We cannot automatically assume that the radio school movement is either a factor of stability or change within the social system of Honduras. But in so far as it is a factor of change, it rises out of these systemic instabilities and is one factor of change among these various factors. It must be analysed in terms of its opposition from the forces of stability and its relation to the other factors of change.

However, the focus of the radio school movement has been the small rural community and our study is more concerned with the factors of stability and change at this "micro level."

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37. Stavenhagen, op. cit., pp. 13-27.

CHAPTER II

FACTORS OF STABILITY AND CHANGE IN THE CAMPESINO COMMUNITY

What Is a Campesino Community?

In the present study the term "campesino community" refers to the aldea, the groups of semi-subsistence cultivator families who live in the outlying neighborhoods. We are specifically excluding the small towns and municipal centers, rural though they may be, according to some definitions. The town has some of the amenities of urban life such as electricity, is centered around the activities of the small merchants and the municipal offices, and has a definite sense of higher status than the "campesinos," a term than bears with it a certain depreciation. This distinction is reflected in the terminology "los del pueblo" (the town people) as opposed to "los de fuera" (the people from outlying areas) or "la gente de las aldeas" (the people from the aldeas) or simply "los campesinos."

A rural community is commonly referred to as an aldea or valle (valley), although this usually includes smaller village clusters or caserios. In the course of the study a more accurate uniform indicator of the geographical area as well as the focus of identification was discovered to be the area served by a single primary school. This tends to be relatively even in size, rarely under fifty families and ordinarily not more than one hundred families. It also has a sense of unity and common destiny since the families of that area have mobilized to build a school and perhaps other projects.

A campesino refers to a rural, lower-status person as this was defined in the Introduction (pp. 6-9). The core of the campesino group are the small farmers: those with five to twenty manzanas, sufficient to maintain a single family, but with little margin for capitalization; and those whom we may call "the renters," those with no land or less than five manzanas, who are forced to rent land to supplement their own lack of land holdings.

The Urban Technical Sector As a Source of Change in the Rural Community

The radical difference between the social institutions and the style of life of the urban, technical sector and the

campesino sector is striking when one considers that there has long been so much opportunity for communication and interaction. There is some evidence of influence from the urban, technical sector: approximately 50 per cent of the campesinos have radios and a few other material items; the campesinos are at least vaguely aware of the national politics; some modern technology has found its way into their semi-subsistence agriculture. We lack time study data, but on the whole it is our impression that the campesino life remains largely unchanged from that of forty to fifty years ago largely because of barriers to real communication with the urban, technical sector and lack of mutual identification.

Given the dichotomous, hierarchical nature of Honduran society with something of the Latin American urban bias, there is no strong value premise for extending the technical, literate capacities and the opportunity structure to the campesino sector. And with the concentration of power and decision making in the urban, technical sector there is no pressure for the allocation of resources toward the campesino sector. Service representatives of the urban, technical sector find it hard to work in the campesino sector not only because of the problems of transportation and the privations they must endure, but mainly because of the negative connotations for one's career that being associated with the rural, lower-status population implies. Most rural service agencies tend to work with the rural elites. The representatives of the urban, technical sector find strong cultural barriers in communication, and much of their technology is not directly applicable to the conditions of agriculture and homemaking of the campesino.

The campesino community exists as an almost self-subsistent unit agriculturally, medically, and religiously; and campesinos feel no strong necessity to be incorporated into the urban, technical sector. The campesino does not have either the resources or can he fulfill the complex conditions that much of the modern technology demands. Just as the urban, technical sector tends to ignore the campesino sector, so also the urban, technical sector is not a significant reference point for the campesino. Rather he finds it complex, threatening, and beyond his capacities.

The campesino identifies with his family, the status and prestige system of his neighborhood, with local development programs (not the national programs), and with local politics. The campesino leader tends to be loyal primarily to his own extended family and community, and much less to larger organizations, movements, and distant abstract ideologies. He tends to deal with the urban, technical sector through a hierarchy of representatives, bargaining with them to get the most he can for his community with the least damaging commitment. When the young campesino does identify with the urban, technical sector, he prefers to leave behind the campesino neighborhood.

Factors of Stability and Change Inherent Within the Sociocultural System of the Campesino Community

Ultimately, whether the campesino accepts influence from the urban, technical sector or responds to innovation generated within his community, depends to a great extent on the sociocultural and economic system of the rural neighborhood: the relevance of a new practice in achieving basic goals in a more efficient way; the values and norms regarding change, the margin of loss which he can sustain from experimentation; the resources (financial, time, health, etc.) which he has at hand; the pattern of activities which have "always worked" for the campesino; the demands of significant social groups such as the family and networks of loyal friends; and the interests of the powerful within the community.

The logical starting point for analysing the factors of stability and change within the sociocultural system of the campesino community is the group of focal concerns or basic problems he feels he must solve. These focal concerns are those activities which occupy the center of attention in life and are priorities in the allocation of time and energy. Our studies of campesino activities in Honduras reveal three basic focal concerns: subsistence agriculture or "getting a year's food supply"; health; and personal identity and sense of personal worth.[1]

Subsistence Agriculture: Getting a Year's Food Supply

By far the most engrossing focal concern is insuring that the family has at least the minimum food supply through subsistence agriculture. To maintain an average rural family (parents and six to eight children) approximately 4,000 to 4,500 pounds of maize or its milo substitute are needed for one year.[2] With fairly average soils typical of the mountain sides

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1. Luz Marina Barrios, in her study of religious institutions in southern Honduras, found that the principle petitions carried to the saints are, first, concerns over health problems (74.4 per cent said they pray principally for health) and secondly, concerns over crops and other problems in agriculture. Most of the promises made to saints have to do with health and agriculture. (Barrios, Religiosidad Popular En El Sur de Honduras, 1972, pp. 16 and 35.)

2. Taken from the report of Rodney Stares, on the study of family budgets in southern Honduras and from personal correspondence with Mr. Stares.

of most of Honduras, the first planting of corn should produce 1,000 pounds of maize per manzana. The second harvest (planted in a different area) maturing at the end of the growing season provides another 1,000 and 1,500 pounds of milo. Thus one must have planted approximately three manzanas of average soils to produce minimum maize needs. But since according to current slash and burn techniques one must let land life fallow one year for each year of cultivation, this doubles the minimum land requirement for a family to approximately six manzanas.

It is estimated that one man can cultivate alone throughout the yearly cycle approximately two manzanas. If there are not older male children to provide unpaid labor, then it is estimated that hired labor at $.50 per day will require an additional one-half to one manzana of minimum cultivated area for a single family.

To provide foodstuffs beyond the minimum maize requirements--beans, milk products, some fruits, etc.--will require better land, better management of existing land resources, or more land beyond the minimum six to seven manzanas.

Currently, approximately 50 per cent of the rural lower-status population do not own land of their own and so must scramble to rent one to three manzanas, supplementing this with what work they can find with other small and mediano farmers of the neighborhood or following the cotton and cane harvests on the large commercial haciendas. In obtaining the minimum subsistence food requirements the small cultivator faces a series of restraints which limit the alternatives open to him and reduce the narrow margin of surplus. His basic experience of agriculture is not one of creativity and fulfillment, but of constant struggle and insecurity.

The first of the restraints is the limited range of crops--corn, milo, beans, rice, yucca, and a few fruits--which are known to be successful in the area and which satisfy traditional tastes.

Another major restraint is the quality and quantity of land available. The campesino is left with the steep mountain slopes to cultivate with soils that are thin and rapidly deteriorating. At present 67 per cent of the farmers are cultivating less than ten manzanas (ten to twenty manzanas is considered an essential minimum for a single family) and only 5.8 per cent are units larger than fifty manzanas (a good base for a dynamic agriculture with present methods).[3] In the more densely populated southern and western areas of Honduras fully

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3. Censo Nacional Agropecuario, Dirección General de Censo y Estadística. Teyucigalpa, Honduras, 1965.

50 per cent of the units of cultivation are less than five manzanas. And with a rapidly increasing rural population (double since 1950), coupled with relatively low out-migration, this man-land ratio is continually increasing. The climate, with a long dry season and periodic drouths (every three to five years), is not entirely favorable either.

Although there is doubt that even with greatly improved yield-increasing technology the deteriorating soils of the highland areas could be made notably more productive with intensive methods, geographers have noted that the Honduran small cultivator greatly underutilizes his resources. Yet, as we mentioned above, the agencies of technical assistance are not providing services to the campesino, and much of what they could provide would not be geared to the campesino conditions of farming. In general, the rural lower-status population does not expect equal service from government agencies.

In addition to the increasing insecurity flowing from a growing population and a deteriorating land base as well as the lack of technical assistance in resolving these problems, the entrance of a rationalized, capitalistic, market-oriented economy is having an adverse effect for the small farmer. New conditions of credit, marketing processes and technical assistance are so oriented to the larger farmer that they are virtually closed off to the smaller farmer, who is left with a more traditional, subsistence economy guided by a more primitive, redistributive ethic. The result is a trend in which the smaller farmer, if he is not actually incorporated or evicted by the larger farmer, becomes increasingly more dependent on the larger farmer for land rental and labor. And this land and labor is, under present conditions, far more profitable for the larger farmer with his connections with foreign and domestic markets than it is if the small farmer could dispose of it for his own benefit.

As one examines the pattern of agricultural institutions of thirty to forty years ago in the south of Honduras one sees clearly an almost self-subsistent economy. Land was more plentiful, and there was not the pressure to transform the surplus into permanent capital. The land and the surplus were readily redistributed among the needy, and this redistributive ethic (an ethic of generosity) dominated economic values of the people.

But beginning in approximately 1950 the banking and monetary system of Honduras was reorganized, and new highways and growing Central American urban centers opened up new national and regional markets. The expansion of world markets in the post-war period made the production of cotton, cattle and coffee increasingly profitable, and land used extensively or left to the use of small subsistence farmers was pulled into production by larger commercial farmers. The former

paternalistic landowners, once guided by a more benign redistributive ethic, began to be calculating patrons maintaining a strict economic relationship to their workers and others in the community. In the face of this incipient capitalism, the small farmer, often still guided by the redistributive ethic of his extended family, his technology still semisubsistence, without adequate credit and technical assistance facilities, selling his little surpluses through intermediaries (the larger farmers or traveling merchants), found himself at an increasing disadvantage. Often in a moment of family crisis they had to sell land, and they could not provide for their sons. The tendency toward larger land concentrations in the hands of a few with the smaller farmer subdividing and selling his land began to be established.

It is estimated from family budget studies done in this research that at least 50 per cent of the campesino families are eating a minimum diet of tortillas, salt and coffee with beans only 25 to 30 per cent of the time. Given the increasing population, decreasing land fertility, worsening economic conditions, and the increase of plant diseases brought in by the commercial cotton and cattle production, there is evidence that this diet is becoming worse, and there is increasing uncertainty and insecurity in providing the minimum needs. Maize supplies are running out sooner before the next harvest, increasing dependency on the extended family. The distribution of U.S. surplus foodstuffs has been an important factor in staving off famine conditions in some recent bad crop years.

In this context the agricultural experience of approximately 75 to 80 per cent of the campesinos of Honduras is a defensive strategy of mere survival, not a means of building a small capital base, much less the experience of success, personal fulfillment, and creativity as a result of one's efforts.

Maintaining the Health of the Family

A second focal concern is the maintenance of the health of the family. The rural lower-status population--especially the children-- is vulnerable to disease because of the poor diet and consequent malnutrition, the sapping of strength by intestinal parasites, and recurring attacks of malaria. Seemingly as one visits rural communities, someone in the family is <u>always</u> sick.

Disease is mysterious and perplexing to the campesino and fills him with concern because he feels so helpless in the face of it. Most do not have the resources to use modern medicine and often do not trust the public medical services because of the callous attitude of public health personnel.

Sickness is feared especially because the often futile expenditures in medicines, doctors and transport can completely destroy the small land or capital base families have built up. For those without land or other reserves, sickness is something to be accepted fatalistically.

Personal Identity and Sense of Self Worth

As one observes the patterns of activities and the social institutions of the campesino community, another concern appears to have a quite high priority, the defense of personal identity and self worth. In popular terminology it might be described as a concern for one's honor and a sense of pride. This concern is greatly influenced by the values which define the "good person" and the system of prestige ranking of the rural community. The machismo complex with its emphasis on physical prowess and sexual exploits is part of this concern for personal identity. But probably more important is the desire to be known as generous, ready to dispose of one's financial resources, time, and energy to every caller. Also, to be known as formal or responsible to one's family, friends and community is important. All of these characteristics--to be macho, generoso, and formal--require a more secure material base, and the economically depressing situation of the campesino is also a threat to his (and to her) sense of personal identity and sense of self worth.

The Campesino Culture: Strategies for Maintaining a Minimum of Security

The rural, lower-status individual in trying to solve the fundamental problems or focal concerns of the year's supply of food, maintaining health, and personal identity and self worth tends to take a defensive, minimum-risk position because of the overwhelming factors of insecurity that he faces. The campesino finds that every time he risks an investment of personal energy or resources to improve his situation he always comes out of the venture losing. The "terms of trade" are so disadvantageous in everything he attempts to do that he is better off not attempting the venture in the first place. He gradually learns that the cards are so stacked against him that whatever he tries he will most probably fail.

In the face of this continual defeat he must adopt a series of strategies to maintain a certain psychological and physical well being:

1. Learn to lower aspirations to fit the actual realities of life;

2. Develop a fatalistic vision of the world in which it is impossible to change the order of events affecting one, and it is a positive virtue to accept with resignation whatever suffering and adversity may come to one.

3. Develop strategies of minimum risk;

4. Establish alliances of interdependence in which available resources are pooled and the surpluses of one who is periodically more fortunate are distributed to the less fortunate;

5. Establish alliances of dependency in which there is an implicit interchange of compliance--the only thing the powerless have to offer--for support and protection, especially in moments of crisis.

These strategies for resolving the problems which the focal concerns present in a context of increasing insecurity provide the basic structure of the campesino culture and the social institutions. The fundamental conservativeness in cultural norms, the low aspirations and low risk, are explained and justified by an overarching value premise of fatalism. Social relationships are defined in terms of the horizontal alliances of interdependence and the vertical alliances of dependency. What is important to note in this analysis is the logicalness of the campesino's basic conservatism. He really has few alternatives given the total dichotomous, hierarchical structure of the society in which he lives, and the increasing insecurity of his situation.

1. Lowering Aspirations to Fit the Realities of Life

Lowering aspirations to fit the realities is a norm which derives from the view of the world in which it is useless to aspire, plan and work because the world does not respond, or acts so capriciously that an investment of effort is generally a waste of time. In an anthropological study of the family, which was part of the research associated with this study, it was observed that children are indulged up to the age of three, and then they are systematically taught to conform to the poverty that will be their lot in life and not to aspire to more.[4]

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4. Sonia Lopez, La Familia Campesina en el Sur de Honduras (Choluteca, Honduras: El Obispado, 1971), pp. 52-53.

2. A Fatalistic View of the World

Given a life situation in which there are continual defeats and events around one are overpowering, there is a tendency to develop a vision of the world--a set of values, if you will--which explains, justifies, and even ennobles these norms of low aspiration and continual renunciation. This fatalistic justification of passivity and low aspiration says that man cannot change the events around him and cannot construct his own world. Man is not responsible for making his own world and ordering events. God arranges all for man, but for one's own good; therefore it is for man to accept this destiny and the suffering it may involve.

3. Strategies of Minimum Risk

Because of his increasing insecurity and poor bargaining position, the campesino has very little "comfortable margin" in anything he attempts. In the long run he tends to come out of every venture losing. Consequently he must devise minimum risk strategies in which he will not get hopelessly tangled in debts and lose everything he has. He never improves his situation, and there is little innovation in his life, but at least he does not immediately lose everything he has. In the long run his situation may be getting progressively worse, but for the moment he is safe.

Economist Rodney Stares, associated with this research, suggests that responses to agricultural insecurity are MINIMAX agricultural practices. That is, one tries to minimize maximum losses at the cost of minimizing the maximum gains. Given the smallness of his reserves, the severity of a negative result, and the high risk attached to a positive result, the agriculturist is quite rational in not playing a different strategy. Hence, although the situation is very limited, one could assume that if real opportunities were offered and the odds in a risk situation were better, the campesino would adopt a different strategy and very possibly a different philosophy.

4. Alliances of Interdependence: The Extended Family

In rural communities the successive generations of a single family tend to be clustered together on the original plot of land claimed by the "family founder." In a society in which there is almost no system of social security for sickness, economic crisis or family tragedies, the extended family serves as security and protection for the individual and the nuclear family. When grain runs out, when there is

sickness, when unwed mothers need support, when a member of the family is physically threatened the whole extended family comes to the aid of the afflicted individual. The whole extended family tends to work as an economic unit, also. It is often a power structure dominated by a family patriarch or family head and functions as an internal system of communication and trust. When one wants to get help or advice, one goes first to a brother or relative because they can be trusted.

The extended family can be a factor of change and innovation if key members are innovative, but in general it tends to be a conservative factor with regard to the individual members. The individual, for example, hesitates to migrate to new opportunities because he is unsure how he will fare in a strange environment without family support. He is also hesitant to challenge accepted family norms lest he be excluded from the family.

Alliances of Interdependence: A Network of Loyal Friends

In the small, personalistic world of the rural neighborhood, there has not developed the network of relationship on an instrumental, universalistic basis. One has to have confidence in relationships with another person because one has known him for some time and watched the way he acts. The network of loyal friends is gradually built up by demonstrating one's loyalty through generosity, affability and being at the disposal of the other so that slowly a sense of trust and indebtedness is created. This personalistic relationship is often formalized in the compadre or comadre relationship. Once established the link between loyal friends is unconditional (a fictive kinship relation), and is a strong security system since one can call upon a compadre and know that he must respond.

Building up such a network of alliances of loyal friends is extremely important, given the threatening and insecure world of the lower-status, rural population. In times of crisis their friends will stave off disaster. More important, for real effectiveness in any kind of interdependence it is necessary to work through loyal friendships. For example, one hires laborers for farm work that one knows will work for you not just for the economic benefits they will receive but because they like you.

But this relationship is not as automatic as kinship relations described above. It is basically an exchange relation. It is a symmetrical relationship because it is between individuals of roughly equal resources (economic, social status, etc.). One has to create the loyalty by generosity, affability,

demonstrations of one's own loyalty, being at the disposition of others--in general, creating a sense of indebtedness. The help that I may give will some day be paid back by help of roughly equal value. It is more likely to have an understood limit to it than a kinship relation. There are limits to what one owes to a friend. "These alliances remain loosely structured to exempt the participants in a severe trial."[5]

5. Dependency Alliances

Although the extended family and the network of loyal friends provides security through the pooling of resources, these resources of others equally as poor are often limited, and there are special crises which can be solved only by having recourse to those who control special resources or access to special resources: the powerful. The assistance of the poor man by the paternalistic wealthy or powerful person may appear to be a pure benefaction, but it is in reality an exchange: the party without resources offering compliance in exchange for a strategic resource controlled by the powerful. These exchanges of compliance establish a series of dependency relationships which constitute the social power structure of the rural community.[6]

The basis of this power structure is the control of the strategic resources in the community which the potential clients cannot get along without and cannot bargain for because there are not satisfactory alternate resources. Usually the fundamental resource is economic--in this case, land--and from this other strategic resources can be controlled. In nearly every rural community one finds one or several "riquitos" (the rich ones) or leading families who dominate the neighborhood in a paternalistic or not so paternalistic manner.

The Sources of Power in the Rural Community: The Rise of the Leading Family

In the analyses of social structure of the rural communities, principally in southern Honduras, the pattern of a typical power structure emerged. In nearly every community one finds one or several "leading families" which, because of

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5. Wolf, op. cit., p. 80.

6. Peter M. Blau, Power and Exchange (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1964), p. 117.

the strategic resources they control, are the object of dependency relationships on the part of many other resourceless families.

To establish power in any one of the four systems a family has to gain a certain initial advantage in strategic resources, especially land. The process of building a system of influence within a neighborhood we may refer to as "the rise of the leading family." Rarely has a family sought to establish power over its neighbors in a calculating manner. A family is enterprising in gaining a resource base; later families of less resources seek them out in moments of crisis, and "common decency" requires that the families with the control of strategic resources help them. Very often a leading family does not choose to use all of the power it really has, but it always has the option to call in its "debts" when it needs support.

Fifty to seventy-five years ago many areas in Honduras were still open to settlement and an enterprising young man might easily go over the mountain to another valley to find unclaimed fifty to one hundred manzanas of land. There, several generations of his family now live, perhaps dominated by the main descendant of the stem family. As other families have arrived, they find the best land taken and must settle for a subordinate position.

Another model of the rise of the leading family is the young man who rejects the redistributive ethic and adopts the strict capitalistic values of hard work, saving, and exchange dominated by competitive economic advantage in all dealings with neighbors. Thus he continually finishes each year with a greater margin than his neighbors and, in the moment of their crisis, buys their land.

In a subsistence farming economy the greater land base automatically gives the leading family a control over various economic resources: employment (advantageous to the larger farmer with links to commercial markets); land rental; buying grain ahead of the harvest, usually with a large margin of profit for the buyer; buying small quantities of livestock and grain cheaply from small farmers and shipping with his own larger quantities to regional markets; loaning money; running a small store with his capital reserves; and other economic ventures.

The head of the leading family quickly develops a position as <u>patron</u> in the community: the preferred <u>compadre</u>

in Baptisms, helping the poor relative or friend, bailing someone out of jail or giving witness in court cases, and helping in a multitude of other crises. These apparent benefactions provide a basis of social power in the community.

His larger house makes his home a center for gatherings formal and informal, especially for religious velorios (literally wakes or evening prayer meetings). With greater resources he can provide much better fiestas, and this makes them likely candidates for being the patrons of saints and the builders of the local churches. They are more likely to have contact with the priest and be the local patron of religion and morals in the community.

The better economic position of the leading family enabled them (before rural schools were common) to put their children in schools in nearby towns or to hire someone to teach their children and thus make them literate. Since there were few in the community who were literate, this made the members of this family the logical choice for positions of leadership, politically and religiously. It also made it possible for them to hold municipal offices.

Because the head of the leading family had economic control over so many of the people of the community and was the center of communications, he was sought out to be the local political party representative. He also became the central promoter of "community projects" since a school or a road was most in his interest and decision making in the community depended largely on him.

The description of the rise of the leading family is a stylized model, and almost always the power base of the important family or families is economic, but often a family specializes in a community activity and tends to develop a specialized influence system. Four types of influence or dependency system have been commonly observed in campesino communities: the personalization of social power or a social welfare system, economic dependency, political dependency, and the religious influence system.

Types of Influence and Dependency Systems

1. The Personalization of Social Power

The personalization of social power is a dependency system based on a situation of largely subsistence, non-market oriented economy in which surpluses are distributed among the needy of the neighborhood, and generosity is looked upon as a fundamental norm. The better-off individuals are expected to

help in giving what they can, but this is an implicit exchange in which the receiver is indebted to the patron. This is again the network of loyal friends, but it is an asymmetrical power relationship. The exchange involved here is the prestige and status attributed to the benefactor as the good and generous patron. Also involved is the debt of compliance which the generous patron can call in when he wishes.

2. The Economic Dependency System

The basis of the economic dependency system is control of the major strategic resources in the community, the land. Rarely, in the typical highland neighborhoods, is there a large absentee landowner (over three hundred manzanas). The land tenure structure more likely is dominated by a series of four or five small medianos (twenty to fifty manzanas) and one or two large medianos (fifty to three hundred manzanas). These individuals have a secure enough land base and a sufficient annual margin that they can with good management begin some capital accumulation and serve as a source of capital transactions with the smaller farmers of the neighborhood: renting land, providing small loans (often paid back in grain, livestock, or labor), buying the surpluses of the smaller farmer, or providing a source of employment for the landless campesino who must supplement his own cultivation with wage work. These capital transactions are not without their risks. For example, if the larger farmer advances cash to the small cultivator on the condition that the harvests be handed over to him, the harvest may or may not come through. Because of the risk and because the small cultivator is in a position of "asking for a favor to tide him over," whether land rental, employment, or in purchases of crops in the field is involved, he is in a poor bargaining position (there are always more asking for rental or employment than there is land or employment available). The terms of trade are inevitably disadvantageous to the small farmer. If the patron is a good manager and provides his "favors" on a strict economic basis, these transactions can be very profitable. The farmer who has this land base of at least twenty manzanas is in a position to build up capital, whereas the position of the renter, laborer and small farmer marketing his small surpluses through the larger farmer is a continually deteriorating position.

One of the major theses of these first two chapters on factors of stability and change in Honduras, and the rural community in particular, is that economic dependency is growing in the rural lower-status population and possibly with it a greater dependence on personal benefactions, political influence and even greater fatalism, lower aspirations, and less willingness to risk. Honduras has been described as a nation of small farmers and in comparison with some Latin American

countries, it still is. But there seems to be a steady growth of minifundismo, that is, a continual division and subdivision of small plots of land with the increase of population; and at the same time there is a growing latifundismo, the concentration of holdings into units continuously expanding. The result is a pattern of diminishing number of family-sized units, in the terminology of the Interamerican Committee for Agricultural Development, and a growing number of sub-family and large multi-family units.[7]

Since the sub-family units cannot support a single family, additional income must be sought by renting land from the multi-family units or working for them as day laborers. Since the tiny surpluses of the family and sub-family units which are sold mainly to get cash for items not produced on the farm plot do not warrant a trip into the regional market center, these are often sold in one form or another to the multi-family units which market the grain or other products along with its own. Thus, the present marketing system is a major factor in the increasing economic dependency.

The figures of the most recent agricultural census (1965-66) are indicative of the fact that Honduras is not necessarily a nation of family unit farms: approximately 66 per cent are sub-family units (less than 10 manzanas); 28 per cent are family or small multi-family units (10 to 50 manzanas); and 6 per cent are large multi-family units. However, the 66 per cent of sub-family units occupy only 14 per cent of the land area; the 28 per cent of the family and small multi-family units, 30 per cent of the area; and the 6 per cent of the large multi-family units 56 per cent of the area. These figures, however, are not comparative to indicate a trend; the presently planned agricultural census should indicate whether there is a significant trend as we have suggested.

3. The Political Dependency System

Although theoretically the political party is an instrument for the articulation of interests of the constituency before the national decision-making process, in Honduras it is largely the avenue to privileged access to the use of services which the government controls. The political party is represented at the local level by a neighborhood committee, but effectively by a local político (politician) who is the permanent, unofficial representative of the party and the means of access of individual campesinos to the favors the party provides through the government.

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7. Barraclough and Domike, op. cit., p. 48.

The local community politician is usually an individual who has been able to build a fairly large personal following because he is a generous patron, is more likely to be of the leading family, and to have developed an economic power base. He begins as a generous patron who is representing the people of the neighborhood trying to get favors from the municipal or regional politician. In doing this he frequently makes friends and alliances with the municipal or regional politicians in which he promises the support of his people for a continued access to the favors of the politicians. He gradually becomes recognized as the representative of the party in the neighborhood both by the people of the neighborhood and by the higher ranking politicians.

The services which the local politician can offer through his access to regional political bosses can be of great importance in crises. Among the most frequent favors which the local politician or the municipal boss is called upon to obtain is to intervene in court cases or in other transgressions of the law in order to have the sentence reduced, have the case dropped, or to get someone out of jail. But he is also the means of gaining access to hospitals and health centers; getting government jobs or, in general, recommending for jobs; obtaining exemption from taxes; getting funds for neighborhood projects such as schools and roads from government sources.

For these favors the regional bosses demand "disciplina" from the local municipal and neighborhood politicians, and these latter in turn demand the loyalty of the people demonstrated in voting for the party. Thus, the resourceless have entered into an asymmetrical exchange relationship in which they surrender their political independence (at least the right to freely represent their real interests) for security in moments of special crises.

The political dependency system develops out of the powerlessness of the rural, lower-status population and the growing insecurity of their life. To insure a refuge in moments of crisis and to defend themselves within the existing personalistic style of government they establish an alliance with a local politician in which the vote is exchanged for favors given. But the local politician is only the intermediary who himself is dependent on higher political chieftains. In all cases the higher political chief deals with the lower in terms of paternalistic friendship.

The local patronage politician is, in a sense, valuable to the people of the local community. He does provide certain services. But it is a type of political activity which is a response to the life of the rural lower-status population, barely surviving from crisis to crisis. It also feeds on their ignorance. In the attitude survey, 70 per cent could

not name one deputy from their department, 72 per cent did not know the name of the department governor; 74 per cent did not know the name of a single national government ministry; and more people know where Washington is (41 per cent) than know who the director of the National Agrarian Institute is (27 per cent). Most are illiterate and convinced of their own powerlessness: "We don't know how to talk," "We are not intelligent enough to know what to do," "We don't know the right people." The political intermediaries serve as the links between the marginal peasant population and the rulers in the urban, technical sector.

The lower-status rural population ordinarily does not (or at least traditionally has not) had the decision-making capacity to reflect on their own problems, define the problem, and mobilize to find their own solution. They present complaints to the intermediaries who solve the immediate crisis or transmit the problem up the hierarchy to the key decision makers. This system of decision making is very conservative of the existing structure for several reasons.

The patronage politician tends to defend the status quo at the local municipal and community level because he tends to be of a higher socioeconomic status relative to the rest of the rural community and because he becomes tied in with the clique of local municipal politicians who generally represent the rural elites of the area. It is not entirely just to say that all patronage politicians are only looking to their own personal power and that of their friends since they do provide certain services for the powerless poor. Not a few have personally profited by their position because they or members of their family have been first in line for the favors afforded by the party control of government. But their position is created by the insecurity and the ignorance of the lower-status people of their community. In spite of constant complaints about the corruption of the political system, in the emotional stress of crisis the politician is sought out. Were these problems radically solved, helping the poor to discover the means of meeting their own crisis, the need for the patronage politician would disappear. But when it comes to a decision--for example, at election times--whether to buck the system or to guarantee one's own individual security, the latter alternative wins out. The campesino lives too close to the margin of existence to risk losing an immediate good for the possibility of obtaining a long-range radical solution.

Very few patronage politicians have been sympathetic to cooperatives, community development, and especially to campesino pressure group organizations in the areas where this research was carried out. Local politicians, because their goal is maintaining party control from the top down, have little interest in the development of decision-making capacity in the people. Because the system survives only by complete

control, there is suspicion of other movements and organizations which begin within the community or region. As we have noted, decision-making movements tend to rise spontaneously out of the structural strains of the social system, but these are stopped by subtle ridicule and other more forceful means.

4. The Religious Leadership and Influence System

The religious leadership of the rural neighborhood is not a dependency system so much as an influence system since none of the local "owners of saints," prayer leaders (rezadores or much more frequently, rezadoras), or mayordomos (caretakers) of the chapels control the access to religious favors. Everyone can have his own household saints or may pray directly to the divinity. But in neighborhoods where the religious institutions are of importance for the people, the religious leaders do exert considerable influence.

The major religious leadership roles are held by those who are the patrons of the "saints" of the neighborhood or have "personal saints" that are followed by the people. The rezadora who leads the prayers at the fairly frequent novenas of the saints or the novenas that are required at a death, the ensenadora who teaches catechism, and the mayordomos of the neighborhood ermita or chapel, are the principal leaders. Usually they are located within the leading family since their roles demand literate skills, and traditionally the mediano families of more secure economic background have been literate.

Conclusions: Factors of Stability and Change in a Campesino Community

The overall conclusion must be that the campesino social system is remarkably change-resistant both to external and to internal sources of change. However, to put in proper perspective the evidence presented in this chapter we will analyse it in terms of the general model of social change which was proposed in the Introduction

1. Factors of Conduciveness and Structural Strain

There is little doubt that there are factors of conduciveness to structural strain which are demanding new institutional organization within the campesino community. There is the rapidly increasing population concentrated in areas of very poor and deteriorating resource base; the frustration of the demonstration effect coming from the mass communication media, the

experience of the urban, technical sector even from afar, the pressuring of agencies of modernization working in rural areas to adopt life styles typical of the urban, technical sector--all this without providing the resources or the means of obtaining resources to solve problems or incorporate new life styles. The superimposition of a modernizing, capitalistic, rationalized economy upon a traditional economic base guided by the values of the redistributive ethic is tending, in some areas, to speed up the concentration of economic resources, power and prestige in the hands of the larger farmers and is increasing the disadvantageous terms of trade of the small farmer. Finally, as the isolation of the rural community breaks down and the urban, technical sector becomes more of a reference point for the campesino, there is a psychological assault on the personal identity and sense of self worth of the campesino. Instead of relating himself to the limited status system of the rural area in which he lives, he realizes that he is the lowest on everybody's system of status ranking in the country. There follows a process of identity crisis and personal and social disintegration.

One senses that these factors of conduciveness are causing a great deal of dissatisfaction. The campesino is increasingly aware that the traditional institutions are not working as well as they used to. There is, for example, a growing attitude of resentment against the local "riquitos" and a growing vague anxiety over the difficulty in finding adequate land to sow the milpa, the deterioration of the soils and the more frequent failure of crops, sickness, and personal despair. The outbreak of campesino movements occupying national and ejidal land in the South and other parts of Honduras are but the peak of the iceberg. They are an example of the right combination of factors which crystallize and mobilize the vague dissatisfactions into an organized outbreak.

This dissatisfaction is often difficult to observe because in many areas the people do not have a language--an ideology if you will--to define what the problem is, what is causing the problem, who the agents of evil are, and what the solutions might be. Tendencies to form such an ideology are muted by a counter ideology which basically defends and reinforces the present values and institutions. It tries to solve the problem by reemphasizing the traditional values of fatalism, norms of low aspirations, and the mechanisms of minimum risk taking. Given the growing insecurity of the life they lead, many of the lower-status, rural people are forced to rely ever more on the mutual security systems of the extended family and the network of loyal friends, and, in special crises, the patron-client dependency systems. The dissatisfactions and anxieties are drained off into the reassurances of personalistic relations and a sense of solidarity in misery. The reference point is a worse disaster than has actually happened ("Thank God we survived!"), not an improvement of the situation or

even maintaining previous levels. There is a sense of gratification for the ability to preserve in some way what they have.

Even if the small farmer begins to be dissatisfied with the traditional patterns he is caught in and tries to be innovative, there are so few services of credit, technical assistance, and marketing for him that these attempts lead to failure and a reinforcement of the conservativism. Much of this goes back to the lack of real linkages between the service agencies in the urban, technical sector and the campesino in the isolated rural communities. The fact that the service agencies with their present orientation and methods are geared to the rural elites sets up a process whereby the lower-status population actually becomes less innovative. The present policies of rural development are tending to make the campesino more dependent and less willing to change the institutions which are obstacles for him.

2. Ideology

When one speaks with campesinos, including campesino leaders, there are frequent references to how much better things were in the past. Many are uncertain as to whether modernization is beneficial or a threat. With the changes that are taking place they see their children going off to urban slums and often they see their children disintegrating personally and socially as a result. The changes are making the rich of their neighborhoods richer and have precious little to offer them. They are far from the urban, technical world and really do not understand how the solutions this sector is offering fit together; it is difficult to conceive of the solutions to their problems in those terms. A purely indigenous, peasant solution is a return to a previous state perceived as a kind of golden age when there were not all those problems. Thus, peasant ideologies are likely to be traditionalistic.[8]

But such traditionalistic solutions are not likely to be enduring or complete solutions because the penetration of the urban, technical life style, a rationalized economy, and a market-oriented, technological agriculture into the rural areas is likely to be irreversible. It is their participation in the adaptation of this trend to the campesino level and the control of it for their own benefit which is likely to be a solution. Our research suggests that the campesino is creative in working out solutions to his problems when he is given resources and some technical assistance, but given the close integration of the rural sector with the urban technical sector

8. Wolf, op. cit., pp. 106-107.

which this modernization presupposes, the urban, technical sector has to be a partner (a sympathetic partner) in the campesino's attempts to develop creative solutions.

But as we have noted, there are barriers of communication between the urban, technical sector and the campesino sector and difficulties in the representatives of the urban, technical sector really identifying with and submitting to the goals of campesino leaders. There has to be a coalition of elements of the urban, technical sector with campesino leaders for the elaboration of a development ideology for the campesino sector. It must be an ideology which coincides with the aspirations of the campesino and captures the symbiosis of the campesino with his own environment and the limitations he faces. But these aspirations and the creative adaptations of the campesino also have to be translated into an overall program which is technically sound and relates to the legal and economic system of the country. This latter operation requires the sympathetic collaboration of representatives of the urban, technical sector. It may also require the practical education of the campesino leaders in the essential directions and requirements of a modernizing agriculture.

3. The Precipitating Factor

Usually the smoldering dissatisfactions erupt into a real movement to change social institutions only when there is a precipitating event which dramatizes the problem and demonstrates that the situation is no longer tolerable. But this has not happened in the typical highland campesino communities. Population growth and the division of land is a slow, gradual process which has few dramatic crises. In Honduras the fact that surplus food is distributed by various agencies in times of real shortages serves to blunt the awareness of the underlying problem. Moreover, the division of land among the members of a family is not defined as an outside threat (as is the eviction of campesinos from their land by a large landowner), but as an opportunity to show one's familial obligation. The deterioration of land and the intensification of the dependence on mutual assistance and patron networks are gradual and do not elicit a sudden, aroused reaction. Consequently, there seems to be little likelihood of a sudden outburst of concerted action to institute a new order.

4. Mobilization

Traditionally the campesino has depended upon the local *patrón*, especially the *mediano* level farmer, to organize what was to be one in the community. But the economically and

politically powerful within the community have subtly tended to discourage organization of campesinos unless it is controlled by them, and if the organization is a direct threat to their interests, they have the power to discourage participation. There is seldom a reaction against community improvements such as schools and roads since these are usually to their interest and advantage (they use them more than the lower-status population). The reaction comes when there is a reorganization of the distribution of economic factors and a significant challenge to their power.

Organization of campesinos at the community level is much easier than at the supra-community level, because the former type builds on the natural bonds of kinship, friendship, and leadership within the community. As we have noted, campesino leaders tend to be loyal primarily to their own communities, and it is difficult for them to maintain interest in an organization once they see that the problem in their own community has been solved. Thus, when there are very fundamental problems that require the mobilization of large numbers at the municipal or regional level, it is difficult to get campesinos to decide on a single, specific plan of action, group together large numbers of participants, and maintain that organization efficiently for a period of time until the goals are attained. Within the community they are used to the paternalistic, informal leadership of a local caudillo, not the requirements of formal organization necessary to keep a more complex campesino association moving. Historically, campesino movements have had long term success only when there was a very strong, charismatic leadership which maintained loyalty and educated campesinos to their real goals. The case of Emiliano Zapata in Mexico would be a classical example.[9]

In order to mobilize a long-range drive for a series of goals, a somewhat more abstract ideology is necessary. The campesino leaders have to see that the immediate goals of their communities are best solved only through radical, long-term social changes. Again this often depends on the involvement, at least at higher levels of organization, of elements of the urban, technical sector who are likely to have a more abstract and complete concept of the national development.

5. Social Controls

One of the major conservative factors is the defense of the status quo by the rural elites who fear that reforms will bring the enforcement of the agrarian reform laws with respect to holdings of national and ejidal land and limitations on the size of holdings. They also fear that their positions as intermediaries in marketing and in credit as well as their control over local and regional government will be threatened.

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9. Wolf, op. cit., pp. 91-95; and White, op. cit., pp. 138-142.

Attempts to radically and effectively alter the existing influence systems in the rural neighborhoods soon encounter opposition. This opposition comes not so much from the smaller medianos, who, as we have seen, are often paternalistically benevolent in their dealings with the small landholders and the landless, but from the large medianos and the large landholders. It is the latter who are really profiting by the existing institutional order and fear any large scale mobilization and basic redistribution of economic factors.

It is these rural elites who are tied into the regional and national power structure, the economically and politically powerful, who tend to be more conservative because of the established interests that they represent. The local politicians are controlled by the regional bosses who are strongly influenced by very large landholders. The municipal level committees are influenced also by both regional and national political bosses. Because of this vertical interlocking, any change of power structure is looked upon as a threat to the privileged position of the whole hierarchy of politicians. The economically powerful at the local level are benefiting by the present system, but even if they did want to change they depend on favors from the national level, and the recriminations for not following the "party line" is a constant threat. It is for this reason, as we shall see, that both the local larger farmers and the local political bosses have opposed the cooperatives, the radio school movement, and other campesino organizations.

However, the power structure at the local community level and even at the municipal level is differentiated both vertically and horizontally. Vertically, we have noted that although the larger medianos tend to fear the mobilization of the campesinos, the smaller medianos, who have leadership capacities, are more inclined to join the campesinos (that is, the small farmer group). The influence systems also tend to be horizontally differentiated into personal, political, religious and economic interests.

In themselves the dependency and influence systems are neutral and very much depend on how one approaches the dependency and influence systems. They can be a factor of either stability or change. If the influential can be won over to the change of institutions, then the process is insured success. One of the major factors for the success of the radio school movement in the highland communities was: 1) the importance of the religious institutions in the much more stable and traditional culture there than in the newly settled coastal communities where family ties had been left behind; 2) the strength of the religious influence systems within the community; 3) the tradition of community-oriented religious activities as a basis for more development-oriented activities such as building schools; and 4) especially the winning over of the leaders in

the religious influence systems (and other influence systems) first to the new religious organizations, then to the radio schools, and then to a variety of development organizations and activities.

The differentiation between the types of influence systems is shown by the growing conflict between the leaders of the political influence systems at the neighborhood and municipal level and the leaders in the campesino organizations, the radio school movement, and other development oriented groups. In the case of the radio school movement the basis of the differentiation was the difference between the religious and political influence systems.

The sociocultural system of the campesino community in Honduras is quite change resistant. But the overall power structure is much more flexible than in many parts of Latin America, and it is possible for change agents to enter and work quite freely in rural organizations even when these tend to mobilize the campesinos. The population of the highland areas is made up largely of small landholders (although this is decreasing), and the large landholders do not yet have their grip firmly on every activity of the country. This freedom of activity has been much more noticeable since 1968 when the government backed a far more liberal policy of land reform giving free rein to the organization of federations of campesino pressure group organizations. Honduras has, also, a vague nonideological tradition of populism. Even the virtual dictator, Carias, used to receive sandaled campesinos in his office in Tegucigalpa.

There is also a tradition of local community organization and decision making. This slowly developing institution of "local government" needed only some outside resources to gain real strength in the decade of the 1960's.

The possibility of change in the campesino community depends to a great extent on the right kind of coalitions between the urban, technical sector and the campesino sector in order to provide a more technologically oriented ideology, organizational capacity, and resources. The alliances may also be very important to neutralize the higher reaches of the power structure in the urban, technical sector (or even win them over) since they usually control the local intermediaries and the distribution of resources.

CHAPTER III

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE IDEOLOGY AND GOALS OF THE RADIO SCHOOL MOVEMENT

The radio school movement in Honduras began as an organization of teachers preparing radio school classes and campesino leaders supervising the radio schools in the rural neighborhoods. But it soon developed into an agency of rural development intending to bring about fundamental value and organizational changes in the rural neighborhoods. The programs and goals of the radio school movement which have developed over the ten years were projected only in the most general fashion in 1961 when classes were first begun to be broadcast. The ideology and goals of today are the result of many different individuals and agencies crossing the path of the radio school movement and leaving a residue of influence within the movement.

In the following chapter we shall trace briefly the development of the radio school movement in Honduras, the ideological and methodological inputs over the years, and summarize the major intended goals of the movement as a basis for evaluating whether these goals have been attained. It will also serve as a basis for evaluating the significance of this kind of movement within the larger pattern of socio-economic development in Honduras.

The Origins of the Movement: the Contribution of the Catholic Church

The first steps toward establishing the radio schools in Honduras were taken by Bishop Evelio Dominguez who was impressed by the work of Radio Sutatenza in the education of the adult campesino through radio schools in Colombia. Given the high rate of illiteracy and the backwardness of the Honduran rural population it was thought that the Church could make a significant contribution at relatively low cost. Father Jose Manuel Molina Sierra was sent by the hierarchy of Honduras and the Apostolic Nuncio to Colombia to study the radio school system there. He returned in March, 1959 after several months in Colombia, Equador, and Costa Rica, and by August of the same year had begun a broadcasting station, Radio Católica. The radio schools began on a small experimental basis in the vicinity of Tegucigalpa in September of 1960. The taped classes were prepared by the mother of

Father Molina following the model of Colombia. These same tapes were used with minor changes until 1968.[1] On the basis of the success of the experiment (17 radio schools with 306 students enrolled), the radio schools were extended on a national basis.[2] Father Pablo Guillet, French-Canadian missionary priest, was made director, and under his energetic guidance there were 343 radio schools in 1962 with 7,250 students and by 1964, 754 schools with 14,624 students.

Perhaps the most significant aspect of the radio schools has been its attempt to overcome both the physical and cultural barriers between the urban, technical sector and the campesino sector. The medium was the message in the language of McLuhan. In accepting campesinos, semi-subsistence cultivators, as monitors (assistant teachers) in the communities and as supervisors of the radio schools, the radio schools, in effect, placed the actual directing of the educational process in the hands of campesino leaders. Each monitor became the center of development communication within his own community. Each community, in turn, was linked to the urban, technical sector through the coordinator who had regular contact with each community through monthly meetings of the monitors and regular visits to each community. The coordinator, usually a campesino himself who shared the campesino culture, language, and concerns, was linked vertically with the central office of the radio schools and possibly with other agencies which provided services for rural communities. But the coordinators and monitors were also linked together in a kind of fraternity, forming a horizontal communication system between rural communities and the basis for the radio school movement.

At the outset Radio Católica and the radio schools were under the direction of the Church hierarchy. However, in 1961, seeking a broader base of permanent finance and administration, the radio schools were put under a governing board of directors made up of prominent business and professional men. In doing this there was no thought of rejecting the backing of the Church, but in placing the radio schools under the legal control of Acción Cultural Popular Hondureña the radio schools began to have a much wider scope. Under the direction of the governing board of directors and in the process of presenting itself to the national congress and various companies and private individuals for funding, the radio schools gradually came to define itself as an autonomous, public service institution interested in a broad range of development problems in Honduras.

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1. Informe de la nunciatura, La Radio Católica, "La Voz de Suyapa," y Las Escuelas Radiofónicas "Suyapa". (Fundación y Desarrollo). Tegucigalpa, D. C. 25 de Abril de 1967.

2. Interview with P. Pablo Guillet, April, 1971.

The radio schools found an almost immediate success in the areas where the broadcasting station reached and very soon took on the characteristic of a movement. One of the major factors behind this was the linking of the motivation toward development and fundamental change in social structures to the religious motivation and the religious influence system in the rural neighborhoods. Thus, the force of traditional values and social control has been fused with modernizing values.

When the radio schools were established, the Church in Honduras was in the midst of a religious revitalization effort through a "Holy Mission." This mission and the renewed efforts of the clergy renewed religious motivation considerably in many areas of Honduras, and this motivation was channeled into establishing religious organizations to carry on the work of "conversion" in the neighborhoods. When the pastors were approached to promote the radio schools (Honduras adopted the Colombian system of working through the parishes), they in turn went to the religious leaders in the neighborhood organizations and presented it to them as an "apostolic activity" to combat the ignorance and backwardness of the people. Thus learning to read and write and engaging in community development was defined as a religious activity, and to become involved in the community development and other modernization activities, to become "conciente" was defined as part of the general "conversion experience." This, in part, explains the radio school movement's insistence on change of values, concientización, as the basic means of social change and the beginning of socio-economic development. It also explains the almost religious fervor and dedication to the radio school movement that one often finds in many of the leaders. What has occurred in the radio school movement in some way is the growth of a peculiarly Latin American religiously based development ethic similar to the rise of a Protestant ethic described by Weber as the basis of Western European capitalistic socioeconomic development.[3]

Also important is the fact that the Church administrative structure, from the parish level to the level of the Honduran hierarchy, made at the outset an almost unconditional commitment to the radio school work. Since the radio school activity grew into the radio school movement, this commitment implied an alliance with campesino interests which is almost unparalled in Latin America. Rarely does the whole hierarchy and, in effect, the whole Church commit itself to such an alliance. Thus, one element of the urban, technical sector became linked to the campesino sector. Due to the gradual secularization of the urban, technical sector the Church has found its greatest

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3. Weber, Max, The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism. (New York: Scribner, 1958).

support in the campesino. Given the growth of a body of modern social justice doctrine over the last half century and the increasing focus of the Church's theology (in Latin America especially) on development and radical social change, this alliance with the popular classes has found strong ideological support. Thus, Church personnel could, without further justification, dedicate large amounts of their time to social promotional work knowing that this was defined as a "religious activity." The pastors and the whole parish administrative structure became agents of rural development and social change. Many priests and other Church personnel became quite skilled in cooperatives, community development, and even in campesino organizations. And given the fact that they were based in the rural parishes, this practical expertise tended to stay in the rural areas and did not gravitate up the bureaucratic structure to the central offices in the national capital. The Church personnel, especially at the beginning, provided a "free" administrative back up to the radio school movement.

Over the years as the significance of the radio school movement and other campesino movements in Honduras has become more explicit and has stirred up strong opposition from the urban, technical elites, especially those in rural areas, the Church has tended to become more radically linked to the campesino in opposition to the oligarchical interests within the urban, technical sector.

The Radio School Movement: Its Community Development Orientation

Although the basic model of the radio schools of Honduras was the Sutatenza system of Colombia, the original directors, Father Molina and Father Guillet, decided that the Colombian system with its emphasis on the family schools had relatively little social change value. In part this was due to the influence of Ramón Banegas of DESAL in Chile who was visiting the radio schools at this time and carrying on a correspondence with Father Guillet; it was also influenced by the example of MEB in Brazil, already feeling the effects of the educational philosophy of Paulo Freire.[4] Molina and Guillet saw that the radio school classes could bring the campesino only to a minimal literacy and that a much more rounded educational process (desarrollo integral) would have to be continued through other community level organizations. In 1962 as the radio schools were launched they began to put great emphasis on the radio school monitor and his students being agents of

4. DeKadt, Emanuel. Catholic Radicals in Brazil (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970).

community development. The monitor with his students were expected to promote projects such as the building of schools and roads.[5]

In 1962 all radio school monitors received a three week course in leadership techniques, community development, cooperatives, and improved agricultural practices in the government agricultural extension center in Comayagua. These courses and the over-all emphasis of the radio school movement (as of this course one can speak of a radio school movement) had such an impact that subsequently the promotion of community projects became an activity almost as important as the literacy program in the activities of the radio school leaders. However, in the minds of the directors of the radio schools and the radio school leaders, the projects were not in themselves the only objective; rather it was to change the values of the people regarding their responsibilities in the community. The goals of the community development emphasis in the radio school movement could be summed up as follows:

1. To instill activistic attitudes, that is, the belief that the individual in the local community could resolve local problems by banding together and making use of local resources. They did not have to wait for the government or other paternalistic figures to step in and solve their problems. Rather, through local activism they could bring government resources to the local community and even force the government to take cognizance of their problems.

2. This community action was to be, above all, participatory or "democratic." That is, local leaders were not supposed to tell the people of the community what to do, but to ask them what they wanted to do. This went directly against the caudillismo tradition of the rural culture, the individual who can push through projects by his own force of personality.

3. The people of the community were to make voluntary contributions of labor, materials, and money.

4. The leaders were to avoid political entanglement and reference to political parties. The people were to rise above political sentiments and work as a community.

5. Through all of this was a general emphasis on "la union," working together in harmony.

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5. Interview with P. Pablo Guillet, April, 1971.

The Radio School Movement as a Promotional Basis for Other Agencies

The number of radio schools increased rapidly until in 1964 there were more than 750 schools with an official total of 14,624 registered students. With so many hundreds of monitors now motivated and trained in some degree in community development and easily communicated with through monthly meetings and the visits of coordinators, the radio school movement provided a promotional system that other agencies could use for their own development activities. They had only to enlist the cooperation of the directors of the radio schools and then go to the radio school coordinators and monthly meetings (the backing of local pastors was also often important!) to get contact with the local radio school monitors. The directors of the radio schools welcomed other agencies precisely because, in their plan, the input of other organizations complemented the radio schools. Thus, many other organizations have left their impact on the radio school movement over the years.

One of the first to take advantage of the radio school promotional system was the CUNA International project (through USAID in Honduras) of establishing credit union cooperatives in the rural areas for the campesinos. In 1965 the activist in the southern region, where radio schools were strongest, Antonio Casasola, approached the monitors in the monthly meetings and enlisted their collaboration in setting up cooperatives in each municipality. The monitors, in some cases, formed the cooperatives among themselves and then gradually brought in their radio school students. Most important, the cooperative ideology became an integral part of the radio school movement. Leaders in the movement have since gone on to establish consumer cooperatives and small production cooperatives.[6]

Another organization which received collaboration from the radio school movement and in turn influenced it was CORDEH, which gave leadership training courses in the municipal centers in 1964 and 1965, again, largely in southern Honduras. These courses emphasized the social philosophy of the Catholic Church: the basic rights of man, the problem of wages and the minimum just salary, concepts of private property and the social nature of property. Democracy was proposed as the ideal form of government and Communism was condemned indirectly through a critical analysis of Marx and Engels. A great deal of stress was placed on the concept of the "common good" and the just distribution of property. Finally, they proposed the necessity of creating campesino pressure groups in order to attain the just distribution of the land, credit, and centers for dispensing adequate technical

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6. Interview with Antonio Casasola, March, 1971.

assistance.[7] (CORDEH was at this time closely linked with the recently established Ligas Campesinas which also drew on radio school movement leadership.) There was also emphasis on the formation of community development councils and CORDEH itself gave out small grants for community projects.

There is evidence that the content of these courses was far too philosophical for the campesino participants and that many of the fine points were lost. But the activities of CORDEH with the radio school movement were of importance because it established a link between the Christian social movement, which was behind CORDEH, and the radio school movement. This brought another element of the middle class, urban, technical sector into alliance with the interests of the campesino.

The radio school movement also provided a promotional basis for government and international community assistance programs such as CARE, USAID's special projects program, the Peace Corps, and CARITAS. These organizations provided funds for small community projects, mainly rural schools, roads, and small community water systems. These organizations found the radio school monitors and coordinators veritable field agents in promoting and supervising the good use of the funds available. But these funds were also of great importance in the development of the radio school movement since without resources of money and materials community development activities would have been impossible. These agencies were also important in developing community decision-making institutions because of the usual conditions that they placed for receiving the funds: that the project be the result of community-wide discussion and initiative, that it be directed by an elected board of officers, that minutes and records be kept, that reports be made to the agencies, and so forth. The radio school movement, because of its apolitical nature, was not willing to make the commitments to the political system which were a condition--usually--for receiving government funds. The government personalistic, political conditions had the effect, in general, of discouraging local community efforts while the universalistic policies ("if you fulfill the conditions of local participation and decision making, the funds are available") demanded by the international agencies were very important in developing community decision-making institutions. In contrast, the irrational, politically influenced policy of the Honduran government in allocating funds for community development has had a very negative influence in the development of community decision-making institutions. It never pays to be activistic and mobilize the participation of the community because it is personal influence that counts in the long run.

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7. Based on notes of course participant, Rafael Betancourt.

The Reorganization of the Radio Schools and the Expansion of the Radio School Movement

In 1964 Father Pablo Guillet was replaced as director of the radio schools and for the next two years the central office drifted with directors who either were not deeply interested in the radio schools or could not give it full time. It is significant, however, that in spite of the weakness of the central office, the radio school movement in the field, rooted in the leadership structure of the rural communities and backed up by the parish promotional teams, continued on as vigorously, if not more vigorously, than ever. This is not meant to imply that the central office is dispensable; only that there is a distinction between them. It also demonstrates that the effectiveness of the radio school movement is in the rural based leadership and that the central office is only a support of this.

However, there were many, including Bishop Marcelo Gerin of Choluteca, who feared that if the administration of the central office were not reorganized, the radio schools might collapse.

As a first step in the reorganization, Fernando Montes was named the first full-time lay director. As the former director of CORDEH as well as a central advisor in much of the other organizational activities connected with the radio schools, Montes understood what the radio school movement was trying to accomplish and the instruments through which it was going to be done. With the assistance of Mr. and Mrs. Eugene Skelton, former Peace Corps Volunteers assigned to the radio schools central office and continued in this position by USAID, a plan of reorganization was drawn up.

One of the first moves was to complete a national training center for monitors which had been planned by the original director, Father Pablo Guillet. With a grant from the German foundation, Misereor, this center (called La Colmena, The Beehive) was constructed in the southern region in Choluteca, since the radio school movement was very largely concentrated in that area and Bishop Marcelo Gerin was willing to give land for it. Father Pablo Guillet was named director of the training center in 1967, and he assembled a very able young staff, Juan Ramon Martinez and Rosendo Chavez.

In 1967 Fernando Montes with the help of the Skelton's drew up a five year plan for the reorganization of the central offices of the radio schools and the extension of the radio school movement to all of the major regions of Honduras. A program of financial assistance over a period of five years was granted by USAID to recruit and train personnel for a pedagogy department and to select and train additional field supervisory personnel.

The success of the radio school movement in southern Honduras and its lack of success in most other areas of Honduras suggested that the radio school movement needed a regionally administrated support team operated more closely to the community level leaders. In the southern area there had been a motivational and leadership base already in existence (the neighborhood religious organizations) and there was a full-time administrative team acting as intermediary between the central office staff and the community level activities (the parishes and later also the staff in the leadership training center). The efficacy of having a regional leadership training center which could provide the specific motivational and organizational skills for the rural development of a particular region was also demonstrated in the success of the Colmena.

By 1968 the radio school movement in each community, in addition to the radio school, consisted of a neighborhood community development committee (patronato), a Housewives' Club, perhaps a consumer or production cooperative, and strong participation in the credit union cooperatives. Each of these organizations was part of a separate system and usually had its own regional supervisor. Together, the supervisors of the various organizations--radio schools, housewives' clubs, and cooperatives--with the staff of the regional center could form a development team.

The staff of the Colmena showed that, in addition to giving courses, it provided a trained team for the analysis of regional problems and the careful planning of the development programs they would enter into. Campesino leaders were good promoters, but they did not have planning capacities. In 1969 a regional radio station was established in Choluteca and showed the importance of being able to use a radio broadcasting station specifically for development in that region.

On the basis of the experience in the southern region, Fernando Montes conferred with lay and Church leaders in various regions, which the radio schools planned to enter, regarding the possibility of setting up regional training centers which would form the basis for regional promotional teams. By 1970 seven regional leadership training centers had been established in addition to the Colmena, each with a teaching staff (largely young Hondurans, many of them trained at the Escuela Superior de Profesorado with a background in the Christian social movement), and a program of motivational and leadership training courses as a basis for introducing radio schools and the organizations associated with the radio school movement. Each region also attempted to set up its own radio station or at least obtain time on other stations. Thus, by 1970 there was a solid basis for the expansion of the radio school movement (which by now

was much broader than just radio schools) in eight regions: the South, Olancho, Yoro-Cortes, Comayagua, Santa Barbara, Copan, Nuevo Ocotopeque, and Tegucigalpa.

The Introduction of an Ideology of Structural Change

Until 1968 the radio school movement was guided by a rather mild self-help, community development ideology. There had been general references to injustice, but no pointed references to land reform or the exploitation of the campesino by the large land owners of the area. However, ideologies in Latin America were gradually radicalizing under the influence of Fidel Castro and Camilo Torres during the 1960's, and this influence was reaching Honduras, too. The radio school movement began to reflect a somewhat more aggressive attitude with regard to structural change, though one would have to call it mild by most Latin American standards.

In the new type of leadership training course which was introduced with the opening of the Colmena, the director, Father Guillet, began to use non-directive methods of leadership training based on group dynamics and sensitivity sessions (animación). This method was eventually introduced into most of the new leadership training centers.

The animación method is a non-directive, discussion technique in which campesinos, used to being passive before paternalistic figures, are encouraged to develop their own capacities to become conscious of the problems they face and by themselves arrive at various alternative solutions to their problems. The over-all goal is to develop capacity for independent thinking and planning as well as self-determination in community decision making. Once the monitors themselves had taken the course, a second course was given in which the more outstanding leaders of the radio school movement were trained in the method so that they in turn could give courses in non-directive collective decision making in the communities of their area. Judging from comments of the leaders who had taken these courses, it had a very significant impact among them.

Also introduced into the training course for the leaders of the radio school movement was a model of Latin American society, marginalidad (marginality), although much simplified for the campesino audiences.[8] Along with it were taught other ideological aspects of "promoción popular" developed by DESAL in Santiago, Chile in the early 1960's. The model of marginality stresses the unjust exclusion of the campesinos from the national decision-making process, the unjust distribution of economic benefits,

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8. DESAL, Marginalidad en América Latina. (Santiago, Chile: Editorial Herder, Barcelona, 1969).

and the economic exploitation of the popular classes. Those of mainly European descent are shown to occupy the key decision-making positions while the campesino, largely of indigenous origin, is left in the backward hinterlands without technical assistance in agriculture, poor health and education facilities, and poor transportation and communication. In the courses it was explained that the marginality of the popular classes is global in that it affects all aspects of human life, radical in that it creates an incapability to break through the domination, and emergent in that the superimposition of the European, technologically advanced sector continually becomes more powerful and exploitative while the marginal classes are progressively weaker. Clearly, in stressing the marginality of the campesinos in the courses, an attempt was being made to communicate a sense of class consciousness.

The solution proposed, however, was not violent revolution in any sense, but an organization of campesinos at the local level, allowing for free participation so that the campesino would be able to collectively solve problems at the local level, but also apply pressure within the existing channels of representative government to gradually change unjust social structures. Three types of organization were suggested: communal (the sphere of activity of the radio schools, community development, and the Housewives' Clubs); economic (cooperatives), and gremial (campesino pressure-group organizations).[9] Although the monitors and coordinators of the radio school movement (by order of the director) were to avoid active involvement in campesino pressure group organizations because of their political implications, in effect these courses highlighted the land tenure problems and left one with the conclusion that only aggressive action would be a solution.

The Introduction of the Paulo Freire Philosophy and Methods

As was mentioned above one of the steps for improving the radio schools was to establish a pedagogy department with professionally trained personnel in the central office. As part of the program through USAID, Christa Schuler, who had just finished a study of the radio school movement of MEB in Brazil, was employed to recruit and train the staff for the department. Much of Christa Schuler's research had focused on the philosophy and methods of Paulo Freire in the education of adults in Brazil, and she proved to be a major influence not only in improving the educational department, but in changing the whole ideological input of the central office in the radio school movement.

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9. Martinez, Juan Ramón, and Velma R. de Pacheco, Manual Para Entrenamiento de Monitores de Escuelas Radiofonicas (Tegucigalpa, Honduras: Escuelas Radiofonicas Suyapa, 1969.

Once it was seen that it would be necessary to revise the tapes and texts used since 1961, the decision was made to introduce a whole new method of teaching literacy embodying the educational philosophy of Paulo Freire. The Honduran staff which was assembled, most of them professional educators trained at the Escuela Superior de Profesorado (the Institute for Secondary School Teachers), had backgrounds open to the ideas of the "liberating education" of Paulo Freire. Together they wrote texts and prepared classes adapting this method to the radio schools in Honduras.

The Paulo Freire method places a great deal of emphasis on stimulating the student to become a creative influence in his environment rather than simply learning in rote fashion (so typical in Latin America).10 The first condition for becoming creative, according to Freire, is for the individual to reflect upon his situation and to become aware of the forces that are influencing him. By becoming aware of himself as distinct from his environment, he is better able to become conscious of his unique contribution to the history being made around him.

The main goal of education is to bring an individual from a state of magical awareness in which he is not aware of the distinct forces playing upon him (he cannot cope with them rationally) to a critical consciousness in which he is aware of these forces and can begin to cope with them. Specifically the method is aimed at helping the powerless discover how they are being manipulated and what they must do in order to "liberate" themselves.

Freire developed his method in literacy campaigns among the poor laborers of Brazil's favelas, and later it was extended to the MEB radio school system in Brazil. The classes began with ten dialogues reflecting upon the role of the worker in Brazil which eventually led to the conclusion that one of the tools of liberation is literacy.

The literacy training was never separated from the education toward critical awareness or concientización. They carefully selected the basic vocabulary by participant observation, not only for phonetic richness but for its potential in making the student aware of the injustices in their environment. In learning the words such as "favela" (slum) they learned to see its significance for them.

In adapting the Freire method to the Honduran context, the fundamental theme chosen was the individual in his community (the constant theme of the radio school movement over the years). Whereas Freire speaks of the contribution

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10. Freire, Paulo. La educación como práctica de la libertad. (Santiago, Chile: ICIRA, 1969).

of the individual to culture and history, the Honduran radio school staff decided to focus on a creative, responsible participation in concrete social structures: the family, the community, and the nation--but especially the community.

> The radio schools are a living and changing structure which takes into account the necessities of the human person to be free and to use his personal initiative in order to solve his own problems and those of his community (Statement of Philosophy: ACPH).

The purpose of the radio schools, as declared in the Statement of Philosophy of ACPH (elaborated on the basis of the new philosophy and method of Paulo Freire) is to form the basic attitudes for a greater participation in the community The vocabulary and reading texts follow this general theme: in the first month the theme of the classes is the campesino as a person and as an active member of the local community; in the second month the theme is the family and the community; in the third month the community and communal organizations; in the fourth month the campesino as an active participant in the national life.

The generating words chosen for the Honduran texts which correspond to the theme of the first month are supposed to stress the relation of the individual to his family and community: casa (house), leña (kindling), vecino (neighbor), and familia (family). All of these and subsequent words and the radio class explanations along with the charts used to explain the meaning of the words were chosen on the basis of their ability to deliver a message to the student with the hope that he would put it into practice and thus bring about a change in the social structure of his community and the country as a whole.

In the period after 1969 the program of concientización was also coupled with the concept of marginality to infuse into the radio school movement more of a sense of class consciousness. Concientización became a household term among members of the radio school movement, usually used to indicate an awareness of conditions of poverty and social injustice in which they lived. Those who participated in the movement were the "concientes;" those still outside the movement were explained, "no están concientes." Thus, the action of the radio school movement continued to be a kind of "conversion" to the movement to make their neighbors "concientes."

The new radio school classes, texts, charts and other materials embodying the adapted form of Paulo Freire's

educational philosophy was just being introduced in 1970 and 1971 and it was not possible to evaluate its impact in this study. However, the not entirely reliable comments of monitors and coordinators were that the new approach was much more attractive to the students and that they were learning more by the new method.

As this study was drawing to a close the radio school movement was poised for major development. The five-year plan which had been projected in 1967 and supported by USAID was beginning to show results. With the six or eight regional teams providing a support system, enrollment was doubling from an annual average of approximately 12,000 or 13,000 to 25,000, and it seemed that within five years it might have the potential of 50,000. The radio schools had begun a program of full primary school education and a separate program of agricultural education (the latter is briefly described on page 113). The rural housewives' clubs which have shown themselves to be a very strong educational instrument were also beginning a five-year program of expansion and improvement of supervision. The staff in the central office has finished the basic transfer to the psychosocial method and is now starting to remedy many of the problems that have been encountered with it. The radio school movement itself continues to show a great deal of vitality and tendency toward growth.

Conclusions: The Major Goals of the Radio School Movement

In general, the author evaluates very positively the attempts of the radio school directors and others involved in the radio school movement to elaborate a very broad and balanced set of goals and ideology as a base for its adult basic education program. From the beginning the goals were defined in terms of fundamental and long-range sociocultural, economic and political developmental changes, resisting the temptation to restrict the activities narrowly to just literacy training or very negative proposals such as "anticommunism." The radio schools and the radio school movement have been open to some of the most recent and reputable currents of thought regarding adult basic education, but they have preferred to link themselves with the nationalistic, cultural revitalism trends that have been common in Latin America since the Mexican Revolution. Both the thought of DESAL and Paulo Freire represent this latter tendency in Latin America. At the same time they have attempted to make realistic adjustments to the Honduran situation and have responded to the needs of campesino leaders in the radio school movement. By working through a campesino movement and campesino leaders they have avoided bureaucratization and isolation from campesino

neighborhoods that has afflicted most rural development efforts in Latin America. Finally, the ideology has been realistic in accepting the limitations of the instruments which were used--literacy campaigns, community development, credit union cooperatives--and it has seen the significance of these activities in relation to bringing about slowly but surely long-range fundamental structural changes. The goals and ideology are sufficiently broad and open so that they permit a great deal of development as the situation changes.

On the basis of the analysis of the activities of the radio school movement over the years and the most recent statement of philosophy published by the central office one can summarize the efforts of the radio school movement in terms of four major goals.

1. Adult Basic Education in the strict sense:

   a) Teaching reading, writing, arithmetic, and some very general notions of agriculture, health, and civics. It is difficult to say what level of literate proficiency in terms of primary school grade levels was aimed at, since this is usually not too clearly specified beyond functional literacy.

   b) Instill certain health, homemaking, and agricultural practices through campaigns. In recent years this has been channeled through neighborhood organizations such as the farm housewives' clubs.

   c) In establishing the supervisory system of monitors and coordinators, a basic communication and promotional system was set in motion: the monitor within his neighborhood, the coordinator within the municipal or parochial area, and the regional team with the regional training center and radio station. Out of this has come the radio school movement, the maintenance and growth of which is now a goal in itself. This movement has involved a growing alliance between the campesino sector and elements of the urban, technical sector (building on the basic alliance of the Church and the Christian social movement).

2. Stimulate in the campesino the development of attitudes and values which provide a <u>general motivation to initiate change</u>.

   a) The directors of the radio schools and the leaders of the radio school movement believe that social change is going to occur through change in individual values

and attitudes. From the beginning this has been promoted by campesino leaders as a kind of "conversion" to the movement, adopting values and norms through a sense of membership. At the outset, emphasis was on change in moral and religious behavior, but this has gradually shifted to emphasis on the modernization of values, that is, values which are consonant with socioeconomic development.

b) A nonauthoritarian method has been stressed in encouraging value change, stimulating reflection upon one's situation (concientización) and, on the basis of that reflection, changing one's interpretation on how to act in one's environment. The radio school movement is extremely hesitant regarding state intervention and attempts to force a change in attitudes and values directly or even indirectly by manipulation of structures. Change must flow spontaneously from the campesino level and must above all respect campesino interests. Freedom, self-determination, and non-directive change has become almost a goal in itself.

c) It is implicit in this goal that the change of values is, in the long run, more important than the material projects achieved. Participation in the project is a means to change values. The over-all goal is to lay the motivational foundations for a gradual growing movement among campesinos to change, more or less within the present decision-making framework, the social structures of the country.

d) The radio school movement has placed great emphasis on a kind of "voluntarism," the belief that man by his willingness and hard work can change his environment. More recently, with the introduction of the theory of marginality and the educational philosophy of Paulo Freire, there is greater stress on the importance of changing coercive social structures and achieving a better distribution of opportunities in the country. But, the Freire and DESAL versions of structural change emphasize that the creativity of the human person is the central value to be preserved, which is in itself a kind of voluntarism.

e) The radio school movement has also, in recent years, promoted a mild form of campesino class consciousness. However, in the hands of some activists there is much more emphasis on this theme. This emphasis on class consciousness is something of a disputed point in the radio school movement.

3. The integration of the campesino community around a dynamic solidarity, the development of collective decision-making institutions.

   a) Community level organizations have been promoted as continuations of the educational process. Organizations are promoted as specific problem-solving structures at the community level.

   b) Much of the emphasis, however, has not been the organization, as such, or even the various projects which they achieve, but increased institutional decision-making capacity: to teach people how to work together in solving problems at the community level.

   c) From the beginning a most important goal has been leadership development. The basic strategy of cultural change has been to train leaders in the regional training centers with the intent that they promote a kind of secondary effect in their neighborhoods.

   d) The radio school movement has insisted very much on the participatory aspect of collective decision making (the animación method), non-directive leadership, and a widely distributed, rotating leadership. There is a distinct goal of affecting the paternalistic caudillismo leadership institutions.

   e) A great deal of emphasis has been placed on communalism: the integration of the individual small farmer into the group at the local community level. Cooperatives and the cooperative philosophy have had much importance, and the movement has been a kind of educational arm of the credit union cooperatives in areas where these cooperatives have been.

   f) Some efforts have been made in the leadership training courses to teach the principles of organization management and techniques of structuring meetings (e.g. parliamentary procedure), but in general there has been much more emphasis on participatory procedures.

Again, in the case of this goal the targets are long range: it is not the number of projects completed that counts or even the organizations themselves, but the organizational capacity which in the long run can mobilize the existing motivation to effect changes at the community level and, more important, at the regional and national level.

4. The development of the "Civic Culture" among campesinos:

The fact that the efforts to bring about in the campesino a general motivation to initiate change and a general organizational and collective decision-making capacity in the campesino culture are to lay the foundation for a long-range campesino movement indicates that there is, in reality, a fourth goal: developing the capacity to participate in the national decision-making and governmental processes. This includes creating organized pressures on the existing local and national government bodies when these are obstacles to sociocultural change. This has been very indirect, however, because, as a public service institution, the radio schools--especially the central office--have taken a completely apolitical stance in order to avoid getting involved in the feuding of the traditional parties. The administrative support of the Church in the rural areas, which has also taken a definitely neutral and aloof position with regard to politics, has also influenced the apolitical attitude of the radio school movement.

In the early period, when radio schools were first being established and the pastors had considerable influence, neighborhood leaders who were políticos were ruled out as leaders in the neighborhood religious organizations or as monitors unless they left behind the supposedly more objectionable aspects of political party involvement (especially party feuding). The people also tended to favor leaders who were neutral, equally favorable to all. It was feared that if the leader was strongly involved in one or the other party, those of the opposite party would not participate.

However, the local leaders of the radio school movement often tend to be strongly critical of local political practices because of the favoritism, corruption, and rancorous conflict frequently associated with it. This reflects the popular culture which criticizes "la política" (but still makes use of it when there is a personal crisis).

It has been suggested that the apolitical character of the radio school movement reflects the fact that it is really an opposition political force. In this view, the involvement of individuals who are associated with the Christian social movement (many of whom have Christian Democrat political interests) with the radio school movement, makes the radio school movement an instrument of the Christian Democrat Party in Honduras. However, there seemed to be no evidence of this, as far as the author could discover. In dealing with campesino

leaders in the radio school movement (monitors and coordinators) it was obvious that the great majority were unaware of the nature of the Christian Democrat movement and maintained their involvement in the traditional parties of Honduras. The radio school movement is a quite separate entity from the Christian social movement (largely an urban-based group dealing with more abstract issues) and responsive to local campesino issues.

In spite of its apolitical character and avoidance of even mentioning politics, it is clear that one of the goals of the radio school movement is the reform of political institutions, better local and national government, more intelligent, discriminating citizen participation, and a government which distributes resources more justly. Politics are too important in Honduras to be ignored by any movement which pretends to promote social change and development.

One could summarize these goals of the radio schools and the radio school movement in terms of one over-all goal: a campesino cultural revitalization movement as a response to an ever more rational, technical and, therefore, more dominant and extractive urban, technical sector. Like most revitalization movements it seeks the reintegration of the individual around a more positive sense of identity and self-determination and the reintegration of the campesino community around dynamic problem-solving and decision-making institutions. A constant theme of activism--man's control of his environment--runs through all facets of the goals. The campesino can control his own personal destiny and the campesino community can control its future. The goals are much more cultural than economic or political, though it has both economic and political implications.

The preliminary research which was carried out as a basis for setting up the research design isolated these four major goals. The general hypothesis was that the radio school movement is the cause of effects in these four areas. But, the research design was built around a null hypothesis: that some other factor is actually the major influence in any of the four areas of behavior. In the following chapters we will explain the controls which were used to test whether the effects are attributable to the radio school movement or to other factors, and then give the results.

CHAPTER IV

ACHIEVEMENTS IN LITERACY AND IN ESTABLISHING A DEVELOPMENT COMMUNICATIONS SYSTEM

The Scope of the Radio School Activities Up Until 1970

Although the founders of the radio schools intended in 1962, when the radio school system began to extend itself, that it rather quickly become a national adult educational system operating in all regions of the country, it really has not begun to have something like national coverage until 1971, and it is still consolidating that coverage. Its major problems were a very limited budget, the problem of radio transmitters reaching into all regions well, the lack of a field administrative and promotional support system, and the instability of the central management.

A great part of the success of the radio school movement depends on local organizations with development interests inviting in the radio schools and giving them administrative and motivational support. The only region which did this consistently and in a systematic way, up until the regional team concept was developed in 1968, was the southern region (the Departments of Choluteca and Valle). The radio transmitter in Tegucigalpa also happened to reach this area reasonably well (although this was not the only factor, since in areas close to Tegucigalpa, the movement was not promoted). Eventually, the southern region was interested enough to insure reception by putting up its own transmitter.

Consequently, until 1969 the radio schools existed only in the southern region, parts of Comayagua, and other isolated areas where there happened to be an unusually strong sustaining interest. Thus, out of a total rural population of 1,593,700 (using 1967 figures), only 300,000 in approximately twenty-four municipios or about 150,000 adults (half of the population is under fifteen and automatically excluded from radio schools) were exposed to the radio school administrative system. In 1972 with the regional expansion the exposed population is now five or six times greater, probably reaching 60 to 70 per cent of the rural population. But we must evaluate the achievement in terms of adult basic education on the basis of the limited exposure up to 1970 when this study began.

The Methodology of the Study of Literacy Achievement

In order to find out how many people were actually taught how to read and write by the radio schools, a sample of fifteen communities was selected which represented various degrees of success of the radio schools, thirteen in the southern region and two in Comayagua. In order to measure the total literacy impact in communities, an attempt was made to give a literacy test (ability to read a paragraph in a newspaper, to write a few sentences, and to do some simple arithmetic operations) to every person who had attended the radio school in that community. To insure some completeness, lists of students who had been enrolled in the selected communities were obtained from the central office in Tegucigalpa, supplemented by the memory of the monitor or monitors in the community. If former students were absent, the monitor gave the information as best he could, but in approximately 85 to 90 per cent of the cases the students or former students were interviewed directly.

A total of six hundred and thirteen subjects were tested in the selected communities. It is possible that some of the very marginal students (registered but never attended any classes) and that some of the students in the years before 1965 (when there were no lists) were missed. The interviewer, of campesino background, was a trained member of the research team who had been a radio school monitor and a rural primary school teacher.

The radio school students, in addition to the literacy test, were also asked how they used their literate capacity, what they read, and the problems they found in attending radio schools (why they did not learn more).

Variable Factors in Literacy Achievement

The first variable factor is the amount of public primary education the radio school students have had prior to enrolling in the radio schools. In recruiting students for the radio schools, monitors encouraged all in the community, whether they were illiterate or not, to enroll. They thus had the opportunity to improve their literacy and arithmetic and to learn something about health and agriculture. Many had had an inadequate primary school experience, so they were encouraged to enroll also. Surprisingly, 62.5 per cent of those enrolled in the radio schools had some public primary school experience, although only 41.5 per cent had finished the first year. Thus, what reading, writing and arithmetic skills they did have can be attributed, in part, to previous public school experience.

Table 4.1: Public Primary School Education of Radio School Students

Years of Public Primary School Education	Number	Per Cent
1. Have not attended	230	37.5
2. Did not finish first year	129	21.0
3. Finished first year	73	11.9
4. Finished second year	95	15.5
5. Finished third year	58	9.6
6. Finished fourth year	21	3.4
7. More than fourth year	7	1.1
Total	613	100.0

A second variable factor is the length of the period of their enrollment in the radio schools and the regularity of their attendance. Ordinarily, nearly half of the enrolled students drop out before completing the first year, that is, before taking the year-end exam. It is very likely that, given the simplicity of the radio school instructions, most attain a level of functional literacy only after two or more years of class attendance, especially if they have begun with no previous formal educational experience. Thus, radio school students are encouraged to enroll year after year to improve the level of literacy that they already have. Some monitors, to present a favorable number of enrollees to the central office each year, draw on a pool of friends and relatives whom they enroll year after year. Some students, because of the irregularity of their attendance in certain years, must attend several years to attain even the minimum functional literacy.

It is possible that in the total population of radio school students throughout the country the percentage of those enrolled, but with almost no attendance, is higher since the sample was taken in the southern and Comayagua areas where the support administrative system is somewhat better, and fewer schools fail completely. It is interesting to note that the modal period of attendance is two years suggesting that minimum functional literacy can be achieved in that period of time.

Table 4.2: Length of Period of Attendance in the Radio Schools

Attendance in Radio Schools	Number	Per Cent
1. Enrolled but almost no attendance	83	13.5
2. Did not finish one whole year (was not examined)	89	14.5
3. Finished one year, but with irregular attendance	8	1.5
4. Began various years, but never finished one	25	4.1
5. Finished one year and were examined	112	18.2
6. Finished two years	143	23.3
7. Finished three years	87	14.2
8. Finished four to six years	57	9.3
9. Finished seven or more years	9	1.4
Total	613	100.0

A third variable factor is the school, public primary or radio schools, which has been the major factor in attaining some level of literacy. Some 62.5 per cent say that they have had at least some experience in public primary schools, but one cannot assume that, therefore, they already are literate before they enter the radio schools. Some have dropped out before completing one full year of public primary school (21 per cent), and very likely they have little or no literate capacity. Others may have gained a certain degree of literacy in the public primary schools and then lost it because they never used it. Others entered radio schools with a very low capacity and improved it considerably in the radio schools. To discover what learning experience was the significant factor, the radio school students were asked where, in reality they learned to read. In this case every level of capacity, from the ability to recognize letters and words to a very fluent literacy, was included in the question.

Table 4.3: School To Which Literate Capacity is Attributed by Radio School Students

School to which capacity is attributed	Number	Per Cent
1. Radio schools only	302	49.3
2. Public primary schools only	163	26.6
3. Forgot all learned in public primary school and relearned in the radio schools	45	7.6
4. Had a basis from the public primary school and the rest from radio schools	100	16.0
5. Learned on their own (tutors, books they picked up, other experiences)	3	.5
Total	613	100.0

Thus, in spite of the fact that 62.5 per cent of the radio school enrollees have had some experience in the public primary schools, 49.3 per cent say that the radio schools were clearly the major factor in what they learned, and another 7.6 per cent say that it was a factor in relearning what was forgotten. Also, one may assume that the radio schools were a major factor for many who had some base in the public primary schools (16 per cent). One may conclude, then, that radio schools were a major or very important factor for 73.4 per cent of the radio school enrollees in achieving some degree of literacy. And, even for those 26.6 per cent who say the public primary school was the more significant learning experience, something must have been learned in the radio schools (unless they were among those who dropped out very early).

It is important to note that included here are all enrollees, whether they have reached minimum functional literacy or not. Given the importance of previous public primary school experience, we will have to consider which schools were the important factor in actually achieving literacy.

Levels of Reading, Writing, and Arithmetic Skills Achieved by Radio School Enrollees

Very early in the preliminary studies it was clear that not all enrollees were actually reaching minimum functional levels of reading and writing and that the arithmetic skills of many were very limited. The crucial question in the evaluation is: how many of the enrollees are actually learning to read and write in the radio schools?

To test the reading ability the enrollees were asked to read a paragraph from a current news article of a newspaper, and then this was rated by the interviewer on a nine point scale. Rating scales are influenced by a certain amount of subjectivity on the part of the interviewer even though, in this case, one interviewer did all the rating and became quite skilled in this. For this reason, the nine categories are reduced to three general categories in Table 4.4: less than minimum functional literacy, minimum functional literacy, and full functional literacy. Since it was suspected that many radio school students had not reached minimum functional literacy but had some skills, the categories of less than minimum functional literacy were graded more finely. Minimum functional literacy is defined as the ability to read slowly and with difficulty from the newspaper paragraph mentioned above.

Some may question the methodology of testing all enrollees, including those who have dropped out before being examined. However, the enrollees who had not been examined were included because it was assumed that they may have learned something, and it seemed desirable to find out those very minimum levels of achievement. Some students enroll only to learn how to sign their names and improve their minimum arithmetic skills, and it seemed that these skills should be measured as well as full functional literacy. It should be pointed out to the reader, however, that the radio schools central office assumes that only the students which are examined are to be included in their statistics of students "taught how to read and write."

Given the fact that 33.6 per cent of the enrollees in this sample had not finished one full year in the radio schools and that 51.8 per cent of the sample had only one year or less, it is not surprising that 54.5 per cent of the sample had not reached even minimum functional literacy. It is estimated that if there is no previous educational experience before entering the radio schools, at least two years of radio school training are necessary to reach minimum functional literacy.

Table 4.4: Level of Reading Skills Achieved by Radio School Enrollees

Level of Reading Skill	Number		Per Cent	
1. Less than minimum functional literacy:				
a) Has no reading skill	79		12.8	
b) Can read letters of alphabet	127		20.7	
c) Can read some words	53		8.7	
d) Can read simple sentences	75		12.3	
(Subtotal)		334		54.5
2. Minimum functional literacy:				
a) Reads newspaper with difficulty	101		16.4	
b) Reads newspapers fairly well	99		16.2	
(Subtotal)		200		32.6
3. Full functional literacy:				
a) Can read newspapers without hesitations	38		6.2	
b) Has superior reading capacity	41		6.7	
(Subtotal)		79		12.9
al		613		100.0

Those with minimum functional literacy usually read a newspaper with a great deal of hesitation, syllable by syllable, indicating that reading is not a very familiar experience. The fact that they exercise this capacity so little, and that there are no advanced reading exercise programs connected with the radio schools, makes it difficult for most radio school students to get beyond this minimum functional literacy.

Since writing ability is closely allied to reading but distinct, students were given a separate writing test: writing a few sentences. If they could write these, they were questioned briefly about what they used their writing for and how well they could write. Again, the levels of writing ability are grouped into three major categories.

Table 4.5: Level of Writing Skills Achieved by Radio School Enrollees

Level of Writing Skill	Number	Per Cent
1. Less than minimum functional writing skill:		
a) Have no writing ability	112	18.3
b) Can sign their name only	130	21.2
c) Can write letters of alphabet	21	3.4
d) Can write words only	31	5.1
e) Can write simple sentences	92	15.1
(Subtotal)	386	63.1
2. Minimum functional writing skill:		
a) Can write a simple letter	73	12.0
b) Write fluently, but with spelling errors	34	5.4
(Subtotal)	107	17.4
3. Full functional writing skill:		
a) Can write simple things with few spelling errors	98	16.0
b) Have superior writing capacity	22	3.5
(Subtotal)	110	19.5
Total:	613	100.0

In general, it appears that the writing skills are even poorer than the reading skills. This may be due to the fact that the average campesino has had more exercise of reading than writing skills. It may also be due to higher aspirations in reading. Some students enroll in the radio schools to learn little more than to sign their names. Writing skills probably require more direct teacher assistance than learning to read, and the monitors are less able to give this kind of assistance since many of them have very inferior writing skills themselves.

The third basic educational skill tested was the use of elementary arithmetic operations: counting, adding, subtracting, multiplying and dividing.

Table 4.6: Level of Arithmetic Skills Achieved by Radio School Enrollees

Level of Arithmetic Skill	Number	Per Cent
1. Cannot count to ten	46	7.7
2. Can count to ten only	86	14.0
3. Can count to full range of numbers	119	19.4
4. Can add numbers	62	10.1
5. Can add and subtract numbers	91	14.9
6. Can add, subtract and multiply smaller sums	73	11.7
7. Can add, subtract, multiply and divide smaller sums	136	22.2
Total:	613	100.0

The number who have no arithmetic skills is much lower than in the case of reading and writing because many illiterates learn to handle very simple numbers for their farming or other skills and for simple economic transactions. However, only about 22.2 per cent have the elementary arithmetic skills which one would judge to be necessary for managing a farming operation. If campesinos are to learn something of farm management, the level of arithmetic skills will obviously have to be improved. Many could not calculate the ordinary buying and selling transactions which would normally be expected of commercial farmers.

The Influence of Variable Factors in Achieving Functional Literacy

One of the questions that emerged in the course of this part of the study (evaluation of literacy achievements) was the influence of the variable factors discussed above, especially previous public primary school experience and length of enrollment in the radio schools. If 26.6 per cent of the students say that their experience in the public primary schools was the major factor in their literacy achievement, and another 23.6 say it was at least a partial factor, could not this be the

important factor in reaching full functional literacy--a more important factor than the training in the radio schools? What is the relative effectiveness of radio school and public primary school experience in achieving functional literacy?

Another related question is the length of time spent in the radio schools. We would expect the student who has been enrolled for three or more years to have a much higher level of literacy than one enrolled only one or two years.

To measure the relative influence of the radio schools in comparison with the combination of public primary school experience or public primary school and radio school experience, a cross tabulation was made of "School to which literate capacity is attributed? and "Level of reading skills achieved" (Cf. Table 4.7).

It is clear from this cross tabulation that previous educational experience in the public primary schools is a very influential factor in the literacy achievement of radio school students.

If the radio school training experience were the only experience in literacy training, we would expect only 20.5 per cent to achieve at least minimum functional literacy and only 4.3 per cent to achieve full functional literacy. However, if the public primary school experience (the number of grades is not specified) is the major learning experience, we would expect 77.9 per cent to reach minimum functional literacy. Those who had only a base in the public primary schools had a somewhat lower level of achievement: 61 per cent, minimum functional literacy, and 11 per cent, full functional literacy. In the case of those who had forgotten what they had learned in the public primary school and relearned in the radio schools, 62.8 per cent achieved minimum functional literacy and 15.6 per cent full functional literacy. This indicates that even if they have apparently forgotten most of what they have learned, the basis in the public primary still seems to be of importance.

The very low percentage of those with "radio school experience only" achieving functional literacy is to be expected since we are including in this calculation all who have enrolled even if that were only a few weeks. Since 61.7 per cent of those enrolled do not finish two years in the radio schools, the minimum we have estimated to be necessary for achieving at least minimum functional literacy, at least this percentage would not be expected to reach functional literacy. But the 79.5 per cent of those with "radio school experience only" is higher than expected. This may indicate that an even longer period than two years is necessary. But it also

Table 4.7: Reading Skill According to Public and Radio School Background

Level of Reading Skill	Radio School Only		Public Primary School Only		Forgot, P.S.[1] Relearned, R.S.[2]		Part, P.S. Part, R.S.		Other		Total	Percent of Grand Total
	No.	Per-cent	No.	Per-cent	No.	Per-cent	No.	Per-cent	No.	Per-cent		
None	(72)	23.7	(4)	2.5			(3)	3.0			(79)	12.8
Less than Minimum Functional Literacy	(168)	55.8	(32)	19.6	(19)	42.2	(36)	36.0			(255)	41.7
Minimum Functional Literacy	(49)	16.2	(80)	49.1	(19)	42.2	(50)	50.0	(2)	66.6	(200)	32.6
Full Functional Literacy	(13)	4.3	(47)	28.8	(7)	15.6	(11)	11.0	(1)	33.4	(79)	12.9
Total	(302)	100.0	(163)	100.0	(45)	100.0	(100)	100.0	(3)	100.0	(613)	100.0

1. P.S. represents Public School.
2. R.S. represents Radio School.

indicates the difficulty of bringing campesinos to functional literacy through radio schools and perhaps adult education of any kind.

It should also be recalled that the group which says that the radio schools were the major factor in their learning experience also includes those who had some experience in public schools--most likely those who did not finish the first year of public primary school. The group which attributes its literacy achievement to the public primary schools very likely includes those who have had two, three, and four years in the public primary schools, explaining why they have such high literacy achievements, in comparison with the radio school only group.

If one considers the composition of each level of achievement by major learning experience--"radio school only," "public primary school," or some combination of both--again it is clear that the percentages of those in the less than functional literacy categories are much larger for the "radio school only" group. At the levels of functional and full functional literacy the percentages from the public school background are much larger (Cf. Table 4.8).

A second variable factor is the length of time that the student has been studying in the radio schools. The radio schools' central office does not consider that a student has "learned how to read and write" unless he has passed the examination, and ordinarily between 50 and 55 per cent of the enrolled students do not persevere through to the exams. We have also estimated that, given the very elementary nature of the radio school classes, at least two and possibly more years are necessary for a student to reach functional literacy. The exams given by the radio schools' central office may be passed by a student in the "beginners" class after one year, but this does not necessarily mean that he has achieved literacy.

As Table 4.9 indicates, 80.5 per cent of those who have not finished one full year and 47.3 per cent of those who have finished one year have not achieved even minimum functional literacy. This is to be expected. But it is surprising that 44.8 per cent of those in the sample who have finished two years in the radio schools have not achieved minimum functional literacy! And even more surprising (and disappointing) is the fact that 40.3 per cent of those who have finished three years and 29.8 per cent of those who have finished four to six years have not achieved minimum functional literacy.

The major reasons why more adult campesinos do not

Table 4.8: School Background of Each Level of Reading Skill

Level of Reading Skill	Radio School Only		Public Primary School Only		Forgot, P.S. Relearned, R.S.		Part, P.S. Part, R.S.		Other		Total	
	No.	Per-cent	No.	Per-cent	No.	Per-cent	No.	Per-cent	No.	Per-cent	No.	Per-cent
None	(72)	91.1	(4)	5.6			(3)	3.3			(79)	100.0
Less than Minimum Functional Literacy	(168)	65.9	(32)	12.5	(19)	7.5	(36)	14.1			(255)	100.0
Minimum Functional Literacy	(49)	24.5	(80)	40.0	(19)	9.5	(50)	25.0	(2)	1.0	(200)	100.0
Full Functional Literacy	(13)	16.5	(47)	59.5	(7)	8.9	(11)	13.9	(1)	1.2	(79)	100.0
Total	(302)	49.2	(163)	26.6	(45)	7.5	(100)	16.3	(3)	0.4	(613)	100.0

1. P.S. represents Public School.
2. R.S. represents Radio School.

Table 4.9: Level of Reading Skill According to Years in Radio School

Level of Reading Skill	Years Enrolled In Radio Schools											
	Less than one year		Completed one year		Two years		Three years		Four to six years		Seven or more	
	No.	Per-cent	No.	Per-cent	No.	Per-cent	No.	Per-cent	No.	Per-cent	No.	Per-cent
None	(57)	27.9	(11)	9.8	(10)	7.0	(1)	1.2				
Less than Minimum Functional Literacy	(108)	52.6	(42)	37.5	(54)	37.8	(34)	39.1	(17)	29.8		
Minimum Functional Literacy	(32)	15.6	(41)	36.6	(64)	44.7	(34)	39.1	(25)	43.8	(4)	44.4
Full Functional Literacy	(8)	3.9	(18)	16.1	(15)	10.5	(18)	20.6	(15)	26.4	(5)	55.0
Total	(205)	100.0	(112)	100.0	(143)	100.0	(87)	100.0	(57)	100.0	(9)	100.0

achieve literacy through the radio schools are complicated. As we shall see below, there are major obstacles in the life of the campesino, especially the work demands and consequent irregular attendance at classes. The limited resources of the radio school central office and the very elementary type of instructions are also factors. There also seems to be a pool of faithful radio school students who repeat year after year, in a fashion, who seem incapable of learning very much and do not progress in spite of apparent efforts.

The Uses of Literacy Skills

Once adult campesinos acquire basic literacy skills, how do they use them? These are skills that are very important and that they will be using them sufficiently to make it worth the personal effort of attending classes day after day over a period of perhaps years. It is assumed, also, that the investment in the administration of radio schools, from the central office to the expenses of the local radio schools, brings a return which is commensurate. But, to what extent is literacy really functional in the life of the rural lower-class population?

The question has both a general and a specific dimension. The general dimension includes those functions which one can carry out either for oneself and one's economic roles or for the benefit of the community if one is literate. The specific dimension refers to the kind of materials that the student now reads. In the life of the campesino the general functions are probably more important than reading for reading's sake. The role of the semisubsistence farmer does not specifically require reading, writing, or even arithmetic skills to any great extent. Certainly, the campesino does not need these skills as much as even the manual laborer in an urban setting. It is only occasionally that he comes in contact with the urban, technical sector and has need of these skills.

To evaluate the general functionality of basic literacy skills the students were asked why, in their opinion, it is important to know how to read and write. These open-ended responses were then coded in terms of seven general categories (Table 4.10).

Apparently, for the average campesino who has been or is a radio school student, the most important function of literacy is the ability to communicate by letter or telegram--certainly a rare occurrence in the lives of most.

Table 4.10: The Importance of Knowing How to Read and Write

Stated Importance of Literacy	Number	Per Cent
1. To read or write a letter or telegram	190	30.9
2. To hold an office in the neighborhood organizations and to serve the community	93	15.2
3. To be able to avoid being cheated	74	12.0
4. To be able to read a newspaper	40	6.6
5. To live a better life in general	72	11.8
6. To get along in the city	12	1.9
7. Data given by monitor (no resp.)	63	10.3
8. No response (don't know)	69	11.3
Total:	613	100.0

Next in importance is the ability to hold an office in a neighborhood organization, in the local community development committee, or in the municipal government. Holding an office in the local community organizations is a function that, to a great extent, has been created by the radio school movement itself. When community organizations such as the development committees, the housewives' clubs, the religious Celebration of the Word (which requires the ability to read the Bible) are introduced, the first requirement for leadership is literacy. Often,the main obstacle in establishing campesino organizations is that none of the people interested or capable of leadership can read or write sufficiently well. The Catholic Church has been especially interested in promoting the radio schools in order to prepare leaders for the neighborhood religious organizations to read the Bible and other instructional booklets. In general, the literacy campaign has been very closely related to the overall program of leadership development, and one of the major reasons that the Church and other agencies have engaged in literacy activities is the preparation of leaders.

the next most frequently mentioned reason for becoming literate, "to avoid being cheated," has an economic basis, that is, the ability to defend oneself in business transactions. Surprisingly enough, this is mentioned less often than being able to hold a public office.

Being able to read public news media is mentioned by very few people--perhaps because newspapers, magazines, and other such reading materials are too expensive and, without direct mail service, are difficult to obtain regularly. Reading for personal enjoyment, for keeping abreast of current affairs, or for instructional purposes apparently is not a significant part of their lives.

Many responses were vague references to reading as a help in improving their life, overcoming ignorance, being better people, and so forth. These often have little concrete meaning and were simply lumped together in one category, "to live a better life in general."

The specific dimension of functionality of literacy is the ability (and the practice) to read some determinate published materials. To evaluate the significance in terms of specific kinds of reading materials, the students were asked what were the principal reading materials which they are now reading. Since some often gave more than one response, we have simply placed the responses in three categories: those who are reading nothing, those who are reading something--with the frequencies of the dkins of materials--, and the "no responses" (usually in the cases where data was given by the monitor). These responses are presented in Table 4.11.

It is very significant that nearly half of the radio school or ex-radio school students read nothing. Or, next to nothing. Or if they are reading anything, it is most likely the texts of the radio schools, religious materials, or an occasional newspaper they happen to obtain. There is little or no regular reading of newspapers, instructional materials, or recreational materials.

In part, the fact that nearly half of the students or ex-students read nothing is explained by the fact that more than half (54.5 per cent) are listed as not having reached minimum functional literacy.

Another major reason is probably found in the fact that they do not have time, after a long day's work, or the habit of reading. But the major reason is simply the fact that there is little in the house to read due to the poverty of the people, and the fact that literacy and reading is not an established institution in their life.

Table 4.11: Principal Materials That Students Read

Kind of Materials Read		Number	Per Cent
1. Nothing		282	46.0
2. Various reading materials		262	42.7
Texts of radio schools	94		
Newspapers	87		
Religious materials (Bible)	64		
Public school texts in the house	26		
"Familia Gomez" and other pulp paper materials	16		
Letters	13		
Novels	13		
Organizational manuals (Cooperatives, etc.)	13		
Magazines	11		
3. No response (data given by monitor)		69	11.3
Total:		613	100.0

In the survey of the literacy achievement, the respondents were asked what materials are in their house to read. The question is somewhat difficult to answer since it depends on the power to recall. Much reading materials such as Bibles, novenas, and catechisms are hidden away in trunks or boxes, and the young radio school students may not even know that the family has them. But if the individual is not aware of these reading materials, in a sense, they do not exist--for him. The following data are somewhat subjective and the figures are probably lower than a more exhaustive questioning would reveal. But this subjective appraisal is probably, in the long run, a more accurate estimate of what is available for reading.

Table 4.12: Reading Materials in the House of Radio School Students

Reading Materials in the Houses		Number	Per Cent
1. Nothing		226	37.0
2. Various reading materials		313	51.0
Religious materials (Bibles, catechisms, novenas, etc.)	112		
Texts of radio schools	75		
Public school texts	55		
Newspapers	13		
Pulp paper booklets	18		
Organizational manuals	27		
Novels, dictionary, library book	8		
Magazines and almanacs	5		
3. No Response (data given by monitor)		74	12.0
Total:		613	100.0

Clearly, then, one of the reasons that radio school students do not use their reading skills more is that there is almost nothing available for them to read outside of the school texts (which are extremely elementary), public school texts, and religious materials. The largest category, religious materials, are items often kept in the house as sacred talismans (bibles, novenas, catechisms, various kinds of prayers) to protect the household and are seldom touched for reading. The poverty of most campesinos makes it impossible for them to buy newspapers or magazines, much less books, even if these were available in the remote rural areas.

As was noted above, the radio schools central office did begin a small project of village libraries in 1969. On an experimental basis, these village libraries were located in selected communities, and someone was appointed to take care of the books. During the study a very superficial inquiry was made regarding the use of these libraries. Apparently, there was some use of the books, but several of the coordinators said that they were not even aware of the libraries in their areas. Presently, the central office of radio schools is attempting to revitalize the program of village libraries,

but the lack of funds has made it impossible to launch any sizeable program that might have a real impact. Later, in the conclusions, we shall discuss possible continued reading programs.

The Impact of the Literacy Program at the National and the Local Community Level

Having presented the data from the sample on the effectiveness of the literacy program, we are now in a position to return to our original question: how many individuals has the literacy program of Acción Cultural Popular Hondureña helped achieve at least minimum functional literacy, first, in the country as a whole and, secondly, in the average community where the radio schools have been operating? Since our sample of fifteen communities was based on all who had enrolled in the radio schools in those communities, it is possible to extrapolate from the sample of communities to the universe of students enrolled in radio schools. It is assumed, of course, that the sample is representative of the universe of students enrolled from 1961 to 1970.

Before beginning this extension of our conclusions, on the basis of the sample, to the country as a whole and to the average community, it is necessary to recapitulate the conclusions regarding the effectiveness of the radio schools on the basis of the sample. The basic question is: to what learning experience (radio school or public primary school) is the literacy of examined students attributable?

First of all, we calculated that of 613 in the total sample, 408 had finished at least one full year. And, of these 408, 239 or 59 per cent had achieved minimum functional literacy (Cf. Table 4.9). We also saw that of the 279 of all students (including those who had not finished the first year) who had achieved minimum functional literacy, 62 or 22.2 per cent said their major learning experience was in the radio schools, 127 or 45.5 per cent in the public primary schools, and 90 or 32.3 per cent in a combination of public primary and radio schools (or other experience) (Cf. Table 4.8). But, since 40 of these 279 literate students had dropped out before finishing one full year, we cannot include them in our calculations based on examined students. We will assume that any student that was functionally literate with less than one full year in the radio schools almost certainly attained that capacity in the public primary schools. Thus, we will subtract 40 from the 127 attributed to the learning experience in the public primary schools. Thus, of the 239 functionally literate students

who have finished one full year (were examined at least once), 62 or 26 per cent are attributed to radio schools only, 87 or 37 per cent to public primary schools only, and 90 or 37 per cent to a combination of public primary and radio schools (Cf. Table 4.7).

Now, let us analyze the statistics for the whole country in terms of the conclusions for the sample.

According to the official statistics issued by the central office of the radio schools, a total of 107,712 students were enrolled from 1961 to 1970 inclusive. Of these 107,712 48,395 were examined and 40,112 were passed. However, as we have pointed out, this does not mean that the radio schools have brought 40,112 to functional literacy. It includes many who have repeated several years in the radio schools, and it includes many who may have passed exams but are still not functionally literate. It also includes individuals whose major learning experience was in the public primary schools or represents a combination of public primary and radio school experience.

Let us take as the basis of our calculations the 48,395 who have finished one year and were examined since this is closer to the measurements we have used. First, let us discount the repeated enrollments included in this 48,395 to reduce it to individuals. In the sample of 613, if we calculate the number of examinations by the number of full years completed, we find that there were 1,064 examinations but only 408 individuals examined. This is about 40 per cent. So, discounting the number of repeated examinations in the 48,395, we find that actually approximately 19,358 individuals took these examinations.

Secondly, we must discount from the number examined those who were examined but did not actually reach minimum functional literacy. In the sample 59 per cent of those examined had reached minimum functional literacy. Thus, we would expect that of the 19,358 individuals examined, 11,411 had actually achieved minimum functional literacy.

Of these 11,411 individuals, on the basis of the calculations in the sample, we would attribute the literacy of 37 per cent or 4,222 principally to learning experiences in the public primary schools. The radio schools would be a major factor in the literacy of 7,189 individuals. Of these 7,189 individuals we can calculate that 2,967 (nearly 3,000) were completely illiterate before entering the radio schools, and 4,222, who had had some previous primary school experience either brought their literacy up to the minimum functional level or relearned what they had forgotten.

If one compares these figures to the total number of adult illiterates in rural areas, 60 to 70 per cent of 750,000, it is clear that the radio school program of Acción Cultural Popular Hondureña has not affected the total problem of literacy in Honduras a great deal. However, we must take into consideration the limitations of funds, staff, and field administrative support. The radio schools were actually active in only twenty-four municipios with a total rural adult population of about 150,000. And many communities of these municipalities did not have radio schools, so that the actual exposed population was certainly not more than 100,000.

One must also keep in mind the very simple instructional level of the radio schools and the lack of an advanced reading program. Finally, as we have mentioned before, the literacy program was not the priority activity of ACPH.

Perhaps, a better estimate of the impact of the radio schools is the analysis of the effects in the communities where the radio schools have operated. In the fifteen communities which were included in the sample (including communities where the radio schools have been failures as well as successes), there was an average of forty-one individuals who had attended the radio school at least a brief time. Of these forty-one, 46 per cent or nineteen reached minimum functional literacy. For these nineteen, the radio schools were the decisive factor in the literacy of eleven. Eight of the nineteen would attribute their literacy to the public primary schools.

However, this average includes many communities in which the radio schools did not function well because of poor administrative support by coordinators. It is likely that in neighborhoods where the radio schools functioned reasonably well, the radio schools have been a decisive factor in the literacy of twenty-five to thirty individuals. In addition, many individuals who were already literate improved their literacy and learned something of health and agriculture. And even if 37 per cent did not reach functional literacy, many became partially literate and now have a foundation for learning more if they so wish. Thus, if we analyze the success of the literacy program of the radio schools in terms of the impact on the neighborhoods where it has operated, the results are reasonably favorable.

It was found that approximately 50 per cent of a sample of 106 radio school students and ex-students were occupying positions of formal leadership. As was indicated above, one of the main values of the literacy program has been the preparation of leaders. It has made possible the movement of many of lower-status background into positions of leader-

ship who otherwise might not have done so. Thus, the fact that the literacy program is coupled with a leadership development effort has multiplied the payoff of the literacy program.

It is perhaps unwise to attempt to estimate the cost of bringing one person to minimum functional literacy through the radio schools of ACPH, since literacy was only one part of a program of integral education. All of the costs cannot be charged to the literacy program. But since radio schools have been considered a relatively economical means of educating rural adults, it may be worth while to estimate the costs.

In order to estimate the cost of educating the students in this sample (up until 1970), the average yearly expenses are calculated up until 1968, since in 1968 a series of expenditures were begun--revising texts and training new personnel--that only in 1971 began to show their effects in a much larger number of students and perhaps better prepared students. We will also exclude costs that were very obviously oriented toward leadership development and not literacy, such as the leadership training courses in Comayagua in 1963.

Thus, if we consider the average annual operating expenses for the radio schools--salaries of central office and field personnel, publishing texts and broadcasting classes (including purchase of broadcast time), and training courses directly related to the radio school operation--the annual expenditure was about £70,000 or $35,000. If we consider that during the nine year period from 1962 to 1970 approximately 8,000 rural adults achieved minimum functional literacy through radio schools (discounting at least 3,000 who probably achieved literacy principally through previous primary school experience), the average cost per student is about £75.00 or $37.50. This may seem high or low according to the comparative standards one might want to use.

The Problem of Literacy Programs Among Adult Campesinos

Some readers may feel that the results of the radio school literacy program in Honduras, both in terms of the total number of rural adults made literate over a period of nine years and the impact on a given community, are rather meager. The failure to noticeably affect the literacy problem is explained by the inability to establish a nationwide administrative support system. This may improve very much now that there are eight regional teams instead of one or two.

But even in the communities where the radio schools are operating and monitors have made a noticeable effort to encourage participation, rarely do more than 25 or 30 per

cent of the potential adult participants actually enroll. And, of those who have enrolled, only about half finish one full year with about 59 per cent of those finishing a full year or more achieving literacy. Why isn't there better attendance and why don't campesinos learn more in the radio schools? Is it the fault of the system of teaching, the supervision, the lack of motivation of the student, the situation in which the campesino lives, or a combination of all? This problem was already beginning to appear in the preliminary studies, so the students themselves were asked to give reasons explaining why they had not learned more through the radio schools. These open-ended questions were coded in terms of the following nine categories.

Table 4.13: Reasons for Not Learning More Through the Radio Schools

Reasons for Limited Learning	Number	Per Cent
1. Feel that they learned considerably	105	17.2
2. Did not attend classes regularly	207	33.8
3. Lack of interest	112	18.3
4. Lack of memory or intellectual capacity	94	15.3
5. The monitor not a capable person	19	3.1
6. Because of work responsibilities	14	2.3
7. Sickness	9	1.2
8. Advanced age, bad eyesight	6	1.0
9. Other reasons	5	.8
10. No response (information from monitor)	42	7.0
Total:	613	100.0

Although a few, 17.2 per cent, felt strongly enough that they had learned considerably that they reversed the question, most were of the opinion that they could have learned more. Interestingly enough, only 3.1 per cent attributed

their not learning to the monitor. Some 32 per cent threw the blame on themselves, either lack of real interest or lack of capacity.

The most frequently mentioned reason was the lack of regular attendance (33.8 per cent). This was expected since the most frequent comment of the monitors and coordinators is the problem of attendance. The whole supervisory system of the radio schools is, in great part, an attempt to improve attendance. When there is irregular attendance, in addition to missing the instruction and practice, the student loses the thread of continuity of classes and cannot follow subsequent classes well.

But irregular attendance is, in reality, a symptom of a more basic problem. Why isn't there more regular attendance? What obstacles are there that prevent regular attendance? The question was discussed in the interviews and the open-ended responses were coded as follows.

Table 4.14: Reasons for Irregular Attendance of Radio School Students

Reasons for Irregular Attendance	Number	Per Cent
1. Say they were always punctual	62	10.1
2. For reasons of work	307	50.0
3. Sickness, pregnancy, age	102	16.6
4. Lack of interest	52	8.6
5. Irresponsibility or other problems with monitor	22	3.7
6. Poverty, lack of clothes	4	.6
7. Other reasons	9	1.5
8. No response (information from monitor)	55	9.9
Total	613	100.0

Clearly, the fundamental reason for irregular attendance is the problem of combining attendance at classes with work requirements. Many gave as reasons for irregular attendance

the fact that by the time they finished their work and walked in, one to three kilometers, to classes they were late. One of the main problems is that those who are illiterate belong to the landless, hired labor class and must work later for the patrón; seldom is the patrón interested in more than extracting the maximum of hours from them. Some also gave as a reason the necessity of leaving the community to seek work as a harvester on the cotton and coffee plantations, since they had little land and had to supplement their income.

One may argue, as do many monitors and coordinators, that many small farmers and their wives could rearrange their work hours if they were really motivated, or they could, with a little more pressure and ingenuity, make arrangements with the patrón. But the problem seems to have its roots in the whole complex of factors which make up the life of the subsistence farmer. Many of the students are younger, do not have land of their own, and so are forced to depend on others for wage labor. They often do not have the independence they would like to have. Furthermore, literacy is not imperative in this world; once it is achieved, it is rarely used and often ceases to be functional with disuse.

The radio school literacy program of ACPA is carried on with a relatively small investment of money and personnel, and even the advanced classes do not carry the student much beyond minimum functional literacy. This method is predicated upon the expectation that with a communication of the minimum skills, the student will be able to complete the process in daily practice and with his own motivation. That is, once he has learned to interpret sentences and has a minimum of vocabulary and essential writing skills, the circumstances in which he lives will force him constantly to use and to develop these skills so that in time he will become fully literate. But, the circumstances in which the semisubsistence cultivator lives, instead of forcing him to use these skills, prevent him from using them.

The campesino himself is aware that the long hours of manual labor necessary to cultivate enough land to reach the minimum subsistence level leave little time or energy for purely informative or leisure reading. Wages are low, land is poor, and yields are low. There is almost no labor saving technology, so that increasingly his waking hours are occupied with work simply to survive.

His poverty is another obstacle. Most peasant cultivators have barely enough income for food and clothing. They have no money for reading materials and would not be inclined to invest in the lamps and oil for sufficient lighting to read at night.

Even more influential is the fact that in their world

of semisubsistence agriculture, literacy is not an essential skill as it often is in the urban, technical world even in the working class. The traditional agriculture has been and can still be carried on without literacy. Medicine is practiced with traditional remedies and the help of the local curanderos. Most campesinos are producing primarily for their own subsistence needs or for distribution in the community, and, consequently, they do not have to carry on market transactions with the urban, technical sector. There is still relatively little migration outside the community (sons and daughters divide up available land), so that the relatives and friends are still largely within the community. They can communicate orally and do not need skills for writing or reading letters. When an occasional letter arrives, they can find a son, a daughter or other relative to read it to them.

In many ways the introduction of the radio into a modern peasant society before literacy has become common has slowed down the process of making the population literate. All the functions that newspapers and magazines might fill are handled perfectly well by the radio, in many ways a more interesting and economical instrument of communication. Honduran society, even in its urban, technical sector, is largely an oral culture, and the radio is more important than newspapers and magazines. An example of this is the role of the "radio periodistas," the opinionated news commentators who are listened to so avidly and influence public opinion so much.

The Significance of Literacy in the Life of the Campesino

The problem of literacy programs for adult campesinos points up the importance of such attempts, but also raises serious questions regarding its priority and the preconditions for making literacy really functional in the life of the campesino.

In the classic model of the peasant society the ruling classes are almost by definition the literate sector. They assume all tasks that require literacy, and the peasant cultivator accepts this division of labor as natural. The peasant, through his alliances of dependency and paternalistic protection, has all of his needs that might require literacy taken care of, and he simply leaves the job of "ruling" to others. He is linked to the urban, technical sector by a series of religious, economic, and political intermediaries who are literate and whose role is to translate the exigencies of the literate, urban, technical sector down to the campesino. The priest, in the rural parish, is the intermediary between the hierarchical structure of the church and the peasant, and he translates the formal doctrine of the Church into the terms

of the folk religion understandable to the peasant.[1] The lower-level political bosses act as patrons and intermediaries in the political hierarchy in a somewhat similar way. The local municipal offices are usually filled by the literate people in the municipal town (which has often had a school long before the outlying aldeas) or the larger farmers of the area who could afford education for their children. These traditional rulers make the decisions for the lower-status rural people.

Economically, the little surplus that the small cultivator has is sold to the larger farmers of the neighborhood or to traveling merchants who buy up small quantities of grain and livestock to sell in the regional market. In all of these cases the campesino seldom has to communicate directly with the regional or national centers. He is usually on a familiar, personalistic basis with the intermediary and does not need any literate skills for this. Traditionally, written contracts were not used as a basis for transactions, and the word of the campesino was considered better than a written contract.

However, in so far as the peasant cultivator has to assume the responsibility of the "rulers" and make decisions, even if this is on the level of neighborhood development, he has to be literate. It is significant that one of the most important reasons for learning to read and write given by the campesinos themselves is to be able to occupy offices in community development committees, in the local cooperatives, and in other organizations. The fact that the Protestant and now the Catholic Churches have made the campesinos the lay ministers directing religious services in the communities has put the responsibility for the transmission of formal doctrine into the hands of peasant cultivators. Before there were the enseñadoras and rezadoras within the community who were religious leaders, but they did not have the official standing that the lay ministers now have. With the formation of parochial and diocesan councils of delegados or lay ministers, these are now expected to participate in decision making at these levels.

The development of a broad-based leadership in rural communities is one example of introducing the institutions formerly restricted to the urban, technical, ruling sector. It is but one example, and it could be argued that it is still a peripheral role since it does not directly affect the very core of the campesinos' life, their roles as cultivators and housewives. Many of the leaders of the radio school movement

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1. Spitzer, Allen. "Notes on a Mérida Parish," Anthropological Quarterly, XXXI (Jan., 1958), pp. 3-20.

have complained that they have dedicated years to community development and to the literacy campaign without really noticeable changes in the daily life and the overall situation of the campesino. The kinds of role change that have been introduced in the area of leadership could very well be introduced in the area of agriculture as well. Once the campesino begins to make the transition from peasant to farmer, (a subject we briefly touched upon in Chapter I) literacy will become a part of this aspect of life. He will need to be literate to calculate costs and benefits in relation to markets. As he employs a more technical, continually innovating agriculture, it will be more important to be able to read instructions and more general gooklets on improved agriculture. Literacy may also be important as he has more direct contact with markets. Also, being able to read legal and government documents and to use archives of land ownership may be very important in the defense of his rights as a farmer. The same argument could be developed for the changes in the role of housewives. In general the reasoning is this: as the roles of campesinos change with the introduction of new institutions which include literacy as an integral part, the rural lower-status population will tend to become really literate.

The campesino has been excluded from literacy because he has been excluded from participation in a rationalized market-oriented economy and from participation in leadership and government roles which have been traditionally the responsibility of the urban, literate elites. The education for occupying these roles has been an education in the written, literary tradition of the nation or region--the poetry, history, novels, journalism, philosophy of Honduras and Central America. Literacy does not mean just learning to read and write but becoming part of the literary tradition such as had grown up around the roles of the rulers.

It might be argued that first we have to introduce literacy, so that individuals will be capable of filling these roles. For example, unless there are literate leaders, we cannot introduce certain organizations. The answer seems to be that the role must be introduced with literacy or, rather, literacy with the role. But the emphasis in adult education programs should probably be on role changes or at least predicated upon role changes.

Literacy means much more than just being able to pronounce the sounds suggested by the syllables on the page or to write a series of letters of the alphabet. It implies, first of all, having a series of concepts that can be communicated

in the language of the literate world and being able to comprehend the information that is circulating in the world of the literate, urban, technical sector. Understanding this information implies that the information has some significance in terms of the practical realities of campesino life. This information will not ordinarily have this kind of significance until the campesino begins to develop a series of new institutions which imply literacy as a necessary part.

This may explain the fact that the campesino who has spent several years in the public primary schools and mechanically learns to pronounce words and to write them, often is not really literate and forgets these skills. His literacy has not been supported by the roles he has had to play. Certainly, the fact that something of reading and writing has been learned is a help in relearning or improving literacy later on, but this relearning will occur in a solid, permanent fashion once the necessity of literacy makes it important.

This does not discount the role of literacy campaigns, but it suggests that literacy has a much wider meaning than just the skill of reading and writing and that the learning of the skills themselves is going to be somewhat meaningless and, consequently, difficult until the campesino begins to play the roles that these skills are logically a part of. The person who is caught up in these changes suddenly becomes "literate" in a much wider sense. The messages that are transmitted through the written word suddenly have significance for him, and the campesino rapidly activates the literate skills of reading and writing. Or, he seeks out the opportunities of getting the minimum skills that the radio schools offer and then develops these on his own. In this context the minimum investment strategy of the radio school program will have more success since, given even a small opportunity, the campesino will be able to take full advantage of it.

It may also be argued that the problem is in the values of the campesino, that becoming literate is not an important value for campesinos. But is this true? Some campesinos have been literate for generations. Some kind of school has been present in most rural communities (or nearby communities) for a generation or more. The campesinos who have become literate are usually of a higher socioeconomic status within the community. It is possible that many, if not most campesinos, accept, at least in a vague way, the value of education. But life for many is a matter of survival. Although taking children out of school or working instead of attending the radio school may not be essential, it certainly seems essential in the economic context in which most live. Many feel that education

is a luxury which they cannot hope to aspire to in their present situation. They can survive without it, so it is still a luxury. Until there is more economic security, literacy may be valued, but it is indeed a luxury for many in spite of whatever their values may be.

This points up one of the fundamental obstacles to increasing literacy, the growing impoverishment of the lower-status rural population with the continual land division. The campesino frequently has neither the money to buy reading materials nor the leisure time to read them. His fundamental concerns have been mere survival.

In the minds of many campesinos, education has been associated with a social status which many do not feel they can aspire to. Those who define themselves as the poor do not see that education could be a way out of their situation, simply because it is not part of the life of "poor people like us." This is part of a fatalistic interpretation of events around one, but it is also a result of a growing lack of opportunity that closes off aspiration and influences the campesino to think in terms of a minimum risk strategy.

Another aspect of the introduction of literacy into the culture of the campesino sector is the question of the availability of reading materials. At present there are not many books published in a country like Honduras which are of interest to a campesino, nor are newspapers and magazines available. Those which are available are very expensive. Literacy probably presupposes the wide and easy availability of cheap, mass-produced reading materials. It also presupposes publishing houses which are interested in publishing something for the campesino sector, not just for the traditional literate, urban, technical sector. This requires some imagination and initiative among individuals of the urban, technical sector. It also assumes a real interest in the concerns of the campesino sector, and it may necessitate such basic things as a large, cheap supply of paper in a country.

The above discussion has touched on various aspects of the broader changes that seem to be necessary to make a literacy campaign a success. What has been implied throughout this discussion is that a literacy program must be part of a much larger socioeconomic development process or at least of a larger rural educational process.

The Effectiveness of the Health and Agriculture Classes of the Radio Schools

In addition to the literacy classes, the radio schools of ACPH also have two or three classes a week in health, agriculture, and civics. These are also accompanied by specially prepared texts and charts. In order to test the success of the health and agricultural classes, questions based on the materials taught in them were included in the questionnaire which compared radio school communities and non-radio school communities, radio school students and non-radio school students. Since the questions taken from the class materials were largely informational, another series of questions on health and agricultural practices were included in the same questionnaire: the health questions directed to the women and the agricultural questions to the men. The informational questions were graded in difficulty so that the easiest were testing knowledge that was little more than a reflection of the general rural culture, while only those with the radio school classes, or other special training, would know the more difficult.

In the analysis of the results it was found that in the areas of both health and agriculture a higher percentage of the radio school students, especially the more regular, longer-attending students, could give correct answers on the informational questions than the respondents who had not participated in the radio schools. And, on the more esoteric informational questions (for example in the case of health: knowledge of foods high in vitamins and why proteins are important in the diet; and in the case of agriculture: elements of soil essential for plant growth, knowledge of insecticides, and new varieties of improved corn) the percentage of correct answers given by radio school students was very notably higher. However, in the actual implementation of improved health and agricultural practices, the results were quite mixed. Why there is this gap between information and implementation requires more explanation.

Information and Implementation of Recommended Health Practices

In the question of recommended health practices, the evidence is conclusive that the radio schools have increased both the level of information and the level of practice. But a number of factors influencing both the level of information and the acceptance of certain practices must be taken into account: 1) the consistency and emphasis which the radio schools and the housewives' clubs have employed in promoting

new concepts and practices; 2) the degree to which the concept or practice is, or is becoming, a part of the general culture; 3) the degree to which the new concept of practice requires additional facilities in the home or considerable financial outlay; 4) the support given by official agencies such as public health agencies; and 5) the evident usefulness and importance of the concept of practice.

The relative success of the campaign for water purification seems to be due to the continued emphasis, the fact that it is not too expensive (although some find the extra use of firewood a factor), and that it apparently seems to be an important preventive medical practice to many people. On the other hand, the concept of the balanced diet, vitamins, and the practice of room partitions, while they have been promoted with some success by the radio school movement, are increasingly a part of the general rural culture, and the impact of the radio school movement is not so dramatic.

The questions regarding child care--vaccinations, prenatal and postnatal care--were influenced by the fact that many of the more regular female radio students are quite young and the question of child care does not yet affect them directly. But, when the percentages for those women who do have children are broken down, the radio school participants are significantly higher.

There is some tendency for the radio school participants to be stronger in the area of knowledge of health concepts and weaker in the area of putting this into practice. Thus, they were very much higher than the general population in giving information as to why proteins were important in the diet. But in none of the practice items (except water purification) was there such a marked difference. This is explained in part by the fact that the radio school movement has attempted to influence behavior by giving out information without always considering whether the information can readily lead to change in practices and whether the information is really relevant to the campesino life.

But in the case of the health practices, the presence of the housewives' clubs has influenced the level of practices also. The housewives' clubs have put an emphasis on a broad range of health, nutrition, and child care practices in their courses, the booklets and other literature they hand out, the radio program, and the various campaigns they have encouraged. Clearly, the radio school program should be reinforced by an organizational and promotional structure in the neighborhoods such as the housewives' clubs if it is going to have a fuller effect. The importance of the housewives' clubs will become more apparent as we consider the influence in the area of new agricultural concepts and practices.

Information and Implementation of Recommended Agricultural Practices

In the case of the agricultural knowledge and practices, the overall conclusion is fairly clear: although radio school students and leaders have considerably more knowledge than the general population, they are not necessarily putting this into practice. The employment of improved agricultural practices in the general population is quite low, and only in the case of outstanding radio school movement leaders is there a high incidence of putting recommended practices to use. If one compares the radio school students with non-participants, the latter are using improved practices with slightly more frequency. The participants are absorbing certain rather theoretical pieces of information regarding agricultural technology, but this seems to have little relevance to their actual practices. It is unused or perhaps is unuseable in their circumstances. In spite of their superior information, the radio school students are not improving their agriculture.

The exception to this is the case of the more outstanding leaders in the radio school movement. On the basis of more detailed descriptive investigations, they seem to be very highly motivated individuals--usually through their participation in the movement--to the point where they attempt to put into practice many of the recommended practices in spite of the difficulties. However, the level of failure is highest among these more highly motivated radio school participants. Again, on the basis of the analysis of a number of cases, it is evident that the information which is being communicated, while theoretically it may be yield increasing, in the actual circumstances of these small farmers, it is not very practical. Even worse, it is inducing these participants to attempt the employment of practices which, without the support of many other factors, are extremely high risks.

There are many reasons why the small farmer does not more readily employ improved agricultural practices, even if he be a motivated radio school student. Many do not own their own land, and if they do have some property, it must be supplemented by rented land. The steep slopes and rocky soils are often not good enough to risk fertilizers or improved seed varieties. He lacks credit, and the marketing conditions are very poor.

As we noted, the better radio school students also tend to be younger (the modal point in the distribution of the better students was the 20-25 age group). Many of these are farming on their parents' land and do not yet have the right to make decisions to employ practices they suspect might be helpful.

The larger farmers are more likely to be literate already and for various reasons do not participate in the radio schools or even in the radio school movement. But, because they have more land, more capital margin, more livestock, and a much more secure land tenure situation, it is more practical for them to think in terms of using improved agricultural technology.

Several communities which were among the non-radio school communities were in a zone of greater agricultural potential and an area better attended by the government agricultural extension agencies, DESARRURAL and INA. The radio school communities are highland communities, more inaccessible and almost completely unattended by extension agencies.

In general the agricultural classes of the radio schools of ACPH shared the problem of so many agricultural extension and educational agencies in Honduras: its approach was not carefully oriented to the small farmer. The strategies which have been used in providing technical information and technical assistance for the small farmer are different from those employed for the larger commercial farmer. The radio school class material was often quite theoretical and not directly applicable to the necessities of the small farmer. At least the intermediate steps from some of the points of information to the practice implied by that information were often complicated and very unclear. It is of little use to speak of the use of soil analysis and various kinds of fertilizers if fertilizers must be applied in a very special way on steep slopes and rocky soils. It is possible that in many cases the traditional corn varieties are more practical than the improved varieties which require special conditions. In general, much of the recommended agricultural technology is imported from Europe and the United States, and it is geared to special conditions. Careful studies of the special conditions of the small farmer must be made, and the available technology has to be adapted to the conditions of the smaller farmer. Very likely special strategies of communication of technology and reform of credit and marketing conditions will also have to be employed. The radio school classes probably should take into account these new approaches.

The actual employment of agricultural practices by the men is lower than the employment of recommended health practices by the women. One of the major reasons for this difference seems to be the presence of the housewives' clubs to which many of the women in the radio school movement belong. The housewives' clubs provide a social structure within the community which, through its leadership, its uses of existing social controls in the communities, and its ability to develop

strategies of change, contributes to the translation of concepts into practices. The medium for this process is the club project: a campaign to introduce some new health or homemaking practice; a project to improve the water supply; the organization of a savings club. The clubs attempt to provide practical information meeting by meeting, discussing the themes suggested by the housewives' club manual. Many of the women are listening to the radio program and are passing on the information received in short training courses. There is a regional supervisor in the southern region who is communicating with the neighborhoods and helping the women overcome difficulties. In short, there is an organizational structure which is oriented to action. The program of the housewives' clubs needs a great deal more supervision and enrichment of its projects, but a national plan is now being inaugurated for this. This will also involve much more collaboration between the local clubs and the public agencies providing services, such as the public health program.

New programs of the housewives' clubs should be carefully prepared so that nothing is generally encouraged that is not based on the priorities of the rural women and is not practical in the conditions in which they live. Many ideas proposed are untested on an experimental basis first, and it is not certain that they are really relevant.

As this research progressed, it became obvious that something similar to the housewives' club would have to be devised for the men if the radio school educational program was going to have some practical relevance for the small farmer. The agricultural classes in themselves were having little apparent practical effect. Many of the leaders were complaining that they had worked for years in the movement and that it had contributed little to the solution of the key problem of their livelihood. There was needed some kind of organizational structure which could translate available information regarding agriculture into effective agricultural practices. There was a great deal of interest in this sort of program because the increase of population was forcing farmers to a much more intensive, efficient agriculture. This kind of program would have to include the following elements:

1. A leadership and motivational structure in the community which encouraged collaboration in discussing agricultural improvement and devising means of initiating change;

2. The stimulation of the creativity and the problem solving capacities of the small farmers in the neighborhoods so that a process of continual improvement would begin. In so far as the program was based on the active reflection of the farmers themselves on their problems and built out

of their own experience, it would tend to avoid the rote implementation of practices which were irrelevant or ineffective;

3. A communication system which would make available yield-increasing technology and other types of information for improving agriculture (given the innovative process going on in the community). This would include the use of para-professional personnel, monthly meetings of representatives from communities, a regular radio program, distribution of publications, special training programs, and other communication linkages;

4. A process of experimentation in the community which would adapt new information to the specific needs of the farmers in that community;

5. A supervision which would carefully and continuously analyze the kinds of information which would be truly profitable and provide sufficient technical assistance to avoid projects which offered little chance of success;

6. Linkages with existing public agencies which could provide further technical assistance and other inputs necessary for the innovations;

7. A regional and national administrative backup which would provide linkages with other agencies working in rural development.

These elements have been incorporated into the Program of Agricultural Promotion, recently adopted by the radio schools of ACPH on an experimental basis.

The radio school classes have been relatively successful in their primary objective which is to provide information regarding improved health and agricultural practices. They have stressed the reasons behind these practices, and the respondents were at least able to indicate the correct reasons when given a multiple choice type of question. Having this information which gradually changes their world view is a good thing even if it is not put into practice. It may take a long time for these radio school students, many of whom are quite young, to discover the time and place to put the information to use.

But the classes might well be based on a better study of the campesino life and the priorities that the campesino has to face. There might also be more information on how to take advantage of existing public facilities and the resources that the campesino has.

Finally, just as the literacy classes have to be placed in the context of a much larger development program, so also the health and agriculture classes should be related to a larger program such as we have described above.

Improving the Functioning of the Radio School Literacy Program

In spite of the difficulties of adult basic education among campesinos, a number of measures might be taken to improve the literacy program within the present framework of the movement without notably increasing the costs.

In general the functioning of the radio school itself--monitors, classes, radio, and so forth--was not noticeably bad. In a representative sample of seventy radio schools in the southern region 10 per cent began but never functioned one whole year, 34.3 per cent completed one or two years, 27.1 per cent continued all ten years with only periodic interruption, and 28.6 per cent functioned continuously for ten years. Thus,we can say that 55 per cent have functioned reasonably continuously over the ten years.

In considering why the approximately 45 per cent have ceased to function, in 33.3 per cent of the cases it was due to lack of response of the students and in 21.3 per cent it was due to problems with the radio, the materials, or the coordinator.

Perhaps the single most important step would be to improve the selection and training of the coordinators. The coordinator seems to be the most important factor in the success or failure of radio schools, at least indirectly. He is also very important in the development of the whole radio school movement. It is the coordinator who motivates the community, helps the community select its monitor, gives the monitor back up and makes sure that the radio is functioning, replaces the monitor who is inadequate, helps the people of the community initiate other parallel organizations such as the housewives' clubs, and links the community into the wider movement.

The comparison of the functioning of the radio schools in two parishes in the southern region, one of which had good coordinators and auxiliary coordinators shows a very marked contrast. Table 4.15 compares the radio schools in Parish A with good coordinators over Parish B with coordinators not performing well.

Table 4.15: Percentage of Radio Schools Functioning Well or Poorly According to Quality of Coordinator

Parish	Functioning of Radio Schools							
	Poorly		Moderately		Good		Excellent	
Parish A: Good coordinators:	10.0	(2)	35.0	(7)	30.0	(6)	25.0	(5)
Parish B: Poor coordinators:	70.6	(12)	29.4	(5)				

If the coordinators are so crucial for the success of the radio school schools and the radio schools movement, what is the general state of the coordinators as a whole? As part of the survey of the state of the radio schools in the regions where they have been most active, a quite careful analysis of the activities of thirty coordinators over the past few years was carried out in three regions: Valle-Choluteca, Comayagua, and Olancho. Other regions such as Yoro-Cortes and Santa Barbara were not included because the radio school system was not sufficiently developed. The coordinators were judged inadequate if they were not even properly supervising the radio schools, adequate if they were more or less maintaining the number of radio schools in the area, good if they maintained well the radio schools and were doing other types of community development and organizational work, outstanding if they were extending the radio school system in their area, were organizing their work exceptionally well, and were creative in promotional work.

Table 4.16: An Evaluation of Radio School Coordinators

	Choluteca-Valle	Comayagua	Olancho	Total
Outstanding	none	1	none	1
Good	8	2	1	11
Adequate	11	2	2	15
Inadequate	2		1	3

In the Choluteca-Valle area during the time of the study two of the coordinators who would have been judged outstanding retired: one because of ill health and another to direct the regional leadership training center. Also, two coordinators who had been judged inadequate had recently been retired and replaced by coordinators who were judged good.

The Choluteca area has been marked by a considerable turnover of coordinators who have been escalated to other full-time promotional and leadership positions. Many of those who were judged only adequate were new in the job and may develop considerably more experience and practical skill. In general, the Comayagua area had the best group of coordinators according to this analysis, perhaps because they had more years of experience, and Olancho the worst, again, perhaps because the radio schools are just beginning to get a start there. However, it is doubtful that many will develop into really good coordinators unless there is better selection, and there are well-planned training programs for them.

An evaluation of the coordinators was also attempted from the point of view of the monitors and community leaders whom the coordinators are supposed to serve. The monitors in the Choluteca area were asked to describe the assistance the coordinators gave them and the general impact of the coordinators in their communities. In the coding of the responses, 16.7 per cent of the monitors thought that the coordinators had no influence in their communities, 38.2 per cent felt that they had limited influence and 38.1 per cent felt that the coordinators were influential in their communities (7.1 per cent gave no answer). The monitors felt that 30.9 per cent of the auxiliary coordinators had no influence in their communities, 16.7 per cent saw limited influence, and 35.7 per cent said they were influential (16.7 per cent did not answer).

In many ways the strength of the radio school movement is also the source of potential weakness. The fact that the radio schools are part of a movement and not just a bureaucratic operation is in great part due to the fact that its front line activists are campesino leaders themselves. Incorporating campesino leaders, who are themselves part of the campesino sector and responsible directly to the campesino interests because they <u>are</u> campesinos, is the strongest aspect of the educational and promotional system of the radio schools. It is for this reason that the work of the coordinators and other campesino supervisors should be strengthened. But as individuals of a semisubsistence farming background and often with a two or three year primary school education themselves, they have problems as educators and as representatives of the urban, technical sector.

There is no doubt about the personal enthusiasm, self-sacrificing dedication and (generally) the hard work of the coordinators. They are trusted and loved by the people, and they are in contact with their problems. But, as semisubsistence farmers they often lack a sense of how to administer the rather complex organization of one hundred to one hundred and fifty radio schools in their area. They have little concept of what adult education really is supposed to be--outside of their experience in the radio schools and their common sense. Nor do many of them have an understanding of the rural development process and how to bring available resources to the campesino. In both the supervision of the radio schools and other development work they are equipped to carry out routine tasks, but they are not able to assist communities to come up with more original responses to their problems and to keep feeding alternatives to them. As a result the radio schools and the parallel organizations tend to stagnate after the original impulse.

The major recommendations with regard to the coordinators are a much more careful selection and better training. At present coordinators are selected haphazardly by former coordinators, and there is no training course for them. The former coordinator explains his routine tasks briefly, and from there it is up to the new coordinator to decide what he will do. The annual meetings of the coordinators, though they last a week, do not serve as a training course. They are only a discussion of general policy and current trends in the radio school system. The coordinators are generally quite good in using the non-directive group dynamics technique, but they also need to have some positive training.

The improved training of the coordinators is especially important in view of the adoption of the methods of Paulo Freire, which demand much more of the monitors. The short five day courses are not enough to train the monitors in the concientización techniques and other direct methods which are to be used along with the radio school classes. The coordinators could use the monthly meetings to gradually train the monitors, but the coordinators are not well trained in this themselves. In general the monthly meetings are not well run and are not used for the continued training of the monitors. Now that there are regional supervisors there is more back up of the coordinators. But the coordinators should be given at least a month's initial training and over a two or three year period another month or two in four to six day sections. This training would probably cost approximately $250 per coordinator, but it would be more than returned in the greater response of the movement to real problems.

The initial course and additional follow-up courses should probably include the following themes:

1. Remedial work in the key areas of their own educational deficiencies.

2. A brief introduction to practical administrative principles, applied to their work.

3. Training in running meetings, constructing agenda, basic principles of public speaking and communication. The coordinator spends most of his time in meetings, but loses a great deal of time because he does not know parliamentary procedure or how to structure a meeting.

4. The use of simple audio-visual aids such as blackboards and the use of other communication devices. Their main communication device is exhortation, which soon grows dull.

5. Training in the goals and methods of community development. Many coordinators, especially the newer ones, have little idea of this, and the older coordinators are often very paternalistic and do little to help the people learn by the projects they are engaged in.

6. An introduction to the goals, problems, methods, etc. of adult basic education with special emphasis on the methods used by the radio school system of Honduras.

7. The practical principles of establishing and maintaining organizations. Most do not have a sense of how to devise a simple organizational structure and make it perform its functions in response to special problems.

8. The general lines of rural development in Honduras: the role of improved education and health, better agricultural production, land reform, agricultural extension, etc. This should be practical with emphasis on the use of available resources and demand for better rural services. This would help coordinators to understand what are the bases of rural problems and what are the alternatives to offer communities in their decision making.

The kind of general motivation and leadership training course that many of the leadership training centers have been giving has value only as an initial phase, and even then its value is questionable. The process begins in the formation of the different kinds of organizations and creating leadership roles at the neighborhood and municipal level. Once

the organizations are established then the courses should be oriented toward training for specific tasks in those organizations.

General Conclusions and Recommendations

Should Literacy Training Be the Central Focus of the Rural Adult Education of ACPH?

The overall conclusion of this analysis of the first of the goals of the radio school movement is that the adult literacy program of the radio schools of ACPH has been relatively successful considering the severe limitations of funds and personnel and the obstacles to such a program which are part of the context of campesino life. Literacy programs, whether they are operated through the radio schools, direct teaching, or through other methods and whether they are working with adults or children, (even in public primary schools) are going to have limited success unless they are part of other concomitant changes in the social and economic structure of the country. Adult basic education is doubly difficult because adults are under ven greater pressure from their situation of poverty and dependency in their communities.

For those campesinos who have been interested in learning to read and write, the radio schools have provided an opportunity which otherwise would not have existed. In these communities many lower-status campesinos who ordinarily would have been excluded from positions of leadership, especially in the formal leadership positions in community organizations, can now participate. Now that the system of regional training centers and regional development teams has been established, and the radio school movement is being extended to seven or eight major regions of Honduras on a quite solid basis, the kind of results that were obtained in southern Honduras and in Comayagua can be expected in other regions.

If one asks whether the radio schools achieved the goals of the directors, the results in terms of literacy training are reasonably acceptable. But if one considers the overall contribution of literacy programs to the solution of the focal concerns of the campesino, it is questionable whether an adult basic education program should center its major efforts on literacy training as its essential medium of education. Even if the radio schools of Acción Cultural Popular Hondureña had gotten the same local and regional administrative support that they had in southern Honduras

in all of the major regions of Honduras, and even if the central office would have had more funds at its disposal, this would only have multiplied the results that were obtained in southern Honduras. Or, at least, it would only have improved the program in the direction of more literacy. The real question is the place of intensive literacy training in the process of the transformation of the Honduran campesino from a peasant to a farmer.

There is considerable discussion in Honduras of legal measures which would oblige all illiterates to attend literacy classes. It is doubtful that such a law would be enforced or enforceable in Honduras since the present universal education law obliging children between the ages of six and fifteen to attend public primary schools is not enforced. Since this kind of law would touch many employers of landless campesinos, it would probably meet the silent opposition of patrónes much in the same way that the present agrarian reform law, which concerns the even more urgent commodity of tillable land, is flouted. But even if such a law were passed and enforced, and if there were an intensive literacy campaign, it is questionable whether this is the kind of adult basic education that campesinos in Honduras need.

Many admire Castro's effort to wipe out illiteracy through a kind of total mobilization in a "year of education" (1961). The secondary schools were temporarily closed and thousands of secondary school students went out into the rural areas "armed with a uniform, a hammock, a blanket, a parafin lamp, a flag, a portrait of their patron, Conrado Benítez (a militiaman killed by the counter-revolution in the Sierra dc Escambray) and two manuals: Venceremos and Alfabetizemos"[2] Whether it was this campaign or the improved educational system in general that has been the cause, it does seem that illiteracy has been all but eliminated in Cuba. (We have no careful evaluations of the 1961 campaign, however!) This kind of total mobilization is a most interesting tactic, but should it be aimed at literacy?

Many of the international organizations such as the United Nations have, for many years, placed considerable emphasis on literacy programs as the central effort of adult basic education for the lower-status rural population. But the statistical results and the overall impressions gained in this study would call this policy into question.

The fundamental reasoning behind the model of literacy training employed in Honduras seems to be that if the essential elements of literacy were made available to adults, the constant

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2. Thomas, Hugh. Cuba, The Pursuit of Freedom. (New York: Harper & Row, 1971) p. 1339.

use of these skills would eventually bring the individual to functional literacy. The literacy classes provide the basic tools, and the milieu in which the individual lives completes the educational process. But there are a series of pieces of evidence that leads one to question not only this premise, but also the supposed role of literacy in the life of the campesino.

The first observation is that once a campesino is literate, he actually uses his literate skills very little and not infrequently loses them through disuse. Although the whole question of what the campesino reads and how he uses his literate skills should be investigated much more than we were able to in this study, the major reason why the campesino does not use his literate skills more is that the campesino culture is traditionally not a literate culture. The campesino can move in his world, as it is presently constituted, reading very little and not greatly hindered by the fact that he is illiterate or practically illiterate. Literacy is certainly not a focal concern, nor is it too close to the major focal concerns in the case of most. Given this life context, it is not surprising that there is little or no reading material available to exercise this reading capacity. There is not the money to buy books, newspapers, magazines, or educational pamphlets. Moreover, there is little or no editing or publishing aimed at the rural lower-status population in Honduras so that even if the campesino were accustomed to reading and had the resources to purchase reading materials, he would not find them in any abundance. Also, the physical situation in which the campesino lives is not conducive to reading: he comes in from the fields from work at 4:00 or 5:00 p.m., rests a bit and has a meal; then it is nearly dark. There is very poor lighting in the house--frequently not bright enough to read with. So, following a long standing custom, the family retires almost at nightfall. On Sundays or holidays there are other activities which occupy him. Ironically, it is the radio which serves as the new source of communication for the rural areas: as newspaper, novel, history, and even as a means of announcements that might be made through letters.

Having a certain level of formal education and being literate is a matter of prestige since the literate person does occupy the positions of greater power and higher social status in rural areas, but in the priorities of the life of the average campesino, who is accustomed to powerlessness and dependency, literacy ranks relatively low. Most are living very close to the margin of survival, and the round of activities of subsistence agriculture of the men and the homemaking activities of the women, usually with large families, are so demanding that concern for formal education is crowded

out. This is evidenced by the fact that even in the communities where the radio school movement is functioning reasonably well, only 25 to 30 per cent of the eligible adults are even enrolling, and only 50 to 60 per cent of these stay long enough to take the exams. And, of those who take the exams, only 60 per cent apply themselves well enough to learn to read and write. This takes into consideration that many who are enrolling have a fairly high degree of literate skill already. There is evidence also that not a few of those who do enroll do so for extrinsic reasons of authority within the family or community or for reasons of friendship or kinship. The majority of the illiterates in a community are usually not taking advantage of the radio schools even when these are functioning reasonably well. The major obstacle, as we have seen, is the pressure of work and sickness, but the motivational factors are also very important.

The same phenomenon of lack of strong interest in formal education is evidenced in the case of the public primary schools. Although public primary schools are now located in practically every small rural community, and there is little question of the accessibility of primary education even up to the sixth grade, 60 to 65 per cent of the children of school age (ages seven to fifteen) in the rural areas are not in schools. Although exact statistics are not available, there is a relatively large number of children who do not attend at all or drop out after a few months, and 50 per cent of all first year students in Honduras do not enroll for the second grade. The percentage for the rural areas alone is undoubtedly much higher.

A USAID study of the reasons for student drop out reveals that the principal reason (given by teachers) is the low economic standard. This usually means that the parents are unable to feed or clothe the student for school and buy the few school materials that are required. In many cases the fundamental reason is that the parents are not strongly motivated to keep the children in school because formal education does not seem that important. Keeping the child at home to do odd jobs or work in the fields and in the home seems more important to many parents who are living at the very edge of survival. Sickness, which was the second most frequent reason for drop out, is also related to the low economic standard. Primary school enrollments are rising, but very slowly in rural areas. The annual growth rate in largely rural areas such as southern Honduras is only 5.5 per cent, not much beyond the population growth rate of 3 to 3.5 per cent.[3]

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3. Stanford Research Institute, The Economic Development of Southern Honduras (Menlo Park, California, 1968), Part III, pp. 135-140.

Many of the leaders of the radio school movement in southern Honduras are becoming increasingly frustrated with the literacy program because they see enrollments in many radio schools tending to shrink after an original burst of enthusiasm. Literacy training is simply not widely appealing to the great majority of adults in rural communities. Some of the people who might be interested in adult basic education are already sufficiently literate; others are illiterate and possibly interested, but find obstacles in their work; others simply do not see it as important in their lives. After years of work, these leaders do not see that it is helping the people of their communities resolve much more fundamental problems. Even the work in community development appears marginal to the fundamental concerns of the people.

Nor have the classes in health and agriculture been particularly effective. However, neither are the agricultural education efforts of the state agricultural extension agency, DESARRURAL, reaching the lower-status rural population in the highlands. The same could be said of the health education efforts of the Honduran Ministry of Health. These services must also be complemented by a different approach if they are to be effective.

Throughout this evaluation of the first of the goals of the radio school movement in Honduras, recommendations have been made regarding improvements in the present system. It is suggested that the monitors be better selected and that they be given more continued in-service training. It is especially recommended that the coordinators be more carefully selected and that they receive more initial, as well as in-service, training.

The major recommendation is that there be some kind of continued reading program. All proponents of literacy programs consider that continued reading is essential for the success of adult literacy campaigns. For example, in the literacy program connected with Literacy House in India, the elementary literacy classes were followed up with reading forums. "The objective of organizing adult literacy classes was not only to teach the villagers to read and write, but rather to make them functionally literate, that is, to stimulate them to use reading and writing in their daily life. For this purpose, much attention was paid to producing reading material for the adult literacy classes. Reading material was supplied which was of interest and relevance to the villagers. The libraries were established under the supervision of a literacy teacher and a literacy action worker. Reading forums were organized to decrease the two major disadvantages of the written word: its impersonal nature, and

the lack of two-way communication. Reading materials used in these forums were mainly published in collaboration with Literacy House, Lucknow, but some of the materials were obtained from other agencies. These reading materials dealt especially with . . . agricultural and health innovations."[4] Although the classes were conducted with direct teaching methods and extended over eleven months, the continued reading program was also a factor in 77 per cent of the enrollees reaching functional literacy.[4]

However, the evaluations of this literacy program in India indicated that it was not as successful as radio forums, which stress practical application of innovations, in getting villagers to accept agricultural and health practices. Although the literacy classes were superior to other methods in bringing about increased agricultural and health knowledge, they were not as effective in changing practices. They concluded that "Literacy should be viewed as a long-time developmental investment that is unlikely to pay off in changed knowledge or adoption of innovations in the short term. . ."[5]

Certainly there are many improvements that could be made in the radio school literacy program of ACPH, but our questioning does not lie in the area of its functioning. The problem does not seem to lie fundamentally in the fact that the monitors are not being paid or that the supervisors of the radio school are not as good as they could be. The supervision has been reasonably good and it would be difficult to match the enthusiasm and voluntary efforts of monitors and coordinators of the radio schools. A quite remarkable job of mobilizing the traditional influence structure and value system of the campesinos has been done in order to get greater participation. The coordinators complain that they are not well enough trained for the work they have and that their efforts are spread among many different types of community development and adult education activities. But, as we noted above, the confusion of the coordinators seems to spring from a confusion as to what the whole adult education program of the radio school movement of ACPH is trying to accomplish and the methods of accomplishing it. The system of monthly meetings, the use of paraprofessional personnel, the radio media, the short training courses, and the local and regional

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4. Roy, Prodipto, Frederick Waisanen and Everett Rogers. The Impact of Communication on Rural Development, (UNESCO, Paris, and National Institute of Community Development, Hyderabad, India, 1969), pp. 115-120.

5. Ibid., p. 129.

promotional teams have established a development communication system of great potential, but this potential is not being taken advantage of at present. Again, one of the main reasons seems to be that it is not entirely clear what the adult education program of ACPH wants to accomplish and can effectively accomplish given the obstacles to more formal types of education using traditional methods.

The major recommendation as a result of the examination of the adult basic education program of ACPH is not simply that the present program be improved, but that there be a reorganization of the focus and methods of the program. The methods of literacy training could be improved, and this might mean some improvement in the results in terms of the numbers achieving full functional literacy. But, it is even questionable whether a great deal of effort in the direction of improving the present system would make literacy more relevant to the life of the campesino. The real question is "What kind of adult education program will meet the priority needs of campesinos and provide a significant service for them?" This kind of refocusing does not mean changing the fundamental goals of the radio school movement or the ideology of the movement but finding more effective means of realizing them. It does not mean dropping the present literacy training program, but it does probably mean that it will become a subordinate part of a much different kind of educational approach. The radio school movement is a very strong force for social change in the rural areas of Honduras, and at this point it seems to be looking for a different instrument for its adult education program.

A Proposal for the Reorganization of the Emphasis and Methods of the Adult Basic Education Program of ACPH in Rural Areas

The directors of the radio schools and other leaders in the radio school movement have been aware from the beginning of the limitations of the literacy program as an instrument for adult basic education and fundamental social change. For this reason they projected as a goal "*desarrollo integral*" and later brought into the general ideology and leadership training a stronger concept of class consciousness and the need for structural changes (*marginalidad* and *conscientización*). They have looked upon the literacy program as merely an instrument for fundamental values changes, the development of organizational capacity (including leadership development), and the basis for a longer-range process of social change. They have also coordinated the radio schools with the cooperative movement, with a gradually evolving program of rural housewives' clubs, and more recently have

incorporated an experimental program of agricultural education working through community agricultural discussion groups and cooperatives. Both the housewives' clubs and the agricultural education program have national projections and have at least initial funding. The directors of the radio schools and the leaders of the movement are also aware of the importance of campesino special interest groups as a political pressure arm. Once the concept of the regional training center was elaborated, all this began to be integrated in terms of the regional development team which we described in detail in Chapter III. Agricultural training schools are now being planned in most of the major regions as the focal point for these regional teams. These schools, following in many respects the model established by CENARS (Centro de Adiestramiento Rural del Sur) in the southern region, will provide training for both men and women and will be closely tied in with the development communication system of the movement. All this is being integrated at the national level by the planning body, CONCORDE (Comité Nacional de Coordinación de Desarrollo).

The radio school movement has gradually developed a much broader program in which the radio schools and the formal literacy training are only one part and often not the most important part. This is especially true in regions where the movement is more recently established, such as Olancho. The radio schools' central office is now planning an expansion into a full primary school education for adults (through radio schools) which should take them much beyond the very elementary literacy training now offered. This gradual development of a broader approach has been good: it has allowed for a certain amount of experimentation and for laying foundations so that, as new programs have been introduced, the local communities could deliberate and accept them on their own terms.

At the same time the growth has at times been haphazard, and communities have been encouraged to embark on an activity or an organization when there was not adequate supervision. It is not always clear just how the literacy program, the emphasis on community development, cooperatives, and other activities are to be integrated into one general adult basic education program. Nor is it clear just who is directing the programs at the district and regional level or even which national agency is in charge. There are disputes between the regional teams and the national offices. There are many indications that there should be planning to integrate better all of the activities of the radio school movement and make them all more relevant in the life of the campesino.

The directors of the radio schools can justly say that their scope of activity is adult basic education and that

their responsibility is to do this well. It is not their problem if the small farmer is not being attended by the agricultural extension agency and the credit agencies, or if land tenure and marketing problems are not being solved. There is no questioning that adult basic education is the priority for the central office of the radio schools and for the directors of ACPH. Moreover, the radio schools and the radio school movement can point out that their goal has not been just literacy, but a broad integral development, and that they have tried to invite other organizations to build on the base of the radio school movement.

The problem is that, although the radio schools and the radio school movement have had broad goals from the beginning and have encouraged a variety of development activities, the fundamental activity has been literacy using a modified replica of the formal educational model. The instrument of adult education which was originally introduced was borrowed from Colombia, and it conceived of education in terms of the traditional primary school training for children. This instrument put literacy at the center of the educational process without questioning whether adult education should be a carbon copy of primary school education or whether literacy should even be at the center of the educational process for campesino children.

Adopting the available instruments had a great deal of influence on how the radio school movement developed. Again, the medium was the message. The movement, especially in its earlier years and in the southern region, tended to define the campesino's problem as "ignorancia" meaning basically illiteracy and proposed that with greater knowledge the campesino's problems could be solved.

Education tends to be conceived in terms of formal education instead of being focused on the roles of the adult campesino and central concerns of the campesino. Again, the directors of the radio schools were not unaware of the limitations of this, but because of the basic medium that was used, every other aspect of desarrollo integral has been just a little peripheral to the basic activity, literacy. For example, the perfunctory classes in health and agriculture have tended to be looked upon as adjuncts to literacy. Monitors have been observed to simply turn off the radio during these classes, so that the students can take a rest or do something else. The broader goal of desarrollo integral has tended to come into conflict with the more specific goal of literacy training in the activities of the coordinators, but the central office has ordered that priority be given to activities of literacy. The movement has tended to grow up

around the literacy training and this remains the foundation ut there has not been a fundamental reexamination of the goals and a reorganization of the educational methods which are being used.

Another problem has been the range of institutionalized instruments which have been available as the expression of a broader educational effort. The major instrument has been community development, that is, the organization of neighborhood development committees and the promotion of infrastructural projects such as schools and roads. The cooperatives and later the housewives' clubs were also introduced. The community development emphasis and the cooperatives have undoubtedly been of educational value as will become apparent from the discussion in Chapter VI. But neither have these focused on the campesino's central concerns and on their roles as cultivators and homemakers. The exception has been the housewives' clubs, but until the present program now being introduced by CARITAS the supervision and auxiliary programs have been very weak. The community development activities have often required a great outlay of time, effort, and money, and the immediate pay-off to the campesino is not apparent. Certainly it has not affected the quality of their agriculture. Some of the roads built have been much more to the advantage of the merchants and the larger farmers in the area than to the average campesino. Many campesino leaders are complaining that they have worked a great deal in community development over the years, but that their poverty and dependence remain the same or worse.

The emphasis on literacy training as a central activity probably has been influenced by the fact that the Catholic Church was the original creator of the institution of radio schools in Colombia and by the fact that the Church in Honduras has promoted the radio schools. Because of its traditional involvement with the more verbal aspects of education and with institutions of formal education, the Church has tended to stress the necessity of literacy in education. Literacy may also have served its needs in developing religious organizations in the rural neighborhoods. In general religious organizations have been concerned with literacy so that their constituencies could have direct access to the sacred books of their religious tradition.

Illiteracy is, indeed, symbolic of the campesino's exclusion from the urban, technical, literate sector and a causal factor in his powerlessness. It is a problem! The campesino leaders accepted the idea of the literacy program with a great deal of enthusiasm, but perhaps they saw in it too much of a solution. There are many doubts about the

overall significance of the literacy program among the leaders of the radio school movement now. It has not solved very many of their real problems, and, looked at objectively, it is not very functional in the lives of many people.

The starting point for designing a program of education for adult campesinos is to ask the question, "Education for what?" Education is fundamentally organized assistance for individuals in finding the roles that fit them and in preparing for the roles that they want to enter. But it is a preparation in such a way that they are creative, that is, the individuals can change these roles in the attempt to make full use of their own capacities and solve the problems that they see in their milieu. To speak of preparation of individuals for the existing roles attributes too much of a static, unchanging character to the rural institutions. It is perhaps better to speak of preparation of individuals for participating, and contributing to a dynamic, creative social process. The ideal of the educator is to stimulate a creative response to the environment. Education should focus on the relationship of the individual to that environment.

In the past education has tended to become too formalized and rigid, subjecting the student to the acceptance of certain skills regardless of whether these skills might respond to the individual's needs or not. Recently Ivan Illich has argued that the institution of formal education has become so ritualized that it is more of an endurance test than a learning experience. Formal education has become so divorced from the real concerns of the student that most of our learning takes place outside of formal education.[6] Paulo Freire begins his whole literacy program around the current concerns of the students. Since literacy in Brazil is a necessary condition for voting and illiteracy was a symbol of political powerlessness and exclusion, many of the concerns of Freire's concientización were political. What Illich, Freire, and many other contemporary educators are advising is that education begin with the current concerns of the student. The student must define his own educational process and actively go out to get the skills he thinks he needs at the present time. The job of the educator is to make available to the student the training that the student thinks he needs and at the time when he needs it.[7]

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6. Illich, Ivan. Deschooling Society, (New York: Harper and Row, 1972).

7. Ibid.

In building its adult education program around literacy training, the radio schools of ACPH have some of the problems of institutionalized education in general: education has been defined in terms of skills and methods which are important to the educators, not necessarily in terms of the needs of the campesino and with methods that will actually reach the campesino. Campesinos, without schools or formal education, have been preparing themselves for their roles for centuries. The formal educational process should bring itself more in line with the informal education process and assist the campesino in meeting his fundamental concerns in a more effective and creative way.

The major recommendation for the adult basic education program of ACPH is not simply that the present program be improved in various ways, but that there be a reexamination of the priorities in its goals and that there be a refocusing of its activities on the more basic concerns of the campesino. This will not require introducing new programs, hiring more personnel, or obtaining more financing since all of the elements and the models of an adult education program focused on the central concerns of the campesino are already present in the radio school movement (housewives' clubs, agricultural education program, community development emphasis, the primary school program, etc.). But at present each of these tends to be a distinct activity with its own goals, and there is no integrated plan of adult basic education which brings all of the activities under a few priorities.

There was a reexamination of goals in 1968, but in the four years since then the radio school movement has undergone a great deal of expansion not only geographically but in the type of activities it is involved with. Moreover, the reexamination of 1968 was simply a preparation of themes for the new texts, not a questioning of the emphasis on literacy itself. A big step toward this kind of reintegration has been taken with the formation of CONCORDE so that these recommendations are made with the knowledge that this process of reexamination is already taking place.

Three questions might well serve as the basis for the reexamination of the goals and the refocusing of the educational activities of Acción Cultural Popular Hondureña: 1) What are the focal concerns of the campesino, and how can adult education assist the campesino to come to grips with these problems in a more creative and effective way? 2) What kind of educational program will assist the campesino to participate in and take best advantage of the tendency in Latin American society--and in Honduran society--toward fundamental structural changes which redefine the identity

of the campesino from inferiority, powerlessness, and dependency toward full equality with the urban, technical, literate sectors? 3) What kind of educational program will assist the campesino in breaking down the physical and cultural barriers to communication with the rest of Honduran society and in establishing economic, sociocultural, and political linkages which are not exploitative but mutually advantageous? These questions go back to our analysis of the factors of stability and change discussed in Chapters I and II, and they ask how an adult education program can help the campesino grapple with these factors, especially the factors of change.

Before discussing how an educational program might be a response to these questions, it might be well to make explicit several fundamental premises in this approach to education.

First of all, its focus is not in providing general information (knowledge) to individuals which may be applicable sometime in the future, but in providing specific training for specific roles. Therefore, the learning is best combined with the doing, or rather with living and carrying out certain adult roles. The suggestion of Illich and others is that much of the education could be combined with the work of the individuals involved and in their places of work. Since society is a dynamic changing process and roles are changing all the time, education is not understood as a static fund of information or skills which one obtains at the beginning of life and then draws on from time to time, but a continual process. Since individuals are mobile, often moving from role to role or entering into new demands, education should be flexible enough to follow these interests.

Secondly, education is an individual process and should be a stimulation of individual creativity, not a forcing of individuals into standardized molds. There is an educable moment and it does not always come at the time or in the way that more formal education structures it. Often the educable moments are moments of crisis when a change is forced upon an individual or when the need for new information or skills is suddenly dramatized. For example, when there was an epidemic of diarrhea among babies in a highland area of southern Honduras (with many babies dying), there was sudden interest in boiling of drinking water or other preventive health measures. In agriculture the changing situation in southern Honduras is forcing many cultivators to consider new methods simply because old methods are not getting the results. Thus, an adult education program is a continual dialogue and an answering of current questions rather than

a simple standard set of courses.

Thirdly, this kind of educational program must come to terms with the larger political-economic situation of the society. The most obvious objection is that it is impossible to educate campesinos to meet fundamental concerns when these problems spring from an unjust and exploitative land tenure system or the disinterest of the urban, technical elites in providing a better marketing system or credit sources. To some it seems that this kind of educational program presupposes fundamental changes in society and an accompanying political process. But must the realistic education of campesinos wait till these changes can be accomplished? And if they should take place in the relatively near future, shouldn't there have been an educational preparation for the micro changes that are implied? It seems more logical to conceive of education as a preparation and a working toward this new kind of socio-political process. In fact, one must assume that such a macro socio-political process presupposes a micro process which is gradually allowing roles, values, and attitudes to change in accordance with the macro process. One of the problems with any process of fundamental structural change is the educational program (in the wide sense of the term) which will make it effective. In Mexico the campesinos have not realized the full benefits of the Revolution in part because of this. Other revolutions have simply accepted the fact that campesinos are "reactionary" and "traditional" and that nothing much can be done with them. But look at the problem of change from the point of view of the campesino who is seeking more effective means of meeting his concerns and will gradually evolve with a changed structural situation, contributing to the changes as he solves his own micro concerns. Thus, an educational program at one point is working toward these macro changes (the sense of Paulo Freire's educational philosophy), and at another point of time it is the kind of education which is viable within such a new structural situation.

A similar sort of objection is that we have really very little to teach campesinos in meeting his fundamental concerns. One of these concerns is improving yields. But, our tested and effective yield-increasing technology is very limited. Again, there is need for applied agricultural research and need also for a step between applied research and actual implementation which one could call application research. That is, how is a supposedly good practice adapted to the circumstances of the small farmer enterprise with poor or variable soils, limited credit resources, uncertain marketing conditions, and so forth? But must an educational program wait till the maximum solutions have been found, or

is it not possible to work with existing factors of production and begin to slowly introduce small improvements? If there is a flexible, intelligent educational program, it will be analyzing the problems that are put to it constantly, so that gradually strategies of application research will be worked out.

A final premise is that this type of educational program is best carried on through a campesino movement, an organized attempt to change the social structure. Since it is not content to simply supply information, but to examine and change institutions and the supporting values, it must create a motivational base for this in the dissatisfaction with the existing institutions and project new belief systems about how campesinos can meet their problems. It has to be a mobilization system for social change, and formal education is but one aspect of this process. This means that the educational process is best controlled by campesino leadership and by service agencies which are allied with, but subordinate to, the leadership of a campesino movement.

Turning to the first question which serves as a guideline in focusing the goals, an adult basic educational program for campesinos, we ask, "What are the fundamental concerns of the campesino?" To answer this we go back to Chapter II. There we saw that subsistence agriculture (getting enough food to last throughout the year) and the yearly agricultural round, health, and a sense of personal worth are the areas of struggle, uncertainty, and constant worry. They are the concerns of life for which the campesino is especially looking for solutions, and they are the "educable moments" of life at present. Subsistence agriculture envelops much of the role or roles of the men. Health is a concern for all, but it touches especially the women who have to deal with the related problems of nutrition, food preparation, child care, and the health aspects of good housekeeping (water supply, washing, cleanliness, etc.).

As an example to illustrate how an educational program might be built around the fundamental concerns of campesinos, we will take semisubsistence agriculture and its related problems in the yearly cycle of cultivation. The concern of the agriculturist is increasing production, and, since subsistence agriculture in Honduras is becoming more and more oriented to markets, production for markets is increasingly a part of the concern. Some of the problem areas that a program of agricultural education should be ready to respond to are the following:

1) How to increase yields by employing improved technology.

But this implies more a series of fundamental attitudes and approaches to agriculture than simple "how to do it" tips. This marks the difference between "education" and "technical assistance."

a) Any kind of technology must be geared to the small farm enterprise, which implies a good deal of adaptation. The farmer would have to learn to look for new ideas and then adapt them to his own farm enterprise. He would have to know when he could and should introduce change rather than to depend on outside advice each time an innovation is recommended.

b) The stress of this kind of agricultural education program would be not only on the details of yield-increasing technology and fertilizer application, for example, but on a series of fundamental attitudes and understandings necessary for a dynamic, continually changing agriculture. For example, it would stress the importance of not accepting problems but looking for improvements, experimenting with them, and adapting through continual trials what seems to work for him.

c) Since we presuppose that learning is a part of doing, this kind of education would require a demonstration or experimental plot in the community either on someone's land who is willing to experiment or on a small common plot. The measure of success would not be in increased knowledge, but in improvements actually tried and adopted. And here it is suggested that the radio schools of ACPH adopt clear, behaviorally defined objectives, which can serve as the basis for further evaluations.

d) As much as possible the education process should be carried on through exchange of information and skills between peers. It is surprising how many campesinos ignore the improved practices of their neighbors. One of the key aspects of this educational program would be to establish in a community an organizational structure in which agriculturists could discuss common problems and exchange information (study circles, small cooperatives, or whatever seemed most helpful to the farmers of the area). This would be directed by a local farmer who would also serve as a source of information requested by those interested. This local "promoter" would occupy roughly the same role as the present radio school monitor: arranging visits of supervisors, obtaining instructional booklets, and supervising broadcast classes or programs. The dis-

cussions of the group might well center around the experimental plot of the community or innovations attempted by a particular farmer.

e) This kind of educational program would provide information as a direct response to problems, but its overall goal would be to teach the small farmer how to obtain the information he needs and how to use this information from many sources: agricultural extension offices and agents, commercial agencies, radio programs, published material, his own experience and the experience of other farmers. There would be training in how to read materials which were directly important. Here the actual use of functional literacy would be brought into the program and would stress the ability to read and apply not just to interpret a series of words on the printed page. The measure of success, again, would be in the amount of application and the actual solution of campesino problems in increasing yields. Eventually the campesino would learn not just how to read, but how to get information, understand it, adapt it to his circumstances, and how to make it operative. Once literacy becomes a real means of communication, and we have taught individuals not just to read but to use information, we have established habits of communication through the written word. This presupposes that the central office of the radio schools, in collaboration with the government extension services and research and experimentation services, would make available agriculturally related reading materials.

In general, by linking literacy to real problem-solving situations for campesinos, we are introducing the institution of literacy and making literacy operative in the life of the campesino. But the educational program centers upon the creation of a problem-solving process and includes literacy within this process.

2. Another problem area that this kind of educational program would be interested in is farm management, the ability to calculate costs and benefits in the small farm enterprise. This would be a major step in the transition from the semi-subsistence type of agriculture to a market-oriented agriculture in which the cost of factors of production have to be calculated against the prevailing market prices. This would involve a whole series of skills in mathematics and basic bookkeeping, some notions of the functioning of the financial and credit system of the country, the functioning of the marketing and storage systems, and so

forth. Again, the teaching of skills such as mathematics is brought into a problem-solving situation, and the skill becomes functional in so far as it is essential to the solution of problems. Such communication skills include following market changes, being aware of new market opportunities, discovering cheaper sources of inputs, and so forth. This is a case in which agencies such as the credit union federations may be brought in as collaborators in the educational process.

3. A third area is training in agricultural organization: agricultural cooperatives and special interest groups. This would concentrate mainly on problems of agricultural cooperatives but could include a gamut of training from parliamentary procedure to some very fundamental notions of the functioning of complex organizations. Again, reading materials would be made available, and an effort made to teach campesinos how to study these questions on their own.

4. A fourth area is in agriculturally related legal provisions, the structure of ministries and government agencies serving agriculture, and the processes of public policy formation in agriculture. This would include education in how the small farmer should use existing governmental structures from the local municipal government to the national government for his own benefit.

5. Another area in agricultural education is the more effective use of regional soil and water resources. This would include discussions of soil conversation. Underlying this would be the importance of the farmer learning to establish a kind of symbiotic relationship to his environment.

This is not meant to be a complete or comprehensive list of areas that would be touched upon, but only to illustrate the directions this kind of adult education program would take.

The second basic guideline is that the educational process should assist the campesino in redefining his own identity so that he perceives himself and is perceived as a distinct sector of society, but equal in prestige, power, and importance in the national sociocultural, economic, and political system. This attempt to change the hierarchical, dichotomous nature of prestige, which is inherent in the popular culture, has been part of all social change movements in Latin America from that of Mexico to the most recent in Peru. This is by far the most difficult aspect of education since it presupposes that there are real structural changes taking place in the country and that the campesino actually

experiences power and prestige. This can be accomplished only in a vigorous, aggressive political mobilization which is beyond the scope of an adult basic education program. But the educational program can collaborate with this in the following ways:

1. In the agricultural training program the depreciation of the traditional agriculture should be avoided. Often modern technology is presented as dogma and the technician as its prophet. Sometimes the best the small farmer can do is to improve on a small scale his traditional practices; and not infrequently there is much validity in traditional practices. The creativity of the small farmer should be responded to so that he learns to esteem himself as an agriculturist.

2. An emphasis on quality in breeding animals, crop strains, and general farming practices can do a great deal to cultivate a sense of pride in the small farmer role. At present the fairs and expositions are geared to the larger farmer, and they only serve to bring out the inferiority of livestock and products of the small farmer.

3. The general themes of the readings in literature, history, and art could be designed to bring out aspects of campesino culture and the importance of the campesino contribution to the development of Honduras. At present the campesino is taught, indirectly, to prize only the urban, technical values and culture and thus to depreciate his own background. A great deal of the anecdotal Honduran literature centers on the life of the campesino and the beauty of the expression of human values in this life.

4. The radio schools and the radio school movement have stressed the solidarity of the family and the community a great deal. In part the value of much of the organization--the youth clubs, the housewives' clubs, the community development activities, and now the agricultural clubs and cooperatives--has been simply the enjoyment of working together. The new literacy texts adopted in 1970 and 1971 have been written around the themes of the contribution of the individual to the family and the community and the interdependence of families in the community. This theme of community solidarity bears continued stress since, traditionally, community strife has been a problem. Since the community is so important for the campesino, community solidarity affects very much the quality of campesino life.

5. A good deal of emphasis should also be placed on the improvement of the home and other facilities which take some

of the deprivation and physical harshness out of campesino life. Many young people in the country areas look upon migration to the city as an escape from a life of drudgery. This is likely to increase as the campesino becomes more aware of an alternate way of life in the city which may, at least, seem easier. It is likely that the standard of living of the campesino is going to remain quite restricted for some time to come, but it should be possible to introduce elements of greater security and pleasantness into the life of rural areas.

The third basic guideline in developing an adult educational program is that it should help in breaking down the physical and cultural barriers separating the campesino from a fuller participation in the sociocultural, economic, and political life of the nation. At present, as linkages are being established with better communication and transportation, the powerlessness and a kind of naiveté often make these linkages means to exploit the campesino. Although it is difficult to describe concrete, measureable skills in this area, an attempt should be made to keep this on the level of measureable, tangible benefits.

One capacity that should be cultivated is the awareness of the average campesino family and community of the services that are available in the areas of agriculture, health, and community development. It is true that at present these services, such as the municipal health centers, are often very poor and intermittent. An attitude of dedication to the lower-status rural population and an interest in quality service is often lacking in the individuals who staff these agencies, but the services will become better as the campesinos become aware of this and demand better services. Perhaps, part of the educational process is the realization that the campesino has a right to good services and should be dissatisfied when they are not good. Out of this will come more attempts to take political action when it is necessary. But at present many campesinos are not even aware of the services that are available. They have either gotten along without them, or they simply make use of traditional means of meeting crises such as the curanderos. At present the campesino depends to a great extent on intermediaries in the community to handle his problems outside the community.

A much less tangible capacity is simply the awareness of the larger economic and political world of Honduras. Traditionally, the world of the campesino is restricted to his local neighborhood. He has only the vaguest notion of how the

national government functions or of the functioning of the economic system, especially marketing.

Nor is the campesino aware of himself as an influential contributing factor to the well-being of the nation. He is more likely to see his lack of productivity in agriculture as only a factor in his personal poverty, and he is not conscious that he is also a factor in the poverty and lack of development of the whole nation. He is not aware that his vote not only is a means of paying back a personal debt to the local politician, but is a means of influencing the policies affecting hundreds of thousands of other campesinos and the policy of the whole nation. This was illustrated by the fact that the campesino communities who obtained land as a result of pressure tactics did not continue to contribute to the campesino organizations so that other communities might have more support in their efforts. It is difficult to mount a large, nation-wide campesino organizational effort because the typical campesino is not aware of long-range, national goals for the campesino sector.

It has not been our intention here to present a full curriculum content but only to sketch out the general direction of this kind of adult educational program. The content would begin with the focal concerns of the campesino men and women, and then the development of a positive sense of campesino identity, as well as the cultivation of an awareness of the larger societal context would be woven into the substantive materials. Throughout, the emphasis would not be on communication of information, but the creation of a problem-solving context (preferably a group problem-solving context) in which it would be necessary to use various communication media--interchange with peers and professional or paraprofessional personnel, reading materials, the radio, or even recorded tapes--in order to solve problems. Literacy would then become a functional communication medium and supposedly essential in effective problem solving. The success of this kind of adult educational program would not be measured in terms of knowledge retained but improvements in meeting fundamental concerns of the campesino. This kind of educational approach would also take into consideration the changing role of the campesino and assist in developing a new campesino identity and integrating the campesino--in a non-exploitative manner--into the sociocultural, economic, and political life of the nation.

The point is that much of what might be taught in a conventional primary school program would be included here--especially literacy training--but it would all be centered on the essential roles of the campesino man and woman and would assist them in meeting the changes that are taking

place in Honduran society. Nothing would be included in the educational program which would not have some practicality from the point of view of the campesino and would not be high in the priorities of the campesino.

The Administrative Structure of an Adult Educational Program Oriented to Problem-Solving in Areas of Campesino Focal Concerns

To carry out such an educational program would not demand great reorganization of the present staff or the addition of new personnel either at the central office of the radio schools or in the field supervisory staff. The elements are already present in the complex of organizations and activities of the radio school movement and in the full primary school educational program which the radio schools of ACPH are now planning. It is specifically recommended, however, that instead of introducing the traditional type of primary school education which is based on the education of a child (primarily for secondary school education), it focus on the kind of educational program described above.

The media for this educational program would be the existing literacy program and community development activities, the existing program (recently much expanded) of the housewives' clubs, and the recently introduced agricultural education program. It would mean that the housewives' club program, which is presently administered by CARITAS, would have to be either much more closely coordinated with the radio schools or eventually placed under the overall direction of ACPH. This suggestion is made with the knowledge that CARITAS intends to initiate the program, but that eventually it will be set up as a separate agency or transferred to another agency. Acción Cultural Popular Hondureña seems, to the writer, to be the logical administrative agency for the housewives' club program because it is so closely associated. At the local neighborhood level the housewives' clubs, the agricultural clubs and cooperatives are already an integral part of the radio school educational program so that it would entail very few administrative changes. It would only mean that the present efforts of the administrative and field supervisory staff of several organizations would be joined into one organization.

One of the first questions that presents itself is how this kind of educational program which is oriented toward problem solving, concrete projects in agriculture and homemaking, and practical results is to be harmonized with a program which roughly resembles primary school education and attempts to communicate "knowledge" in some more or less

ordered fashion? What is suggested here is a modified combination of the existing men and women's organizations in the communities, the reading forum technique, and the radio forum technique. The existing radio school literacy program would be maintained, but also more closely integrated with the present program. The use of the short training courses, already a part of the housewives' clubs and agricultural education program, and the visits to the community of both paraprofessional and (occasionally) professional personnel of the government agencies would also be included. Thus, the campesino would be trained in the use of a variety of media: reading, radio, exchanges with peers, the use of outside trained personnel.

The first step would be the development of at least a provisional curriculum in three areas: 1) for the men in the area of agriculture and related topics (following more or less the guidelines suggested above); 2) for the women again following more or less the same principles but obviously in much different areas; 3) the combination of elementary literacy and community organization might be a third area or third type of curriculum. If a program of several years (up to five or six years) were to be set up, the first years would be more standardized and would deal more in the general campesino concerns and more basic skills. But the more advanced program would be quite specific and flexible, so that it could respond to the needs of different communities and even different groups within communities.

These curricula would have to be based on studies of the agricultural and homemaking environment, the major problems the campesino men and women perceive, the kind of areas they would be most interested in, what is practically feasible for campesinos at the present time (for example, a course in elementary tractor maintenance might be of use to some communities, but to very few in the highland areas), what is available in the line of equipment (for example, sewing machines for women's sewing courses), the present activities of the housewives' clubs and the agricultural education program, the services offered by government agencies, particular emphasis of the national government, and so forth. Once the areas of training are selected, they should, as much as possible, be organized into units of instruction. Obviously, the units of instruction could be added ad infinitum depending on interest and the capacity of the system.

The educational process would center on group projects being carried out by the men and women's organizations. Individuals would be implementing the project either in their own farming enterprises or homes or, at least, would be par-

ticipating in a common project (an experimental plot) or in the project of another individual. Young people, who might not have their own land or their own home, could either carry out their project in collaboration with their parents or on their own with their parents support. There does not seem to be any need for separate youth organizations and projects in a campesino context, since, strictly speaking, "youth" does not exist in a campesino culture. The child goes directly to adulthood working in the fields or the home.

The group which is interested in a particular unit of instruction would meet at least once a week for a reading forum. That is, they would meet to read together under the supervision of a monitor to understand words and concepts and then discuss a particular lesson together. To insure progress in literacy there should be some concern that all words are understood and the lesson might be read over several times. The discussion leader would attempt to use the animación method in order to stimulate independent problem solving ability and the capacity to adapt the information to the project. The monitor would be expected to supervise to see that the lesson was being applied in the project correctly. If the unit of instruction were literature or history, the project would be reading from texts or from a library (small, to be sure) stocked in the community. If the unit of instruction were local government, or agrarian law, or community organization, the project would be something related, such as analyzing the functioning of the local municipal government.

The group would also meet at least once a week for a radio forum in which a broadcast would be listened to, discussed, and applied to the project in the same manner as the written lesson. The broadcasts would try to follow the yearly cycle if that were relevant, for example, in agricultural projects. The broadcasts could also entertain questions and problems from the field. If the matter were so specific that it did not merit a general broadcast, a set of prerecorded tapes and a small, battery-operated recorder could be distributed to the community--if resources permitted. For a further discussion of the use of reading forums and radio forums and their relative efficiency, the reader is referred to The Impact of Communication on Rural Development by Prodipto Roy, Frederick B. Waisanen, and Everett M. Rogers. (UNESCO, Paris, 1969).

The organization of a program of instruction is suggested here only in the most general fashion in order to indicate the general lines of procedure. Obviously, the greatest responsibility of the central administration would be the organization of units of instruction and especially the writing of

reading texts. In this case the central office of ACPH would transform itself into a kind of publishing house of appropriate reading materials.

The second question that must be considered is the field supervision. At present there are already three types of field supervisors in the radio school movement: the radio school coordinators working in the literacy program and in community development; the agricultural instructors working in the supervision and promotion of the agricultural education program; and the forty supervisors now being selected and trained for the housewives' clubs program. What is presently being planned as a primary school education program could be channeled through the existing supervisory staff, although, as we shall explain below, this would require a continued in-service training program for the various supervisors. It is also possible that the overall program could make use of other teaching personnel from other institutions for specific units of instruction.

In the area of agricultural education (mainly for the men) there would be one or two agronomists supervising in the region, an agricultural instructor at the level of the municipality, district, or parish (depending on the need and the units of supervision in that area), and an agricultural promoter at the community level.

In the area of homemaking the supervisory staff would be similar, but would follow the lines now being established by the housewives' club program. The kinds of areas of training would follow the general lines already established by the housewives' clubs: health, child care, various aspects of homemaking and housekeeping, nutrition and food preparation, gardening, small industries, personal care, and so forth.

The third area would be the fundamental literacy course which is already being supervised by the monitors and the coordinators. Since so much of the present stress of the basic literacy training is in community development and what might be called civic or fundamental political participation (the concientización of Paulo Freire), and the monitors and coordinators are trained in this area--at least some of them--the area of community organization might be handled by them. On the other hand, the agricultural instructors and promoters might be better able to handle the areas of agricultural organizations. The present group of monitors includes many young boys and girls who would not be able to guide discussions in agricultural organizations and community development, but they might well continue on with the basic literacy classes.

In this kind of a program those who had some start in the literacy program would be encouraged to move rapidly into the more substantive project-oriented courses, so that they would begin to exercise whatever capacity in literacy they might have. One of the advantages of this kind of program is that it has something for just about everybody in the community. There is no reason why a number of units of instruction could not be functioning in a community at the same time. Theoretically some units of instruction could be offered even to those who are not literate and would depend only on radio forums for instruction.

One of the principal conclusions in the evaluation of the present radio school literacy program is that the major weakness is in the selection and training of the coordinators. Although most of the coordinators show remarkable good will and much potential capacity, the training in animación and the general ideology of the radio school movement has not prepared them for their specific supervisory tasks. The present program would presuppose even better selection and training than might be expected for the literacy campaign, especially in the case of the supervisors at the municipal and district (parish) levels. For example, the present agricultural instructors in the experimental program in southern Honduras are receiving an initial three month training course in CENARS (Centro de Adiestramiento Rural del Sur) and will return for further short training workshops for a week every three or four months over a period of a year. In addition they are supervised by agronomists and have regular meetings with these professional personnel at least every month. In other words, the supervisors are considered paraprofessional personnel, but a team of eight to ten paraprofessionals in a region include one or two professionals who are, in effect, training and supervising the paraprofessionals. Thus, the agricultural instructors are gradually becoming more professional and are multiplying the work of the professionals. This kind of in-service training of the supervisory staff presupposes that there are in each region (or in the national office) professionals (or individuals with some professional training) in the fields of agriculture, health and homemaking, and community development and community organization.

These professionals would also serve as liaisons between the educational program of ACPH and various government and autonomous agencies which might provide resources. Being professionals they would have some capacity of sitting down and planning, with other professionals in these agencies, the kind of help that could be given and establishing agreements for providing assistance in terms of personnel and equipment. The professionals with the educational program

would be very few and would by no means be a substitute for the existing agricultural, health, social service, and other rural service agencies, duplicating the existing agencies. Their major function would be, instead, to link the paraprofessional personnel and the communities to the existing services so that these would be better used by the lower-status rural population.

One of the great advantages that this plan offers is that it is making much more effective a remarkable development communication system. The radio school movement has already stimulated a high level of motivation and openness to change in the communities where it is functioning. It would be extremely difficult for any other organization to duplicate the volunteer leadership and the articulation with the traditional values and community influence structure. The radio school movement could be utilized much more if there were more of an effort to make it the ultimate link between the development agencies and the local leadership.

In the present plan the regional development teams would have an important role to play. The regional professional staff together with the staff of the regional leadership training centers, the radio station, and other regional supervisory personnel would form a team of specialists in the problems of the lower-status population in their area. They would be in constant communication with the municipal level supervisory staff and with the problems in the communities. They would serve as a continuing diagnostic, planning, and evaluating body. This continual evaluation and planning by a more professional group would provide a back up for the paraprofessional supervisors who would not be expected to have the background, time, or perspective to do more than carry out programs and report problems in those programs. At present the radio school coordinators are often at least vaguely aware that their programs are not functioning as well as they should or that there are fundamental problems in the approaches taken by the radio school movement, but there is no provision to evaluate and restructure what is being done. As a result there is a tendency for problems to remain unsolved.

To conceive of the supervisory staff at the regional level as a planning and evaluative group represents a change. At present most of those who make up the functioning or incipient regional teams look upon their work as the supervision of the promotional personnel at the municipal or parish level, that is, making sure that this lower level promoter carries out certain predefined tasks. But a much more productive use of this time and training (especially if

they have some professional training) would be the constant evaluation of the work at the lower level and questioning of the whole program in view of the results. They are in a position to see the overall results of a program in a region. This would lead to constant planning to see whether the program should be improved, abandoned in place of something better, or should be emphasized more than other programs because of its importance.

The regional team would be in a position to make the final decisions on the selection of the personnel in the area, to see what training is needed for them, and to help them get resources from regional agencies of the government.

This planning and evaluation at the regional level tends to be more effective than at the more remote national level. The regional team is in direct contact with the leaders of the movement and knows the problems directly, including the problems of the personnel. It is extremely important in any alliance between the urban, technical sector and the campesino sector that the former know well and identify with the problems and aspirations of the latter.

Regions differ greatly in Honduras and different regions are at different stages of development in the various programs of the radio school movement. Consequently, they have quite different needs. There has to be coordination at the national level, but the regional teams are in a position to present more cohesive, well-worked-out plans to the national and international agencies, in many respects, than the national offices.

This whole educational program should be explicitly conceived of as a movement of social change directed by campesino leaders and subordinate to their direction, not as a bureaucratic effort emanating from either the central government or even from the directors and staff of Acción Cultural Popular Hondureña. This latter kind of program inevitably tends to be paternalistic and fails in its services, it is doing this for the campesino not with the campesino. It tends to focus on the bureaucracy (career advancement, job conditions, salaries, etc.) and simply generates bureaucracy because the problems are conceived of not as problems of the people and their leadership, but as problems of the bureaucracy. For this reason there should probably be more explicit control of the adult education program by campesino leaders at the level of policy making and decision making. A step in this direction has been taken with the formation of the national association of coordinators, but a further step would be the election of campesino leaders to the board of directors of

ACPH. The professional and paraprofessional supervisory staff would thus be employed and controlled, in part, by campesinos themselves as part of their movement, not by centers of control in the urban, technical sector. This would insure that this adult educational program would remain oriented to the lower-status segments of the population.

The communication system of the radio school movement, up until now, has been largely an ideological linkage system. That is, it has dealt mainly in the communication of attitudes and values and relatively little in the provision of technical assistance and material resources. At present the radio school movement has relatively little communication with the government sources of technical assistance and material resources. As a result these agencies tend to channel their resources to the rural elites and those who have political connections. This kind of broader educational program, oriented to the fundamental concerns of the campesino, could act as the "broker" between these public and autonomous agencies so that more technical and economic resources would be directed toward the rural, lower-status population.

However, since this program would specialize in the area of the lower-status population in rural areas, it would be capable of adapting the available resources to the special needs of these people. As we have stated a number of times, one of the problems in introducing the literate tradition and the technology of the urban, technical sector is that it is often done without adaptation. Perhaps the process of formal education for campesinos should begin at a very simple level which would not even require literacy since they are involved in the concerns of agriculture, for example, without literacy. The modifications in their lives would not involve the introduction of many of the practices of the urban, technical sector, but at the outset would be little more than an improvement of traditional practices. It would involve changing very basic perceptions and attitudes about their roles as small farmers and housewives which would begin a process of creative change. It would be a gradual, growing awareness of why they are doing things in a particular way and the forces that are bearing in upon their life--the real causes of things--and a decision about what should be done.

An adult education program which deals more directly with the focal concerns of the campesino could broaden and bring to a more concrete level the educational methods of the radio schools. The kind of program we have been discussing is an adaptation of the philosophy of concientización of Paulo Freire but not necessarily through literacy training. The method of critical awareness can be applied to reflection

upon roles of cultivators and homemakers and at a much more basic level. Paulo Freire himself understood literacy as the end of a process. As the awareness of the necessity to use written materials as a means of communication grows and the importance of literacy in a changing campesino life begins to be apparent, then the opportunity is there through the literacy program of the radio schools. But if one begins with literacy, without creating the context and leaving more basic problems unsolved, then it often becomes a meaningless exercise of effort.

The literacy campaign for various reasons is a quite restricted adult education program appealing to a very limited number in the community. A primary school program which is an exact replica of the present primary school for children might also have a relatively limited appeal. As a result the impact in changing values through the concientización method is also quite limited. At present, many men and women in rural communities feel that they have little to gain from the adult educational program of ACPH, since they either know how to read or are not interested in this. But an educational program, which is designed to respond to the fundamental concerns of the campesino and would be quite flexible in the units of instruction which it would be willing to provide, should appeal to a much wider range of people in a community and influence the practices of those who may not personally enroll in a course.

As a final note it should be pointed out that no adult educational program, no matter how well designed and financed, is a panacea which is going to rapidly solve all of the campesino's problems. It should be conceived of as a complementary part of a much larger program of rural development which includes better marketing and credit facilities, various forms of land tenure reform, and, especially, should be backed up with both applied and application agricultural research (and research on rural life in general). It has been recommended that it be carried out through a campesino directed movement (as it is now), but it must be closely coordinated with the resource agencies of the public sector. Indeed, it is conceived of as a means of insuring that available resources of the public sector actually do reach the lower-status rural population. But an adult education program which deals with the fundamental concerns of the campesino and the changing role of the campesino in Honduran society would at least be superior to a program emphasizing literacy or one which is a replica of existing primary school programs.

CHAPTER V

VALUE CHANGES OF PARTICIPANTS IN THE RADIO SCHOOL MOVEMENT

Although the radio school movement has been concerned with adult basic education, it has defined education as something broader than literacy. The principal goal of that educational process has been an attempt to change the very deeply ingrained campesino values of fatalism and passivity which inhibit the campesino's interest in his own personal development and his desire to transform the traditional social, economic, and political institutions of his community. As we noted in Chapter II the campesino tends to ease the psychological pain of his powerlessness, poverty, and helplessness in the face of a worsening situation by erecting a definition of the world in which he cannot affect his own destiny. Thus, he is not personally responsible for his continual defeat.

The radio school movement tends to be primarily an ideological linkage system, specializing in the interchange of values and concepts between the urban, technical and the campesino sector. Over the years the directors of the radio schools, the parish administrative support, and the campesino leaders have been trying to instill a general motivation to initiate change. This we described as the second general goal of the radio school movement.

From the beginning of the movement this value change has been connected with a kind of "conversion" to the movement. With the adoption of the method of animación and the educational philosophy of Paulo Freire--the method of concientización--the non-directive approach to value change has been stressed. By reflecting upon his situation and himself in that situation--including his traditional values and norms--the campesino can see the inadequacies of these traditional ways of explaining and justifying his actions. Thus, gradually, by a logical process, he develops a new perception of his world and new norms of how he is to act in that world.

As we noted in Chapter III this value change is viewed as the motivational phase of a long-term movement of social change. In the terminology of Smelser, which we out-

lined in the Introduction, it is an attempt to make campesinos aware of the "factors of conduciveness"--the growing poverty, injustice, and dependency which the lower-status, rural population faces. It is also an attempt to create a situation of structural strain, an awareness of the dysfunctionality of the present institutions and a sense of the discrepancy between the way the situation is now and the way they think the situation should be. At the same time, in the process of concientización, the campesino gradually develops his own indigenous ideology, supposedly not a prefabricated ideology which has its origins, let us say, in the problems of nineteenth century Europe or even in eighteenth and nineteenth century North America, but which develops out of the Honduran campesino's own perception of the situation that he faces now. Whether such a process of concientización is possible without a liberal assist by middle class "ideologists" from the urban, technical sector seems to be a valid question. But certainly no campesino movement can be successful unless its ideology is in some way indigenous to the campesino sector.

In the present chapter we will review the success of the radio school movement in creating its own motivational phase, that is, its sense of structural strain and its ideology.

The Methodology Used In Evaluating Value Changes Effected by the Radio School Movement

In order to understand clearly the results of this aspect of the study, it is worthwhile to describe in some detail the concept of value which is employed here, the value dimensions which are to be measured, the construction of the measuring instruments, and the causal model used to prove or disprove whether it is the radio school movement or some other factor which is influencing the value changes of campesinos.

Values are concepts of reality which tend to explain and justify more specific norms of action and specific attitudes. The specific norms for action might be to employ certain hygienic practices such as boiling water or to send children to school. These normative actions are imbedded in institutional complexes which, like little dramas, define role behavior in certain contexts. Thus, boiling water is part of the institution of preventive medicine. Sending children to school is part of the institution of universal primary education. The high level values explaining why it is important to boil water or send children to school might be concepts of the germ theory and the importance of avoiding infectious diseases or the importance of education for

economic success.

Change-oriented values would explain and justify (perhaps as a good in itself) changing patterns of action. For example, instead of thinking "I am a poor campesino and really can't even think about improving the situation of my children (fatalism)," he might reflect, "Although I am poor I can organize my life so that my children can take advantage of the opportunity (activism)."

Obviously we are speaking of values which are very deeply imbedded in the personality and which are probably not ordinarily conscious to most individuals. They are not related to any specific action, but if they are truly a part of the personality, they will gradually influence a whole range of actions. To influence these values is, indeed, a long-term process. Because they are imbedded deep in the personality, they are more resistant to real change, that is, change that is truly deeper than the verbal level. The expression of these values in terms of new institutional complexes may be an even longer process and usually requires very fundamental structural changes in the society as a whole.

As we noted in Chapter II, most of the fundamental campesino values regarding change are an attempt to explain and to rationalize the situation in which he lives. We must ask whether by changing values the campesino will eventually change the institutional structure that has developed or if it is also necessary to change the whole social structure, including the institutions, so that there is some reasonable possibility of putting these values into practice?

The Value Dimensions Measured in This Study

On the basis of the analysis of the ideology of the radio schools and other general analyses of the value dimension of modernization, the general motivation to initiate change appears to be made up of five dimensions: 1) fatalism-activism; 2) willingness to risk; 3) traditionalism-change; 4) belief in the active intervention of the public sector to distribute wealth more equally, or, simply, distribution of wealth; and 5) paternalism-independence.

1. Fatalism-activism

By activism--the positive extreme of the dimension--is meant the belief that man by his own intelligence and effort can control, or at least influence, the events of his life. Activism rejects the belief that the destiny

of each man is made for him and that he cannot change it. It is a rejection of the belief that one cannot prevent the situation from getting worse, that some are born to succeed and others to fail, and that if one is born in humble circumstances, he must accept this.[1]

2. Willingness to Risk

The person of low risk orientation tends to plan his activities with a minimum possibility of failure in order to preserve what he has. The person of high risk orientation thinks that in order to better his position he has to invest some of his present resources in order to improve his situation, but it is a calculated, studied risk so that his odds are usually pretty high.[2]

3. Traditionalism-Change

The individual of high change orientation conceives of a world in which there is constant improvement and believes that change is usually good since it brings progress. A traditionalistic tendency views the world as static and believes that what was done in the past is usually better than the present.

4. Active Intervention of the Public Sector to Equalize Distribution of Wealth

This popular welfare orientation believes that there should not be great disparities in the living conditions and overall economic opportunities in a country and that the government should intervene to assure this. It believes that poverty is not the result of laziness but of unjust social structures.[3]

5. Paternalism-Independence

The high independence orientation rejects the notion that the campesino is not intelligent enough or does not

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1. Kahl, Joseph A., The Measurement of Modernism. (Austin: The University of Texas Press, 1968), pp. 18-19.

2. Williams, Lawrence K., "Some Correlates of Risk Taking," Personnel Psychology, Vol. 18 (3), (Fall, 1965).

3. Jacob, Philip E., Henry Teune, and Thomas Watts, "Values, Leadership, and Development: A Four Nation Study." Social Science Information, Vol. 7 (2), (April, 1968).

have the capacity to handle his own affairs and needs a benevolent patron to help him in moments of crisis and to act as his intermediary.

The Causal Model

Because the radio school movement attempts to influence community institutions, the basic unit of analysis is the community. We are interested in the extent to which the values of a community have changed. To test whether there is a greater general change orientation as the radio school movement functions better in a community, two communities were selected in which the movement was judged to be functioning better than expected (the "very high radio school communities"), two communities in which the movement was functioning as expected (the "high radio school communities"), and three communities where the movement was functioning less well than expected (the "low radio school communities"). The "very high radio school communities" represent approximately 15 per cent of all radio school communities, the "high radio school communities," approximately the next 40 per cent of the communities, and the "low radio school communities," the low 40 or 45 per cent of the communities. Finally, two communities were selected in which the radio school movement had never existed. We shall also compare the values of individual radio school students and non-radio school students, but as participants and leaders in communities.

Since the flourishing existence of the radio school movement in a certain percentage of communities of the southern region has tended to have a demonstrable effect even in communities where the movement was not active, it was suggested by some that the movement had a regional effect. To test the possibility of a regional effect, two communities in the Department of Santa Barbara in northwestern Honduras were selected: one in the northern, more developed area nearer San Pedro Sula and another in the more remote, mountainous south.

Another influence which was thought to be possibly significant was the effect of very high activity in community development projects, but without the express attempt of concientización or value change. To test the hypothesis of whether a high degree of community development activity in itself changes values without the approaches used by the radio school movement, a community that was remarkable throughout the southern region for its project activity, but in which the radio school movement was not active, was selected.

It has been found in some studies that the urban-industrial influence of cities reaching into rural areas causes the modernization of values.[4] Could it be that

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4. Lerner, Daniel. The Passing of Traditional Society. (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1958).

urbanization is in itself a much stronger factor than campesino movements interested in the conversion to activistic values through community activity and leadership training centers? To test this hypothesis a community near the sugar refining mill on the southern coastal plain was selected. It was noted for being one of the "new" communities in the coastal area, made up of many immigrants who had left behind religious and family ties. There was no influence of the radio school movement there.[5]

In addition, the "positional variables" of age, sex, education, and socioeconomic status were built into the questionnaire as controls.

The thirteen communities were chosen on the basis of an initial survey of more than two hundred and fifty communities in the southern region and approximately fifty communities in the Department of Santa Barbara. In each community a modified stratified sample of adults was interviewed, a number ranging from thirty to sixty depending on the size of the community, a total of six hundred and thirteen subjects altogether. The sample was stratified to include a range of socioeconomic status, age groups, sex groups and both participants and non-participants of the radio school movement where that was pertinent. Also important in the sample was the interviewing of all community leaders so as to compare community leaders in radio school communities and in non-radio school communities.

In order to plan the drawing of the sample, a preliminary visit was made in the community, and later a list of subjects was assigned to each of the seven interviewers. The interviewing was carried out on weekends when the campesinos have more leisure time and in the period from late September, 1970 to early January, 1971. The interviewers generally encountered very good collaboration, and only in one community, in the midst of an outbreak of severe internal conflict, was there approximately 25 per cent refusal.

The items for the fatalism-activism and the traditionalism-change dimension are standard items used in various modernization studies in Latin America. The risk dimension was constructed using the Williams risk scale as a model.[6]

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5. In some of the camparisons of communities, the "urban, industrial" community is included in the "non-radio school" group of communities.

6. Williams, Lawrence K., op cit.

The wealth distribution measure was based on the four nation Values, Leadership, and Development study of Jacobs, Teune, and Watts.[7] The paternalism-independence measure was constructed on the basis of preliminary studies in southern Honduras.

A very simple scoring method was used. A response in agreement with the positive trend of the dimension was scored "2", a response partially in agreement, "1", and a disagreement, "0". Thus, the possible scores on each of the dimensions are:

Fatalism-activism	14
Willingness to risk	11
Traditionalism-change	8
Wealth distribution	10
Paternalism-independence	10

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

General Conclusions

A) The Contribution of the Radio School Movement to Value Change

1. The evidence is conclusive that the radio school movement is a decisive factor in stimulating the development of a general motivation to initiate social change among the Honduran campesinos, at least on a more abstract level of value orientation.

2. The stronger the movement is in a given community, the greater will be the influence in the development of change-oriented values. Although radio school participation is not as strong a factor on all of the five value dimensions measured, the high radio school communities are notably higher on all of the dimensions than the low radio school communities and the non-radio school communities. Even in communities where the radio school movement has apparently not been too successful, the average scores on these value measures are still higher than the average scores on the measures in the non-radio school communities (Cf. Table 5.1).

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7. Op. cit.

Table 5.1: Differences of Mean Scores on the Five Value Dimensions in Radio School and Non-Radio School Communities[2]

Class of Community	Activism	Risk	Change	Wealth Dist.	Independence
Very High Radio School	8.49**	5.90	4.84**	5.25	3.95***
High Radio School	7.99***	6.20**	4.81***	5.45[1]	4.54***
Medium to High Radio School	7.55***	6.45***	4.78**	5.62*	4.97***
Low Radio School	6.90*	5.86	4.36	5.12	2.67
Non-Radio School	5.89	5.68	4.13	5.11	2.89
High Project Community	6.75*	6.61***	4.21	4.61[1]	4.00***
Urban Industrial	7.25**	6.39*	4.19	4.56[1]	4.64***
Santa Barbara Communities	6.30	6.14*	3.69*	4.64[1]	3.22
High Potential Community	5.33	5.47	4.54[1]	4.97	2.73
Low Potential Community	4.94*	5.12*	3.74[1]	5.82[1]	1.24***
Campesino Movement[3]	7.06**	6.16*	4.42	5.80[1]	5.03***
Celebration of Word[3]	8.73***	5.36	4.86**	4.82	3.28
Agricultural Cooperative[3]	8.09***	6.76***	5.16***	5.43	4.90***

***P <.001; **P <.01; *P <.05; [1]P <.10

2. The comparisons are based on the differences between the "Non-Radio School" group of communities and all other communities or groups of communities. The asterisks refer to the level of statistical probability. That is, if there are three asterisks, this means that the probability (P)

3. Within radio school communities there was found to be an increasing commitment to the change values as the degree of participation increased from simply being in a community where radio schools have operated without participating: to passive, irregular participation; to regular participation as a good student; and to various degrees of leadership in the community and at the municipal level (Cf. Table 5.2).

4. Non-participants in radio school communities have higher average scores than individuals in non-radio school communities. This is especially significant because it indicates that the individuals in a radio school community are influenced even if they do not participate directly. It suggests that the cultural institutions are being changed and that the values and norms of the rural culture are gradually shifting away from the traditional fatalism and passivity.

5. The leaders in the radio school communities have significantly higher scores on all of the value dimensions than leaders in the non-radio school communities. Thus, it is not just being a leader that influences change values. The training courses and the involvement of individuals in leadership roles in the community organizations do have a significant impact (Cf. Tables 5.3 and 5.4).

(Footnote 2, Page 157, continued.)

that a mean score with this much difference from the mean score of the "Non-Radio School" group (either a lower or higher mean score) could happen by chance and, thus, actually be equal to the "Non-Radio School" communities' score, only one time in a thousand (.001). (The test of statistical significance is Student's "t" for difference of means.) If there are two asterisks, the probability that the scores are actually equal is only one in one hundred (.01); and if there is one asterisk, the chances that the mean scores are really equal is only one in twenty (.05).

3. "Campesino Movement" refers to a single community which is outstanding in the sample for a strong campesino movement to occupy national land. Likewise "Celebration of Word of God" and "Agricultural Cooperative" refer to the main organizational influence in that community. These communities have also had the radio school movement present.

Table 5.2: Differences of Mean Scores on the Five Value Dimensions of the Various Levels of Participation in Radio Schools

Level of Participation in Radio Schools	Mean Scores on Value Dimensions				
	Activism	Risk	Change	Wealth Dist.	Independence
1. Community has no radio school	5.75	5.72	3.83	5.16	2.44
2. Did not enroll in radio school	6.85**	5.91	4.27**	4.82	3.62***
3. Enrolled, but a short time	6.76**[2]	5.98	4.18	5.16	3.69***
4. Enrolled, but irregular attendance	7.90**[2]	6.06	5.16***	6.00	3.32**
5. Good student several years	7.44**	6.39**	4.85***	5.73[1]	3.71***
6. One of the leaders of the community	8.93***	7.29***	5.32***	6.16**	5.70***
7. The leader in the community	11.50***	7.37**	4.75	5.87	5.62***
8. A leader in the municipality	11.66***	8.33**	6.66***	7.33**	9.33***

***P <.001; **P <.01; **[2]P <.025; [1]P < .10

(Note: Level (9), Leader in the region, was omitted because there was only one case.)

Table 5.3: Differences of Mean Scores on Value Dimensions of Various Levels of Community Participation (Includes Both Radio School and Non-Radio School Participants)

Levels of Participation	Mean Scores on Value Dimensions				
	Activism	Risk	Change	Wealth Dist.	Independence
1. Marginals	6.17	5.58	3.99	5.04	2.96
2. Passive Followers	6.86	5.90[1]	4.15	5.16	3.17
3. Active Followers	6.83*	6.10**	4.59***	5.05	3.85***
4. Passive Collaborators	7.27	6.00	4.72	4.27	3.45
5. Active Collaborators	8.95***	6.87***	5.27***	5.51[1]	4.64***
6. Passive Leaders	5.66	7.33**	3.66	4.83	3.00
7. Active Leaders	9.28***	7.42***	4.85**	6.64***	5.10***

***p <.001; **p <.01; *p <.05; [1]p <.10

(These comparisons are between the Marginals group and all other levels.)

6. The combination of evidence--the higher scores of radio school leaders and the higher average scores in radio school communities--vindicates the general strategy of the radio school movement: training a few leaders to return to their communities and, in turn, influence the rest of the community (Cf. Table 5.4).

7. Those who have taken the short leadership courses in the regional training centers have <u>far higher</u> scores

Table 5.4: Differences of Mean Scores on Value Dimensions of Leaders and Active Participants in Non-Radio School Communities and in Radio School Communities*

Levels of Community Participation on Value Dimensions	Mean Scores of Compared Groups			
	Non-Radio School Communities	Non-Participants in Radio School Communities	Participants in Radio School Communities	
Activism:				
Leaders	6.80	8.28	13.00	(12.00)[1]
Collaborators	7.60	8.42	11.00	
Followers	5.70	6.59	7.44	
Marginals	5.60	6.53		
Risk:				
Leaders	5.40	8.28	7.83	(9.00)[1]
Collaborators	7.20	6.63	7.63	
Followers	6.77	5.76	6.39	
Marginals	5.69	5.47		
Change:				
Leaders	3.80	4.71	5.33	(6.50)[1]
Collaborators	4.80	4.78	5.90	
Followers	3.76	4.43	4.85	
Marginals	3.77	4.02		
Wealth Dist.				
Leaders	5.80	6.71	6.66	(8.00)[1]
Collaborators	5.40	5.15	5.90	
Followers	6.23	4.60	5.73	
Marginals	5.19	4.35		
Independence:				
Leaders	1.40	6.28	6.83	(9.50)[1]
Collaborators	3.40	4.00	6.54	
Followers	1.88	3.94	3.71	
Marginals	2.57	3.24		

[1]Municipal level leaders of radio school movement.

*No differences of means tests were computed for this table.

on all the dimensions, including the wealth distribution and independence measures, than the individuals who have not taken the courses. But the participation in additional courses does not noticeably change the value commitments. It may teach other leadership skills and explain more deeply the original value commitment, but it does not noticeably raise them. This suggests that the real factor in the value changes of leaders is stepping into the leadership role with all of the value commitments that it demands. As one has to communicate values to others publicly, one's own values are profoundly affected. The first training course is symbolic of entering the new role (Cf. Tables 5.5 and 5.6).

8. Participation in the religious Celebration of the Word of God organizations is very strongly correlated with participating in the radio schools and seems to be inseparably associated as an influence along with the radio schools. From an analysis of the cross tabulation of the radio school movement and the Celebration of the Word of God, and the high correlation between the variables, there appears to be an interaction effect between the two factors so that one reinforces and strengthens the other (Cf. Correlation Matrix, Table 5.7).

B. The Influence of Community Level Factors Other Than the Radio School Movement

1. The hypothesis was advanced that possibly the emphasis on internal value change, to which the radio school movement has dedicated so much time and effort, was really not so important, and merely "getting the job done"--constructing the roads and schools without all the "speechmaking" might be just as effective. The radio school movement has always made much of the fact that its major goal has not been simply the projects completed but the change in values and social institutions.

The comparison of the radio school communities and the high project community indicates, however, that only participating in projects does not, in itself, seem to affect the change values (Cf. Table 5.1). The radio school argument of the importance of the "mística" and wide participation does seem to be vindicated. A closer analysis of the high project community showed that the dynamic, but rather authoritarian leader there had much higher scores (higher

Table 5.5: Differences of Mean Scores on Value Dimensions of Non-Participants and Participants in Courses for Radio School Monitors

	Mean Scores on Value Dimensions				
	Activism	Risk	Change	Wealth Dist.	Independence
No Course	6.64	6.03	4.30	5.12	3.41
One Course	10.34***	7.50***	5.30**	6.53**	6.42***
More than One Course	11.60**	6.20	5.00	6.00	4.40

***p <.00; **p <.01

(Comparisons are with "No Course" and the rest).

Table 5.6: Differences of Mean Scores on Value Dimensions of Non-Participants and Participants in Courses for Lay Ministers of Celebration of the Word of God

	Mean Scores on Value Dimensions				
	Activism	Risk	Change	Wealth Dist.	Independence
No Course	6.76	6.06	4.34	5.16	3.46
One Course	10.54**	8.09***	5.36*	7.09*[2]	7.45***
More than One Course	12.66**	6.33	4.66	6.66	9.66***

***p <.001; **p <.01; *p <.05; *2 p <.025

Table 5.7: A Correlation Matrix of the Twelve Major Variables In the Study of The General Motivation to Initiate Social Change*

	Participation			Positional			Value Dimensions				
	Celebration	Community	Education	Age	Sex	SES	Activism	Risk	Change	Wealth Dist.	Independence
Radio School	.642[1]	.420[1]	.166[1]	-.111[2]	-.002	-.041	.195[1]	.181[1]	.234[1]	.129[1]	.323[1]
Celebration		.403[1]	.086[2]	-.024	-.018	-.005	.176[1]	.087[2]	.232[1]	.106[2]	.251[1]
Community			.183[1]	.084[2]	.198[1]	.112[2]	.182[1]	.250[1]	.190[1]	.084[2]	.302[1]
Education				-.407[1]	-.068[3]	-.024	.229[1]	.155[1]	.176[1]	.032	.211[1]
Age					.173[1]	.276[1]	-.162[1]	-.094[2]	-.085[2]	-.025	-.054[3]
Sex						.045	.093[2]	.168[1]	.033	.107[2]	.050
SES							.070[4]	.054[3]	.051[3]	-.045	-.002
Activism								.211[1]	.194[1]	.384[1]	.352[1]
Risk									.233[1]	.123[1]	.241[1]
Change										.056[3]	.138[1]
Wealth Dist.											.204[1]

[1]P <.001; [2]P <.01; [3]P <.10; [4]P <.05

*As a measure of the degree of association between the twelve major variables in this study of values, the Pearson product-moment correlation was employed. The Pearson product-moment correlation has the advantage of summarizing the relationship between two variables with a single correlation coefficient symbolized as "r". Correlation means that higher

(Footnote continued from Page 165.)

values of one variable are found associated with higher values on the other variable. For example, if individuals with a high degree of participation in the radio school movement (good students and leaders) also tend to have higher scores on the value dimensions (activism, risk, change, etc.) and individuals with low degrees of participation have low scores on the value dimensions, then there will be a high correlation between degree of participation in the radio school and scores on the value dimensions. And the stronger the association of the two variables, the larger will be the coefficient of correlation of "r." The correlation coefficient "r" has an upper limit of 1.0 and a lower limit of -1.0, with 0 indicating that there is no relationship between the two variables. If the relationship is such that higher values of one variable are associated with higher values on the other, the relationship is "positive." But if the higher values of one variable are consistently associated with lower values on another variable, then the relationship is "negative" and is symbolized by a minus sign (-).

Thus, in the table above there is a positive correlation of .642 between radio school participation and participation in the Celebration of the Word indicating that there is a quite strong positive association between the two variables. But there is a slight negative correlation between participation in the radio school movement and high socioeconomic status (SES), -.041. That is, we will seldom find individuals of a higher socioeconomic status participating in the radio school movement.

The correlation coefficients appear to be relatively low, in most of the cases ranging between .20 and .40. However, in survey data of attitudes and values the correlations generally tend to be lower, and a correlation of .25 or .35 may be considered an indication of a fairly significant relationship.

The footnotes attached to many of the coefficients refer to the level of statistical significance. Thus, the footnote "one" (1) indicates that there is a probability (P) of only one in one thousand (.001) that the degree of association between the two variables in question is actually .00, or, in other words that there is no relationship at all between the two variables. The footnote "two" (2) indicates that there is a probability of only one in one hundred (.01) that there is no relationship and so forth. If there is no footnote, then there is no assurance that there is any relationship at all.

even than the leaders in the high radio school communities), but the rest of the people, who had not been brought into the process, were generally unaffected. If the leader had left the community, the series of projects would most likely have stopped. The radio school movement, however, does not depend on any one individual leader because it has a wide participatory base.

2. Another hypothesis was that urban, industrial influence might possibly be more influential than the radio school movement. Indeed, in this case, the urban, industrial community showed quite high scores in activism (though not as high as the high radio school communities and significantly lower than the very high radio school communities) and actually higher on the risk and independence dimensions than the radio school communities (Cf. Table 5.1). The urban, industrial community was relatively low on the wealth distribution dimension, and observations and the interviews in the community indicate that the influence of the modern urban, industrial poles is "capitalistic" and individualistic, fostering the belief that each man is rewarded according to his work and effort. The public sector should not intervene. Poverty is the result of laziness. This attitude was generally observed of the "modernized" individuals, especially those with higher educational levels (Cf. Wealth Distribution Scores of Table 5.8). As individuals of a rural background are absorbed into the urban, technical sector through vertical mobility, they accept the individualistic, capitalistic values and lose concern for the campesino sector. Although modernization (absorption into the urban, technical sector) fosters activistic values, it is an individual, not a communal activism.

3. The hypothesis that the presence of the radio school movement in a particular region tends to affect the general cultural level of the region so that even communities where the radio school movement has not existed are influenced is <u>not</u> generally supported (Cf. Table 5.1). The influence in the southern region seems to be restricted to the communities where the radio school movement is active. In the comparison with the communities in the Departments of Choluteca and Santa Barbara, the radio school communities in Choluteca are, of course, much higher, and if there had been a general comparison of <u>average</u> regional scores of Choluteca with Santa Barbara communities

the former would have been higher. But the crucial test was, it seemed, the comparison between the Santa Barbara communities and communities in Choluteca where the radio school movement had not existed.

Only in the traditionalism-change dimension were the non-radio school communities in Choluteca higher than the Santa Barbara communities. This is the most vague and general dimension of the general motivation to initiate change and is probably the most easily transferred. Choluteca has had a great deal of community development activity, and it is "in the air." Thus, change agents in Choluteca encounter a more favorable attitude in visiting communities and are inclined to say that the region is exceptional. The Santa Barbara communities were also lower on the wealth distribution dimension which may reflect the regional effects of the vigorous campesino movement in southern Honduras from 1968 to 1970.

4. It was also questioned whether the high general motivation to initiate social change is due to the success of the radio school movement, or the success of the radio school movement in certain communities is due to a previous general openness to change and community action. This control problem is generally difficult to handle in sociological methodology, especially when cross-sectional research methods are used. But an attempt was made to compare a community in which there was very low potential for the radio school movement (repeated attempts to introduce the radio schools had failed) and another community judged to have high potential for community action. This latter community had demonstrated a leadership eager for change and a strong religious organizational base, but because of its remoteness it had not been included in the radio school system.

The comparison revealed that the high potential community had somewhat higher scores than the lower potential community (Cf. Table 5.1). But on the key activism dimension, it had lower scores than the low radio school communities. Thus, it would seem that there is definitely a predisposition to acceptance of the radio school movement. If there is a previous community orientation and greater social integration, the radio school movement takes hold much better. But there is also evidence that the radio school movement will raise the general motivation to initiate change: the greater the potential, the greater results the radio school movement gives.

5. Good communication facilities between rural communities and regional urban centers does not seem to be, in itself, a key factor in the urban, industrial influences. The more important factor seems to be the playing of new roles in urban, industrial organizations and the breakdown of traditional social structure (extended family, religious organizations, and so forth). The opening up of new economic opportunities is also an important factor (Cf. Table 5.1).

C. The Influence of the Positional Variables: Education, Socioeconomic Status, Age and Sex

1. Formal education, in general, is strongly associated with all of the measures of the general motivation to initiate change. Education is more strongly associated with activism than radio school participation, but education has little association with the wealth distribution measure (Cf. Table 5.8).

   Since most of the radio school leaders have slightly higher levels of education, it was thought that possibly their formal education could be a strong influence in their higher scores. However, in the cross tabulations and the partial correlations, it was found that radio school leaders have much higher scores than others of their same educational level: the lower the degree of participation in the radio schools in each grade level, the lower the scores. But the scores of those with very high levels of formal education are about the same as the radio school leaders of low levels of formal education (Cf. table of partial correlations, Table 5.12).

   Significantly, however, no one of higher educational levels was participating in the radio school movement. In general it has been found that individuals with higher educational levels in rural areas tend to be vertically mobile out of the community, and that they are seldom very community oriented. The low degree of association between formal education and the wealth distribution dimension strengthens the conclusion that education tends to develop a very individualistic activism and an adherence to the existing social structures. The radio school movement tends to influence a communal activism. It develops leadership which is oriented toward the local community and structural changes.

2. Socioeconomic status was thought to be a possible

Table 5.8: Differences of Mean Scores on Five Value Dimensions According to Levels of Formal Education

Level of Formal Education	Mean Scores on the Five Value Dimensions				
	Activism	Risk	Change	Wealth Dist.	Independence
1. Did not attend	6.00	5.67	3.99	5.04	3.02
2. Did not finish first yr.	6.12	6.04[1]	4.24	5.32	3.10
3. Finished First Year	7.23**	6.12*	4.69**	5.06	3.17
4. Finished Second Year	6.78**[2]	6.34**	4.53**	5.27	3.85**
5. Finished Third Year	8.40***	6.07[1]	4.57**	5.70[1]	4.14***
6. Finished Fourth Year	8.14***	5.85	4.31	4.68	4.37***
7. Finished Sixth Year	9.27***	6.81***	5.25	5.20	4.52***
8. Began Secondary School	9.00*	7.66*	4.00	6.33	5.33*
9. Secondary School and Beyond	12.00	9.00	7.00	6.50	9.00

***P <.001; **P <.01; **[2]P <.025; *P <.05; [1]P <.10

Table 5.9: Differences of Mean Scores on Five Value Dimensions According to Levels of Socioeconomic Status

Level of Socioeconomic Status	Mean Scores on the Five Value Dimensions				
	Activism	Risk	Change	Wealth Dist.	Independence
1. No Land	6.39	5.96	4.22	5.13	3.53
2. 0-5 Mzs.	8.21***	6.33*	4.59**[2]	5.91**	3.88[1]
3. 6-10 Mzs.	6.93	5.79	4.85**	4.96	2.97[1]
4. 11-20 Mzs.	6.42	6.60*	4.60	4.78	3.71
5. 21-30 Mzs.	7.42[1]	5.95	4.19	4.47	3.76
6. 31-50 Mzs.	8.12**[2]	6.62[1]	4.56	4.25	3.56
7. 51-100 Mzs.	7.83	6.83	3.66	5.00	2.83
8. 101-300 Mzs.	6.25	5.25	4.50	4.75	3.50
9. 300- Mz .	4.00	7.00	6.00	7.00	4.00

*** P <.001; ** P <.01; **[2] P <.025; * P <.05; [1]P <.10

influence in the change values because of the observation that fatalism and passivity were associated with poverty and dependence. However, high socioeconomic status measured in terms of land ownership was not associated with higher scores on any of the measures, and it was inversely related to the wealth distribution measure, as might be expected! (Cf. Table 5.9.) The highest average scores tended to be located among

Table 5.10: Differences of Mean Scores on Five Value Dimensions According to Age Levels

Age Levels	Mean Scores on the Five Value Dimensions				
	Activism	Risk	Change	Wealth Dist.	Independence
1. 15-19	7.31	5.88*	4.65	4.91*	3.45[1]
2. 20-24	7.42	6.14	4.52	5.16[1]	3.69
3. 25-29	8.14	6.50	4.67	5.03[1]	3.94
4. 30-34	7.60	6.13	4.23[1]	5.98	4.06
5. 35-39	6.91	6.15	4.09**[2]	5.36	3.16**[2]
6. 40-44	6.31**	5.94*	4.62	5.24	3.55[1]
7. 45-49	6.42**	5.61**	4.25	4.61**[2]	3.42[1]
8. 50-59	5.76***	5.93*	4.01	5.46	3.03**
9. 60-	5.35***	5.44**	4.22[1]	4.40**[2]	3.04**[2]

*** P <.001; ** P <.01; **[2]P <.025; * P <.05; [1]P <.10

(The underlined mean scores are the bases of comparison with the other mean scores, and the levels of significance are based on comparison of these mean scores with all other mean scores.)

Table 5.11: Differences of Mean Scores on Five Value Dimensions According to Sex

	Mean Scores on the Five Value Dimensions				
	Activism	Risk	Change	Wealth Dist.	Independence
Female	6.35	5.57	4.27	4.74	3.37
Male	7.25**	6.27***	4.42	5.42**	3.61

*** P <.001; ** P <.01

Table 5.12: Partial Correlations Between Radio School Participation and the Five Value Dimensions Controlling for Key Independent Variables[1]

	Correlation Coefficients ("r") on the Five Value Dimensions[2]				
	Activism	Risk	Change	Wealth Dist.	Independence
Radio School and Value Dimensions	.195***	.181***	.234***	.129***	.323***
Controlling for Community Participation	.133**	.086**	.173***	.103**	.226***
Controlling for Education	.163***	.159***	.211***	.125**	.298***
Controlling for SES	.199***	.184***	.237***	.127**	.323***
Controlling for Age	.180***	.172***	.227***	.127**	.319***
Controlling for Celebration of Word	.108**	.164***	.114**	.079*	.217***

*** P <.001; ** P <.01; * P <.05

[1]A "partial correlation" is employed when it is suspected that a particular variable which appears to be influenced by another variable is, in reality, influenced by an intervening variable "hidden" in the first. For example, it may appear that participation in the radio school movement influences high scores on the five value dimensions. But, on closer examination, we may find that radio school leaders have higher levels of formal education, and it is, in reality, formal education, not participation in the radio school movement which is really influencing the higher scores on the value dimensions. To find out how much the apparent association between radio school participation and high value scores is really attributable to formal education, we use the method of partial correlation, which eliminates the

the smaller farmers. The most plausible explanation is that those of a higher socioeconomic background are usually quite traditional in their farming methods and general outlook and certainly much more authoritarian, paternalistic, and set in their attitudes. They also are older, have lower levels of education, and do not participate in the radio school movement (Cf. Correlation Matrix, Table 5.7).

Partial correlations between radio school participation and the value dimensions, controlling for socioeconomic status, did not indicate that socioeconomic status was influential as an intervening variable (Cf. Table 5.12).

3. Age was found to have a curvilinear relationship with the five value dimensions. The highest average scores on the activism, risk, and change dimensions are those of the 25-29 age group while the high scores on wealth

(Footnote 1, Page 173, Continued)

influence of the intervening variable, such as education, and leaves only that degree of association due to radio school participation. Thus, in the present table (Table 5.12), the correlation coefficient between radio school participation and activism is .195. But when we employ partial correlations and eliminate the influence of formal education, there remains a correlation of only .163. In this case formal education actually is not a strong intervening variable. But when the influence of participation in the Celebration of the Word of God is eliminated, the coefficient is reduced from .195 to .108. Thus, the participation in the Celebration in the Word of God is seen to be a rather important intervening variable.

The reader can observe that participation in the Celebration of the Word of God is an important intervening variable because it is so closely associated with radio school participation. Formal education is not so closely associated with participation in the radio schools, so it has less influence as an intervening variable (Cf. Table 5.7).

[2]The asterisks attached to each coefficient refer to the level of statistical significance. Thus, three asterisks indicate that there is a probability (P) of only one in one thousand (.001) that the degree of association between the two variables in question is actually .00--in other words that there is no relationship at all between the two variables. Two asterisks indicate that there is only one chance in one hundred (.01) that there is actually no relationship, and so forth.

distribution and independence dimensions are those of the 30-34 age group. However, the consistently lower scores are those of the older age categories (Cf. Table 5.10).

Partial correlations also revealed that age is not a significant intervening variable between radio school participation and the value dimensions.

4. As in other modernization studies, females had consistently lower scores on all of the value dimensions than males (Cf. Table 5.11).

D. The Determinative Factors Influencing Each Value Dimension

1. Activism. The radio school movement appears to be most consistently effective in influencing values in the fatalism-activism dimension. The two very high radio school communities had especially high activism scores and, in the low radio school communities, when they failed to surpass non-radio school communities on some value dimensions, the superiority in the activism dimension remained (Cf. Table 5.1).

The stress upon individual and community self-help, the years of motivating individuals to participate in development campaigns and projects, the stress on at least trying to improve his life situation has created a stronger sense that man can control his own destiny. This may be related to the general voluntaristic development philosophy of Christian social movements in Latin America.[8] In this framework, development begins with a concientización of the individual, a change in his perception of himself and his environment so that he is no longer carried along by the forces around himself. It stresses the freedom of the individual in his environment, rather than the influence of the environment on the individual. Thus, social change originates in the individual, not vice versa.

Also influential in activism is formal education and urban, industrial influence. This was found to be a variable operating independently of radio school participation. Activism is generally recognized as part of the urban, industrial culture--man's capability to make his own world--and it is not surprising that

8. De Kadt. Op. Cit.

formal education and participation in urban, industrial roles influences activistic attitudes. However, the activism of formally educated individuals was more of an individualistic activism, contrasting with the more communal activism of the radio school participants.

In the radio school communities participation in the religious Celebration of the Word of God appears to be a major factor in the development of an attitude of communal activism.

2. Risk. The radio school movement also affects the risk values, especially in areas of initiating community projects. Where community activities involve the individual sacrificing time and effort to participate in collective ventures such as the construction of local infrastructure (schools, roads, etc.), cooperatives, and other organizations, risk is important. But risk also appears to be related to the experience of the objective opportunities before one and the ability to take advantage of those opportunities in a rational manner In the richer agricultural areas there is more opportunity and a general inclination to risk more because the margins for taking risks are greater. Also, where there has been more technical assistance and farmers understand the alternatives and their costs, there is more inclination to take calculated risks. In general, the study suggests that risk is a quite rational calculative process, and that in areas where there were low risk scores, there probably was reason for not risking (Cf. Table 5.1).

3. Change orientation. Radio school participation is quite strongly associated with the traditionalism-change dimension, an acceptance of progress and change as a good in itself. However, there were certain tendencies toward preservation of familism and core traditional values, especially religious values. In general, the traditionalism-change orientation is much more abstract and tends to place more emphasis on development (evolutionary types of change) rather than aggressive structural change (Cf. Table 5.1).

4. Wealth Distribution. Radio school participation seems to be related to the wealth distribution the least of all the value dimensions. Participation in aggressive campesino movements or in cooperatives seems to be more strongly related to an acceptance of the need for public sector intervention in wealth distribution (Cf. Table 5.1).

In general the campesino does not realize how disadvantageous is the distribution of educational, health, transportation, and other service facilities in the rural areas. The radio school movement does affect the sense of maldistribution of wealth but only when it is joined with activities in cooperatives or in campesino pressure group organizations.

Although the movement has tried to convey a concept of lack of participation in the economic benefits and political decision making through the presentation of the concept of marginality, so far, this has apparently not been too successful. Although many campesinos used the word a great deal, the full meaning of marginalidad has been lost on many. It is frequently heard used by the campesinos in a fatalistic sense and by the rural elites in a paternalistic sense. However, the radio school movement is gradually shifting its emphasis from improvement of the situation of the campesino through individual and community self-help (evolutionary development within the existing structures) to improvement through change in social structures and through more aggressive challenging of the power distribution which supports those structures. But this trend probably has not had time to have a significant impact on the participants in the movement yet.

5. Independence. The correlation between radio school participation and the independence dimension is the strongest of any of the five value dimensions. This supports the conclusion that the radio school movement is making a significant contribution in moving the rural culture away from the dependence relationships which are typical of rural neighborhoods. This strong association between participation in the radio school movement and higher scores on the wealth distribution dimensions also seems to be due to the strong dependency attitudes in the general culture. These radio school participants have higher mean scores not absolutely, but relative to non-participants. The radio school movement has consistently worked for the broad participation of the lower-status people of the communities in decision making and in formal positions of authority. As in the case of the wealth distribution measure, the presence of cooperatives and campesino organizations in communities where the radio school movement is strong is an influential factor (Cf. Table 5.1).

The Significance of These High Levels of Change Values: Motivation Without Resources

The data presented in this chapter have largely confirmed what many observers have felt about the radio school movement: that they were encountering an unusual motivation toward development in the communities where the radio school movement has been active. Many neighborhoods are continually discussing projects, attending meetings, and receiving external change agents. As one observes this apparent mobilization and hopefulness in the midst of desperate poverty, it is easy to get caught up in the enthusiasm. However, after more than two years of acquaintance with leaders of the movement--including the experience of launching experimental projects that depended on the comprehension and collaboration of these leaders--the conclusion is reached that one must be cautious in seeing in this high motivation level a panacea.

The leaders of the radio school movement have been motivated basically by the belief that what they are doing is going to be a solution to the fundamental problems of the campesino. But there is some evidence that when there is more motivation to initiate change than there are effective instruments for solving problems or resources for carrying out problem-solving movements, the effect is counterproductive. At best there is at least some waste of time and energy, and, at the worst, leaders and other participants become discouraged with the work. The whole program loses its prestige in the eyes both of its participants and its critics.

Many of the leaders have themselves begun to voice a certain disillusionment recently, especially in the southern region where they have been working a number of years. After years of concientización and motivation to sacrifice in campaigns and community projects, they see themselves as poorer and more dependent than ever. There is a questioning as to whether the emphasis on motivation and critical awareness--which is operating primarily at a verbal and conceptual level--is coming to grips with the real problems that the campesino faces. Some leaders are saying that they are hesitant to approach communities unless they have something much more concrete to offer the people. But this implies a somewhat different role for the radio school coordinators and other paraprofessional personnel working in the radio school movement. Instead of being primarily motivational agents, they are beginning to see the necessity of playing the role of resource linkages.

One of the observations made by several of the members of the research team is the tendency for the process of

concientización to be mere sloganeering. In the absence of concrete workable plans which will meet the real problems of the campesino (and perhaps for fear of riling the power structure), the campesino leaders stop on a verbal and ideological level. One observer stated that if one were to simply close one's eyes and listen to a radio school coordinator talk, one could imagine oneself listening to the harangue of the traditional politician. Although such a generality does not fairly describe the work of the coordinators at all, it is indicative of a problem. The terms of marginalidad and concientización are bandied about with great ease, but whether these words have real meaning in terms of concrete daily realities of life is often questionable.

The motivational activities of the radio school movement have many of the liabilities of the literacy program. Just as teaching to read and write when there is nothing to read and no functional use of literacy is highly questionable, so also motivating people to change, when there are none of the resources available that the modernization of the campesino life demands, should be given a second thought.

There is merit in the argument that motivating beyond resources creates frustrations and imbalances in the system, and from that comes a social movement. But one can also argue that the motivational efforts should be placed in the context of a much larger rural development program so that imbalances are roughly correlated with the ability of the system to respond. Perhaps the best kind of development program is one in which there is gradual development: lower stages of motivation are rewarded with success, which are in turn sources of motivation to new efforts which, hopefully, are responded to by effective resources in the larger system. The buildup of dysfunctionalities and consequent deep frustrations are sometimes effective (if all the conditions are right) in causing revolutionary explosions which bring about radical changes in the social structure. But these revolutionary explosions are sometimes very costly, and they bypass a whole series of intermediate institutional changes which must be filled in. Indeed, these institutional innovations are difficult and are often overlooked. Without these more minute innovations, the radical structural changes are not truly effective, and the revolution is condemned by its enemies as a "failure."

The importance of the correlation between motivational stages and the ability of the larger socioeconomic system to respond is illustrated by the experience of the radio school movement in southern Honduras. Campesinos were encouraged to adopt agricultural practices which had not been properly tested

at the level of the campesino's small farm with many resulting failures. Also, they were encouraged to engage in community development projects that had not been properly thought through or properly experimented with--such as the community fish-producing ponds and types of agricultural cooperatives--which, in many cases, turned out to be costly failures.

The high general motivation to initiate social change of the campesinos in the radio school movement has made them unusually receptive to external change agents. But at times, they may have been too receptive, and they have collaborated with programs which were not properly tested or supported. They did not foresee all of the problems they were going to encounter, and the projects failed. In many cases, perhaps, the campesino leaders themselves suspected that the programs were not sound, but they were rather blindly motivated to accept suggestions of external change agents much too readily. Too much enthusiasm can lead them too far ahead of the general development process which necessarily moves ahead building on previous steps.

When the stage is set for a general advance within a region, then there tends to be a widespread acceptance based on the demonstration effect. When resources are available from government agencies or other sources to build schools, roads, or adopt new opportunities in agricultural production--that really work--the availability, the productivity, and the demonstration effect rapidly motivate the people to take advantage of them. The major problem, in many cases, seems to be the availability of resources. But in Honduras, where the support for development activities is often weak, motivation can easily run far ahead of resources. Certainly a certain level of dissatisfaction with the status quo and pressure from the bottom is necessary to make governments act more quickly and provide better services, but mere pressure in itself does not always make the resources immediately available. There is a complicated process of linking agencies to the isolated rural communities and adapting what is available to the needs of the campesino.

There is also evidence that the general motivation to initiate social change, promoted by the radio school movement, exists at a very abstract level in the personalities of many of the campesinos. It does not easily relate to the concrete problems of health, homemaking, agriculture, the dependency relations, and so forth. As we noted in the previous chapter, in spite of a great deal of discussion of social change, the campesino's daily life routine in homemaking and agriculture remains largely unchanged. Much of the more concrete motivation was focused on building community level infrastructure which

is commendable and has been used as an educational instrument, but it has sometimes required a great investment of time and energy with relatively little immediate payoff for the lower-status rural population. Clearly, the development of critical awareness should be focused at a more concrete level of practical daily tasks and attempt to stimulate more critical thinking, not just about the discrimination against the campesino in general, but about the particular experiences of dependency in the local neighborhood.

The radio school movement has been most effective in stimulating the development of activistic values, the view that if an individual in a community just tries hard enough--an act of the will--he can control his environment and destiny. This is aimed squarely at the dominant campesino philosophy of fatalism. But, as was noted in Chapter II, this fatalism tends to develop as a psychological and philosophical response to the objective situation in which the campesino lives. Given the situation of growing insecurity, increasing powerlessness, the lack of safe margins in which to make calculated risks, and the continual defeats which the campesino is encountering, fatalism is psychologically less painful and represents a kind of adaptation to the situation. Just how realistic are activistic beliefs when the forces surrounding the average campesino are more and more coercive, leaving little margin for risk and little hope for real control? Perhaps fatalism is realism. Self help and brave optimism can carry one only as far as the objective possibilities will permit. Realistically, the radio school movement is turning more to emphasis on the change of social structures which will provide a reallocation of the objective opportunities.

These observations are by no means intended to call into doubt the very real potential of the radio school movement for stimulating a process of cultural change among the rural lower-status population. The radio school movement has developed a remarkable instrument of value change, the method of animación, which brings the individuals of the community into the active process of reflection on problems and decision making, and the educational method of critical awareness or concientización. The large number of organizations, with the insistence on broad-based, rotating leadership, gives many people in the community the chance to occupy leadership roles and to become actively involved in the process of cultural change in their neighborhoods. All of this is done with an effort to maintain the freedom and full awareness of the individual.

The validity of the approach of the radio school movement--that the literacy campaign, community development,

and other activities are primarily instruments for value and attitude change--is substantiated by the contrasts observed between the high project community and the radio school communities. In the former an authoritarian leader, himself highly motivated and modern in his attitudes, pushed through many infrastructural projects. But, there was little involvement of the people, and there was little influence on the change-oriented values of the people of the community. The approach of the radio school movement also seems far superior to simply allowing assimilation into the dominant urban, industrial values through the demonstration effect. The latter promotes a very atomistic activism, which leaves a very disintegrated social structure. The approach of the radio school movement is that of communal activism and class solidarity.

The recommendation is by no means that the radio school movement abandon its present program of development of a new campesino culture in favor of a stress on a "valueless" adult basic education program or an exclusive emphasis on immediate practical results in terms of infrastructural projects or agricultural improvement. Rather, the suggestions are similar to those made in the case of the literacy and the primary school program, namely, that it be related much more closely to the focal concerns of the campesino: agriculture and homemaking.

Should the kind of adult education program which was proposed at the end of the last chapter be adopted, this focusing of the process of cultural change on the concrete concerns of the campesino would flow very naturally. There is no need to repeat here the outline of the adult education program, but if the motivational and philosophical dimensions of the work of Acción Cultural Popular Hondureña would be centered on the concrete, project-oriented education in the areas of the roles of the men and women, then many of the present illogicalities might be avoided.

1. Efforts would be focused on the areas of social change which are of highest priority so that resources of time, energy, and finances would not be diverted into activities which are not beneficial at this stage.

2. The conviction of the necessity and importance of initiating social change would be coupled with concrete strategies for carrying out social change in the local neighborhood.

3. The emphasis would be less on exhortation and more on the use of existing resources or on obtaining resources.

4. There would also be more emphasis on previous analysis of the root causes of problems, the kind of programs which are really needed, the feasibility, experimentation, and careful calculation of costs and benefits involved.

5. A great deal of emphasis would have to be placed on gearing change programs to available services and programs of government and international agencies and resource planning with these agencies.

6. Finally, since the campesino tends to think in terms of immediate problems and concrete issues, the rhetoric of general concepts such as marginalidad and concientización should be recast into the tangible experiences of the campesino.

To give some examples of this refocusing of the value themes, it might be helpful to discuss these recommendations in terms of the five dimensions of the general motivation to initiate social change.

In the area of activistic values, the campesino would focus on rational methods for controlling his environment: experimenting on his own land or on a common plot, becoming more aware of his own capacity for inventiveness and creativity, and developing his ability to obtain information regarding alternatives in coping with his situation. That is, the campesinco develops strategies for discovering and sifting through possible alternative means of improving his agriculture, for example, not just accepting things as they are.

In the area of risk values, the campesino would learn how to calculate the costs and benefits of alternative strategies so that he is aware of margins of risk and does not blindly accept the fact that "it can't be done."

In the area of wealth distribution he would learn how to take advantage of services that are available to the small farmer now and to work out strategies for improving existing services in credit, health, education, and land tenure. He would also seek means of integrating existing services into his life and of working out systems of adaptation of technology and services that are now geared to rural elites. Finally, he would gain a much more concrete notion of the processes of interest articulation within the power structure to provide needed services. The campesino has an immense reserve of social power if he could only learn how to mobilize and employ it.

In the area of independence, it is a question of working

out systems of credit, land tenure, and marketing which lessen the dependence of the campesino on local rural elites and intermediaries. Once the campesino observes that he is solving his problems with his own analytic capacities and is capable of facing and manipulating the world outside of his local community, then the "poor campesino" complex will no longer be a valid explanation of his situation. There will no longer be a necessity of looking for dependency relationships.

This approach in value change goes on the premise that values are the superstructure of explanation and justification for the behavior that the campesino sees as adequate. There is a constant, causal interchange going on between the level of values and the level of behavior and norms. By focusing more at the behavioral level, there will be a stronger base for solid value change.

The radio school movement has itself reached a new stage of awareness as to what it should be doing. Campesino leaders are speaking a great deal about emphasis on providing resources such as effective technical assistance, credit, better markets, and other facilities. Since 1962 the radio school movement has built up a great fund of motivation in the campesino on a rather general level. The major problem now is the allocation of resources in such a way as to take advantage of the motivation which exists.

As we have already mentioned above, this involves changes in the role of the paraprofessional personnel such as coordinators and supervisors. Instead of being primarily motivational agents, they are going to be expected to play more of a role as resource linkages.

Also involved is a change in the role of the regional training centers and regional staff from motivation and supervision to planning, program development, and especially establishing arrangements with government and other agencies for channeling resources to the smaller farmers. The exploration of alternatives and planning is important so that local communities are not motivated to engage in programs that are unworkable in a particular area. This involves studies of what is feasible, given the present state of the larger socioeconomic system in Honduras. It also presupposes an examination of what are the real priorities for the campesino in Honduras. The evaluation of programs is important to discover what is giving results and what is not, so that campesinos will not continue to be encouraged to carry on a program which is not worth the investment of time, energy, and financial resources. Evaluation will also provide a basis for adjusting existing programs or emphasizing

what is beneficial and dropping what is not.

As was pointed out above, the motivational emphasis has led to a certain amount of frustration because there are not the resources to carry out programs. But, there is also the more basic question of what is the best investment of resources. If the regional teams are aware of what kinds of needs the campesinos of the area have and what kinds of programs are giving results, they can go to agencies with this information and propose that their resources be channeled in that direction. Often this requires considerable negotiation and long-range planning with agencies which the local campesino leaders are not fully capable of. If it is proven that small-farmer programs are getting results, then it will demonstrate that those who are sacrificing and participating in the movement are effective. In other words, it pays to be activistic--something that is not too apparent now.

It is also recommended that the leadership training centers move away from the general type of motivational course to courses which are focused on specific, more practical skills. For example, a short course could be given on the mechanics of management of small farms to neighborhood leaders who would be expected to demonstrate this to their neighbors (possibly through the structure of the neighborhood agricultural study circles). The same method of animación could be used in this kind of course as are used in the present courses, and these practical skills could be related to more general values just as is done in some of the present courses. Attempts to focus on more specific, practical skills may, however, require that outside resource personnel be brought in from official agencies. This follows a general recommendation: that the radio school movement make much more of an attempt to establish linkages with national and international resource agencies working in Honduras. The radio school movement defines itself as an educational organization and a movement to bring about sociocultural changes. It specializes in cultural changes and the institutionalization of values. It thus provides a service for the more technical and value-neutral agencies in the country. The radio school movement is essentially a voluntary agency, but it needs to link itself with efforts in the public sector more closely.

What Kind of Long-Range Rural Cultural Change?

The directors of the radio schools and the leaders of the radio school movement have maintained that their goals are long range and that the major goal is a profound cultural

change in which the campesino, who for centuries has thought of himself as a sort of inferior, lesser being, gradually becomes aware of his human worth and his sense of personal contribution to his family, community, and nation. These efforts are not to be measured in terms of the schools and roads built or even strictly in terms of increased agricultural productivity. The results are measured more in terms of a growing human creativity. Supposedly the increased capacity to respond to one's own talents and to realize the aspirations an individual has for himself and his family brings an increased satisfaction in life. It is also an important goal that this growing sense of personal worth and self realization be achieved in a context of class solidarity. That is, the belief that a campesino as a class is creative and worthy of self respect and respect from other sectors of Honduran society should be fostered. This is another aspect of the emphasis on communal activism, instead of individualistic, career-oriented activism.

To measure a growing sense of creativity and of personal worth is extremely difficult using the present sociological instruments for studying modernization. The writer feels that the radio school movement has probably achieved a great deal at this level. But ten years of activity is perhaps too short a time to know whether it is doing this or not. The only real measure is the kind of rural society that these values produce over a long period of time, perhaps twenty-five to fifty years. Attempting to accomplish visible, measureable results in too short a time may, in the long run, cause more damage than good. It often takes rather abstract values a long time to work their way out in terms of concrete institutions and norms of behavior. Although the concrete effects of the long-range goals of the movement may not be very discernible now, the human creativity and satisfaction that a slower, but more profound movement, can accomplish are worth waiting for.

However, in many respects the author questions whether the radio school movement has a clear long-range goal of sociocultural change. This may be justifiable since it leaves the goals to be unfolded by the campesinos themselves as they discover themselves and their capacity for creativity in Honduran society. But many of the ideological themes that are currently being influenced by the directors of the radio schools, who are of a middle-class Honduran background, are not neutral ones. Nor is the ever stronger "demonstration effect" which promotes the assimilation of the campesino as a pale imitation of the urban middle class (and ultimately the European or United States middle class) a neutral model. The campesino is being subjected to various powerful cultural

forces, many of which he is unable to defend himself from. The question is, "What kind of long-range cultural goals are truly favorable to the development of creativity, self-realization, and personal satisfaction?"

It is doubtful that the "demonstration effect" as a cultural force produces this since it defines as the center of cultural creativity the urban, technical sector. It invites the campesino to imitate the style of life of the elites who maintain the urban, technical sector, a style of life which, in turn, is imitated from the urban, industrial centers of the world. Since the campesino can imitate this only in the most limited fashion, adopting the urban, technical sector as the reference point can only convince him of his own underdevelopment. The more aware he is of the urban, technical sector, the greater his sense of inferiority. A whole series of needs are created which will be impossible to attain. As Ivan Illich has pointed out, the institution of education as part of the institutional complex of "development" is so structured that it creates a sense of inferiority and ignorance in all who cannot fully participate.[9] Worst of all, the campesino tends to absorb the attitude of depreciation toward himself as a campesino, which is so prevalent in the urban, technical sector. Many of the measures offered to help the campesino do enable individuals to escape the situation of poverty, but they imply that the individual turn his back on his origins. Meanwhile, the superior-inferior prestige and power relationships are maintained. The poverty of the campesino is transformed into a "culture of poverty" which has an added ingredient of a deep sense of inferiority. The representatives of the urban, technical sector tend to approach the campesino as an inferior and treat him with depreciation.

The basic development motivational structure of the radio schools at present is the concept of marginality, that is, that the popular classes, both rural and urban, are not participating in the national political decision making. They are neither contributing to nor benefiting from the economy, nor are they contributing to the development of a national culture. The strategy for correcting this situation is a long-range motivation of the popular classes to participate and to develop organized power so that they can influence the national decision-making process. Without doubt the descriptive model of marginality portrays very aptly the situation of the rural, lower-status population.

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9. Illich. Op. cit.

However, it is primarily a description of the national decision-making process, and the strategy for participation is through the political process. The need for this is indisputable if there is going to be a reallocation of resources and a change in the opportunity structure for the campesino. It does not make much sense to talk of a process of cultural change among campesinos, in which there is implied a growing creativity and self-realization, if there is not the power to effectively influence the national decision-making process. The history of the efforts of minorities to change their own image and their ranking in the national prestige system shows that ultimately only a very aggressive stance will command respect. To encourage campesinos to be activistic, when there is no objective opportunity for controlling the circumstances of life, has little logic.

Nevertheless, the definition of the campesino as simply marginal leaves a residue of cultural colonialism. The campesinos are, indeed, politically and economically marginal, but one must ask if, in a much deeper sense, the urban, technical sector is not really the culturally marginal sector of the society. Because of the Herodianism of the urban, technical elites, they tend to have a foreign cultural identification, and the focal point of their aspirations is outside of their own society. The real seat of national aspirations is in the popular classes. They tend to be in contact, in the circumstances of their life, with the real problems of the country and are most capable of giving direction to the social and cultural development of the country. One can argue that the popular classes are in a better position to define the national values, that is, what is desirable and what should be the dominant interpretation of reality for that society. Whether explicit philosophies which develop a literate, more abstract interpretation of these values and perceptions of reality are elaborated by literary elites is immaterial as long as this has its roots in the experience of the popular classes. This suggests that the popular classes, especially the campesino sector, should be the norm and reference point of cultural development, not the urban, technical sector.

This turning to the campesino for a national culture has been the experience of many of the more profound movements of structural change in Latin America. The most pronounced such cultural movement has been that of Mexico which, in the years following the Revolution, saw the development of the cultural themes of agrarismo and indigenismo, the exaltation of the campesino and Indian backgrounds of Mexicans. This cultural movement of the 1920's, 30's, and 40's in Mexico established a cultural norm for Mexican development

which has never been completely lost, in spite of the failure to carry on the political and economic goals of the Revolution. The emphasis on the value themes of agrarismo and indigenismo had a solid foundation in the Zapata movement, which was the backbone of the Mexican Revolution. The Zapata movement, in its early formative stages, was a thoroughly campesino controlled agrarian movement which had as a primary goal the restoration of the communal, ejidal land tenure form, at least for southern Mexico where the Indian population was dominant. The Zapata movement was bolstered by the entry of many of professional background who were able to interpret Zapata's peasant goals in terms of more technical, legal and agricultural requirements. The ideals of the Zapata movement ultimately came to dominate the whole Mexican Revolution and found their expression in the provisions for the land reform in the Constitution of 1917. The massive land reforms under Cárdenas in the 1930's was only carrying out what had been made possible politically from 1910 to 1920.

The Mexican Revolution lost momentum after 1940, especially in its agrarian aspects. The campesino gradually lost direct control to urban-based government bureaucracies. One of the reasons why the emphasis of the Mexican Revolution swung away from the small agriculturist to industrialization is that the former group was not able to generate modern expressions of traditional cultural institutions and become a more productive factor in the Mexican economy. Like many campesino movements, the Zapata movement was essentially traditionalistic. That is, it sought to reestablish traditional Indian land tenure forms, the ejido, and, with it, at least some of the traditional way of life. The Zapata movement began as a reaction to the expansion of the modernizing sugar plantations in Morelos. In the long run the best defense of the campesino in Mexico would have been, in addition to the land tenure reform, a self-modernization in which traditional values were given modern, technical expression. Unfortunately, the agrarian movement did not generate a strong modernizing cultural expression. Although there were attempts such as the "cultural missions" to transform the Mexican agrarian revolution into a rural development force, this was never entirely successful on a national scale. The themes of agrarismo and indigenismo were never thoroughly developed in the Mexican campesino culture (or, better, a patchwork of cultures), so that the rural population could define itself in opposition to the dominating influence of the urban, technical culture. The Mexican agrarian movement lost its political independence, and never developed strength in the national economy. Thus, culturally the campesino has largely remained the symbol of backwardness and inferiority.

The radio school movement in Honduras does seem to be a more modernizing sort of rural movement. But there seems to be lacking the element of agrarismo which would establish as the norm of long-range cultural development the campesino's own system of values. The concept of marginality stresses the grievances and the dependent, excluded state of the campesino, but does little to bring out what is positive in the life of the campesino. The reference point remains that from which the campesino is excluded, and the goal is to attempt to participate in that culture. The campesino is left with the feeling that he is inferior and marginal, which could be debilitating to his own sense of personal worth. A stronger emphasis on agrarianism, a kind of internal peasant "nationalism," could be a healthy balance and natural development in the present movement.

Essentially, agrarianism as a cultural phenomenon is an attempt of the rural sector to define itself as a legitimate, viable subculture within a highly differentiated, industrializing society. It is not a regression into a romanticized past but the collective revitalization of what is believed to be important social forms and values in modern institutional forms. Agrarianism seeks the integration of the campesino into an industrial, technological society in such a way that the traditional values are enhanced and are able to contribute to the development of a modern nation-state. It assumes that a wholesale urbanization in rural areas would destroy much of the campesino cultural values and have a demoralizing effect on campesinos in terms of both personal and social integration. It is a cultural phenomenon similar to nationalistic movements in countries with a recent colonial past in which there has been cultural domination by more technically advanced countries.

Agrarianism as a cultural phenomenon is just as much a reaction of the rural lower-status sector to the internal cultural colonialism as a reaction to the political domination and economic exploitation. It rejects the perception of the campesino as culturally inferior--ignorant, indolent, morally unrestrained, crude and insensitive in his style of life--and underscores the good qualities of the campesino. It rejects also the notion of campesino life as necessarily one of slavelike drudgery and brings out the fact that agriculture is a profession with its own skills. Agrarianism also stresses that the campesino way of life is, in many respects, far more satisfying and fulfilling than that of the urban, technical sector.

Agrarianism is possibly one type of what Anthony Wallace has described as a revitalization movement, "a

deliberate, organized conscious effort by members of a society to construct a more satisfying culture."[10] Its key themes are pride in one's identity, professionalism and artisanry in one's work, satisfaction and fulfillment in one's way of life, the positive contribution of the individual to his community and nation, and the importance of the sociocultural reintegration of the campesino.

Revitalization movements usually occur in situations of contact between two cultural backgrounds. Agrarianism is probably a reaction to the increased communication and interpenetration between the campesino and the urban, technical sectors. As a dominant culture begins to invade, it tends to have destructive effects on the personalities that are structured around traditional values and, indirectly, on the social structure which is supportive to personalities. Revitalization movements are extremely important for the continued integration of personalities and for social structures in a period of social and cultural change. For this reason, agrarianism could be very important for the campesino in the changing situation of Honduras.

The radio school movement is, in many respects, already this kind of cultural revitalization movement. It has built itself on traditional values and traditional social structures in the rural neighborhoods and has been a gradual modernization of many traditional aspects of Honduran campesino life. But it would be helpful for the leaders in the movement to become more explicitly conscious of this and to emphasize the positive agrarian value themes of the movement. How these themes are developed depends, ultimately, on the campesino leaders themselves. But it may be helpful to the reader in understanding this process if a more careful analysis is made of some of the major trends that have been observed in the radio school movement and that are typical of agrarianism.

1. Development of the Attitude of Creativity and Artisanry in the Small Farm Enterprise.

Agrarianism accepts the fact that the campesino's life is bound up with agriculture and that his basic sense of satisfaction is to be found in success and security in this activity. The small-scale agriculture of the campesino involves a great deal of personal manual labor and direct control over the agricultural enterprise. There is thus the potential for much personal creativity

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10. Wallace, Anthony F. C., "Revitalization Movements," American Anthropologist, Vol. 58(1956), pp. 264-281.

and a kind of artisanry implicit in this direct personal involvement. The goal of land tenure reform in Latin America is to put land directly in the control of the small farmer, usually on some kind of cooperative basis. The small-scale farmer who is working as an individual or as a member of a cooperative has the possibility of a great deal of autonomy in decisions regarding his agriculture, or at least he has the possibility of directly influencing decisions in the fairly small agricultural cooperative. This is a situation quite different from the large commercial farming enterprise in which the workers are involved in the manual labor or even in running machinery, while the supervisors are making decisions, but are not involved in the direct agricultural work. This is not necessarily an argument for or against the small farm but an acceptance of the fact of the smaller farmer with an emphasis on the benefits to be derived from it. In point of fact, however, the small farm has recently been very ably defended by agricultural economists as a preferable production unit in the Latin American context.[11]

Although most small farmers in the Honduran context are simply repeating traditional practices in a struggle for existence, many of the agriculturalists in the radio school movement have become interested in exploring agricultural alternatives. The kind of educational program which we described in the previous chapter stresses that small-farm agriculture is not just raising sufficient food to eat but is an expression of the artisanry of the small farmer, especially if there is an opportunity to experiment with and perfect his farming methods. Agriculture is thus an expression of personal pride and achievement, not just a subsistence struggle. This implies that agricultural technology and farm management methods are made available to the smaller farmer but in a context of adaptation to the level of the small farmer. This experimentation seems best carried on as a group activity, although the prevailing development emphasis stresses competition among small farmers in a local area rather than collaboration.

This same theme of personal creativity and artisanry could and should also be stressed in the case of the women's homemaking activities.

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11. Barraclough. Op cit.

Weitz, Raanan. From Peasant to Farmer, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1971).

2. The Solidarity and Cultural Integration of the Rural Community

Another important aspect of campesino life is the fact that it is centered so much within the neighborhood and the extended family. Most of the social interaction with its system of horizontal and vertical alliances is focused within the rural community, and the average individual has relatively few linkages outside his community (or neighboring communities). What vertical alliances there are outside of the community are often through intermediaries. The closeness of individuals to each other in a rural community is at once a source of intense solidarity and conflict because the bases of solidarity are simple. The solidarity tends to be passive, that is, based on a common kinship and a sharing of history and cultural values. A dynamic solidarity is an integration around community-wide problem solving so that the common good of the community becomes the focus.

This "modernization of community solidarity" involves a transition from a passive cultural similarity and traditional kinship-based interchanges to a dynamic solidarity based on a sense of common destiny and working more through formal community organization. There is already a great deal of interdependence and mutual help in crises in rural communities. But this is usually not concerned with the roots of community problems and in developing community infrastructure or in cooperative economic organizations which link the campesino directly with the national economic system. The passive solidarity offers the basis of cohesion, but this should be oriented toward new levels of active collaboration.

The local community thus becomes an active unit, incorporating, on the basis of local reflection on and determination of needs, the resources which the larger sociopolitical system is making available. The local activity insures that whatever resources are available are employed much more efficiently and with much more contribution from the local community. The local organization also serves as an intermediary unit which articulates the interests and mobilizes the power of the local community in representing needs to higher authorities and agencies. This kind of communal activism, which builds upon the traditional solidarity and leadership, is already very much a part of the radio school movement's ideology. But the importance of this local community solidarity could be made more explicit, emphasizing community pride and accomplishment.

Another aspect of community solidarity which the radio school movement has stressed very little is the more recreative, lighter side of community life: sports, song and music, dance, community gatherings built around traditional saints' fiestas, the traditional veladas or neighborhood talent programs, the patriotic and civic fiestas, and other types of community gatherings. This lighter aspect of campesino life has a great deal of influence on the general pleasantness of rural community life.

3. The Common Sense, Practicality, and Sobriety of the Campesino

Robert Redfield, who studied Mexican peasantry, and comments on the peasant concept of the good life, places a great deal of importance on the campesino's high evaluation of his own common sense, practicality, and a certain sobriety. He recognizes himself as a simple person, immersed in very elementary unintellectual activities, usually somewhat conservative, but by that very fact he prides himself in being more practical and in contact with the basic realities of human life. He follows a rather rigid routine of daily work with a narrow margin of risk and is skeptical of extravagances and pretentiousness of all kinds. The campesino respects the person who is responsible, certain, true to his word--in the language described in Chapter II, the person who is formal. Among the Honduran campesinos, especially, there is a strong distaste for conspicuous consumption and too much flair for the showy.

The campesino stolidity and conservative style are a source of ridicule by the townspeople and by some of the younger campesinos, but it has also been the source of strength and stability of the peasant, both in his own personal and social integration and the integration of the larger society. The campesino derives a great deal of satisfaction and pride from his own sense of personal integrity and honesty. For example, it was noted that the local community development committees rarely handled funds dishonestly, whereas in higher government circles this is reputedly a common experience. The campesino is generally a man of his word. This sincerity and straightforwardness--the ability "to call a spade a spade"--seems to be an important basic quality in development if it is coupled with the communal activism described above.

The ability to live with a certain material conservativism and make the very best use of all available resources

is probably a very important quality for Honduran development, given the very limited agricultural and other resources. The demonstration effect projected by the urban, technical sector often leads the campesino to spending in various kinds of conspicuous consumption which are far beyond his resources. The radio phonographs, a record collection, and other gadgets are often the first purchases that a young campesino makes--buying on time. Only with the cultivation of the traditional internal discipline of the campesino and measuring of personal development in terms of a sense of personal achievement, artisanry, and development of personal capacities (education for example) is there going to be the moral foundation for socioeconomic development. The goal should be a solid base for personal and economic development--the essentials--and not the adoption of the gaudy echoes of the U.S. "hotdog culture." In this respect the conspicuous consumption and inability of the elites in many Latin American countries to contribute to capital formation provide a very poor example for the campesino.

4. The Integration of Traditional Religious Values With a Theology of Development

As we have pointed out before, the radio school movement has, generally speaking, built itself on the traditional religious values of the people. Beginning with a Catholicism which was largely magical religious beliefs in the saints and their importance as control factors in agriculture and health, this was gradually shifted to emphasis on a Catholicism defined as living up to a moral ideal and participating in the sacramental rituals. Then following the Post-Vatican II developments, this turned slowly to a religious ideal in which one is a good Christian if he participates in personal and community development. This gradual integration of traditional religious values with a development ethic has produced a kind of religiously based development ethic in which the deepest values and the resources of the campesino personality are directed toward development and social change.

One sometimes finds in a Latin American context a curious juxtaposition of an extreme religious conservativism--a series of religious practices which are fatalistic and conservative--and participation in programs of rural development which imply very activistic, change-oriented values. In this case the religious world view and ideals make no contribution to the development ethic of the individual and may indeed be a hindrance. Ivan Vallier has commented that this is the great source

of failure of the Catholic Church in Latin America, that it has not provided a profound development ethic for this cultural region. The religious beliefs have tended to define man's concept of his relationship to his environment, the social context around him, and to himself, but in an extremely passive, fatalistic, and static manner.[12]

In many respects this was simply the rationalization of the experiences of the rural population. Christianity does have a well developed theology of resignation and suffering, developing out of the pre-Christian, Jewish "suffering servant" theme, symbolized in the sacrificial death of Jesus and highlighted in the Christian experience of conflict and persecution during the early centuries of its existence. Although there are other themes of hope and activism, individuals who are living in a situation in which the physical and social environment are overwhelmingly powerful and oppressive may very well explain their situation by emphasizing the value of passive suffering. The "popular theology" tends to rationalize the life situation, and the official Church gives its blessing and reinforces these popular values. In this framework happiness is realized more in another world than in this. This "other worldly" theme is also strongly emphasized by many pentecostal and evangelical Protestant groups in Latin America. This tradition also tends to rationalize the traditional power structure and has no place for radical structural change.

In some contexts in Latin America, the traditional theological emphasis of the Church and other religious groups comes into conflict with modernizing forces, and the religious traditions tend to take a defensive, even more anti-change stand. In Mexico, for example, the Catholic Church was, by and large, unprepared for many of the proposals for radical social change that evolved during the years of the Revolution (especially from 1910 to 1930). Instead of collaborating with the essential reforms of the Mexican Revolution, the Church opposed them and, operating in a ghetto, reinforced the traditional popular Catholicism. At the same time the Revolutionary, modernizing forces viewed the religious values of the people as positive hindrances. As a result, the popular Catholicism of many of the Mexican peasants has continued basically unchanged, providing

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12. Vallier, Ivan. Catholicism, Social Control and Modernization in Latin America. (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1970).

the dominant value matrix for much of the rural population, but inimical to and hindering in many ways the acceptance of the Revolutionary value themes and their institutionalization in the popular culture. Both the Church and the leaders in the Revolutionary tradition hope and expect that the other side will simply "go away" eventually--something which has not happened.

However, there are other dimensions of the prevalent Christian religious tradition which see man as an active, creative, and contributing factor to a dynamic, evolving social and physical environment. Man is viewed as a co-creator with the Divinity in history. This is now the increasingly dominant theology of the Church in Latin America (expressed in the documents of Medillin), and it offers an ethical basis for development values. There is the possibility of mutual respect and collaboration between religious leaders and official development efforts without the latter becoming confessional in any sense. The religious values are not a hindrance but a positive factor in rural development, and these values should be taken advantage of as a motivational force in social change. At the least, the campesino should be allowed to find satisfaction in his religious values as a contribution to national development.

5. The Campesino and His Natural Environment

Another very important part of the campesino's environment is the physical forces of nature: the seasons, the weather with its rain and droughts, the climate, the soil, the vegetable and animal life. The campesino is living in constant direct interaction with these natural forces so that nature is the protagonist in the drama of his life. How the campesino perceives his interaction with the natural forces around him is very important for his own satisfaction in his work. There is the possibility of a great deal of enjoyment in living in contact with natural forces if a fundamental symbiotic relationship has been established. The small farmer has the opportunity to know his soils well, how well they drain, what treatment makes them more responsive, and how they can be conserved. If some kind of harmonious relationship has been established, then, in spite of occasional setbacks, there is a basic confidence that over the long run the natural environment will respond. There is always an element of hope that, if not this year, then next year the response will be favorable. There is a fundamental sense of the goodness and bounteousness of the forces of nature. This may sound like poetic romanticism to some involved in rural

development, but it must be taken into consideration in speaking of rural values.

The author has the distinct impression from moving among the campesinos of southern Honduras that many campesinos view the natural environment as stingy, hostile, and unresponsive to them. The traditional slash and burn agriculture which would support a less dense population is becoming less and less the appropriate response to the environment, but there have been no clear alternatives. The soils are poor and deteriorating. The rainy seasons which are so important in their agriculture have been uncertain. Productivity appears to be declining. Nature simply does not seem to be responding to the campesino's efforts, and this has greatly reduced his sense of creativity and self-realization. As a result there is not the sense of satisfaction in nature and the cycle of seasons, a basic sense of hope in agricultural activities. There is rather a constant attitude of resentment and desperation.

At the same time many campesinos seem to have little concept of how to establish a harmonizing balance with the natural forces, to comprehend what the region is capable of, and to learn to make it respond. There is little sense of soil conservation, crop rotation, or crop diversity. There does not seem to be much sense of experimentation and development, and gradual development of systems of agriculture which would be more productive and much more in harmony with the environment. In short, there does not seem to be a sense of satisfaction in knowing that if the agriculturist is responsive to the natural forces, the natural forces will be responsive to them.

Certainly the theme of satisfaction in the natural environment must be central to the agrarian culture. The small farmer cannot have a sense of creativity and self-realization if he has not learned to live in a kind of dynamic harmony with nature. The development of agrarian values probably should include a great deal of stress, also, on the dignity of working with environmental forces and making them responsive to the efforts of farming.

6. The Tradition of Campesino Protest

The relationship between the campesino and the urban, technical sector has traditionally been exploitative and extractive, as was pointed out in Chapter I. But there has also always been a counter-tradition of resistance

and protest, whether the simple passive, defensive resistance of trying to keep the elites out of the campesino neighborhoods or the active semi-organized protests against local landowners. In Honduras the campesinos have a long tradition of sending delegations to government ministries to resolve problems. This tradition of protest is built into campesino culture in terms of resentment against the "rich," mistrust of the townspeople and of other representatives of the urban, literate elites, and a kind of exaltation of the poor.

But the tradition of protest has generally tended to be sporadic, oriented to concrete local incidents, and without good organization. Usually once the emotion of the immediate grievances has passed or the local communities involved have achieved their immediate goals, the movement disintegrates. And if it does achieve some control of the situation, its goals are to restore a traditional pattern which is often not a solution to the root causes of the problem.

The reaction of the urban, technical sector to the campesino tradition of protest has been usually negative and fearful. Campesinos are viewed as wild, unruly children who don't know what they want; they must be kept in order. Campesino protest is viewed as an irrational, destructive outburst, and its occurrences only convince the urban, technical sector that the campesino needs their paternalistic guidance. At the same time, there is a fear of campesino organized activity lest things get out of their control. The official ideology preaches the good and docile campesino who, if he is dissatisfied, aspires to leave behind his backward neighborhood and become a part of the rural or urban elites (at least the lower levels). Many of the campesino leaders themselves accept this attitude of control of protest and constantly reject it as a tactical means. Probably the most effective repression of campesino protest is that which is built into the campesino culture itself. This failure to recognize the validity of the campesino tradition of protest and the attempts to constantly keep it down prevents some of the more creative campesino forces from expressing themselves. And since it will not be allowed legal expression, it constantly crops up in an "illegal" fashion.

It must be realized that the campesino tradition of protest is inherent in the social system of a dichotomous, hierarchical society and that it is actually a constructive force, which if allowed fuller expression, would contribute

to a steady process of change. There is an essential difference of interests between the campesino sector and the urban, technical sector, and these interests have a right to be expressed and to influence the national decision-making process. If the campesino tradition of protest is, in fact, recognized as valid and constructive, then it can be brought into the development and social change process of the country on a permanent, organized basis.

In this the urban, technical sector has a contribution to make: to communicate and develop the organizational skills to mobilize a vague dissatisfaction into a permanent campesino special interest group. This implies a process of cultural change among campesinos: realization of the importance of continual maintenance of organization to achieve long-range goals. Instead of looking to restore traditional patterns or diffuse its forces in rhetoric, the sense of protest has to be channeled into devising practical strategies for forcing existing agencies to provide the services they should be giving and to implement existing legal provisions. This is a gradual process which implies considerable capacity to manipulate the political structures of the country--whatever they may be. It also implies a new set of values which prize this kind of long-range struggle. Moreover, this power exercised in a skillful and responsible manner is another source of satisfaction for the campesino.

This by no means exhausts the list of value themes which might be emphasized in developing a rural culture with a strong agrarian orientation. But it demonstrates the kind of value themes which are important if the radio school movement is to be a contributing factor in developing, over a long period of time, a viable subculture which highlights the creativity and satisfaction of the rural, lower-status population. The directors and the central staff of Acción Cultural Popular Hondureña must necessarily play an important role in spelling out these themes, since they will be preparing the units of instruction and the printed materials for the adult education program. The directors and professors in the regional leadership training centers also have an important part to play. But the ideology of any movement, ultimately, must come from the movement itself, especially the leaders of the movement who articulate the aspirations of the rural people. As one listens to the leaders of this movement, it is obvious that they are "thinking their way through" the problems they are facing, and, in so doing, they are forming a new "agrarian ideology." The insights that

the writer has gained from these leaders has contributed to the model of the agrarian value themes described here.

Agrarianism presupposes that with modern forms of communication and transportation there will be a great deal of interpenetration of cultural values between the urban, technical and the campesino sector. In reality, agrarianism is the process of urbanization and industrialization of the rural areas, but a gradual process which preserves many of the distinctive values of the people of the rural areas and especially preserves the personal integration of the campesino. Industrial society is a statified, competitive society, operating on universalistic norms of achievement. Unless an individual has the opportunity to define his role in that society along more particularistic lines and maintains certain particularistic goals and values, then immersion in an industrial society can be a very destructive experience of failure. Agrarianism is an attempt to define a particularistic role for small cultivators so that their reference point is their own way of life, not that of the millionaire who lives in Barrio Palmira in Tegucigalpa.

We can expect that the rural population of Honduras will gradually be an increasingly smaller proportion of the total population and that agriculture will contribute an increasingly smaller part of the total national productivity. But the absolute number of small farmers will remain large for an indefinite future, and it may even increase for a few decades. These small farmers have a right to develop the values of their life around their profession and their total life situation so that their life is one of genuine human satisfaction. It is not expected that the peasant farmers of Honduras will achieve a material standard of living equal to that of professionals in a developed industrial society immediately or even achieve the standard of living of farmers in the midwestern United States. But the Honduran campesino should expect, with a certain frugality, a decent way of life: ownership of a small farm either individually or in a cooperative with much higher levels of productivity and some alternate "cottage industry" type of work; an adequate house with some electrification; a full, balanced diet still in large part produced on his own farm; full educational opportunities for rural youth to the level of the university and advanced technical training if those are the aspirations; full access to adequate health services; and the opportunity to enjoy the best in Honduran literary and artistic culture (though the campesino is going to be most interested in the artistic aspect of his own campesino culture).

It is fully expected that a large number of rural youth will migrate to urban areas, but, if a truly satisfying life can be created in the rural areas, this migration will be a choice, not a desperate escape. The extreme poverty and sense of inferiority of campesinos today is only producing a candidate for the urban slums. The campesino migrant is accustomed to a depressing, hopeless way of life in his rural neighborhood and he recreates this in the urban area. Just as the kind of life that has been created in rural areas is a reflection of the values and personality of the campesino, so the urban slums are a reflection of the values of the migrants. The campesino arrives uneducated, unskilled in the deepest meaning of the term, that is, he has no sense of artisanry or creativity. Not all inhabitants of the poor barrios in Honduran cities are rural migrants, but, in large part, the urban problems can be traced back to the depressing state of the campesino in the rural areas. The reintegration of the campesino culture is extremely important at this point of incipient urbanization and industrialization in Honduras. What happens to the development of campesino values in the next twenty-five years could influence the kind of urban, industrial society Honduras has in the future.

The campesino, as he is today, is not prepared for urban migration, and he is often more of a burden to the urban areas (even to the small towns and regional cities) than he is a contribution. The writer has the impression (not substantiated by much investigation) that there is considerable personal and social disintegration following the migration of the campesino to the towns and cities. But it is likely that this disintegration is only revealing the vacuum and possibly the disorganization that has already existed in the rural community. If the campesino has already had the opportunity to define himself with regard to the urban, technical culture, as an equal who is perfectly capable of being himself and manipulating the institutions around him without a sense of inferiority or failure, then migration to urbanized areas can be a fulfilling and satisfying choice. The young campesino moving to small towns or to larger urban centers will bring with him some of the strength of his own cultural background. The word "interpenetration" of cultural values used in the paragraph above was employed advisedly. The campesino migrant has a significant cultural contribution to make to the urban, technical sector as an individual.

The development of a satisfying rural culture, which campesinos can be proud of, is also important for producing the kind of rural technician that Honduras needs. At present

most of the supervisors of rural development agencies come from an urban background; or they are campesinos who have adopted the traditional attitudes of development bureaucracies toward campesinos. There is often a great deal of depreciation and even repugnance to being in rural areas and to being identified with rural areas. The campesino way of life is looked upon as a lower form of life. There is little sense of solidarity with one's past in young campesinos and little desire to make a contribution to one's own people.

The radio school movement has a quite important role to play in the development of the kind of agrarian culture we have described here. The impact will be felt not only in rural communities, but in the whole pattern of national development, as Honduras makes its transition from a traditional peasant society to an industrial society.

CHAPTER VI

THE DEVELOPMENT OF INSTITUTIONAL CAPACITY FOR PARTICIPATORY COLLECTIVE DECISION MAKING

The third major goal of the radio school movement has been to develop the organizational capacity of communities: to collectively recognize problems, arrive at a decision to do something about these problems, and then to execute that decision. From the beginning the radio school--the monitor with his students--was expected to be a community development organization. Later the organization of community development committees, training of leaders, and the mobilization of the community to construct schools, roads and other specific projects became a major emphasis of the radio school movement. This was thought to be a means of helping the campesinos to overcome their dependency and passivity. Instead of waiting for the central government agencies to solve problems for them, the campesinos would learn how to band together to solve their problems at their own level.

Later, with the introduction of the animación method, the participatory aspect of collective decision making was stressed. The solution to the problem of marginality was, again, the organization of the campesinos so that they could overcome their social disintegration and develop the capacity for collective decision making. Three types of organizations were discussed in the training courses: the communal, the economic, and the gremial. The communal type of organization was the specific sphere of activity of the radio school movement.

In its more developed phase the radio school movement has more consciously tried to stress not just the construction of a few community projects or even the existence of community development, "problem solving" committees, but the cultural institutions whereby the campesinos would not depend on paternalistic figures in the community to make decisions for them. Instead of seeking out intermediaries linked to the urban, technical sector, they could successfully engage in defining problems and executing their own decisions.

If the first step in laying the foundations for a long-range movement among the campesinos is motivational, to

develop a sense of discrepancy and general motivation to initiate change, the second step is to develop the institutional capacity for collective decision making in order to express the concerted will of the campesinos.

It is the success of the radio school movement in developing the cultural institutions of participatory collective decision making at the local community level that we shall examine in this chapter.

A Definition of the Term Institution

An institution is a type of social "drama" of predetermined roles which specifies for a series of actors just what their behaviors are to be in relation to others in a given situation. Institutions usually have specific goals around which the roles are organized. In the case of the patron and the renter, the goal is ostensibly the economic crisis of the landless campesino asking to rent land. More covertly it may also have the goal of increasing the economic gains of the landowner. An institution brings to bear abstract values and norms on human behavior in specific situations and structures human relations so that "all runs smoothly" in a predetermined fashion.

As we noted before, certain values tend to express themselves in terms of specific institutions, since it is the value which explains and justifies the behaviors of individuals playing roles. But this is a two-way street. Values may arise as individuals seek to solve a problem in a certain situation, and there gradually develops a superstructure of rationalization and justification of this particular formula of human behavior.

Collective Decision-Making Institutions

Every group, whether it is the family, a football team, a labor organization, or a nation, has to have collective decision-making institutions. If a group does not have set mechanisms for recognizing the problems it faces, sifting through various alternatives for resolving these problems, coming to a decision regarding a particular line of action, and executing this decision, it faces the possibility of stagnation or even extinction. If there are no set institutional processes for constantly discovering what the problems are, the group tends to drift in a state of vague dissatisfaction and anxiety. The stronger and more effective the decision-making institutions, the better the group can

satisfy the needs of its members.

There are many different institutional formulas for collective decision making: more or less participatory, more or less authoritarian, with more or less study of the problems involved, and with more or less conflict allowed. Behind the decision-making process is a structure of power or potential influence determining who will have the final say in a decision and whose interests it will satisfy. This power structure can vary a great deal also.[1]

The radio school movement has attempted to stimulate a type of collective decision making in which there is wide participation of the lower-status individuals in the rural community. Thus, supposedly, there is emphasis on the formation of a power base of some kind among the lower-status individuals. However, the radio school movement must contend with the fact that there already exist institutions of collective decision making in a rural community which it must either attempt to change or foster, according to their orientation.

Traditions of Institutionalized Collective Decision Making In Rural Honduras: The Authoritarian Tradition

There are in reality two traditions of collective decision making in rural Honduras: one quite authoritarian, working directly through the dependency alliances in the rural neighborhood and tending to be influenced by higher control centers at the municipal, regional, and national levels; the other with considerable active involvement of individuals in the community, depending more on elected committees and persuasion than use of coercive economic and political power, and tending to be decentralized. In both cases the power structure of the rural neighborhood and the dependency alliances tend to be important. Since we have already described in Chapter II the background of the power structure in the rural neighborhood and the mechanisms of authoritarian decision making, we shall only sketch the outline of its major features. It should be noted, also, that these two traditions have existed side by side and are often in practice intermixed. Our description is really of analytical tendencies and ideal types.

In the more authoritarian tradition the decision

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1. Clark, Terry N. (ed.), Community Structure and Decision Making: Comparative Analyses. (San Francisco: Chandler Publishing Company, 1968).

making is located in the patriarchal influential figures of the leading family. He repeatedly makes the decisions. He defines the problem, takes the initiative, and decides. There are no public meetings, no elected committees to execute the decision. The patriarchal leader mobilizes the community personally, calling in individuals separately and telling them what to do. Usually he mobilizes those who are directly dependent on him by calling in his "debts" from favors he has conferred.

If outside resources are needed he contacts municipal, regional, or national caudillos on the basis of personalistic alliances, pledging the support of his "dependents" in return for their favors for the community. The people of the community may never have any voice in this and may not even know how resources were obtained. All they know is, "Con fulano, todo se puede!" (With so-and-so everything is possible). The local patron appears to the people as an all-powerful agent, thus increasing their dependency on him.

This authoritarian decision-making pattern in local neighborhoods was based on the growth of power of the leading family in the neighborhood, but the centralizing political system (dating especially from the Carías administration in Honduras) has tended to support and institutionalize the tendency.

The people of the community accept their passive roles on the basis of their own perception of their "ignorance," and "their inability to speak for themselves." The patron rationalizes his paternalism on the basis that the people are "lazy," "ignorant" and "uninterested," people who need a strong arm behind them to make them do something. They are seen as incapable of participating in the decision-making process, and this is generally accepted by the people themselves. The people are often afraid to engage in open, frank discussion, and their ignorance and passivity becomes a self-fulfilling prophecy.

The Tradition of Local Community Initiative and Participation

In spite of the tendencies to concentrate problem solving and decision making in a local paternalistic figure and in a hierarchical political party control system, there has also been a rather remarkable tradition of local initiative and local participation in Honduras. The local board of officers elected to carry out a specific development project is now a thoroughly institutionalized procedure in nearly all parts of Honduras, and most Honduran communities do have some kind of local decision-making capacity through

this patronato or board of officers. The historical origins of these local decision-making institutions are diverse.

In part this has been due to the fact that until relatively recently (twenty years ago) there has been no strong central government program for schools, roads, and other local community improvements, so that the isolated rural communities often had to solve the problem of schools as best they could with their own efforts.

Participation of campesinos in the rural municipal government has also been a training ground in the functions of a board of officers and rudimentary parliamentary procedure. The statement that Honduras is an "agrarian democracy" made up of small farmers who have had a better chance to control local government than most Latin American countries is probably true to a certain extent, although this is diminishing with a centralizing tendency in the government and political parties. The local committee of the political party has been, in itself, a source of experience in local representation.

Another important source of institutions of local initiative and wider participation has been the community religious activities: organizing the occasional community-wide saint's fiestas which meant collecting and accounting for funds; constructing community chapels (investing up to $4,000 in local money over the years, at times); and organizing for the occasional visit of the parish priest. There was not infrequently an elected board of officers for the maintenance of the local chapel and for organizing a suitable fiesta in honor of the saint of the community. These activities were voluntary and involved elected boards of officers. The radio school movement tended to build on this tradition of religious organizations and orient it more toward education and community economic improvement.

The most explicit forerunner of the present patronato is the Sociedad de Padres de Familia or local parents' school committee promoted by the Ministry of Education when the central government began to enter into the field of rural primary education. The parents were to elect a board of officers to promote the construction of a school, supervise the teacher, and encourage the attendance of the children of the community.

By the early 1960's when there began to be widespread interest in community development and the encouragement of development through local participatory decision making, the institution of the directiva or patronato already existed in

at least a vague way. The availability of funds for local projects through CARE, USAID's Special Project Fund and other agencies such as CARITAS greatly encouraged this local community government by making funds available directly to elected boards of officers in the rural communities--not through political intermediaries.

A patronato is usually organized to mobilize the people of the community for a specific project, and after that it exists but lies dormant. In most communities these are elected, and they have at least rudimentary skills in parliamentary procedure, handling and accounting for funds, and supervising simple construction. It falls down as a permanent problem-solving "little government" in the community with regular elections, regular meetings, and a continued existence. Probably, in the hands of scarcely literate, semisubsistence farmers this loose sort of decision-making institution is the most effective. One is impressed with the fact that handling of funds is about 90 per cent honest and that they seldom fail to push through a project--comparing very favorably with administrative capacities, mutatis mutandi, of the central government!

The role of the radio school movement has been largely to strengthen the institutions of local participatory decision making over the more authoritarian, centrally-controlled, personalistic decision-making process.

An Analytic Model of Collective Decision-Making Institutions

To determine whether a particular community has developed a greater or lesser institutional capacity for collective decision making presents various difficulties. First of all, it is a complex process with various stages. A particular community may be strong in one dimension of collective decision making and weak in another. For the purposes of this study we have designated five dimensions or stages of the collective decision-making process: 1) problem recognition; 2) interest articulation; 3) interest aggregation; 4) authoritative decision making; and 5) mobilization. We shall measure the influence of the radio school movement in developing each one of these dimensions of collective decision making.[2]

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2. Almond, Gabriel, and James S. Coleman (eds.), The Politics of the Developing Countries. (Princeton University Press, 1960).

Secondly, decision-making capacity is a social institutional phenomenon consisting of the organization of social role definition. But it also demands in individuals a series of personality characteristics so that they are able to fill these roles: certain ways of viewing reality, values, internalized norms, and specific attitudes. Since the radio school movement has stressed both the structuring of social roles and developing individual personality characteristics and skills, we shall measure the capacity of radio school communities on two levels: the individual (or average individual characteristics in a community) and the institutional levels.

Problem Recognition

By problem recognition is meant the ability of a community to collectively bring to a focus some vague dysfunction which manifests itself in generalized dissatisfaction and anxiety and to define this vague dissatisfaction in terms of a clearly perceived "community problem." To define the problem clearly so that the people accept this as a real problem of theirs is a major step in a decision-making process, since it usually includes in it part of the solution.

Four dimensions of problem solving were measured at the aggregative, individual level: 1) degree of awareness of other communities as reference points, that is, becoming aware of one's own community problems by consciousness of the problem solving of other communities; 2) the degree of general awareness of problems in the community (that is, how many problems they can name); 3) clarity of concept of how to solve certain problems (a more qualitative measure of problem recognition); and 4) the degree of awareness of these problems as a community responsibility, rather than an individual or government responsibility.

1. Awareness of Other Communities as Reference Points

It was discovered that the very high radio school communities did not take other communities as reference points because their own accomplishment was their reference point. Communities within an interacting system of communities began to be most significantly affected by the demonstration effect when they were involved in a rivalry with another community (or communities) to exert greater relative centrality and control over the subregion. But communities within the radio school movement indicated that they were receiving ideas from

other communities through the horizontal communication system of monitors and coordinators. This is further evidence that the communication system of the radio school movement does stimulate problem recognition.

2. Awareness of Problems in the Community

Individuals of all of the thirteen communities in the sample were aware that their community lacked improvements, but in the high radio school communities a notably higher percentage of individuals said that their community lacked many things. A higher percentage of individuals in high radio school communities could name at least three or four needed improvements. Quantitatively there was more problem recognition in the radio school communities.

3. Clarity of Concept of Problems and Problem Solving

The real test of problem recognition was thought to be in the measure of the clarity of problem recognition. It is easy to say "we lack many things," and then name a series of popular projects which have been heard talked about. But a more accurate and demanding test comes when a problem area is presented to an individual, and he is asked, "What would you do to solve this kind of problem?"

In the questionnaire seven problem areas were presented: health, increasing crop yields, roads, education, local municipal government, credit facilities, and agricultural technical information. The responses were coded according to the degree of clarity, concreteness, and practicality from "I don't know" and answers completely off the point to the ability to mention specific practical means, the specific agency they could call on to supply that means, and the knowledge of how to get the agency to their community.

To summarize briefly the interesting results in this area of problem recognition, the answers were coded "low" (don't know or completely obscure), "medium" (answers which in some way were a solution, but vague and not too practical), and "high" (could name a specific, practical solution and the agency). Rating the communities according to the percentage of high responses: a "high" rating if 40 per cent of the responses were in the high category, "medium" if from 20 to 40 per cent were in the high category, and "low" if less than 20 per cent were in the high category--we have the following differentiation of communities presented in Table 6.1.

Table 6.1: Rating of Radio and Non-Radio School Communities According to the Percentage of "High Clarity" Responses on Problem Recognition

Problem Area	Strength of Radio School Movement			
	Very High	Moderate to High	Weak	Not Present
Health	High	High	Medium	Medium
Inc. Crop Yields	Medium	Medium	Medium	Low
Roads	Medium	Low	Low	Low
Education	Low	Low	Low	Low
Local Government	Medium	Medium	Low	Low
Credit Facilities	High	High	Medium	Low
Ag. Service Agencies	Medium	Medium	Low	Low

Table 6.1 indicates that the radio school communities tend to have a greater capacity for clarity in problem recognition and problem solving. But we must recall that a community was given a "high" rating if 40 per cent or more of the respondents in the sample of each community could name a practical, concrete solution and the agency. Thus the overall capacity even of communities where the movement has been quite strong is not exceptionally good. Only in the areas of health and credit were the stronger radio school communities given a "high" rating, and this is probably influenced by the presence of the housewives' clubs and their campaigns in the case of health and by the credit union cooperatives in the case of credit. These results point up the importance of the parallel organizations in the community as instruments of education.

The low degree of clarity in problem recognition in the area of education is noteworthy. But these responses confirm a general observation regarding leaders and participants in the radio school movement: that they have not generally established relations with the primary school educational efforts in their area and are not too conscious

of their responsibility in this regard. They have in a vague way encouraged school attendance, but they have not shown an active involvement in improving the quality of primary education in their communities. Surprisingly, the radio school movement has influenced more problem recognition and problem solving capacity in the area of health, credit, and agriculture than in rural primary school education.

4. Preference for Community Over Individual and Government Means of Problem Solving

It was thought that the radio school communities would show a marked preference for problem solving through group action. In the questionnaire a problem for possible community or individual action was presented to the respondents. Surprisingly, the radio school communities did not show a marked preference for the solution through group action. The question may have been too concrete and misleading, but it casts doubt on the strength of their community orientation when an undefined problem is presented to them.

In the question of preference of community initiative to government initiative, 11 of the Choluteca communities were about the same, and the radio school communities showed no marked tendency toward the community solution. The Santa Barbara communities, however, notably preferred the government initiative. This probably indicates the prevalence of the community development culture in the southern region.

Although in general the radio school communities are higher in problem recognition and problem solving capacity, there are indications that their problem recognition capacity is still imitative and stereotyped. They are aware of more problems because more coordinators and outside change agents have come to their communities to tell them, "Your problem is such and such." There is a tendency to accept uncritically what an outside agent may tell them and convince them of. Usually the problem the outside agent defines is a problem in some way, but often it is not carefully thought through. When one asks campesinos what their problems are, they tend to give back the stereotyped list, not what they have analytically decided the problems are. Although the introduction of the animación method is a great improvement among radio school leaders, it is often a "non-directive cover" for convincing them that their problems are of a particular nature. Many radio school leaders have become somewhat disillusioned after years of hard work to find out that road construction, for

example, has only been a means of letting in the merchants to exploit them, that fish ponds have not produced as they expected, and that credit union cooperatives among semisubsistence farmers do not have the capital formation effect expected. All of these are solutions, but perhaps the campesino leaders should themselves define the priorities or at least indicate the problems they face so that priorities can be set. Perhaps one advantage of this experience is that campesino leaders are becoming much more wary of panaceas.

We also meet again the problem of radio school participants' recognizing more problems and knowing more avenues of solution, but doing little or nothing about it. They may know that theoretically DESARRURAL is an agricultural technical assistance agency, but they are not making use of its services. It is again the problem of lack of resources but also a problem of communication between the agencies and the campesino communities. Resources for problem solving are often in the regional offices, but means have not been devised to make them applicable in the remote campesino communities. Even if the campesino knows that the Banco de Fomento is a source of credit, he cannot fulfill the conditions for loans they might give, and there is no specially adapted credit program for the small farmer.

It is also quite likely that the range of problem recognition that campesino leaders are capable of is quite limited. They are often able to recount the symptoms, but they are much less sure of the real causes of the problem. However, the same may be said of many of the so-called problem-solving agencies which have their base in Tegucigalpa. Most of the change agents have an urban, technical reference point, and the "problem" they worry about most in their world is their status within their bureaucracy. Most do not understand campesino problems and do not listen to the campesino telling his symptoms of pain. They are linked with a bureaucratic communications system, but not to the leaders of a campsino movement.

The solution perhaps lies in the kind of regional team, discussed in Chapter III, which is based within a region and is part of a campesino movement. They are linked into the campesino communications system so that they become aware of the problems, but they have the time, perhaps the training and experience, and the scope of vision to explore the causes along with the campesinos, set priorities of problem solving, and plan a long-range program.

Interest Articulation Capacity

Interest articulation is the set of communication mechanisms whereby at least a segment of a group introduces into the decision-making process problems and possibly proposals for resolution as a legitimate issue for discussion. Here we are dealing primarily with interest articulation within a community. It was expected that in communities with high interest articulation capacity, there would be much more discussion of problems with community leaders and in open meetings.

In the high radio school communities a higher percentage of individuals discuss community problems with friends, and a far higher percentage (almost double) discuss community problems with leaders and external agents.

Other indicators of interest articulation at the local community level are attendance at meetings when there is a project being discussed in order to present one's own opinion in the matter and, once at the meeting, taking the floor to speak.

The radio school communities, especially the communities where the radio school movement has been most active, have a very much larger percentage who almost always attend meetings when there is a project being discussed. There is also a much lower percentage who never attend meetings. In most of the more active radio school communities there is a proliferation of organizations and meetings and very frequent attendance. Even in the communities where the radio school movement is less active, there is at least some decision-making structure which provides an opportunity for articulating problems and necessities. But in the non-radio school communities the leadership is often so passive, disintegrated, and uninterested in development--and there is little or no decision-making structure--that people don't know where to go with problems. They continue to complain among themselves, but without any action.

In the question of taking the floor to speak out, the percentage who say they always take the floor to voice their opinions is very much higher in the radio school communities. This reflects the employment of the animación method in the communities where the radio school movement is most active.

To measure the institutional capacity for interest articulation, a twenty-item rating scale of the presence or absence of institutional procedures of interest articulation in the community was devised on the basis of preliminary

studies. These twenty items rated the absence or degree of presence of the following institutions usually associated with interest articulation in a rural community: 1) the presence of an active, development-oriented leadership to whom individuals might speak; 2) the presence of individuals who, by reason or education or motivational training (in short courses), are likely to see more problems and to speak out more strongly; and 3) the existence of organizations which provide a structure for discussing and articulating problems and necessities.

This rating scale (along with rating scales of other dimensions of solidarity and decision making) was applied in a sample of one hundred fifteen communities. The data was obtained in an interview with knowledgeable key informants and from an intensive study of the history of community action and community organizations. On each of the twenty indicators, the ratings were weighted "1" for "not present," "2" for "present in a low degree," "3" for "present in a moderate degree," and "4" for "present in a high degree." By adding the rating score on each of the twenty items and dividing by twenty, an average rating was obtained for each community. Thus a community which had none or few of the institutional components of interest articulation could have a score as low as "1", while a community which had all of the components in a very high degree could have a score approaching "4".

To measure the effectiveness of the radio school movement in developing interest articulation capacity, the mean scores on the interest articulation rating scale of the communities in five different categories of level of functioning of the radio school movement were computed. The status of the radio school movement was judged: (1) not present; (2) functioning poorly or not active; (3) functioning; (4) good; (5) outstanding. This judgement was based on the following criteria: the qualities and general influence of the leadership; the development-oriented training of leaders and others in the community; the number and functioning of organizations; the degree of collaboration in community activities; the presence of development projects; and the presence of cooperatives.

The mean scores on the interest articulation rating scale for each level of functioning of the radio school movement are given in Table 6.2 below.

The strength of the relationship between level of functioning of the radio school and the score on the interest articulation rating scale was calculated using the Pearson product moment correlation analysis. The coefficient of

correlation between the two variables is .768, indicating a very high degree of association between the radio school movement and institutional capacity for interest articulation.

Table 6.2: Mean Scores on the Interest Articulation Rating Scale For The Five Levels of Functioning of the Radio School Movement

Level of Functioning of the Radio School Movement	Mean Score on Rating Scale of Institutional Capacity for Interest Articulation
(5) Outstanding	2.87
(4) Good	2.92
(3) Functioning	2.30
(2) Functioning Poorly or Not Active	1.74
(1) Not Present	1.29

Even a casual acquaintance with communities where the radio school movement is active suggests why they have a higher capacity for interest articulation. There is a whole series of organizations, and it is not unusual to find two or three meetings a week in the community with the leaders constantly conferring. A very large percentage of the people belong to some organization and attend these meetings in the community. The discussion of solutions to community problems appears to occupy a much higher level in the scale of priorities of people in these communities. It is noteworthy that in the "outstanding" communities the scores are slightly lower than in the "good" communities. This is due mainly to the fact that the former, in the highland areas, do not have active campesino pressure group organizations which are considered essential to adequate rural interest articulation.

However, one must question the effectiveness of this large amount of time spent in meetings and public discussion. There is no doubt that this wide participation is changing attitudes and values and involves many people in the decision-making process. It is for this reason that there is widespread

value change and a wide potential base for leadership. The "democratic decision-making process" with wide participation is inefficient in a certain sense, although in the long run the lower alienation and the greater legitimacy and creativity probably does pay off. But when the ratio of time spent in discussions and the actual output is considered, there does seem to be some waste of time because of the inefficiency of the discussion process--something the simplest rules of parliamentary procedure would remedy.

Development of Capacity for Interest Aggregation

Interest aggregation is the set of institutional mechanisms whereby various proposals and the interests of various groups are discussed, and the different alternatives for collective action are reduced to a single alternative (or a relatively small number of alternatives) for authoritative decision making. It is, thus, largely a process of bargaining and conflict resolution, and it is important for gaining legitimacy for a particular decision.

Since to a great extent the development of interest aggregation capacity depends on the level of social integration of the community, especially a sense of common destiny, capacity for interest aggregation includes a high level of social integration. Unless the individuals of a community are convinced that their individual success is intertwined with the success of others, they are not going to sacrifice something of their own welfare on some issues in a decision-making process. For this reason measures of a higher level of social integration were included as part of the analysis of decision-making capacity.

On two measures of social integration at the individual, aggregative level, "trust in others" (a deeper personality characteristic) and functional interdependence (economic and social dependence on each other), the high radio school communities were very significantly higher (Cf. Tables 6.3 and 6.4). Even the low radio school communities were significantly higher than the non-radio school communities. The high project community ranked lower than the non-radio school communities on trust in others, indicating once more the authoritarian nature of decision making in that community.

Trust is most highly related to participation in the Celebration of the Word of God. The correlation between trust and participation in Celebration of the Word is .283, and when partial correlations are computed, controlling for participation in the Celebration of the Word, the correlations

Table 6.3: Differences of Mean "Trust" Scores According to Levels of Participation in the Radio School Movement

Level of Participation In the Radio School Movement	Mean Score on the "Trust" Dimension
1. Community has no radio school	4.37
2. Did not enroll in radio school	4.58
3. Enrolled, but a short time	4.79
4. Enrolled, but irregular attendance	6.11**
5. Good student several years	6.03***
6. One of the leaders of the community	5.96**
7. The leader in the community	6.12**[1]
8. A leader in the municipality	7.33**[1]
9. A leader in the region	8.00 (one case)

*** P <.001; ** P <.01; **1 P <.025; comparisons are based on the differences of means of category 1 (Community has no radio school) and all other levels of participation.

Table 6.4: Differences of Mean "Trust" Scores of the Radio and Non-Radio School Communities

Class of Community	Mean Score on the "Trust" Dimension
Very high radio school	6.50
High radio school	5.00***
Low radio school	5.13***
Non-radio school	4.31***
Santa Barbara	4.26***
High Project	4.15***
Urban industrial	3.52***
High Celebration of Word of God	6.71

*** P <.001; comparisons of means are based on the difference between the very high radio school communities and the other communities.

between radio school participation and trust in people is reduced from .230 to .065. This indicates that the association between participation in the radio school movement and trust in people is really explained in large part by the intervening variable of participation in the neighborhood religious organization.

The high radio school communities also showed a much higher rating in the individual measures of sense of common destiny. The low radio school communities had higher ratings than the non-radio school communities and the high project community.

A rating scale and scoring procedure, similar to that used in measuring institutionalized interest articulation, were used to measure the institutionalized interest articulation, destiny (the number of voluntary organizations, the continuousness of voluntary community projects, the presence of cooperatives, and the presence of aggressive, active campesino movements and organizations). (Cf. Table 6.5.) The high radio school communities have significantly higher average scores than the non-radio school communities. The zero order correlation between the level of functioning of the radio school movement and scores on the rating scale of institutionalized sense of common destiny is .680, indicating, again, a high degree of association of this capacity with the radio school movement.

Table 6.5: Mean Scores on the Sense of Common Destiny Rating Scale for the Five Levels of Functioning of the Radio School Movement

Level of Functioning of the Radio School Movement	Mean Score on Rating Scale of Sense of Common Destiny
(5) Outstanding	2.75
(4) Good	2.38
(3) Functioning	1.76
(2) Functioning Poorly or Not Active	1.60
(1) Not Present	1.25

Over the years the radio school movement has put a great deal of emphasis on "working together" and "unión," employing the cooperative philosophy as a medium. However, this does not necessarily imply less conflict in these communities. The measures of conflict (not presented here) indicate that there is an equal if not greater amount of conflict in communities active in development projects. The inactive or "dead" communities often, naturally, show less conflict. It is to be expected that as social change begins to take place in a community there will be conflict over issues. However, if there is a higher degree of trust in others, functional interdependence, and a sense of common destiny, there is the opportunity for conflict resolution, which, in the final analysis, is the essential capacity for collective decision making.

Capacity for interest aggregation was measured only at the institutional level since at the individual level this capacity is trust in others, interdependence, and a sense of common destiny. Again, the presence of the radio school movement is positively associated with institutionalized capacity of interest aggregation (presence of institutions for bargaining on issues, for conflict resolution, and so forth). The correlation between the radio school movement and institutionalized interest aggregation capacity is .490, somewhat lower than the correlations with interest articulation and sense of common destiny. In point of fact, this supports a general observation that radio school communities are weaker in conflict resolution than in other aspects of decision-making capacity.

Table 6.6: Mean Scores on the Interest Aggregation Rating Scale for the Five Levels of Functioning of the Radio School Movement

Level of Functioning of the Radio School Movement	Mean Score on Rating Scale of Interest Aggregation
(5) Outstanding	3.07
(4) Good	2.62
(3) Functioning	2.27
(2) Functioning Poorly or Not Active	1.95
(1) Not Present	1.62

Although the high radio school communities show marked evidence of higher interest aggregation capacity, the behavior in interest aggregation is still far from adequate among participants in the radio school communities. Even leaders are generally afraid to express themselves in public meetings and bring out problems so that issues can be thoroughly explored. The fear is that others will take the matter personally, and a personal feud (perhaps already existing) will explode. Once the people are out of the meeting, the feelings pour out, but here there is no chance to deal with differences on issues in an organized, rational manner.

There also seems to be a lack of experience in functioning in more complex organizations and often a lack of knowledge of the elementary principles of parliamentary procedure. Leaders forget to communicate their activities at meetings, and the people who have put their trust in them as their representatives begin to suspect their activities. The use of money, while usually honest, leads to many suspicions because of lack of communication with the group. Personalistic mechanisms are often used to resolve conflict outside the organizational structure which introduces all the disadvantages of particularistic, non-rational procedures: long delays, lack of communication, failure to explore the problems involved in a certain action, and so forth.

The Development of Capacity for Authoritative Decision Making

Authoritative decision making is the definitive selection of a policy formulation for the modification of the social structure of a community and the acceptance of this formulation as legitimate by the people of the community.[3] It is authoritative in so far as it is legitimate in the eyes of the people of the community and truly expresses their wishes.[4] In the context of the Honduran rural community the authoritative decision making occurs in the election of the patronato or board of officers in charge. In this election the decision is made by the people to go ahead with the particular project, and the board of officers is given a

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3. Agger, Robert E., Daniel Goldrich, and Bert E. Swanson. The Rulers and the Ruled. (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1964).

4. Gamson, William A., Power and Discontent. (Homewood, Illinois: The Dorsey Press, 1968).

mandate to act in the name of the community. Thus, the manner in which the election is held--wide participation, good representation of the community, fair procedures--is decisive for gaining legitimacy for the decision.

On the individual measures of capacity to participate in authoritative decision making--willingness to serve as a member of a board of officers, knowledge of the functions of each officer, and knowledge of the basic principles of conducting a democratic election--individuals in the radio school communities gave a much higher percentage of correct answers.

The indicators used in the rating scale of institutionalized authoritative decision making were elaborated out of the exploratory studies of communicy decision-making processes, but especially by careful analysis of how elections were usually carried on in different types of communities and the implications of these elections. The practices used in the last decision-making process or in various recent decision-making processes were taken as the level of development of institutional processes in the community at that time. Since data were also gathered on the past history of methods of electing patronatos, there was also some information on the changes that were taking place in the method of elections and the factors influencing these changes.

Three major dimensions of the process of elections were measured:

1. The voluntariness of the community in attending the election and the freedom in selecting the officers, that is, the lack of authoritarian intervention from outside the community;

2. the representativeness of the group electing, and the representativeness of the officers elected;

3. the manner of carrying out elections, whether by acclamation or by open voting such as described above.

Altogether a series of fifteen indicators were selected to constitute a graduated rating scale of the presence or absence of these three dimensions of authoritative decision-making capacity.

The scores on the institutional level measures of capacity for authoritative decision making were also positively associated with the radio school movement.

Table 6.7: Mean Scores on the Authoritative Decision Making Rating Scale for the Five Levels of Functioning of the Radio School Movement

Level of Functioning of the Radio School Movement	Mean Score on Rating Scale of Authoritative Decision Making
(5) Outstanding	3.38
(4) Good	2.93
(3) Functioning	2.57
(2) Functioning Poorly or Not Present	2.20
(1) Not Present	2.21

In general the mean scores are relatively high in comparison to the other mean scores (recall that the maximum score is 4.00), but the communities in which the radio school movement is functioning better do have notably higher mean scores. The zero order correlation between radio school movement and the scores on the rating scale of authoritative decision making was .42.

The generally higher mean scores are most likely due to the fact that, at present, there is much less intervention by authorities from the outside in the attempt to control the naming of candidates than there seems to have been ten to fifteen years ago. Elections by open vote also seem to be more common in the general rural culture. In general, the analysis of the descriptive historical data indicates that small rural communities are gradually becoming more adept at managing elections and insuring that they are free.

The Development of Capacity for Mobilization

The mobilization of the community consists of the various steps that are necessary to organize the community once the decision has been made in order to carry out the project. It includes the further motivation of the people of the community to participate; contribute voluntary labor, materials and money; handle funds; get outside resources, and resolve conflicts in the community. The data were

gathered in the analysis of actual projects in one hundred and fifteen communities.

On the individual measures of capacity for mobilization, the degree to which individuals participate in the community activities and their willingness to contribute labor, materials, and money, and the percentage of responses indicating willingness to participate was progressively greater with the strength of the radio school movement in the community. The non-radio school communities have developed less capacity, frequently, simply because they have experienced much less community activity (projects and organizations).

To measure the institutional capacity for mobilization, out of more than thirty items of analysis of different aspects of a community project, thirteen indicators were coded which covered the following six major dimensions of the mobilization process:

1. The responsibility of the board of officers in holding meetings and in attending these meetings;
2. The observance of the formalities of organization such as parliamentary procedure;
3. The exercise of administrative control over the volunteering of labor, money, and materials;
4. The handling of funds;
5. The motivation of the community to participate;
6. The persistence of the board of the officers in the face of difficulties.

Table 6.8: Mean Scores on the Mobilization Rating Scale for the Five Levels of Functioning of the Radio School Movement

Level of Functioning Of the Radio School Movement	Mean Score on Rating Scale of Mobilization
(5) Outstanding	3.11
(4) Good	2.97
(3) Functioning	2.78
(2) Functioning Poorly or Not Active	2.59
(1) Not Present	1.99

On these measures there is a particularly big jump between (1), "radio school movement is not present," and (2), "active in a low degree," because many of the non-radio school communities have had no projects in recent years or none at all.

The Level of "Output" in Terms of Community Projects

We have attempted to measure decision-making capacity not primarily in terms of "output" but in the strict sense of capacity, that is, the change in the individual behavioral tendencies and the institutions in the community. However, we would ordinarily expect that if there is greater capacity for collective decision making and for the execution of decisions, there ought to be added proof of this capacity in terms of the actual number of projects carried out in a certain time. That is, both the quantity and the quality of projects ought to be increased.

To gather data on this aspect a survey was made in four parishes in the Choluteca area of all the projects carried out since 1963 in all of the communities. Although data were collected on many minor projects such as fish ponds, campaigns for gardens, latrines, repair of schools, and water systems, we have presented the data only for major projects such as schools.

Table 6.9: Percentage of Communities Completing Major Projects

	Level of Functioning of Radio School Movement				
Type of Project	1	2	3	4	5
Schools	52.00	82.35	77.77	87.50	100.00
Water Systems	12.00	23.52	18.51	31.25	
Roads		17.64	25.92	33.33	66.66
Churches	4.00	8.82	11.11	7.40	
Other Projects	8.00		3.70		33.33

Although there is a tendency for the higher radio school

communities to have completed more projects, it is not a perfectly linear association. Interestingly enough the outstanding radio school communities (5) showed much more activity on the minor projects which were less oriented toward construction of buildings and more toward health and agriculture. The major difference is between communities without the radio school movement and those with at least some degree of activity. Where there has been no promotion at all and the community is in no sense connected to the communications system, there is much less activity.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The Specific Contributions of the Radio School Movement in Developing Collective Decision-Making Capacity at the Community Level

The fact that the radio school communities scored notably higher on nearly all of the individual and institutional measures of collective decision-making capacity is impressive. However, it may be helpful to single out the specific areas of contribution by the radio school movement as well as the areas where there has been less contribution.

1. It is abundantly clear that the radio school movement has not introduced a tradition of participatory decision-making institutions at the community level. The patronato exists as an institution and functions in some measure even in communities where the radio school has not been present or has not been very active. The institution of the patronato exists in nearly all communities in Honduras. Even in the remote areas of Santa Barbara, where there has been relatively little community development work, it was discovered in an attenuated form. Sometimes it is a facade behind which the authoritarian procedures are operating, but it is a tradition which is developing. Although elections may be manipulated by outside agents and meetings to discuss a project are dominated by local paternalistic figures, there are elections and meetings for discussion. Nevertheless, the radio school movement has strengthened the collective-decision-making capacity in communities.

2. Contributions in Developing the Participatory or "Democratic" Aspect of Collective Decision-Making Capacity

What is particularly significant is the increased

capacity in the direction of participatory institutions as demonstrated on all of the measures, but especially on the interest articulation measures. If one of the long-range goals of the radio school movement is to stress the development of participatory, "democratic" institutions, it certainly has succeeded in this. This is demonstrated in the following ways:

a) Wider participation of the lower-status population in the many meetings of organizations and in the formal leadership positions so that lower-status individuals are participating in the collective decision making much more. Before, it was common for the community decision making to be almost entirely in the hands of the medianos and large farmers of the neighborhood.

b) Much more voluntary participation in meetings and in contributions to projects in terms of labor, materials, and money.

c) More participatory methods of holding elections which allow an active voice in electing representative individuals for local offices.

d) The great amount of discussion that precedes any decision made in the community, allowing everybody to participate; indeed, leaders try to get everybody to express their opinion.

e) The increased respect for the individual's opinion and the expectation that each individual should voluntarily participate and contribute.

f) In general, a greater sense of legitimacy of the decisions, because there has been participation and less alienation or resentment because of less high-handed authoritarian methods of decision making.

3. Contributions in Developing a Sense of Dynamic Community Solidarity

All of the dimensions of collective decision-making capacity are, in a sense, different facets of an underlying dynamic solidarity. As was noted in the theoretical discussions, when a collectivity reaches a certain level of internal solidarity and interdependence, there is a natural movement toward establishing collective problem solving and decision-making institutions. The radio school movement appears to have brought about a dramatic increase in what we have called "community orientation," the moving

out of one's own individual concerns and enterprises and becoming interested in the common welfare and general opportunity structure of the community. This is manifested in the following ways:

a) Greater functional interdependence in terms of labor exchange.

b) At the value level, greater trust in others; this makes possible the kind of trade-offs in the interest aggregative process.

c) Better attendance at meetings, contributions of labor and money, and other sacrifices of individual time and other resources for the good of the community.

d) The patronato functions better because there is more general support and officers are better in attending.

e) Acceptance of the cooperative ideology in which there is subordination of individual interests to attain a greater good.

f) There is not necessarily less conflict since, once there begins to be social change, there is bound to be differences of opinion. But there is more capacity for conflict resolution so that projects go forward in spite of differences.

In general, what the radio school movement has done is to move the traditional forms of cultural solidarity and identification with the community to a more conscious, explicit sense of common destiny and awareness of a common good in the community.

4. Contributions in Developing an Increased Clarity of Problem Recognition

Individuals in radio school communities are much more aware of what their communities lack and have clearer goals for community improvement. Much of this is simply a result of the rising "demonstration effect," but the radio school establishes a communication system which feeds in ideas and helps define problems more clearly. The parallel organizations such as the housewives' clubs and the cooperatives appear to be important factors in clarifying the nature of problems and solutions. They are concerned with much more specific aspects of campesino life and set up programs for concrete solutions. But the radio school movement does not clearly see problems in terms of the

lack of better services from municipal governments, health agencies, and the primary school system. Nor are they aware of the importance of the official credit agencies and the agricultural technical assistance agencies.

5. Contributions in Developing New Styles of Leadership

No attempt has been made to quantitatively describe how many "leaders" have been produced since this would be at best a very general estimate. At worst, it would convey a false impression that before the radio school movement entered the picture there was no leadership. There has always been some form of leadership in rural Honduran communities. The contribution has been more in the change from an authoritarian to a more non-directive emphasis in leadership:

a) The purpose of leadership is seen to be to stimulate the participation of the group in decision making.

b) There is an emphasis on a broad-based, team leadership, leadership recruitment, and rotating leadership so that all have the opportunity to hold leadership positions.

c) Leaders are more responsive to constituencies and rarely move without consulting the people of their communities.

d) Leaders are more development oriented; they are interested in changing the opportunity structure for the whole community, not just in providing favors for individuals.

e) There is much more lower-status participation in leadership positions.

f) There is a tendency toward a leadership based more on positions within an organization--constitutional leadership--and less on personal charisma.

The radio school leadership has not, however, made a complete departure from the traditional leadership roles in rural Honduras. If one observes closely, it is obvious that the movement usually centers around a strong personality in a neighborhood and that it is based on the personalization of social power of the strong leader. He may have a different style of leadership, but his influence, which is causing social change in the neighborhood, is frequently based on traditional ties; and he works through kindship

system, the network of loyal friends, and, in some cases, the dependency relations. The people are accustomed to this style of leadership and, willy-nilly, they make demands which force the radio school leader into traditional patterns; for example, they expect them to solve personal problems and serve as intermediaries for them with the power structure outside the community. If a radio school leader ignores these requests for personal favors, he may well lose his following. Not a few of the older leaders with experience in the old political and religious influence systems are simply little caudillos with a style of speaking and dealing with the people which is quite traditional.

6. Contributions in Developing a Sense of Formal Organizations

The presence of many organizations in the communities and the many formal leadership positions is gradually developing a sense of leadership based on formal organizational position rather than charisma. This is important in developing the capacity to function in formal, complex organizations which is so necessary if the campesino is to compete in a modern organizational context.

7. Focusing the Decision-Making Process More on Changing the Opportunity Structure in the Community

As was noted above, leadership has traditionally been concerned with providing favors for individuals, not finding radical solutions to the problems of the dependent individuals. Even the types of projects common in many communities in Honduras--schools, roads, and water systems--are not clearly oriented to solving the problems of the lower-status individuals in the community. A major contribution to the problem-solving and decision-making emphasis of the radio school movement is its concern with the lower-status population and its quest for radical solutions to these problems. There is more emphasis on the general quality of life and less on buildings and particular forms of community infrastructure.

8. The Ambivalence of the Contribution in the Question of Increased "Output"

The radio school communities tend to surpass the non-radio school communities in the number of projects completed, but the data indicate that there are, nevertheless, projects being carried on in communities where the radio school movement does not exist. Major factors in the actual output are the demonstration effect and

the availability of resources.

The point should also be stressed again that if the radio school communities were somewhat higher in the number of projects they completed, it is because there were resources available, principally through CARE and USAID's Special Project Fund. The institutional development was also greatly stimulated by the ready availability of funds. This shows the importance of resources if there is going to be any activity and change at the community level.

As was indicated above, "output" in terms of projects completed is not a good indicator of the development of decision-making capacity, since projects can be completed in communities without local participation. Local and regional political bosses may enter a community and order a school or road to be built. There may be an election (of sorts) of a board of officers, but in effect all is done by the local politician-patron who mobilizes the people by himself. The real indicators of development of institutional capacity for collective decision-making are in the measures of those institutions and the ability of individuals to fill roles in those institutions. The development of institutions and individual capacities to fill roles in them is a much longer and slower process. In the long run there should be greater results in terms of more solidly effective problem recognition, interest articulation, decision making, and output which is satisfying and productive for the people of the community.

9. The Specific Weaknesses in the Contribution of the Radio School Movement to Collective Decision-Making Capacity

a) Failure to Develop the Patronato to the Level of the Local Community Government

The radio school movement has, generally, made the patronato function better, but it has only carried the organization to the logical limits of its capacity. These limitations and the shortcomings of the radio school movement we shall discuss more in detail below. But in general, the patronato is not being used to maintain community infrastructure once it is constructed.

b) Insufficient Collaboration With Other Rural Development Agencies

In general the coordinators and supervisors as

well as the leaders in the radio school movement are not in communication with other agencies of rural development, nor are they aware of the agencies which provide rural services. This became especially evident in evaluating the capacity of communities to recognize problems and seek solutions for these problems. The radio school communities do not see that their responsibilities involve service agencies, especially those connected with the public sector. The radio schools have focused largely on literacy and the construction of community infrastructure. But when leaders seek resources, they generally tend to make contact with international agencies which are interested in community development. Too often, there is a kind of suspicion and even latent hostility toward government agencies.

It would seem logical that the adult education efforts of ACPH should train the rural lower-status population to take advantage of the fundamental services in health, education, and agricultural development which are available. Most of the public agencies are also involved, in one way or another, in rural adult education in health, education, agriculture and community development; and collaboration would be mutually advantageous.

Also, if the radio school movement is to develop problem-solving and collective decision-making capacity, this must include training in the awareness of these public agencies and how to make use of these basic services. Admittedly these services are not as good as they should be, and they suffer from a lack of funds and personnel. But, until local communities begin to pressure these agencies to provide better services, it is unlikely that they will improve.

A good example is the case of the pressure that the campesino organizations brought to bear on the National Agrarian Institute to distribute national and ejidal land in 1969 and 1970 in southern Honduras. Although the favorable attitude of the administration of the National Agrarian Institute (INA) from 1967 to 1971 was an important factor, not much would have been accomplished if the small farmers had not been organized and aware of the provisions of the agrarian reform law. By persistently bringing pressure to bear on INA, most communities eventually obtained land. At times considerable resentment has built up against INA and there has even been strong conflict,

but at least the campesino is dealing with the government in the question of land reform. Both groups are learning more about how this dialogue is to be carried on. The National Agrarian Institute stands as a mediator between the central government, which is influenced much more by the larger farmer interests than the campesino organizations, and it does not respond entirely in the interests of the landless campesino. But in spite of these disagreements and occasional setbacks, the campesinos in their organizations keep pressing for solutions. The campesino organizations have developed considerable skill in this process of pressure, manipulating both the agrarian law and the bureaucracy, and bargaining with INA. The pressure of the campesino organizations, as unpleasant as it might have been at times, actually has been the greatest support that INA has had in facing the central government and the large landholder interests. But it is only by confronting the government agencies and demanding that they fulfill the law or provide the services they were set up for that the campesino can begin to solve his problems. To pretend that it is possible to solve problems without the central government's participation is folly.

The same may be said for the question of improving health. The municipal health centers and the regional hospitals have broad preventive medicine programs which have health education goals. The malaria eradication program has also been attempting to educate the rural population in basic health measures. Recently there has been more collaboration between the rural housewives' clubs and these agencies. But, in general, the radio school movement is not collaborating as much as it should with public health organizations. This is unfortunate because the goals are essentially the same.

This lack of collaboration is even more noticeable in the area of rural primary school education--a surprising fact since the radio school movement is dealing in adult basic education. Some of the municipal supervisors and even local teachers have apparently not wanted to collaborate with the radio school movement--in part because they did not sympathize with its social change goals. But a great deal of the mutual suspicion, and even conflict, could possibly have been avoided if there had been more communication and explanation of the goals and methods of the radio school movement. For example, the local school

teachers could, in many cases, be brought in as valuable assistants in the social change process in the community. And the radio school movement, in turn, could provide a great deal of support in the efforts to increase the attendance at the primary schools and back up the primary school teacher in the community.

This collaboration in achieving common educational and social change goals ordinarily must be begun with discussion at the national and regional levels. Here mutual understandings can be reached, and the areas of collaboration at the local level can be worked out. The regional supervisory teams can be of great help in planning specific programs of collaboration and maintaining lines of communication.

The problems of collaboration between an autonomous movement such as Acción Cultural Popular Hondureña and government agencies are not to be minimized. Unfortunately, partisan political considerations are almost never absent from public agencies. Given the apolitical emphasis of the radio school movement, leaders are sometimes hesitant to make commitments for fear that these will be used for political ends. Many agencies are jealous and exclusive, and they fear other groups such as the radio school movement will move into "their sphere of operation." In a cultural context where partisan politics are so pervasive, some perceive the radio school movement as a religious sectarian activity or even as a potential political movement--not as a potential ally with a remarkable potential for mobilizing rural communities. Many of the public bureaucracies are staffed by individuals who are motivated only by the promise of a job and income and who are not really interested in improving services to campesinos. Resources of money and personnel are also limited. Often attempts to collaborate, begun with many promises, only lead to unfulfilled commitments and frustration. But part of the collaboration must be precisely to improve the attitude of personnel and to force the hiring of personnel more truly interested in rural development.

In general, then, one of the goals of organizational capacity should be helping the campesino come to grips with the government rural development

agencies. Up until the present the radio school movement has pretended that there is little to be expected of them. This is very unrealistic because, in the long run, the campesino must learn to deal with the services which the public sector offers. These agencies have the resources, and the goal is to get these resources into rural communities.

c) Insufficient Training in the Management of Complex Organizations

In spite of the fact that the patronato generally functions better in the radio school communities and that the leaders of the radio school movement (as well as most of the participants) know much more about the running of organizations, they still lack a great deal of capacity for managing more complex rural development organizations. It is to this point that we shall dedicate the rest of our discussion and recommendations.

Emphasis on A System of Cooperatives Rather Than the Patronato As the Instrument for Developing Organizational Capacity Among Campesinos

The work of the radio school movement in community development is impressive especially in the more active communities. One finds these communities involved in some kind of community improvement project almost continually. Because of this increased decision-making and mobilization capacity, funds from the international agencies such as CARE, USAID, and CARITAS were going into communities and regions where the radio school movement is active in much higher proportions. In addition these projects are mobilizing volunteer labor in the communities during the slack periods of the year which supposedly would otherwise be idle time. This is making use of underutilized resources in a labor-rich and capital-poor country. There are a whole series of organizations active in the communities and a considerable amount of time is spent in community activity--attending meetings, participating in campaigns, working with neighbors in some kind of project, or taking training courses.

The directors of the radio schools, the regional training centers and the leaders of the radio school movement have been interested in the community development activity primarily as a means of gradually increasing the organizational capacity--what we have termed here, collective decision-making

capacity--for almost ten years. They have taken an existing tradition of local decision making and voluntary participation and strengthened this by the community development philosophy, training in leadership capacity, and, more recently, in the animación technique. However, this was carried out largely through courses in the regional training center, and there has not been any well-thought-out general program of community development through the radio schools themselves. Some of the coordinators personally took an interest in this, learning a great deal about community development from their own personal experience and helping many communities in their areas. But one cannot say that any of the coordinators were systematically trained in community development. Their work has been spotty, often paternalistic, and, because it was based on personal interest, there was no carry over when there was a change of coordinators. There has been no clear goal regarding the kind of institutional changes that are desired except greater participation and motivation. As a result the leaders of the radio school movement have generally drifted ahead, strengthening the existing institutions of the patronato as it is generally managed in rural communities, but there have been few real innovations in rural organizational institutions.

Thus, even though the participants and the leaders in the radio school movement are superior to most non-radio school participants in organizational capacity, there is serious question whether the campesinos in the radio school movement are developing the kind of organizational and collective decision-making capacity that is going to improve their situation. We have already mentioned the problems with the patronato. There has also been serious organizational problems with the credit union, consumer, and production cooperatives when these have had to depend entirely on campesino leadership. (It should be noted, however, that not all the problems are organizational, that is, there is a lack of productivity, capacity for capital formation, transportation problems, and so forth.) The campesino interest group organizations have also had many problems in maintaining themselves once the immediate goals such as obtaining land have been realized. These organizations have operated very much like the patronato: once the immediate project is finished there is no interest in maintaining the organization so that what has been gained can be maintained and taken advantage of, or that other goals may be achieved. It is the perennial problem of campesino organizations: continuation once the immediate crisis with all of its aroused emotions and enthusiasm is over.

Perhaps, as was mentioned above, it is important to

move slowly and to allow these institutions to develop at their own pace. The patronato, as it functions now, is well suited to the semi-literate capacities of the small cultivators in rural communities. It achieves what is desired and it is supported by the general culture. As the campesino culture itself becomes more complex and sophisticated and as the campesino learns to work with these types of organizational forms, he will gradually become more proficient in managing them. But at the same time, it is important to have clearly in mind the goals which are being sought in developing rural organizational capacity in order to seek the best means of achieving this.

1. Since the basis of the dichotomy between the campesino sector and the traditional ruling, literate and now progressively urban and technical sector has been the reservation of the decision making to the latter group, the basis of long-range social change is the development of decision-making capacity within the campesino sector. This includes greater solidarity at the community, regional, and national levels, and the greater facility in all of the dimensions of decision making: problem recognition, interest articulation, interest aggregation, authoritative decision making, mobilization and maintenance. The major source of power that the campesino sector has is this capacity for mobilization. From this, there will follow other bases of power.

2. One of the more specific goals of this capacity is the ability to influence the national decision-making process so that campesino interests are consistently represented. This involves knowing what the problems are, setting some priorities, and ordering the goals so that, for example, when land is obtained through agrarian reform, there will be further explicit goals such as credit and technical assistance, rural electrification, better roads and transportation, better health facilities, and so forth.

3. A third specific goal is to provide a local structure for the utilization of resources that are being made available at the national level. Very often a great deal of national planning is virtually useless because when it defines problems, sets goals, and makes resources available, there is no local organizational structure which can mobilize the people to make use of the resources available. There is no institutional framework between the vague sense of dissatisfaction of the people and the actual utilization of resources. A recent example is the construction of very large grain storage facilities in Tegucigalpa. Although there is a problem of marketing,

stabilization of prices and storage facilities, the prospects are that the storage capacity of these silos will go unused for some time. There is no organizational structure or marketing system which will channel grain from local communities to these central storage facilities.

4. Another important goal is to enable the smaller farmer to compete with the larger farmer by grouping them together in cooperatives for credit, purchasing supplies, marketing, and in some cases, for producing collectively. There is also an important role for cooperative small industries in rural communities. Perhaps the only hope for the small farmer to defend himself against the growing trend of latifundismo and concomitant subdivision of land is through the formation of cooperatives. If the campesino expects to compete with the larger farmers and with the urban, technical elites who have traditionally run the country in their own interests, he must have the capacity for handling much more complex types of organizations than he has been used to.

Most of these goals are outside the range of the radio school movement and ACPH, but there has to be a basis of political and economic power for the educational and cultural goals of the radio school movement to be attained. Also, the radio school movement has, as one of its educational goals, the development of the organizational capacities which will be required in all types of organizational needs discussed above. For various reasons, however, it is doubtful that the patronato or local community development committees are the best instrument for developing this capacity.

Much of the "training" for organizational participation and management has come from experience with the patronato in the rural neighborhood. Although the patronato has played a significant role in rural development in Honduras and its loose structure is generally fitted to the rhythm of life and capabilities of most campesino leaders, it is not a suitable model or training ground for more complex organizations such as cooperatives, whether at the community or municipal level, campesino pressure-group organizations, or truly efficient local community government. Most of these organizations (when directed by campesinos of a subsistence agriculture background) are being run in the informal fashion of the typical neighborhood patronato, which is one of the reasons for their not functioning very well.

The patronato is organized to push through a particular project and once the school or water system is constructed, it does not follow through to see that they are maintained

or that, for example, the teacher is supervised and that school attendance is encouraged. Meetings are informal and held whenever there is interest, even during the construction of the project. Often only the main officers show up for meetings. Handling of funds is seldom openly dishonest in neighborhood organizations, but it is done so informally and with so little accounting for, that it is a frequent source of needless suspicion and disputes. Worst of all, the informal structure of procedures of the patronato (without parliamentary procedure and adequate record keeping) leaves it open to manipulation by local patriarchal figures or a small clique. Often the people of the community, once they have elected a board of officers, have no idea of what the president or key officers are doing--again the occasion of disputes and resentment.

The patronato may suffice for getting simple construction projects done within the traditional community structure dominated by the patriarchal figure of a leading family and the network of kinship and loyal friends. But once we begin to move to more complex rural organizations with more participation, a different institutional framework is needed. It has been observed that in the communities where the radio school movement is very active there is a dominant leader who, although he encourages other leaders and general participation, is often running everything. The radio school movement has been successful largely because a leading, influential family has supported it with the traditional power of a leading family. But this traditional social structure is not a sufficient support for the more complex types of organizations that are going to be necessary for the development of rural Honduras. The transition from the simple community organization such as the patronato will not be accomplished with one cursillo or in a period of six months, but through a gradual concerted effort over a period of years.

The patronato is largely centered around the construction of infrastructural projects. It builds up a great deal of motivation and enthusiasm while the project is in progress, but the organization disappears once the project is over. The maintenance of the organization as a continuous problem-solving or management institution is not customary. The institutional pattern of the patronato reinforces the campesino tendency to react to crises when what the campesino needs is training in maintaining organizational structure over longer periods of time with relatively steady meetings and steady participation.

The focusing of organizational activity upon the

construction of infrastructural projects such as schools, roads, water systems, while they are important and do bring with them long-range benefits, has other disadvantages. Some communities have invested a considerable amount of time, money, and physical energy in these projects with very little immediate economic benefit from them. One can argue that these projects take advantage of underemployment and slack time in these rural communities. But given the fact that most campesino families live so close to the margin of existence, this investment of time and energy may be more costly than is first realized. At times immense amounts of time have been put into the work of digging out roads with pick and shovel through the mountains of southern Honduras. The "food for work" program of organizations such as CARITAS is justified in so far as the work in building infrastructure is compensated for public sector sources. But the fact that these neighborhood roads deteriorate and are not kept up by the municipal or departmental governments must be considered. Also, experience has shown that, although the work is done mainly by the lower-status individuals, those who take advantage of the roads are those who have cars--the larger farmers and the merchants. These roads do help the smaller cultivator also, but only if they are good enough to enable bus lines to take small bits of produce to the market, get the sick to the hospital, and make it possible to get larger quantities of farm supplies such as fertilizer into rural communities.

The need for roads, for example, is not questioned, since the obstacles to development of small industries in rural areas, the transport of fruits and vegetables, and even increased grain production depend on better roads. But it may be that organizational efforts should be oriented toward activities which are going to increase productivity and have more immediate economic benefits. The priorities should be carefully weighed in each case so that after spending years in organizational training and in trying to develop organizational capacity, the campesinos are not impoverished in the process.

Some radio school coordinators have dedicated the greater part of their time motivating communities to become involved in infrastructural projects and helping these communities obtain outside resources for these projects. One supervisor, who may be considered part of the radio school movement in southern Honduras, has had as many as twenty-six projects going at one time in his area. Undoubtedly, this has speeded up the construction of schools, roads, and water systems in his area. It has also contributed to the growth of organizational capacity. But one can ask if the

same would not have been accomplished, albeit more slowly and with less institutional change, simply by the demonstration effect? When the time comes local leaders seem to find out how to get resources, and the patronato is sufficiently a part of the general culture that these leaders organize and mobilize the people to contribute in some fashion. The radio school coordinators have not been sufficiently trained themselves to change radically the institution of the patronato. The rhythm of development of a region and the availability of resources will carry on the process independently.

The question is not whether this type of promotional activity is good or not, but whether the radio school personnel, since they are in the field of education, should be working in the area of infrastructural construction. Should they not be focusing on other types of organizational activities which have even more educational benefit than community development committees? It is quite questionable whether radio school coordinators should be spending their time carrying applications for funds to Tegucigalpa to the offices of CARE and the Special Projects Fund of AID. Is this not the area of work of the local municipal government? True, the local municipal government is not presently doing this. Most alcaldes are completely unaware of the aspect of institutional development. They are politicians, not educators. The radio school movement leaders are justified in filling in for them, but in some ideal order this is an area of work which might better be handled by municipal governments.

As long as there is nothing better to substitute for it, radio school coordinators certainly should be encouraged to continue on with their present work: spending time--more time if they personally feel that it is getting results--in encouraging infrastructural projects in their visits to communities, helping local people to organize patronatos, and helping them to obtain resources from government and international agencies. But then some training should be given to coordinators in this area of work so that they can be more effective in moving the patronato to the stage of being a kind of local government.

But as a long-range program the specific recommendation is that the radio school movement concentrate on the cooperative form of organization as the educational instrument for developing organizational and collective decision-making capacity. The promotion of development committees and infrastructural projects should rightfully become the specific area of work of the municipal government. And the radio school movement should work for the reform of local

municipal government, a reform which would make the local municipal government a real agency for rural development. The cooperative system of organization appears to be a better instrument for achieving the long-range goal of developing both economic and general decision-making capacity in the campesino sector. Indirectly, it could also have a beneficial effect on the patronato as a form of local community government.

There are many reasons for concluding that the long-range organizational structure which should be promoted among the small cultivators is a system of cooperatives: first consumer and marketing cooperatives and possibly credit union cooperatives; then, when the situation warrants it and there is sufficient capability, production cooperatives.

First of all, these have, generally, in addition to their training in organization, some economic return. The elimination of the middle man in consumer and marketing cooperatives is not going to make anyone wealthy, but in some cases the margin which they provide can be the margin for building a small capital base for the small cultivator. Perhaps, in the long run, the major emphasis should be on cooperative activity to increase productivity. The main purpose is to give the small producer greater economic independence and security because he thus gains more control over his economic decisions.

In many parts of the world, under all kinds of climatic conditions and production systems, the combined consumer and marketing cooperative has become an integral, permanent part of the rural organizational and institutional structure. There is no reason why a similar system of cooperatives could not become an established institution in rural Honduras. The transition from traditional forms of social organization to cooperatives where the basis of trust and social integration is a common economic goal is not easy. But it is precisely an excellent training ground in complex organizations for campesinos. The cooperative philosophy emphasizes voluntary, intelligent, active participation and, above all, the subordination of individuals to a common good, that is, a sense of common destiny. In short, all of the individual and institutional capacities for collective decision making are values presupposed by the cooperative organization.

The cooperative is a permanent organization which requires regular meetings of its officers and members and continual participation. It apportions a specific responsi-

bility to each of the officers and demands accountability of officers to the constituency. It also presupposes training in a careful system of accounting and handling of funds. For successful functioning, the officers, at times, have to be quite demanding of the members: decisions are made on the basis of economic common good, not personalistic, "compadre" relationships. The cooperative also has a functionally organized structure--a series of committees which act as a system of checks and balances for the governing structure. Thus, it is a good training ground in the structure and functioning of organizations. On the whole, it is a much better organizational training ground than the patronato to achieve the long-rang organizational capacity in the campesino sector.

One of the major problems that the radio school movement has encountered is the support of its paraprofessional supervisory personnel. An educational system is seldom selfsupporting, and--given the social change goals at times threatening to the status quo--its source of income either from private industry or even from the national government is always somewhat uncertain. However, if the promotional and educational system is financially independent, it is much freer to chart a course perfectly responsive to the needs of the campesino. The system of contributions from the campesino is good and should be continued, but this is too uncertain and causes unfortunate reactions. In the present framework of cooperatives there is allowance for an educational fund so that the cooperative in itself is continually strengthened. This kind of fund can pay for the kind of local educational personnel that the radio school movement needs.

Eventually, the radio school movement could work within the framework of a system of cooperatives and be supported, in part, by the system of cooperatives. If the focus of the adult education program could follow the three areas described in Chapter IV, agriculture, homemaking, and organizational development, the units of instruction could be closely related to the activities of these cooperatives. There has been some emphasis on the cooperative in the radio school movement, but much more emphasis on community development committees and infrastructural construction. The units of instruction might even include specific training in various aspects of cooperatives.

The cooperative is not as common as the patronato, and it represents an institutional innovation in Honduras as far as local community organizations are concerned. It is an area in which the radio school movement could make a specific

contribution. If cooperative organizations could become thoroughly institutionalized in rural Honduras, this would mean a major advance beyond the patronato in rural organizational capacity: introducing the permanently functioning organization. But this would be a long term educational program--perhaps a matter of decades--to accomplish really well.

The importance of thoroughly institutionalizing the cooperative form of social organization so that it is part of the rural culture is seen in the recent history of agrarian reform in Honduras. The agrarian reform program began, in 1968, to stress cooperatives as the preferable organizational framework in which carry out land distribution. But, by and large, the campesino in Honduras has not been ready for this. He is used to working on his own individual plot, producing partially for his own subsistence needs and marketing in small amounts through intermediaries. It requires a quite radical change of values and customary ways of farm management to be convinced of the advantage of cooperatives. When the National Agrarian Institute suddenly began placing as a condition of participating in the land reform program, that those receiving land form cooperatives, the small farmer who had been looking forward to his small plot of land reacted negatively. Most did not see that the cooperative would be an advantage for them in the long run. The National Agrarian Institute has had to impose the cooperative from above, not trusting the small farmers to voluntarily set up their own cooperative as they wish. In general, INA found very little preparation among small farmers for the cooperative and, as a result, the cooperatives have been either run by an appointed manager who has made all the decisions or they did not do well. The issue played into the hands of politicians who argued that the cooperative was not in the interest of agriculture--to the detriment of the small farmer. If cooperatives had been (and would be) a more general part of the rural culture, those who participate in the agrarian reform program of Honduras would probably be much better prepared.

One of the major reasons for stressing cooperatives is that it appears to be one of the conditions for making the small farmer competitive in an economic and political framework which favors the larger farmer. At present many of them are marketing through the larger farmers or through merchants and money lenders in the small towns. We have commented several times that the small farmer is selling crops before the harvest while these are still in the field. Even if crops are sold at the harvest, given the present price fluctuations, there is a loss of from 25 to 60 per cent of the potential profit. The small farmer also finds

it difficult to buy fertilizers, insecticides, and herbicides cheaply because he buys in such small quantities and has considerable difficulty in getting these out to his farm site.

One of the main reasons the government extension service is not providing better technical assistance for the small farmer is that the cost of reaching a single small farmer is too large for the unit of production represented. (There are also problems of transportation, cultural barriers, shortages of personnel, and a lack of effectively adapted technology.) One of the purposes of the Agricultural Education Program of ACPH has been to group together small farmers in local neighborhoods and at the municipal level so that one professionally trained technician can reach hundreds or even thousands of small production units.

The long-range goal of the small farmer in the highland areas should be to own his own small farm plot of at least fifteen to twenty manzanas. Here he can have the security of his own home and supplementary subsistence plots. At present it is becoming increasingly difficult for small farmers to improve their homes and try to raise a varied diet in their subsistence plots because they do not own their own land or have stable rental arrangements. This control of one's own homestead and the ability to influence farm management decisions does not rule out but demands cooperative forms of farm management. But the small farmer can neither obtain or maintain this amount of land if he does not have a more secure margin of income. Cooperatives are by no means panaceas when the real problem is low productivity and a high man-land ratio, but they will enable the small farmer to operate at a level of greater volume and to compete on the same terms with the larger farmer.

Operating cooperatives is generally more difficult than is first thought, and it requires more preparation than is generally supposed. Cooperatives catch hold only if they are truly an improvement over existing conditions, and if they are not adapted to the situation, no amount of education will correct the problem. But if the radio school movement would adopt this as a long-range educational instrument, it could gradually introduce a new organizational form into the rural areas of Honduras, at least where the movement is operating.

Linking the Patronato to the Municipal Government

One of the conclusions of this study is that, logically,

the promotion of infrastructural projects and the development of the neighborhood community board of officers as a kind of "community government" should be handled by the local municipal governments. Obviously, this would require a change in the practices of municipal officers and a reorientation of the municipal government from a tool of political favoritism to an effective rural development organization. At present the municipal government is paying officials for routine paper work. Why not transform the municipal government into a dynamic development organization and make use of the officers such as the alcalde, the treasurer, and others who have all of the machinery of local government at their disposal?

At present the radio school movement has stepped in to fill the gap that the municipal government has left. If the municipal government would become more active in the area of developing local community government, it would free the radio school supervisors for other more direct educational activities, especially the education in cooperative organizations.

In the opening sections of this chapter we discussed the fact that in an earlier period when population was less dense and there were fewer local communities in each municipality, the municipal government tended to be involved more directly in local community development. The population tended to center its activities more on the municipal town. But as communities grew and they began to assume more of a separate identity of their own, they began to have their own informal community governments. For example, as many communities began to have their own chapels, fiestas, schools, and other organizations, they began to have a social identity apart from (although still subordinate to) the municipal center and its government. The patronato or other local board of officers grew in importance while the local assistant alcalde has become less important. Today, the assistant alcaldes have little or no prestige and little legitimacy in the eyes of the people even if they have some coercive authority derived from the alcalde himself. In an earlier period there was not the interest or the need for developing local community services such as schools, roads, and water systems. But now sufficient local services exist in the communities so that it is important that there be an official local community government to maintain these and to develop new services as they are needed.

The evolution of the local community patronato has attempted to fill the need of supervision of rural services

that has been created by the failure of the municipal government and the rural service agencies. This has had its fortunate aspects since they have more popular legitimacy than the municipal government dominated by party politics and the service agencies which are bureaucratized and, at times, also very political. But the lack of official structure has also left the local committee in a rather haphazard state, depending on local interest. As we have noted, in almost no case has the patronato developed into an organization fully responsible for the maintenance of schools and roads which have been built. At present no one is really responsible for them. These local community governments should ideally be integrated into the municipal governments as an extension of them so that they could be part of an officially backed structure.

Specifically, it is proposed that each local community elect a board of officers which would meet in the community at least once a month on a specific day. In addition to the executive officers, this board would include a series of special committees in charge of: 1) primary school education; 2) health (local water supply, relations with the municipal health clinic, vaccinations, etc.); 3) road and cemetery maintenance; and other committees as would be necessary. The present assistant alcalde would be integrated into this, but on an elected basis. In monthly meetings in the community each committee would be required to report on its activities under the supervision of the executive officer. All officers and committee members would be elected for a specific period of time, not more than two years. Once a month the president of the local committee or some other officer would meet with the alcalde in general meetings or in a meeting of representatives of a specific district within the municipality to discuss the municipal-wide problems and policies. Present would be the municipal authorities in health (from the health clinic), education (the municipal supervisor), and in some cases representiatives of regional agencies.

These "municipal patronatos" have the advantage of making official what is already developing in the communities. The alcalde would insure that in those communities in which spontaneous interest was weaker, the structure would be maintained at least by his authority. The monthly meetings would allow local communities to express their concern and their demand for services to the representatives of the various service agencies. In the case of construction of infrastructural projects, the offices of the alcalde would be expected to give local communities assistance in getting outside funds and materials from government and international agencies.

Municipal government has been languishing in the past forty years because of a gradual centralizing tendency. One by one many of the functions formerly controlled by the municipal government have been taken over by service bureaucracies which are more specialized and efficient: education by the Ministry of Education, roads by the Central Office of Roads, land tenure by the National Agrarian Institute, and so forth. All of the agencies try to deliver a service to local communities. But ultimately the people of the local community have to want that service and have to see that service as a solution to their problems. It is difficult for these bureaucracies to force services on the local people. There has to be a problem recognition and a collective decision-making process in the local community which recognizes the need for service and puts pressure to keep that service coming. This is local government. In spite of the fact that the central government is incorporating many of the functions formerly of the municipality and placing them under specialized service bureaucracies, there is one very important function that remains in the hands of the municipalities--local government! This should be strengthened and developed to insure that services arrive and are maintained in the rural areas.

The major objection to this kind of proposal is that it would bring politics and inefficiency into the local community development committees and the patronatos, which, up until now, have been able to accomplish so much because they have avoided politics. In many cases the patronatos have been organized along side of the municipal government in the municipal towns to carry out specific projects because such citizens' committees are more effective and responsive to the needs of the people. In some municipalities the citizens' committees have even insisted on maintaining control of water systems and other services so that they would be free of graft. The local committees have been honest and relatively efficient in the use of funds precisely because they have avoided control by the municipal government. Also, the municipal governments tend to be controlled by the larger landholders who dominate local government for their personal interests. The local community development committees have tended to bring in lower-status individuals, and these might be excluded. Finally, it can justly be argued that local municipal officials generally are not chosen on the basis of their interest in and capability for local community development and local services, and if the supervision of community development committees were placed in their hands nothing would happen. This system would only deprive voluntary organizations of the opportunity to educate the lower-status people in the participation in the collective decision-making

process. The municipal governments tend to be dominated by the local power structure and often cannot even conceive of institutional development or structural change.

All of these are strong arguments, and they have some foundation. It is likely that this kind of extension of local municipal government would not be successful unless municipal government would itself be quite radically reoriented, at least in the rural areas. But municipal government is not so universally corrupt and disinterested in local development. It is rather bogged down in a series of traditional activities, and it is an institution in search of a function in a much-changed rural situation. Simply by giving it a new set of functions it would begin to be less archaic and inefficient. If it were more directly involved in development, individuals and organizations interested in development and social change would be more attracted to participate and take advantage of it. Certainly, the major argument remains: logically the promotion of community infrastructural projects and the development of a local community government should be in the hands of the local municipal government. The roles of the alcalde and other municipal officials should be developed in this direction, and the structure of municipal government should be reoriented along similar lines.

This kind of change will come about if the people see it as important and want it to come about. Generally people get the kind of leaders and the kind of government that they want. If they want a Hitler badly enough, they will find an obscure paper hanger and make him their ruler. Here voluntary educational organizations, which can plot a forwardlooking course, such as the radio school movement, have an important role to play. As we shall see in the following chapter, in the areas where the radio school movement has been especially involved in a community development, there has been a natural trend toward demands for greater support from the municipal government and a demand for the reform of the local municipal government. It was a logical development which leads one to think that the expected step from community development activities is toward the kind of local community government integrated with the municipal government. It is not recommended that the radio schools of ACPH or the radio school movement specifically go into the training of municipal officials, since the movement already has a civic development theme as part of its emphasis on social change. If it would choose to emphasize education in cooperative organizations, there would be a great deal which would be applicable to the proper functioning of local government.

The regional leadership training centers, however, could collaborate with municipal governments in developing training courses for municipal officials. The role of the radio school movement would be to create in the rural population a new understanding of what municipal government is for. In the following chapter, we shall more specifically discuss this kind of civic education in local government.

Training In Specific Organizational Skills

Although the participants and leaders of the radio school movement generally scored higher on all of the measures of organizational capacity, both individual and institutional, this is relative, and it does not bring out sufficiently the fact that the general level of organizational and decision-making capacity in campesino communities is still very low. The radio school movement has strengthened the existing institutions of the patronato and methods of running organizations among campesinos in Honduras. It has also planted a great deal of interest in cooperatives. But, it has not brought these institutions up to the level of really effective management of organizations. There is at present a great deal of inefficiency and waste of time in meetings and in organizations, an especially lamentable thing considering that the campesino leaders in the radio school movement are giving so much of their valuable time to community activities in the hope that this will be a solution to their problems.

If one, for example, begins to participate in the typical meetings, one notes the seemingly endless discussions without coming to the point. No one seems to have the capacity to guide a discussion to a definite conclusion or a definite decision. Campesinos who have dedicated a day to walk or ride into a meeting return home at the end of the day without having accomplished anything. Leaders complain that they are overburdened with meetings and organizations, and, indeed, they are given the way these are conducted. Far more could be accomplished in a fraction of the time if it were done efficiently. Furthermore, as we have indicated, a great deal of needless conflict could be avoided if more rational and efficient use of organizations would be introduced. For example, many of the campesino organizations whose leaders have a background in the radio school movement (usually Ligas Campesinas) tend to get bogged down in endless rancorous conflict.

Leadership training courses have tended to stress motivation and the use of participatory techniques. Very little

really demanding training in the management of meetings and organizations has been given. Even the outstanding leaders of the radio school movement have only an elementary notion of parliamentary procedure, and what they do know is not put into practice. Although there has been some discussion in the courses regarding organizational procedures, it apparently has not been learned. Most of the leaders operate as an informal fraternity which is a good base, but inadequate for managing complex organizations such as a credit union cooperative, a cooperative for small industry, or a campesino pressure group organization. This explains the weakness and chaotic condition of a number of these organizations (when run by leaders of the radio school movement). One thing is certain, if the campesino is going to begin dealing and competing with the urban, technical sector, he has to become more competent in the management of his organizations.

What seems to be demanded at this point is a transition from a basically paternalistic (the term patronato is probably apt) and personalistic organizational form to a system of accountability to those in the organization and to the constituency, and the operation of organizations along more rational and functional lines. The essential principle of formal organizations is the differentiation of structure according to the complexity of the task. Instead of all working on the same task and proceeding task by task together, it is generally considered more efficient to analyze the total work that has to be done at the beginning and then to assign various tasks to different groups of individuals within the organization. Each of these task groups is responsible to the director of the entire project who is not a part of any one task, but must integrate all of the separate tasks. And in a group with a participatory decision-making structure, each task group is responsible to the total group. There is no intention here to go into the subject of formal organizations, but only a desire to indicate the general directions of the institutional changes.

The author has observed in the meetings of many campesino organizations the inability to sense the complexity of a task, quickly analyze the different aspects of the tasks, and determine that some sort of special committee should be appointed so that the rest of the group can move ahead to the main work. Instead the whole group tends to work through every detail and the organization bogs down in an aimless wandering. A great deal o the time of the leaders is lost, and they feel as though they are overburdened by too much involvement.

Most campesino leaders in the radio school movement

are suddenly becoming aware of a shortage of time as the whole organizational structure of the movement becomes more complex. Yet many have not arrived at the next step, the necessity of more careful coordination and communication in order to save time. One expects to begin a scheduled meeting at 10:00 a.m., supposedly the appointed hour of the meeting, but the meeting begins at 1:00 p.m., and only half of the group is present (in some cases because the other half decided to do something else that day). Delays are understandable considering the problems of transportation and communication, but often better coordination could improve the situation. This loose sort of organization of time is possible at a very simple neighborhood level, but not if the campesino expects to enter the area of more complex rural organizations--and again, if he expects to compete with the increasingly more organized urban, technical sector.

Although the stress on participatory decision making has made most leaders representatives of their groups rather than patrons, the principle of accountability to the constituency is still not understood. Elected leaders who have acted in the name of the group, managers of cooperatives, treasurers of organizations, or other individuals who have been appointed to carry out a specific task for the group do not grasp the importance of making carefully organized reports back to their group. Thus, even if there is not suspicion, no one knows exactly what is being done and what progress is being made toward goals.

Spending time teaching the principles of parliamentary procedure may seem trifling when one faces the immense task of rousing passive campesinos to a sense of the injustice they live in and the necessity of taking group action in the first place. But it is simply applying the principle of guaranteeing participation in the decision making, insuring ample investigation and discussion of group action, differentiating the group action according to specific tasks, making clear, and making all, who are assigned a specific task, accountable to the group. It is relatively simple to grasp, and in the long run it will save a great deal of time.

Still another deficiency is the lack of systematic problem analysis and information gathering before taking action. Often the information the group has is insufficient, and no amount of group discussion will draw out the necessary information. At times it is necessary to appoint persons to gather the information. As we noted before, the more complica-

ted analysis and planning cannot be expected of campesino leaders (this would be the function of the regional team), but for specific actions there could be more prior outside information gathering.

It is possible here to indicate only the general outlines of the organizational problems of the radio school movement and illustrate them with a few examples. There is much more that could be said. The radio school movement has made a great deal of progress in institutionalizing participatory norms in the various organizations that make it up, but it is entering a level of complexity of action that requires corresponding skills in complex organization. At present campesino leaders are depending on outside agents to help them make decisions and to straighten out organizational tangles, but this is another form of paternalism and dependency. The movement is already encountering a series of crises of organization and cannot move ahead without a new level of training.

Finally, we need mention only briefly that no matter how efficient the organization and decision making of local level organizations, if there are not resources of technical assistance, grants or credit, or other inputs available from the national level, there is not much to decide with. The local organization can be an essential tool in actually getting the resources out to remote neighborhoods and involving the local people in their use--a great saving in personnel and money. But there will probably have to be fundamental changes in the way national service agencies act and in the way the existing power structure permits resources to be allocated.

CHAPTER VII

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CIVIC CULTURE IN THE CAMPESINO SECTOR

The major emphasis of the radio school movement has been on the reform of cultural institutions at the local community level: to develop the general motivation to initiate change and to develop the organizational and decision-making capacity of campesinos in their neighborhoods. But there has also been emphasis on the development of the campesino's capacity to participate more fully in the national decision-making process. This is the objective of the classes in civics, broadcast with the literacy classes (though these are admittedly very general). The concept of marginality emphasizes precisely the lack of participation of the popular classes in the national decision making, and, consequently that they are not receiving their just share of national resources. The process of concientización also stresses an awareness of the exclusion of the campesino from real participation in the benefits of larger national life.

As a public service institution, the central office of the radio schools has taken a neutral, apolitical stance in an attempt to avoid getting the radio school movement entangled in the rancorous feuding between the traditional political parties. The pastors, as the administrative support of the movement in the field, have reinforced this fear of getting involved with anything with "political implications."

But the campesino leaders of the movement are often open in their criticism of the corruption of traditional political institutions with its favoritism to the party faithful, its inefficiency, and its continual feuding at the municipal level. In part, this reflects the continual undercurrent of criticism of "la politica" in the general culture, but also the fact that the leaders have been trained in participatory institutions at the community level. In their community development efforts they refuse to make commitments to the party structure and thus come into conflict with the local politicians. They feel that their first obligation is to the people of their community.

Thus, in spite of its apolitical stance, the radio school movement does have long-range implications for the development of new political institutions in Honduras, especially a more active participation of the campesino in

the national decision-making process. By this is not meant the development of a particular political movement, much less a party, since many of the radio school leaders are involved in some way in the traditional parties, but in the development of a new political culture. This new political culture may be referred to as the participatory or civic culture.

In order to highlight what the transition to the civic culture signifies, it is useful to outline the principal characteristics of the traditional political culture. In speaking of the political culture, we are not referring to the formal "democratic" political structures which are, to a great extent, a facade imported into Latin America in the nineteenth century. These formal democratic institutions were the result of centuries of development in different social and cultural contexts, and, since they did not grow spontaneously out of Latin American culture, they often do not coincide with the operative political values and norms of the people.[1]

The political culture of a society consists of the "system of empirical beliefs, expressive symbols, and values which define the situation in which political action takes place."[2] In the terms of the present study, the political culture refers to the national decision-making process. Thus, it is the system of norms which guides the behavior of political leaders and followers in the national decision-making process, the values which explain and justify these norms, and the definitions of how the world is constructed (empirical beliefs) which provide a context for these values.

Aspects of the Traditional Political Culture of Honduras

In many ways, in describing the basic structure of Honduran society in the opening chapter, we have already indicated the main outlines of the national decision-making process. Honduras has a much more open and flexible society than most Latin American countries, but decisions are still largely influenced by a small traditional elite which centers in the national capital. This elite is complex and shifting, but its base is a series of "important families" (many of whom have a land base in outlying departments), but especially a bureaucratic clique--the pool of educated and knowledgeable

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1. Almond and Coleman, op. cit., pp. 520-521.

2. Pye, Lucian W. and Sidney Verba (eds.) Political Culture and Political Development. (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1965).

people--who play musical chairs in the various government ministries. These are the controllers of the all-important political parties. Some individuals may rise to the presidency through the political parties or through the military, but they must depend on the bureaucratic familes to supply them with the people to advise them and to run the government.

The decisions made in the centers of party control are channeled down through a series of intermediaries to local municipal and neighborhood political bosses. The ignorance of a large part of the nation is presumed by the party controllers and is manipulated. The crucial decisions usually are in favor of the more powerful within the urban, technical sector. The people at large are kept happy by the particular favors they can obtain from time to time. There is little real interest articulation up through the party channels; if there are signs of major dissatisfaction, some concessions will be made to quiet the people. The public tends to exert relatively little influence through the vote, since they vote on the basis of traditional party loyalty, not issues. The relation of the voter to the national decision-making system is not directly to national decision-making figures--hazy, mythical images--but to the local political boss who is a concrete, meaningful person to them.

The question of whether the government is providing adequate "services" seldom is an important political issue, since the political system is largely a means of securing favors for individuals by controlling access to government resources. The system of individual favors assures the splintering of the voting public so that broad-based interest groups tend not to form. This is aided by the paternalistic dependency system of the local neighborhood. The parties are not ideologically oriented, and elections are not fought out on the basis of issues, but rather which party has local candidates or influential party bosses who are more likely to provide me with personal favors on the basis of friendship or other personalistic connection. Since the control of one party means the almost total exclusion of the other from access to favors, the contest to control the government tends to turn into life and death struggles.

What we have described is an ideal type probably reaching its apogee in the time of Carias. There are variations and exceptions to this type of overall political culture, but by and large it is the existing system.

The Civic Culture

The civic culture, as we shall describe it here, is just as much an ideal type and probably exists as such in no country today. Whether the civic culture is the ideal national decision-making process, or is suited, or is not suited, to Honduras, is not our concern here. This is an attempt to present a model of the elements of a participatory national decision-making culture which can serve as a basis for evaluating the contribution of the radio school movement.

The first general characteristic of the civic culture includes what is referred to as the rationality-activist model of political action. The citizen is supposed to be well informed regarding the main political figures and issues and to make decisions--for example the decision to vote--on the basis of careful calculation regarding the interests he would like to see furthered. The citizen is expected to be active in politics and to be involved in order to influence the decision-making process. He has the belief that he can influence the decision-making process through the existing channels of interest articulation or that these channels can be created. In the civic culture there is a basic acceptance and trust in the processes of this government even if all of the decisions made through it are not acceptable. The citizen believes that a generally adequate series of services should be expected of the government and that it is possible to make these services adequate through his involvement.[3]

The second general characteristic of the civic culture is more concrete, the institutions and the individual capacity to establish what we may call political-economic linkages. Not only does the individual have the general belief that he can influence the decision-making process, but he understands concretely how the system of influence and services works and what specific actions are necessary to influence decisions and obtain particular benefits. The local community or its leaders know what agencies offer a specific service, the conditions of obtaining that service, the "organizational culture" or way of thinking of the agency so that it can be manipulated, how to competitively exert influence on the particular agency, what powerful allies or intermediaries may help in obtaining resources and services needed, and have the ability to keep up the quest if the first attempts should fail. This general ability to establish political-economic linkages we may refer to as "political efficacy." Obviously,

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3. Almond, Gabriel and Sidney Verba. The Civic Culture, Political Attitudes and Democracy In Five Countires. (Boston: Little Brown and Company, 1963).

political efficacy is related to the general "personality characteristics" of the active citizen described above: his knowledge of the overall political system, his inclination to be activistic, and his confidence in getting some kind of positive response from this government.

The third general characteristic of the civic culture involves the capacity for mobilization in order to form an independent interest-articulating power base. This rests to a great extent on the general organizational capacity of the population segment in question. This includes the formation of labor unions, campesino pressure-group organizations, and other associations which are meant to influence the national decision-making process through the mobilization of masses of potential voters.

To evaluate the contribution of the radio school movement to the development of the first two general characteristics of the civic culture, citizen activism and political efficacy, a series of questions were included in the questionnaire used in the interviews in the thirteen communities comparing radio school communities and non-radio school communities, as well as other control factors. The questions tested the knowledge about national and international personalities of political importance, the degree of identification with or alienation from governmental processes, the degree of actual political participation, and the ability to establish political-economic linkages (political efficacy).

To evaluate the contribution of the radio school movement regarding the third general characteristic of the civic culture, the capacity for mobilization for interest-group formation, we shall review briefly the factors influencing the rise of the campesino "land occupation" movement in southern Honduras in 1969 and 1970 and the possible relation of the radio school movement to this. We shall also examine the attempts of the radio school movement to reform rural municipal government.

The Development of the Active, Involved Citizen

In the evaluation of the contribution of the radio school movement to the development of the active, involved citizen, seven dimensions were measured. They are listed below under three general headings:

A) The level of information regarding governmental and political affairs (the cognitive orientation)

1. The knowledge of places and personages of special

importance in national and international governmental and political affairs;

2. Knowledge of the structure and process of government at the local and national levels.

B) The degree of identification with or alienation from local and national government (the evaluative orientation)

3. The perception of local and national government as effective or ineffective;
4. Belief in the identification of the government with the interests of local communities;
5. Belief in the justice of government officials;
6. Expectations regarding services at government agencies.

C) Degree of Active Political Participation

7. Participation in the election process and participation in campesino special-interest organizations.

A) The Level of Information Regarding Governmental and Political Affairs

1. The Knowledge of Places, Personages, and Issues of National and International Importance

In order to participate in the national decision-making process in an intelligent manner and attempt to influence that process, one must be aware of the issues which are current and the individuals who are key figures in those issues. The greater the critical knowledge about individuals who are holding key public offices, especially those who are of importance to campesinos, the better able is the campesino to evaluate their performances subsequently deciding to support or protest.

It was expected that participants in the radio school movement would have more awareness and more information regarding public figures and issues largely because they are involved in a movement of social change and would see themselves as affected by national decision-making. They are also trained in the use of the radio as a source of information, not just as a source of entertainment. The radio school movement in southern Honduras, where this study was made, is serviced by Radio Paz which makes a point of giving much better and much more objective news and public affairs coverage.

In order to measure the level of information regarding national and international public affairs, the respondents

were asked to identify a series of places and persons which were currently "in the news" at the time the study was being done: 1) In what country is Washington? 2) In what country is Moscow? 3) Who is Rigoberto Sandoval? (The director of the National Agrarian Institute); 4) Who is Jorge Bueso Arias? (presidential candidate of the Liberal Party in 1971); 5) Who is Richard Nixon? 6) Who is Salvador Allende? These were selected to measure various degrees of information, identifying Salvador Allende, for example, being more difficult. Individuals were also asked to suggest two current issues of national importance to Honduras. An Index of Political Information with a possible score of "8" was constructed by giving a value of "1" to each correct answer.

The very high and the high radio school communities were significantly higher on these measures than the low and the non-radio school communities (Cf. Tables 7.1 and 7.2). An analysis of the individual items reveals that they are especially higher in international information. It was surprising that a higher percentage of the general sample could identify President Nixon than could identify the director of the Honduran Agrarian Reform Institute, Rigoberto Sandoval. The communities with active campesino organizations, a basis for more alert political involvement, had the highest mean scores on the Political Information Index. Radio school students were generally higher than non-radio school students, and leaders in the radio school movement were very much higher.

What is of special interest is that the partial correlation between radio school participation and political information, controlling for community participation, reduces the original coefficient very noticeably (from .226 to .089) (Cf. Table 3). Thus, much of the association between radio school participation and scores on the Political Information Index is actually explained by community participation. That is, we would expect that higher radio school participants, simply because they are more active in community affairs and not primarily because of the added influence of the radio school movement, would have higher levels of political information. This is even more strongly underscored by the fact that in the multiple correlations (data not included here) community participation retains a quite strong predictive value while the predictive value of radio school participation is reduced to insignificance.

What seems to be happening is that community participation and radio school participation are quite strongly interrelated and are interactive. As we noted in Table 7.2, radio school participants, as a group (when scores are averaged), do tend to have higher mean scores. But there is

Table 7.1: The Comparison of Mean Scores on the Political Information Index of the Radio School and Non-Radio School Communities

Subclass of Community	Mean Score on the Political Information Index
1. Very high radio school	3.13**[1]
2. High radio school	3.63***
3. Low radio school	2.13
4. Non-radio school	2.48
5. Santa Barbara	2.47
6. High Project community	3.48**

*** P <.001; **[1] P <.02; ** P <.01. The comparisons are based on differences between the "Low radio school" subclass and all other subclasses.

Table 7.2: The Comparison of Mean Scores on the Political Information Index of Different Levels of Participation in the Radio School Movement

Level of Participation in the Radio School Movement	Mean Score on the Political Information Index
1. Community has no radio school	2.24
2. Did not enroll in radio school	2.84**
3. Enrolled, but a short time	2.15
4. Enrolled, but irregular attendance	2.67
5. Good student several years	3.03*
6. One of leaders of community	4.87***
7. The leader in the community	4.37**
8. A leader in the municipality	7.33***
9. Leader in the region	6.00 (one case)

*** P <.001; ** P <.01; * P <.05. Comparisons are between level 1 and all other levels.

Table 7.3: Zero Order Correlations Between Key Variables and Scores on Political Information Index and Partial Correlations Between Radio School Participation and Scores on Political Information Index

Key Variables	Coefficients of these variables and P.I. Index	Coefficients of radio school participation and the P.I. Index Controlling for Key variables
1. Radio School participation	.226***	
2. Celebration of Word participation	.114**	.201***
3. Community participation	.358***	.089*
4. Formal Education	.428***	.174***
5. Age	-.082	.219***
6. SES	.112**	.232***
7. Sex	.229***	
8. Risk	.305***	
9. Activism	.195***	
10. Change	.235***	
11. Trust	.094**	
12. Wealth Distribution	.112*	
13. Independence	.321***	

*** P <.001; ** P <.01; * P <.05.

considerable variation in the scores of radio school participants so that the level of association and especially the predictive value of radio school participation is lowered. There is not the strong assurance that an individual radio school activist or leader will always have higher levels of political information. But the radio school movement both causes greater community participation and raises the political information levels of participants. Leaders, in general, have higher scores, but radio school leaders, on the average, will have even higher political information scores.

As one might expect, formal education has a strong influence on the level of political information (Cf. Table 7.3). Even in the primary school classes, students are taught something of the structure of the government, the history of the country, and something of world geography; also current political figures are discussed. Thus, when the news broadcasts give information regarding places and personages in public affairs, there is some context into which to absorb this.

Surprisingly, however, individuals of higher socioeconomic status did not have notably higher political information scores and there is little positive association in the correlation of these two variables (Cf. Table 7.3). Age is negatively related to higher levels of political information, and men have higher average scores than the women (Cf. Table 7.3).

2. Knowledge of the Structure and Process of Government at the Local and National Levels

The intelligent, active citizen is expected, ideally, to know who the government officials are and to be able to give an accurate evaluation of their public service. As a minimum measure of this kind of information the respondents were asked to identify the names of: 1) the local alcalde; 2) the governor of the department; 3) as many of the deputies to the national congress from their own department as they could recall; and 4) as many ministries and ministers of the national government as they could recall.

The localism of this sample of rural, largely lower-status population is revealed in the fact that whereas 85 to 90 per cent of the individuals could identify the local alcalde, only 20 to 30 per cent could name the departmental governor. Most campesinos visit the municipal center fairly regularly, see the building where the municipal offices are, and perhaps know the alcalde personally. But the departmental

governor, and especially the deputies and ministers, are generally distant, vague figures. Thus, only 25 per cent of the respondents could identify even one deputy to the national congress from their department. The community which had the highest percentage of respondents recognizing a deputy had been especially befriended by him because a rival community had a rival deputy for its patron. The community leaders kept up a constant dialogue of petitions for favors with this deputy, and his name was a household term throughout much of the community. This points up the continued particularistic paternalism of the political culture: the deputy is important as a patron for obtaining favors, not as a representative of the community or of the campesino in general in political issues.

In general, the communities where the radio school movement is stronger tend to have a higher percentage of respondents identifying public officials at all levels. But the differences between the radio school communities and the non-radio school communities are not very great. The typical parochialism of the campesino and his ignorance of the structure and process of government at the more remote national level are also characteristic of the radio school participants. Only the leaders in the movement, especially at the municipal and regional levels, were significantly more able to identify and, presumably, to evaluate public officials. But this is, in part, explained by the fact that they are leaders, and not simply because they are involved in the radio school movement.

B) The Degree of Identification With or Alienation From Local and National Government (Evaluative Orientation)

Perhaps the most important relations of the individual toward the governmental process are not informational (cognitive), but evaluative and affective, that is, a positive or negative attitude toward the whole structure of government, local and national. To what extent does the individual see the government as providing relevant services and therefore of importance? Does the individual identify with the government, or is he alienated from it and therefore rejecting it?

This is once again the all-important question of the legitimacy of the decision-making process in the eyes of the people. As we noted in discussing the community decision-making process, if an individual always comes out losing in every decision-making episode, he begins to reject not only the particular decisions, but the decision-making institutions themselves. Likewise, if an individual feels that the govern-

ment offers them no service and is not interested in their problems or is always unjust, he tends to reject the governmental process itself.

Such an attitude tends to produce an inherent instability in the government. It becomes something alien to the people, of no use, only a bothersome presence. Collaboration is achieved only through the use of force. Citizens relate to the government as individuals who, cynically, try to get what they can out of it, not out of a sense of common destiny or as a contribution to a "common good." There is, for example, reluctance to pay taxes. There are inefficient government bureaucracies which exist to perpetuate their own employment. Out of this alienation builds up a negligence and lack of interest in forcing governmental reform, which allows corruption to continue. The average citizen abandons the government to the politician and attempts to live in an apolitical world. And without a sense of identification and responsibility to control the governmental process, the government tends to become centralist and authoritarian.

An attitude of critical evaluation and constructive disagreement with regard to government decisions and even the process of government decisions is obviously healthy. This provides a base for continual gradual change within a national social system. The too passive attitude allows the government to become completely incongruent with the situation. But the extreme attitude of the cynic who rejects all decisions and all governmental structures as useless is not healthy. The cultural attitude most congruent with a stable, efficient government is a balance of guarded identification and careful tolerance: governments are never expected to be entirely effective. Sometimes they produce results corresponding to my interests; sometimes they do not. Usually they make good decisions, but sometimes they can be very bad. But ideally the governmental process itself has built up a considerable fund of trust and identification so that it carries on through the effects of bad decisions. As Almond and Verba point out, the civic culture is a balanced fusion of the participant and the passive, the critical and the accepting, the change-oriented and the traditional, and, one might add, allegiance and alienation.[4]

It was expected that, at the present stage, the radio school participants would demonstrate a higher degree of alienation from both the local and the central government because they would be aware of the lack of adequate services available

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4. Almond and Verba. op. cit., p. 30, pp. 337-374.

to the rural, lower-status population, especially in the areas of health, agricultural credit, marketing facilities, and agricultural technical assistance. In general, one would expect that when a social system is moving into a state of greater structural strain, the degree of alienation from the present social structures and processes would be greater. But also, much of the training of the radio school leadership is to recognize the lack of these services. The whole impact of the concept of marginality is that the lower-status population does not participate in the benefits of the national decision-making process in the Latin American context. If this view has been absorbed by radio school participants, there should be greater alienation from present governmental processes.

3. The Perception of Local and National Government as Effective or Ineffective

In general individuals in all subclasses of communities perceive the local municipal government as relatively ineffective in helping the local communities. More than 50 per cent of the respondents felt that municipal government is doing little or nothing for the communities. This is, on the whole, a quite objective perception in the present circumstances of limited resources and the lack of development orientation on the part of municipal officials.

The very high radio school communities had a higher percentage of negative perceptions of the municipal government than the high, low, and non-radio school communities because they expected much more help in community development than they actually received. These communities were especially active in seeking resources, and at least one of them had come into conflict with the municipal government for its failure to collaborate with the spirit of volunteerism shown by the people. There was also considerable frustration over the political favoritism shown to party faithfuls in the municipal government and the occasional deliberate harassment of the radio school movement in the local communities. The high and the low radio school communities, which either had less aggressive programs of community development (and therefore expected less) or had encountered some municipal collaboration, were the most favorable.

The high project community was very strongly negative because it was largely of the political party contrary to that in power, and it had suffered severe repression--including physical beatings--in the previous municipal elections.

All of the communities had a stronger belief in the effectiveness of the national government and the radio school communities are no different from the non-radio school communities in this. In general, however, the typical campesino reflected, in answering these questions, a localism. Many answered positively because the central government is distant and they have only the vaguest notion of what it is all about. The radio school movement participants, including many of the leaders, fall in the same category. Only the leaders at the supervisory level, who had received the short training courses and who were more aware of the realities of rural development, were of the opinion that the national government was not contributing to the overall development of the country as much as it should.

Individuals of higher socioeconomic status, however, tend to have a more favorable attitude both toward the municipal government (where they often receive better treatment) and toward the national government.

4. Belief in the Identification of the Government With the Interests of the Local Communities

The high radio school communities have a lower belief in the identification of the government with the interests of the people, probably because they expect more. But they were not as negative as the high project community which happens to be made up of individuals belonging to the presently "out" political party. However, again, on this question the central government tends to be a shadowy distant object.

Generally, the individuals in the very high and the low radio school communities are less willing to criticize the motives of government officials (that they are just in it for what they, personally, can get out of it). This is in spite of the diffusion of the concept of marginality. This may be explained by the generally higher "trust in people" which we have already noted to be characteristic of the highland radio school communities, especially where the Celebration of the Word religious organization is more influential.

The leaders of the radio school movement, however, tend to have much greater reservations about the interest of the government and government officials in the problems of the campesino. Individuals of higher socioeconomic status, especially the larger medianos, tend to think that the government is interested--and perhaps it is for them.

5. Belief in the Universalism or Justice at the Hands of Government Officials

To test this dimension three questions were asked: 1) whether they expected just treatment from the police (CES); 2) whether they believed the judge would pass sentence justly if they were of the opposite party; and 3) whether the facts and the law or money and influence were more important in court cases.

In general there is a much stronger belief in equal treatment at the hands of the police than from the courts. What was amazing was the fact that the general population overwhelmingly believes that the courts of Honduras are corrupt! More than 75 per cent do not believe that judges would pass sentence justly if they were of the opposite party. More than 85 per cent believe that "money and political influence are more important in deciding sentences than the law and the facts of the case!" This is a sad indictment of the system of courts in Honduras.

Although the radio school communities tend to follow this trend of belief in the corruption of the courts, they had a notably stronger belief in justice both from the police and from the courts. This is attributed to the stronger "trust in people" characteristic of radio school movement participants and to the fact that they are more apolitical and tend to react less strongly to partisan politics.

In general a consistent trend was noted among radio school movement participants toward less extreme positions either for or against the government institutions. There was a tendency, in answering questions, toward greater discrimination according to the issue and to say "sometimes yes, other times no." This, in itself, may be a sign of political maturity.

6. Expectations Regarding Services at Government Agencies

To measure the expectations regarding services at government agencies, the respondents were asked: 1) If they (a country person in poor dress), were to go to some office in Choluteca, would they expect the same service as anyone else or less attentive service? and 2) If in their actual contacts with government offices, they had generally received respect and attention?

The great majority of the respondents expect less attention than the rest, but in actual fact the majority either say they have not had these kinds of contacts or,

when they have, they have always been treated with respect and attention. This suggests that the campesino has something of an inferiority complex in approaching government offices and that the general campesino culture inspires a more negative perception of public officials than is actually warranted.

The two very high radio school communities, however, have a much lower percentage of those saying that "they had always received attentive service," and the highest percentage of those stating that they had seldom or never been treated with respect. The high radio schools also have a higher percentage who say that they have not received the proper treatment. From these comparisons, it becomes clear that the radio school communities where the movement is much more active have much higher expectations in the line of services from local and from national government agencies. Therefore, the radio school communities are stronger in their expectation of better service than the high project community, the responses of which have been marked by alienation from the party in power.

In the comparison of the different levels of participation in the radio school movement (the data are not presented here), the students and especially the leaders report that they generally have received worse treatment from public officials more frequently than non-participants in radio school communities report this. And individuals in non-radio school communities report better treatment than non-participants in radio school communities. This, again, supports the conclusion that individuals in the radio school movement have higher expectations of service from public officials. The participants, especially the leaders, have been most disgruntled with the poor service and even discrimination, at the hands of the municipal officials. They frequently speak of the political favoritism and the lack of interest of municipal office holders in their duties.

As one might expect, the higher levels of socioeconomic status, especially those in the large mediano and larger landholder categories, report a much higher percentage of fair treatment. There is also a tendency to expect equal or better treatment in visiting offices in a more urban setting such as Choluteca.

C) Degree of Active Political Participation

7. Participation in the Election Process and Participation in Campesino Special-Interest Organizations

The degree of active political participation was measured by asking respondents whether they had voted in the last presidential election (1965) and to what extent they thought they would participate in the forthcoming elections, with a range of options from simply voting to actively campaigning for a candidate in their neighborhood. (The interviewing was done in the six months period before the 1971 Honduran presidential elections.)

The radio school communities indicated no notable differences in participation, neither more nor less, in comparison with the non-radio school communities. However, in another indicator of political activism, affiliation or interest in affiliation in a campesino pressure group organization, the four high radio school communities showed a very significantly higher percentage.

D) The Influence of the Radio School Movement Regarding the Political Culture of the Local Community

If the influence of the radio school movement in developing a higher level of information and an attitude of critical evaluation with regard to the national governmental and political process is limited, it is largely because its focus has been largely the small, local community, not the national level. It is in the small rural community that we can more rightfully measure what the radio schools have attempted to do in developing the civic culture.

Learning to participate in the decision making in the local community may be especially important because here there is possible a personal socialization in attitudes and values--the basic personality structure--which are projected onto the larger national decision-making process. If there is an institutional framework favoring active, voluntary participation in the local community, then the campesino begins to expect a more participatory political culture at the national level. There is more of a real understanding of what these kinds of political institutions mean.[5]

The explicit goals of the radio school movement in

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5. Almond and Verba. op. cit., Chs. 10 and 11.

developing a civic culture in the local community have been to reduce the worst aspects of the feuding between the traditional political parties and to reorient community action toward more constructive community development activities. Some radio school leaders have been vocal in their criticism of the fact that the political leadership has been interested primarily in maintaining the loyalty of people to the party, making big promises (which they never fulfill), but doing little or nothing for the development of the community. Implicitly, the radio school movement has promoted a non-authoritarian style of leadership, and more active, voluntary participation. In the attempts to develop the individual and institutional collective decision-making capacity in the community, the real work of changing the political culture has taken place. The local community with its many organizations is serving as a medium of political resocialization. The data presented in the previous chapter are valid proofs of the success in changing values, attitudes, and institutions which are aspects of the capacity to actively participate in the collective decision-making process.

However, in the histories of community organization and community development activities, considerable data were collected on political activities and the changes in political participation over the years with the introduction of the radio school movement.

On the basis of the community histories there very definitely does seem to be changes in the political culture of rural communities over the past six to eight years. In part this is due to the greater political stability which Honduras has enjoyed in recent years. But it is also influenced by rural development organizations such as the radio schools, the cooperatives, and the campesino organizations. Also, the availability of development resources through international organizations which are not a part of the national political structure has influenced the changes.

The major changes appear to be the following:

1. There is a lessening of the worst aspects of the partisan party politics, the feuding, the violence, the harassment of the opposite party, the exclusion of the members of the opposite party from services and job opportunities, and so forth.

2. Elections are somewhat more honest and free.

3. The institution of the neighborhood caudillo is passing as the neighborhood organization becomes more common, whether this be the patronato, a campesino pressure-group organization, or some other type of organization. The organization, rather than the caudillo, represents and acts for the community. This tends to be a much less authoritarian sort of government in the community.

4. There is a growing demand for citizens' candidates--a campesino like the rest of the campesinos--and for greater control over those who are to be nominated for local offices.

5. There is more interest in the issues which affect campesinos and interest in changing the opportunity structure, rather than blind party loyalty.

6. The local leadership is primarily interested in real community problem solving, not just interested in the aggrandizement of the party for its own sake or in gaining particular favors for party faithful.

In all of this, the radio school movement has been a definitely influential factor in developing a more responsible and discriminating political culture, at least in the communities where it has been operative. In some cases, this has led to some opposition from the políticos, but this kind of opposition is much less general than was originally thought. The radio school participants continue to take part in the traditional party politics, but in a much less fanatical and partisan manner.

In general, the radio school movement has been more effective in influencing the local political culture than in developing capacity to participate directly in the national political process.

The Capacity for Establishing Political-Economic Linkages

The second general characteristic of the civic culture is, as we noted in the introduction, much more concrete: the institutions and the individual capacity to establish what we may call political-economic linkages. Not only is a general knowledge of governmental processes and a balanced, critical evaluation of government an important part of the civic culture, but the capacity to channel resources and favorable administrative and legal decisions to local communities is crucial.

Throughout this study we have focused on the rural community as a unit in itself, analyzing the process of insti-

tutional change in these communities and the change in personalities correlative to the institutional changes. However, the civic culture also presupposes linkages with the larger political and governmental system of the nation. But for the immediate establishing of political-economic linkages a series of capacities are necessary.

This capacity requires first of all that local leaders, or perhaps even a wide cross section of the population, have a fund of information regarding the centers of control of financial resources and services. They have to know that it is possible to obtain funds, services or technical assistance covering a wide range of community needs: community level infrastructure (schools, roads, water systems), credit, agricultural technical assistance, assistance in resolving land tenure problems, improvement of education, health, and so forth. This capacity requires knowing precisely what agency has a specific service available.

Since almost all agencies require some form of collaboration with the services they offer, this capacity includes knowledge of the conditions which the agency sets down to be fulfilled by the community level organization. Most agencies have an "organizational culture" that determines their policy and their particular approach to providing services. Since the demand for funds or services is often competitive, it helps a great deal in knowing how organizations operate, who to see in a particular organization, and who has influence whether from within or outside the organization.

Establishing linkages also requires auxiliary alliances with relatively powerful individuals who have high social status, economic resources, or have an entrance with officials who control the allocation of resources, national or international. Since the lower-status, rural population rarely has these direct contacts, they must go through intermediaries, especially through organizations sympathetic to or representing campesino interests.

As we noted above, this process is often quite competitive, long, and frustrating. Agencies receive many more requests than they are able to handle with the available resources of money and personnel. The campesino leader is often completely taken aback when he is told bluntly that there is no help available. He is not aware that petitions take months of processing through bureaucratic channels. When his petition is not answered immediately, he concludes that he has been rejected. The capacity for political-economic linkages includes the knowledge that it is necessary to return again and again, to put pressure on officials, and

to investigate why requests are not being answered. It includes the persistence in seeking assistance from a series of agencies when the first requests are turned down.

Measuring the capacity for establishing political-economic linkages is difficult since it is so complex, but an attempt was made to work out indicators of two major dimensions: the amount of information about specific agencies which are important for rural communities and the persistence in getting resources to the community in the face of difficulty.

1. Information Regarding Specific Agencies

To measure this first dimension of the capacity to establish political-economic linkages, individuals were asked in the survey, "If you were not satisfied with _____ (for example, the teacher in the rural school), to what person or what agency would you go to complain?" The answers were coded by the interviewer: 1) "don't know;" 2) "something incorrect;" 3) one or possibly more than one correct answer. In certain cases the answer "We know that a place for that exists, but we can't recall the name," was accepted if they could describe the agency. Respondents were tested with a series of six community problems: 1) the teacher in the rural school; 2) the local roads; 3) credit facilities; 4) technical assistance in agriculture; 5) land tenure problems; 6) public disorder in the community. To get a composite score of capacity for establishing political-economic linkages, each respondent was scored "0" for a "don't know" or "something incorrect" and a "1" for one of several answers judged correct according to a previous study. Since there were six problem areas, the possible score of each respondent could range from "0" to "6".

In general, the scores on the index of capacity for political-economic linkages are low because higher scores are concentrated among a small group of leaders; thus, the community average is lowered by individuals not active in community affairs. However, the mean scores of communities where the radio school movement is more active are significantly higher than the mean scores of the non-radio school communities (Cf. Table 7.4). The scores are also higher as one moves up the scale of participation in the radio school movement (Cf. Table 7.5). But capacity for political-economic linkages is even more strongly associated with community participation (leadership) and with formal education than with radio school participation (Cf. Table 7.6). Community participation appears to be an intervening variable influencing, in part, the higher mean scores of the more active radio school participants. Thus, when the

Table 7.4: The Comparison of Mean Scores on the Political-Economic Linkages Index of the Radio School and Non-Radio School Communities

Subclass of Community	Mean Score on the Index of Political-Economic Linkages
1. Very high radio school	2.57***
2. High radio school	2.82***
3. Low radio school	1.68
4 Non-radio school	1.68
5. Santa Barbara	1.67
6. High Project Community	2.19**[1]

*** P <.001; **[1] P <.025 (Comparisons are between non-radio school communities and all others.)

Table 7.5: The Comparison of Mean Scores on the Index of Political-Economic Linkages of the Different Levels of Participation in the Radio School Movement

Level of Participation in the Radio School Movement	Mean Score on the Index of Political-Economic Linkages
1. Community has no radio school	1.68
2. Did not enroll in radio school	1.95*
3. Enrolled, but a short time	1.74
4. Enrolled, but irregular attendance	2.37**
5. Good student several years	2.34**
6. One of the leaders of the community	3.77***
7. The leader in the community	3.50***
8. A leader in the municipality	4.66***
9. Leader in the region	6.00

*** P <.001; ** P <.01; * P <.05

Table 7.6: Zero Order Correlations Between Key Variables and Scores on Index of Political-Economic Linkages and Partial Correlations Between Radio School Participation and Scores on Index of Political-Economic Linkages

Key Variables	Coefficients of these variables and Index of P-E Linkages	Coefficients of radio school participation and Index of P-E Linkages, Controlling for Key Variables
1. Radio School participation	.278***	
2. Celebration of Word participation	.193***	.204***
3. Community participation	.378***	.141***
4. Formal Education	.349***	.238***
5. Age	-.061[1]	.273***
6. SES	.105**	.284***
7. Sex	.239***	
8. Risk	.290***	
9. Activism	.342***	
10. Trust	.147***	
11. Change	.219***	
12. Wealth Distribution	.233***	
13. Independence	.352***	
14. Political Information	.614***	

*** P <.001; ** P <.01; [1]P <.10

influence of community participation is removed from the correlation of radio school participation and capacity for political-economic linkages, the coefficient is reduced from an "r" of .278 to one of .141. Formal education appears to be an important influence, but independent of radio school participation. Therefore, it is not an intervening variable influencing radio school participation scores (Cf. Table 7.6).

Surprisingly, higher socioeconomic status is a relatively unimportant factor in capacity for political-economic linkages. But men have more capacity in this regard than women, and younger individuals, in the 25 to 40 age group, have more capacity than older persons (Cf. Table 7.6).

Analyzing the responses on the individual items (data not presented here), the rural population appears to have much more capacity for political-economic linkages in the problem areas of primary schools, public disorder, and land tenure, but less capacity in the areas of roads, credit, and agricultural technical assistance. The reason seems to be that there is more experience in the former type of problems.

2. The Capacity for Persistence In the Face of Obstacles Placed By Outside Agencies

In order to measure this capacity for persistence in the face of difficulties, respondents were asked in the general survey: "If your community, in seeking help for a communal project such as a school or road from private agencies or the government, were to receive a reply of 'no', what would you suggest be done after receiving that refusal?" These responses were written down as they were given in the interview, and later they were coded in nine different categories. However, many of these were similar, and they were further reduced to five categories: 1) we would just have to resign ourselves to accepting that answer; 2) the community would have to try to make the best of its own resources without outside help; 3) we would look for help from the priests; 4) we would ask the alcalde to help us; 5) we would continue to push our request with the government or other agency, insisting on some help until we would get what we would want. The first alternative is the "resignation" or fatalistic response; the last, the activistic, persistence response.

The high and especially the very high radio school communities have a notably higher percentage of responses indicating that the community should continue persisting in the face of frustrations. They also have the lowest per-

centage of "resignation" responses. This reflects the aggressive communal activism of these communities and the attitude that "It is possible to get what one wants (to control one's environment) if one just tries long enough and hard enough."

Conclusions Regarding Capacity for Establishing Political-Economic Linkages

The major factors influencing the capacity to establish political-economic linkages are, first, experience in holding responsible leadership positions in the community and, secondly, a strong sense of communal activism which leads the community to persist in the face of refusals by private or government agencies.

Perhaps the basic factor is the attitude of the community in recognizing problems and insisting on a solution. For example, if the community tends to be more conscious of the importance of good primary school education and is not willing to tolerate an irresponsible teacher, then it is more likely that the people of the community will meet to elect a representative or a delegation to go to see the municipal or regional supervisor of education to do something about the problem. Thus, the capacity for establishing political-economic linkages is but one phase (the final phase in many cases) of a whole collective decision-making process in the community, and it derives its strength from other, earlier phases of that process. The person (or persons) who is elected to go to the supervisor of education (or to some other office) is probably respected and is, in some capacity, a leader to begin with. But the more the responsibility that the community puts on the person, the more likely that he will gain experience and greater capacity in this. And the more people who are incorporated into the problem-solving communication network within the community, the more widespread will be this capacity. Finally, the more common the problem in the community, the more likely it is that the people will be aware of the agency and be able to deal with that agency in an effective manner.

Persons with more education also have a broader understanding of the structure of services and government offices. Education seems to give individuals a broader understanding of how the urban, technical world operates, and they are able to absorb much information about that world.

The radio school movement influences the development

of political-economic linkage capacity, indirectly, by better and more widespread leadership, by promoting much more communal problem solving activity and by instilling an aggressive, communal activism. It is difficult, however, to demonstrate a direct relationship between radio school participation and higher scores on the Index of Political-Economic Linkages.

The Influence of the Radio School Movement in the Campesino Movement of 1969 and 1970 in Southern Honduras

In the introduction to the present chapter it was stressed that the development of the civic culture is a complex process which includes the growth of a greater cognitive comprehension of the political and governmental system, a balanced attitude of both alienation and identification with that system, and the concrete, practical capacity for establishing political-economic linkages which are oriented toward changing the opportunity structure. But the civic culture in the modern nation-state also requires the development of intermediate organizations whereby individuals and individuals grouped in community-level organizations can influence decision-making at the regional and national levels.

Intermediate organizations link the isolated communities into the national governmental process. They challenge the assumption of paternalistic legitimacy of decisions for the campesino, and they insist that decisions be made with the campesino sector. The intermediate organizations group together the campesino sector and define the interests so that as a group the issues can be articulated.

Intermediate organizations also can support specially trained personnel who are capable of translating the dissatisfactions of the frequently half-literate campesino sector into the technical-legal language of the urban, technical sector. These representatives are familiar with the procedures of the power structure and its legal support, and they know more how to manipulate these systems to the advantage of the groups which they represent.

Beginning in July 1969 and continuing for more than a year, national attention was focused on the southern region of Honduras because of the aggressive campesino organizational activity. Within a period of three years a strong system of intermediate organizations representing campesino interests came into existence in southern Honduras. These organizations embarked upon a very aggressive policy of recuperation of national and ejidal land for small farmers under the pro-

visions of the 1962 Law of Agrarian Reform. Both major, Honduran campesino organizations, the ANACH (Asociación Nacional de Campesinos de Honduras) and the UNC (Unión Nacional Campesina), were involved. In the period of two years from 1968 to 1970 nearly one hundred communities organized local community Ligas or subseccionales of ANACH in southern Honduras. The majority of these have since obtained at least some land through the National Agrarian Institute (INA) or have simply occupied land.

Some of the leaders involved, especially those in the Ligas Campesinas, have also been active in the radio school movement as monitors and, in one or two cases, as coordinators. Many of the training courses of the Ligas Campesinas have been given at the leadership training center, La Colmena. Local landowners, especially those who were affected by the occupation, accused the radio school movement and ultimately the Church, as the administrative support of the radio school movement, of being responsible for the "land invasions."

The research team which conducted this analysis of the radio school movement also carried out a study of the history of land tenure problems in the southern region of Honduras and analyzed the factors which led up to the outbreak of land occupations in 1969. Since one of the characteristics of the civic culture is the ability to mobilize to defend special interests and to influence decisions regarding those interests, the question may be asked, "What was the contribution of the radio school movement, directly or indirectly, to this campesino movement and to the consequent upsurge of campesino organizations in the area?" In this summary we will simply state that the radio school movement, as such, contributed relatively little, either directly or indirectly, to this campesino movement and briefly explain why.

The roots of the campesino movement of 1969 and 1970 in southern Honduras are in the economic transformations that affected all of Honduras in the period after 1950, but especially the southern Pacific coastal area. As we briefly indicated in Chapter II, the lack of large-scale markets available to southern Honduras before 1950 made intensive land utilization relatively unprofitable. The haciendas on the coastal plain were largely dedicated to sparse, unimproved herds of cattle and horses, and haciendas were liberal in allowing small subsistence farmers to use land as they wished. Many asked only a nominal rent, if they asked for any rent at all.

But after 1950 the fundamental monetary reforms, which

were made in Honduras after World War II, began to have a stabilizing effect on the economy. The establishment of the Banco Nacional de Fomento made credit much easier to obtain by the middle-range and larger farmers. At the same time the construction of the Pan American Highway and the highway spur to Tegucigalpa during World War II opened up access to the growing markets of El Salvador and Nicaragua in addition to Tegucigalpa.

However, the major factor in the economic transformation was the rise of demand in the world market first for cotton and then for meat exports. Nicaragua and El Salvador took advantage of the rising cotton prices first, and once available land resources were put into cultivation in Salvador, many Salvadoreans began to move into southern Honduras to buy and lease land and to put pastures into intensive cotton production. The Honduran landowners soon followed suit.

Landowners now began to deny rental to small farmers, and in not a few cases evicted them from the land which they had occupied for years and which they believed to be rightfully theirs to occupy since it was national or ejidal land. At the same time population was increasing rapidly in southern Honduras, and the demand for land for small subsistence plots was increasing too. To add to the competition, the Salvadorean cotton growers brought in Salvadorean workers to cultivate and harvest the cotton, and some of these stayed to swell the ranks of small subsistence farmers. The Salvadoreans had been accustomed to more intensive cultivation and were willing to pay higher land rental prices. In the 1960's land rental prices began to rise sharply, and at times it was difficult to rent land at all.

Although the competition between large commercial agriculturists and small, semisubsistence cultivators to control the land resources was generated by the growing population and the influences of national and international economic changes, one must not lose sight of the fact that the basis of the conflict has been and is land tenure. The changing conditions that developed after 1950 would not have generated such bitter conflicts if the whole question of land tenure had not been enveloped in a series of confusions: 1) the lack of a clear, orderly procedure of land occupancy; 2) without a proper and complete cadastral survey, there is confusion over who actually has title to a specific piece of land; 3) a continual gap between the legal provisions which favor the small family-sized unit and actual implementation which allows powerful interests to flout the law and to manipulate the legal and administrative structure for their own benefit (many large landholders refuse to return national land as the 1962 Agrarian

Law stipulates); 4) the lack of a clear agricultural development policy which decides what is to be the role of the small family-sized unit and the role of the large commercial, multi-family unit concentrating on foreign export.

With the first evictions in the late 1950's and early 1960's, some campesino groups began to form protest committees and to make trips to Tegucigalpa to ask government authorities to intervene. After the National Agrarian Institute was established in 1962, a number of these local committees began to ask INA to settle the land disputes. Many of these campesino groups made extensive studies of land titles in the national archives and had documentary proof of their claims. Not a few of the campesino leaders held positions in the municipal councils and had access to municipal land title records. In spite of continual petitions, INA did nothing to settle the land disputes in the period from 1962 to 1967, at least nothing which was favorable to the campesinos.

In 1963 the newly formed ANACH did some incipient organizational work in the southern coastal region (specifically in Namasigue, which was one of the focal points of the 1969 movement), but the repressive atmosphere following the 1963 Golpe de Estado stopped all organizational activity in the South on the part of the ANACH. The Ligas Campesinas was established in 1964 in southern Honduras and did some organizational work in this period, but it tended to take a very mild community development line. It might be added that the Ligas Campesinas did take advantage of the leadership base of the radio school movement in 1964, but there seems to have been little or no significant activity through the radio school movement.

Because of the suspicion of "communistic activity" in the period after the golpe de estado of 1963, those campesinos who did try to form local committees were jailed and threatened by local authorities, ostensibly under the control of the large landowners. Several campesino leaders said that they had considered outright occupation of land at that time, believing that it was the only way to reclaim land. But they were afraid to act then.

One of the turning points came in 1967 and 1968 when Rigoberto Sandoval became the director of INA and ushered in a period of much more favorable government attitude toward the campesino land claims. In 1968 President Lopez Arellanos granted Sandoval's request to put all use of the military or the police in disputes over land tenure under the control of INA.

Another turning point was the revitalization and radicalization of the activity of the two major campesino organizations in the southern region. In 1968 the ANACH sent Flores Molina to carry out organizational work in the south, and many of the groups which had been fighting to reclaim land were affiliated to the ANACH. Flores Molina, a fiery organizer, was jailed in the process, but was freed by special court order through the work of Victor Artilles, director of the Confederación de Trabajadores de Honduras in Tegucigalpa--showing the importance of having a strong backup organization for campesino mobilization.

In late 1968 the Ligas Campesinas began a series of courses for campesino leaders in the leadership training center, La Colmena, taking a much more radical line. Here the radio school movement may have had a very indirect influence, since it was the communication system for contacting potential candidates for the courses. But some leaders in the radio school movement had already been involved in land litigation indicating that their principal motivation was growing dissatisfaction over the land crisis. There is also evidence that the discussions of the marginality of the campesino tended to radicalize their thinking. But, in effect, it was the campesinos from the communities with land tenure problems who actually entered the campesino organizations at the outset in 1968 and 1969.

In the courses of the Ligas Campesinas, activists associated with the branch of CLASC (Confederación Latino-Americano de Sindicatos Cristianos) dedicated to campesino organizations were instrumental in moving many of the participants to organize and possibly to consider land occupations.

The organization of subseccionales (neighborhood units) of ANACH and Ligas Campesinas continued rapidly during the first half of 1969 and by May several land occupations were being planned. According to the best information our research could uncover, the first land occupation in southern Honduras was directed by ANACH, but this is not too significant since both Ligas and ANACH were planning occupations at the same time. There was a much publicized precedent in the occupation of land in 1968 in Guanchías on the Honduran north coast, and the campesino federations knew in early 1969 that INA was now fundamentally sympathetic to their pressure tactics.

The land occupations began in May or June and became more forcible in July, 1969, just at the outbreak of the Salvadorean conflict, which distracted the government and

probably prevented stronger recriminatory tactics against the campesinos. These first land occupations caused a great deal of enthusiasm and excitement among the campesinos throughout the southern region, and when other campesino groups saw that they were successful in occupying land, (and in planting for the second harvest on the land) there was a rush to form Ligas or subseccionales.

Here again the communication system of the radio school movement, the fraternity of monitors and coordinators, was instrumental. But it was not a necessary factor since many communities which were not involved in the radio school movement were also attracted and formed campesino organizations.

One of the reasons why the radio school movement, as such, was not more directly involved was that it is most active in the highland areas which have a much different land tenure pattern, principally small and mediano land holdings. The land occupations were sparked primarily by the evictions and the sharp conflicts with large landowners. It was a sudden jolt, a clear injustice, and the deprivation of something they already had which was the precipitating factor for the mobilization in campesino pressure groups. In the highland areas the growing population has aggravated the shortage of land, but there has been a gradual process of land division among sons. One does not openly protest because his three brothers each got part of the father's land, even if one thus inherits less land and is deprived.

In the case of one municipality in the highland area of Choluteca, Concepción de Maria, the radio school movement appears to have evolved into a Liga Campesina affiliated with the UNC. The origins of this Liga were in a large road building project which brought together seven communities in the north of the municipality of Concepción de Maria. The remarkable radio school coordinator who was behind the project was also interested in more fundamental solutions to the campesino's agricultural problems, one of the few coordinators in southern Honduras who had this clear vision. After the road building project was finished, the leaders of the seven communities turned their attention to an agricultural cooperative, and about this time they formed a Liga Campesina on the basis of the seven communities. But at no time did they consider land occupations. This much must be said, the coordinator in Concepción de Maria was one of the few coordinators in the highland areas who had any thought of more aggressive campesino action in solving problems at that time (1968-early 1969). Their main aggressive action, however, was a running argument with the local alcaldía (municipal government offices) for discrimination in the

dispensation from local taxes for community projects.

Then in 1970, when INA had purchased the San Bernardo Hacienda on the coast, the regional director of the UNC asked the key leader of the Liga in Concepción de Maria, the coordinator, if he were interested in settling some of the landless families from the seven communities in the new area of San Bernardo. A group of sixty-five families eventually left for the coast under the leadership of the coordinator, and when he left, the Liga Campesina went with him. They did not and have not engaged in any land occupations in their Concepción de Maria area.

Another Liga Campesina was formed in the southern part of Concepción de Maria, but the main project was building a bridge. This Liga can hardly be said to have existed as a campesino pressure-group organization solving land tenure problems.

If one examines closely why the radio school movement never directly influenced aggressive campesino action, the main reason is to be found in the rather conservative attitude of the radio school movement in southern Honduras. First, the central office discouraged monitors and coordinators from getting too actively involved because of the political implications. But most coordinators did not have to be discouraged because they were either covertly or openly against the land occupations to begin with, and some still are. Three of the most influential coordinators openly condemned the land occupations as lawless outbreaks. Some of the pastors backed them up in this. One might say that the general culture of the organization (the radio school movement) was hesitant about this kind of action so different from the mild "development ideology" of community improvement. And the fact that the three coordinators who were openly against the land occupations were not actually campesinos, but were from a small town, middle-class background was influential. The radio school coordinators tend to be small medianos. Those coordinators who engaged in land occupations, almost in spite of the radio school movement, were the landless or near landless!

The real factors in the rise of the campesino movement were the conduciveness of the exploitative effects of the rationalized economy entering into southern Honduras and the increasing sense of structural strains among those small farmers who were affected. The precipitating factors were the evictions and often the brutal treatment of the small farmers by the large landowners. The radio school movement had little or no mobilizing effect because it had no ideology of aggressive

campesino action. Rather its ideology at that time was gradualist and suspicious of aggressive action. It was the campesino organizations who entered with a specific ideology, which defined clearly for the affected farmers what was the problem and what had to be done. And it was the campesino organizations which had the specific organizational tactics, plus the national organizational backup in their federations for representing the campesinos with INA. The radio school movement has no specific capability in this area and has never pretended to have it.

Could the radio school movement have provided previous leadership and organizational training so that those leaders in the radio school movement who became active in campesino organizations showed greater organizational ability? Our data on this point are not all analyzed and are not too clear in the first place. There is some evidence that the leaders with a background in the radio school movement showed more personal integrity and responsibility to their constituents. The ANACH, for example, has had considerable difficulty with the personal stability of their activists. But it is doubtful that those with a background in the radio school movement showed any more organizational ability for the reasons given in the conclusions to the last chapter. The organization of the campesino pressure groups may have required special skills, and there is little evidence of direct carryover from experience in the radio school movement.

The Radio School Movement and the Reform of Rural Municipal Government

Since the radio school movement has tended to focus on the change of local institutions, the possible influence on local municipal government was also studied. A larger separate study of municipal government and its problems in the "rural municipios" has been made, and the data in this section are a brief summary of material which was selected from that larger study. The municipality studied was that of Concepción de Maria in the eastern highlands of the Department of Choluteca bordering on Nicaragua. For almost a year the events surrounding the activities of the municipal government, the nature of the local power structure, and the political processes were observed.

Traditionally the municipal government in Concepción de Maria has been controlled more by the Nationalist Party through a group of party faithfuls, mainly the larger, more influential farmers of the area. However, for more than fifteen years the politics, as well as the municipal govern-

ment, have been dominated by a local caudillo who has never hesitated to use his pistol to enforce his will when he thought it was necessary. He, in turn, has been closely tied in with the regional political boss and to some extent with the national bosses. (They have exerted control over him insisting on the traditional "diciplina" of the party.)

When the study began, the alcalde (the mayor)--a man who had "suffered for the party"--was a personal appointee of this caudillo and never made a move of any importance without checking with him. And to insure this control the caudillo had a close relative, completely subservient to him, in the alcaldía to report every incident there. The party faithful, many of whom had fought with Velasquez in the 1950's in an attempt to overturn the Liberal president then in power, enjoyed a constant favoritism in all actions of the municipal government. The major merchants and larger farmers were careful to maintain good relations with the caudillo for their own prosperity. The few remaining leaders of the "out" Liberal Party, who had not fled to Nicaragua, lived in a state of quiet dread. Surrounding the caudillo were a group of pistoleros whose favorite sport was harassing Liberals and stealing cattle. The humble campesinos did their best to stay clear of it all--unless they needed help in a crisis--and live their lives in peace.

The radio school movement has flourished in the municipality of Concepción de Maria as in few other places of Honduras and is famous for its involvement in community development. However, the local municipal officials looked on it with suspicion and not only refused to cooperate in any way, but discouraged it when they could. It was interpreted by the caudillo, who saw all in a political light, as an incipient rival political party, and he feared that it would undermine his control of the area (as indeed it might). The credit union cooperative which operated on a municipal-wide basis was especially suspected. Later in 1969 when the campesino movement began aggressively to occupy national land in the coastal area, the municipal clique of politicians denounced the radio school leaders as dangerous fomenters of "land invasions." This tended to crystallize the attitudes of the few larger landholders of the area against the radio school movement.

The leaders of the radio school movement both ridiculed and resented the politicians. They ridiculed them because, the politicians knew nothing of community development, cooperatives or even, in their opinion, of municipal government. The leaders of the radio school movement had received various kinds of training in development over the years, and the

coordinator had even attended a lengthy course in Miami, Florida. They resented the politicians, because, although they had control of the governmental machinery, they had no interest in using it in development or solving the problems of the campesinos--only in conferring favors on those loyal to the party. The local auxiliary supervisor of primary education, also closely tied in with the politicans, was against the radio schools and forbade the use of the primary school buildings for meetings and other activities. This caused more resentment because many of the school buildings had been constructed through the radio school movement. Furthermore, the municipality would give no financial help to communities where the radio school movement was active, and it would not dispense the participants in community development projects (building schools and especially roads) from payment of the municipal per capita tax of three Lempiras. On the other hand, communities with loyal political leaders friendly to the caudillo received generous financial help from the government and the dispensation from the taxes.

The question of the dispensation from taxes became a symbolic issue, and in 1969 a complaint was presented to the governor of the department in the name of the seven united communities which had formed the Liga Campesina mentioned above, asking that the alcalde be told to treat them justly. The governor acceded to their wishes, much to the chagrin of the alcalde and the caudillo.

The issue between the radio school movement and the alcaldia came to a head in 1969 and 1970 with the mobilization of a series of communities in the southern part of the municipio by the leaders of the radio schools to construct a bridge across a stream (just at the entrance to the town), which, in the rainy season, blocked access to the town for the southern part of the municipality. After more than a year of organization and work--during which the municipal government gave no help whatsoever, especially no financial help (the project was financed in part by USAID) --the bridge was dedicated amid a great deal of celebration.

The campaign to build the bridge helped mobilize the resentment against the municipal government for its lack of interest in the problems of the aldeas. The dedication of the bridge occurred on the eve of naming candidates for the municipal elections of 1971 and the leaders, feeling that they had the support of the people of the aldeas, discussed running their own citizens' candidate. Although they thought of avoiding the party politics and simply electing a "people's candidate," they soon realized that they would have to work through the traditional party, and, after

several closed meetings, the leaders of the radio school movement in the area presented a list of candidates to the caudillo, implying to him that they virtually controlled the voting strength of the municipality. Most were of the Nationalist Party, so that working through that party was not too much of a problem. The leaders invited the caudillo to confer with them at a meeting, but he ignored their request and eventually let them know that their list was unacceptable--especially their candidate for alcalde. The leaders now mentioned another candidate, a fairly large landholder favorable to the radio school movement, but this candidate was not interested.

Finally, the caudillo published the official list of the Nationalist Party which included, as the candidate for alcalde, a local merchant. The caudillo thought he could control him, but as later events showed this was not entirely true. The list also included three strong radio school movement leaders--the first time this had occurred. In justice to the caudillo it must be said that he probably recognized the strength of the radio school movement in the area and wanted to satisfy them with some representation. The merchant-candidate for alcalde was also a technically capable person.

The Nationalists won an overwhelming victory in the municipality in the elections of March, 1971, and certainly had the support of most of the radio school movement, partly because of the radio school representative on the municipal council slate.

When the municipal council took office in early June, the research assistant who was a native of the area arranged a cursillo of sorts on municipal government for them. Mainly it was a series of discussions in which they reflected on how they were going to reform the municipal government, and the discussions were dominated by the three radio school leaders. One of the main points was the collection of taxes across the board, rich and poor, party or no party. They were able to win the new alcalde to their view and even interested the subservient relative of the caudillo (who was maintained in the council) in the advantages of running an honest government and accomplishing real improvements in the municipality.

The caudillo was furious at what he considered undue interference in "municipal affairs," none of which was sanctioned by him, and he moved about the town indicating threats of physical harm to the research assistant. Obviously, he considered the matter a threat to his control of the municipality.

Six months later a check with the leaders revealed that they had made some progress, but that the caudillo was far from relinquishing control. The council had successfully blocked the caudillo's political appointee as municipal secretary by appealing to the governor. During his month term as regidor, one of the radio school leaders had been able to double taxes collected and with the extra income repaired the electric plant in the town, cleaned the cemetery, and made long-needed street repairs as well as other minor improvements.

But a month or so later the caudillo approached the alcalde and made threats that if he did not stop collecting taxes from the party faithful something would happen. The alcalde became quite frightened, but the radio school leader told him to maintain his position and that the rest of the councilmen would back him.

The narrative ends in December, 1971 when the study was terminated. But the struggle of the radio school movement to reform municipal government is clearly demonstrated in this case. In the neighboring municipality the leaders had discussed similar action, to elect a citizens' candidate "in order to put one of our own people in there." The party selected as candidate for alcalde (hoping to capitalize on the radio school movement strength in the area) the radio school coordinator, and he won by a large majority. But when he refused to appoint a party nominee to a municipal position, he seemingly jeopardized his entrance to the party hierarchy in Tegucigalpa and his chances of getting finances for municipal projects.

In a series of municipalities where the radio school movement has some strength it has countered the municipal government when there was opposition to the community development work or when it was felt that its actions were unjust. None of this has been inspired by the central office of the radio schools but has grown out of the interest of the radio school movement in the development of the area and the feeling that the municipal government was an obstacle rather than a help in accomplishing this.

What the leaders of the radio school movement are doing in the municipality of Concepción de Maria and in other municipalities of the region, they have done almost by themselves with little or no help from any outside official agency. The radio school's instruction program and the training centers have not given any specific help in making municipal government an effective development organization. The fact that it arises out of their own initiative makes

these attempts much more solid. In great part these leaders are responding to a general criticism of the ineffectiveness and corruption of municipal government common among rural people, and the leadership has popular support. But it is extremely discouraging and at times even physically dangerous to try to initiate these reforms. The question is: will leaders such as those in Concepción de Maria be able to sustain their efforts over a period of ten to fifteen years without some outside support and instruction in the reform of municipal government?

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The Specific Contributions of the Radio School Movement to the Development of the Civic Culture in Rural Areas of Honduras

The radio school movement very definitely appears to be contributing to the development of the civic culture, that is, a more intelligent and active participation in the national governmental and political processes, at least in the rural areas where it is operative. The following seem to be the most notable contributions:

1. Individuals in communities where the radio school movement is active do tend to have more information about national and international places, personages, and issues of political importance. This is explained, in part, by the more active organizational participation and leadership which stimulates more active consideration of rural problems and their solutions.

2. Radio school participants tend to have a less partisan, emotional attitude toward government officials and government institutions. There is a greater fundamental confidence in the present Honduran institutions of government and the possibility of gaining justice and effective output through these institutions.

3. There is a kind of political maturity and balance evident in the radio school participants so that they are less ready either to totally condemn or to unreservedly accept an action of government. They are more likely to think in terms of the issues and not get caught in the blind fanaticism of the traditional party politics of Honduras.

4. But, whereas radio school participants have greater confidence in the institutions themselves, they are more strongly dissatisfied with the services they are receiving, especially at the local municipal level. The radio school leaders

are much more critical regarding services, however, than the ordinary participants.

5. The radio school participants have been as active in elections and other aspects of the political process--and through the traditional party channels--as others in the sample.

6. But the worst aspects of the traditional politics--the feuding between the parties, the authoritarian domination of the community by a political caudillo, and the system of rewarding party faithful with privileged access to government resources--have very definitely declined in radio school communities. Generally, the leadership in radio school communities has switched from preoccupation with partisan politics to community development.

7. The radio school participants, especially the leaders, have much more capacity for establishing political-economic linkages in order to channel resources into their communities and to obtain favorable decisions from government agencies. Especially, they are more persistent in the face of refusals and other frustrations in obtaining the collaboration of official agencies.

8. The efforts of the radio school leaders in the reform of municipal government have been notable in some areas, but this is not a widespread and consistent effort.

Although the radio school participants have a growing superiority in all of these aspects of the civic culture, the differences are often not especially marked. What changes have taken place have been the outgrowth of an emphasis on community problem solving, community development, various types of community organizations, and the development of leadership at the community level. In the attempt to solve problems and to come to grips with issues at the local community level, leaders and, to a much less extent, the other active participants in the radio school movement, have had to establish more linkages with public agencies and to become somewhat more aware of the handling by the national government of the issues affecting campesino communities. But there has been very little specific attempt by the central office of the radio schools, the leadership training centers, or other agencies associated with the radio school movement to develop a greater awareness and participation in the national government and national political processes. In large part, this is due to the apolitical stance and the avoidance of anything resembling partisan politics. The emphasis of the radio school movement has not gone beyond the development

of the civic culture at the local community level.

Thus, the radio school participants, like most campesinos continue to be quite parochial in their orientations toward government and political process. Radio school participants are not really aware of the national, central government. It is distant and shadowy, and they are not really too sure what its actions mean even if they do hear about current issues through the radio or other mass media.

Because of this local emphasis, the radio school movement has had a much more notable effect in developing activistic political attitudes with regard to local, municipal politics where its participants really understand what is going on and know the people involved. Radio school leaders have learned to expect much more from the local municipal government, and they are liberated from the petty, corrupt politics of rural municipal governments. The special strength of the radio school movement seems to be in the area of local, muricipal government.

The Potential Contribution of the Radio School Movement In Developing the Civic Culture: Recommendations

Given both the potential and the limitations of the radio school movement which we have discussed in this chapter, what seems to be the possible contribution of this movement, specializing in adult education, to the development of the civic culture? Certainly, one of the important aspects of social and cultural change in the campesino sector is to break down the political parochialism of the campesino and to bring this sector into the national decision-making process. No adult education program in the Latin American context could be adequate without taking this into consideration. But what can and should a public service agency such as *Acción Cultural Popular Hondureña* do in this respect?

Without doubt, the major role in the political education is to be played by the campesino pressure-group organizations (in Honduras, the UNC and the ANACH). These organizations are in a position to define the partisan political interests of the campesino, mobilize a political power base, and articulate these interests either directly to government agencies or indirectly through the political parties. The campesino organizations are equipped to be much more directly involved in the political process, and they have developed special skills in dealing with government agencies and politicians. They are in a position to educate the campesino in the aggressive political action that is necessary if he is

going to participate in the national decision-making process. They are also in a position to help the campesino critically evaluate what the government is doing and to decide what the campesino stance will be with regard to particular government policies.

The political parties, too, are an instrument of political education, even though this is done in a very partisan manner. It is true that at present most political parties in Honduras are definitely not instruments for the education of the campesino in the "civic culture." Too often, they presume the ignorance of campesinos regarding the issues and do little or nothing to clarify these issues. Neither of the two dominant parties seriously attempt to rationally evaluate the action of the other so that there is a constructive opposition.

As a public service agency involved in adult education, the radio school movement is restricted to a broad sort of civic education which can provide: 1) more objective information on how the Honduran government functions, on the current issues being discussed, and on the services that the government offers campesinos; 2) a general attitude of constructive criticism of government action so that campesinos expect better services; 3) promote the reform of government institutions, especially at the local level.

1. Providing More Objective, Non-Partisan Information

One of the overall conclusions is the fact of the continuing parochialism of the campesino with regard to political information. Nearly all could recall the name of the local alcalde, and in communities where a deputy was a personal patron of that community, the people could recall the name of that deputy. But generally the further away the governmental activity from the local community, the less the people understood the structure of government and the less information in any detail did they have regarding current governmental operations. In this, the radio school participants are much the same, at least as far as the national government of Honduras was concerned.

One of the reasons for the continuing parochialism of radio school participants is probably the fact that the radio school movement simply has not entered very deeply into the area of education in governmental structure and operations. Given the desire to avoid getting involved in the political feuding of the traditional parties, they have tried to maintain an apolitical stance. The short courses focus on a

very broad, abstract political sentiment of class consciousness, and the radio school classes give only general notions of what is a "good citizen." This apolitical stance may be necessary, but it tends to reinforce the disinterest in and the abhorrence of any active participation in the national decision-making process.

The radio broadcasting stations in the Cadena Cultural could do much more to educate campesinos in the current issues and personalities in national political affairs. Unfortunately, much of the news they broadcast is canned, from international sources, which may explain, perhaps, the fact that the radio school participants are stronger in their grasp of international affairs in comparison to most campesinos. Many of the programs are a very abstract discussion of the issues of development (at least such as were heard on Radio Paz)--programs on the Documents of Medillin or very vague analyses of the social teaching of the Catholic Church. Several of the programs dealt with development issues and opportunities, but strictly at the local community level. A great deal more could be done in preparing programs describing the activities of the central government which are pertinent to rural development. For example, there could be programs describing the current activities of the National Agrarian Institute (INA) and its policies, the current events on the agrarian reform scene in various parts of the country, analysis of the policies and activities of the campesino organizations. The same kind of news reporting and descriptive analyses could be done with regard to the other Ministries and departments dealing with agricultural development or other aspects of rural development. Interviews could be arranged with prominent figures involved in rural development in Honduras, so that these could become real persons to the average campesino. Most campesinos know little or nothing about the government's agricultural policies and its various activities--from basic research in agriculture to plans for increasing exports of various types of agricultural products--radio stations such as Radio Paz or Radio Progreso (in the Department of Yoro) have done almost nothing to fill the gap.

This would not necessarily have to take a partisan stand or even a critical stance, but simply provide information with, perhaps, the opinions of individuals and organizations (such as the campesino organizations UNC and ANACH) on the current operations. Just to explain the services of the many dependencies of the various ministries concerned with agriculture or rural development would be a help. This would, of course, be a decided improvement over much of the tendentious and superficial news reporting of the present commercial radio broadcasting stations.

The emphasis of the radio school movement has, in a sense, reinforced the parochialism of its participants since it stresses involvement in community development and leaves participation in the larger national decision-making process unmentioned. There is little effort to make evident the relationship between what is going on in the central government--especially in the ministries and departments dealing with agricultural development--and the problems of the local communities. Consequently, the average radio school participant has little more information with which to participate intelligently in the national political process than any other campesino. And, indirectly, his ability to help his own local community or his own individual enterprise is lessened.

The radio school movement has some of the general negative reaction to the current political culture, and it tends to withdraw without putting anything in its place. Ideally, the radio school movement would project a quite different kind of participation in the national decision-making process with a different set of values. There is much more emphasis on universalistic (just) treatment which fosters a growing confidence and fundamental trust in public officials; an emphasis on wealth distribution and changes in the opportunity structure, especially in favor of the lower-status population; a sense of service on the part of public agencies; and much more emphasis on economic development through cooperative types of economic organization with stronger controls on individualistic capitalism. But this is not congruent with the current political culture of Honduras. So rather than be "corrupted," activities focus on the local community where these values can be institutionalized in the decision-making process.

2. Developing A Stronger Evaluative Attitude of Constructive Criticism

Contrary to expectations, there is no strong evidence that radio school participants are more alienated from the governmental system as such. Rather they tend to have a more positive evaluation of the possibilities of justice and the general interest of the government in the problems of the people. There seems to be a greater fundamental trust in government officials and, especially, in the system of government as such. This appears to be related to a generally less fatalistic and less pessimistic view of the world. Radio school participants generally have a stronger belief in the rationality and the "justice" of the world, the view that if a person just invests his efforts, the world will respond

favorably. Likewise, the government is perceived as essentially a rational system, and one should expect a response if it is treated rationally.

On the other hand, the radio school participants, especially the leaders expect better service from government agencies than they are actually receiving. Radio school leaders are especially disturbed by the lack of service from the municipal governments and by the lack of interest, on the part of municipal officials, in the development problems of communities. But this expectation of better services is, in itself, an indication of a fundamental identification with the government and a belief in its essential responsiveness. They tend to look on government more as a rational, universalistic (just) delivery of services than a particularistic system of rewarding the party faithful with favors. Radio school participants and leaders tend to have much higher expectations of the government because they accept constitutional government. Very often one finds in the general political culture of Honduras (and especially in the politicians) a cynical attitude toward the ideal of government as it is constituted in its official written design.

In general, the reduction of fanatical party sentiments in radio school communities has tended to eliminate the extremist emotional attitude toward the governmental process. There is less of a tendency to condemn the government and government officials universally, and there is more of a tendency toward discriminating criticism. Although the tendency is not very pronounced or entirely consistent, there is, nevertheless, a tendency among participants in the radio school movement toward a more mature, objective set of evaluative attitudes toward the government, which are congruent with a stable, participatory form of government. These attitudes represent something of the balance which Almond and Verba describe as characteristic of the civic culture.

But one of the more disappointing aspects of the radio school movement is that it has not created among its campesino participants a stronger sense of the discrimination suffered by the rural lower-status population in services such as education and health in comparison to the rural elites and the urban sector. This lack of a sense of the necessity of these basic structural changes is shown in the relatively weak acceptance of the wealth distribution values (Chapter V). It is also shown in the lack of support given to the formation of campesino pressure-group organizations (organizaciones reivindicativas) in southern Honduras in 1969 and 1970. There is more inclination among radio school participants to join these organizations, but many radio school leaders have very

hesitant--even hostile--attitudes toward these intermediary campesino organizations. It was evident in the presidential elections of 1971 that most radio school participants were still voting on the basis of vague party loyalties, not on the basis of issues of importance to campesinos.

The participants in the radio school movement are beginning to move toward a more critical evaluative attitude toward government decisions, and they are superior to the general campesino population in this. But they still have a long way to go.

3. The Gradual Reform of Local Government

The radio school movement is largely interested in and capable of sociocultural changes at the local community level, and it is in the area of improved local government that it should probably continue its major focus. The goal is to contribute to the growth of existing institutions of local government so that they become really effective as instruments of rural development. The major institutions of local government are, in rural Honduras: a) the local community council or patronato as a permanent, community-level government, and b) the municipal government.

a) Promoting the Development of Permanent, Community-Level Government

Ideally, as we argued in Chapter VI, the local community government should be an extension of the municipal government, so that it has more official backing as part of the formal structure of government of Honduras. There are no official legal provisions for such an extension of municipal government at present, so whatever is done would have to be done on a volunteer basis, according to the interest of the rural leaders and municipal officials in specific municipalities. Perhaps, only when such an institution is demonstrated as practical and effective is there any chance of its official adoption.

The radio school movement has been contributing to the development of collective decision-making capacity in local communities, but it has only strengthened the rather haphazard institution of the patronato as it is. The radio schools and the radio school movement do not appear to have a clear, explicit idea of developing this to the stage of a permanent local government. It is specifically recommended that a concrete model of a permanent local community government be drawn up and that a specific program of putting this into

practice be adopted. The general lines of a model were suggested in Chapter VI, so there is no need to repeat it here. If municipal officials are not interested in this kind of institutional development, then the radio school coordinators and other promotional personnel would be left to their own resources. The collaboration of the regional training centers would be necessary to draw up a concrete plan for each region, setting up the necessary training courses and evaluating progress in terms of specific goals. It should be understood that this is a long-term program: slowly building the capacity for running a permanent problem-solving, decision-making body with regular meetings and a series of subcommittees in charge of education, health, roads and cemeteries, and so forth.

b) The Gradual Reform of Municipal Government as a Rural Development Organization

While the radio school movement has concentrated on cooperatives, on men and women's educational organizations, and on giving some backup to campesino organizations, it has largely ignored municipal government as a potential development organization. The attitude toward municipal government is often simply critical--that it is corrupt and that nothing can be done with it--or even that it is a positive obstacle to development to be opposed. There has been some discussion of the need to put campesino candidates who represent local campesino interests in the municipal councils, and, in some instances such as the case described above, there have been positive efforts to reform municipal government. But rarely have leaders in the radio school movement looked upon the municipal government as a potential rural development organization in the same category as the cooperatives or the campesino special-interest group and, therefore, worthy of support and participation.

The municipal council is one of the oldest and most thoroughly institutionalized instruments of local government and development in Latin America, especially in rural areas. It is probably the strongest and most truly indigenous "democratic" institution in this culture area, with roots that go far back into Spanish and Roman history. For a movement interested in promoting "participatory" institutions, it is logical that it would be interested in working with an institution so thoroughly Honduran as the rural municipal government.

One of the major reasons that the radio school movement has avoided involvement in the municipal government is

that the latter is controlled by one or the other of the traditional parties, and getting involved means going through the traditional parties. This would mean participating in the very partisan politics and, possibly, splitting the radio school movement along partisan lines. And, since affairs of the local municipal governments are controlled by local, regional, and national political bosses, involvement in local government would mean submitting to the "disciplina" imposed by these leaders in the party--a "disciplina" which is not infrequently hostile to the real interests of the campesino. So the position adopted has been that participation in the local municipal government to make it an instrument of rural development is not only useless, but is inviting problems for the work the radio schools are already doing. It would be interpreted as an attempt at political interference and, possibly, would cause recriminations by the government. Not only radio school leaders, but the majority of citizens have taken the attitude, "Let the politicians have it (municipal government). It is not worth the fight."

At the same time, there is considerable interest among campesino leaders in reforming municipal government. This has been a direct outgrowth of their experience in community development work in their communities. They see the problems in their areas much more clearly than many of the traditional municipal leaders, and they see what municipal government could do for the rural areas if there were public officials with better dispositions. One has the impression that many are not too knowledgeable about the functioning of municipal government and the legal structure which they would have to work with. Nor are these community leaders entirely sure what a non-partisan movement to improve municipal government would entail. The movement in Concepción de Maria, described above, benefited from the encouragement of the research assistant, although he was not specifically trained in municipal government. But as was mentioned before, without some education in municipal government, it is doubtful that these local efforts can go very far.

What could the radio schools and the radio school movement do, as a non-partisan adult education agency, to assist local leaders who are interested in improving municipal government?

The primary school program of the radio schools of ACPH could very well include a unit of instruction on the structure and functioning of municipal government in Honduras. This would be directed at the general public, not just municipal officers. It would also have to be rather non-partisan. But such instructions could very well point out the more obvious

typical abuses and injustices in rural municipal governments so that the campesino would not continue to tolerate these as inevitable.

In the municipalities or regions where campesino leaders are particularly interested in improving municipal government and would like more detailed knowledge on the functions of the offices of the municipal council (alcalde, síndico, etc.), special short courses might be arranged by the regional training centers. One must keep in mind, however, that the best training in this is the experience itself and that the courses should follow the specific interests of the leaders and the specific problems which they are facing at the time. These courses should follow the rise of the movement among the leaders themselves and answer their specific questions. The kinds of information which are necessary at a very incipient stage of such a reform movement may be very different from the rather technical instructions necessary later on.

If such courses are given, some plans should be made for involving public officials who may be concerned. They might even be brought in as part of the instructional staff. Again, it is a case of relating to the public sector and not pretending that it does not exist. There is the problem, however, that some public officials will not see the improvement of municipal government as being in their own personal interests or the interests of the political party.

What should a movement to reform rural municipal government in Honduras try to accomplish? The study which the author directed in southern Honduras singled out the following general goals:

1. Eliminating the more obvious injustices and partisan tactics of municipal officials.

   a) Impartial treatment of all, especially avoiding discrimination against those not of the party in power;
   b) Insistence that all pay the municipal taxes and fees, without special dispensation to members of the party in power or to individuals of higher socioeconomic status of those occupying positions of special influence;
   c) Insurance that the decisions of local municipal courts are not influenced by party politics or by "under-the-table" gifts. There are clear cases of criminals not being apprehended or receiving light sentences because of party affiliation;
   d) Insurance of impartial elections, especially protection of the rights of the individuals of the opposition party.

2. Insistence on competent and dedicated appointees in the offices at the local municipal level.

   a) There is evidence that the municipal-level supervisors of public education are not competent and are not interested in improving the quality of primary school education;
   b) The municipal health centers are sometimes not attended well by the doctors and nurses who are appointed. Yet, this is tolerated by the campesino public;
   c) Many of the public officials do not realize that one of their principal tasks is education in the use of the services which they are providing.

3. Assistance for communities (aldeas) in the construction of infrastructural projects.

   a) One of the principal services which the municipal officials should be providing (and in some cases do provide) is to act as intermediaries for obtaining resources for community projects such as schools and roads. At present, many of the alcaldes in the smaller municipios are not aware of the agencies which provide resources, and they are not interested in giving assistance;
   b) The municipal officials are often completely unaware of the principles for developing collective decision-making capacity in local communities. They do not see themselves as educators. In general, municipal officers have little concept of the process of rural development and are unable to contribute to this.
   c) As the cooperative movement gains force in Honduras, the support of the municipal government can be a valuable assistance. The Law of Municipal Government of Honduras stipulates as one of the functions of municipal government the promotion of cooperatives. Yet, in some rural municipalities, the municipal officers have taken a hostile attitude toward cooperatives and campesino organizations. In general, if the lower-status population is the majority of the electorate, their interests should be given priority.

This is not meant to be an exhaustive list of possible goals of municipal reform, but to suggest the kind of orientation necessary. These goals may seem so self-evident to many that they do not bear repeating. But it is surprising how many leaders in the radio school movement, not to speak of the active participants, fall back into the old political culture when they are faced with a crisis. There is a gap between the rhetoric of reform of municipal government and

actually putting it into practice. As was mentioned above, there is a slow process of growing awareness that the partisan politics and brutality accompanying this is a relic of a more primitive, bygone age in Honduras. The role of the radio school movement appears to be to encourage this growing awareness and point out the specific reforms that should be sought so that these goals gradually become part of the popular culture. It may be possible to teach units of instruction on the more detailed aspects of municipal government, but the more important contribution would be to gradually create a climate of social pressure which would change popular expectations regarding the behavior of municipal officials.

Groups generally get the kind of leaders that they want, and the leaders usually reflect the prevailing values and norms of the group. As we have noted in detail in Chapter II, the caudillo and the paternalistic político fulfill a function in the lives of desperately poor, insecure campesinos. The lower-status rural population survives from crisis to crisis, and the powerful political intermediary is present as a refuge in time of need (along with the extended family and a network of loyal friends). Until there are different expectations from the general population, the behavior of public officials probably will not change a great deal. This is a gradual process, and it is an educational process.

Many people in Honduras long for a more stable and effective government, especially for public officials who will be more dedicated to honest, just, and concerned public service. For this reason, some think in terms of forming new political parties which would not be interested simply in benefits for the party faithful, but in effective government, especially effective services for the popular classes. But unless there are fundamental changes in the political culture, it is likely that crusading individuals or even new political parties will be forced to comply with the expectations of the general political culture--or will never be given leadership. The history of revolutions and attempts to reform government in Latin America has shown that most of these are eventually incorporated into the traditional institutions and are "corrupted", at least in part, by the prevailing political culture. Thus, popular education which gives new cultural orientation, is extremely important for laying the foundations for long-range institutional reform.

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The overall observation regarding the radio school movement and the central office of Accion Cultural Popular Hondureña is that both have done remarkably well in achieving the goals that were originally proposed in the years from 1960 to 1964. The achievements are especially remarkable considering the limitations of money and personnel over the years and the problems to be overcome in educating the adult campesino (the lack of communication and transportation, the poverty, and the usual resistance to outside change agents).

The general goal has been desarrollo integral, the integral, harmonious development of the person in the rural areas of Honduras. Fundamentally, it has been an attempt to motivate the individual to become conscious of his own human capacities for development and the possibilities of development in his community. Thus, the individual has been motivated to actively initiate change in himself and in his community. From the beginning, the individual has always been seen in relation to his community, and the development of the two have been inseparably bound together.

The breadth of the goals has given the radio school movement perspective so that it has not "put all of its eggs in one basket" so to say. If the directors had decided to stress only literacy, there might possibly have been a little more success in that area (though probably not a great deal more because the problems are largely in the environment of the campesino). But it would have been a much more limited overall success, simply because of the limitations of a literacy campaign.

Four general educational goals were proposed by the radio schools and the radio school movement: literacy training, inculcating a general motivation to initiate change, developing organizational capacity, and encouraging greater participation in the local and national governmental process.

1. In the first and basic goal, literacy training, the radio school movement has not been able to radically reduce the level of illiteracy, even in communities where it has functioned well, mainly because of the obstacles to literacy in the campesino's life. However, an opportunity was provided for those more motivated, aggressive individuals, who have been interested, to acquire literate

skills and to use these skills in leadership positions in rural communities. The radio schools have also communicated considerable information regarding improved health and agricultural practices, but there has been less success in getting participants to put this information into practice, unless there is an accompanying action program such as the rural housewives' club.

2. In the second goal, stimulating the general motivation to initiate social change, the radio school movement has been quite successful, especially in developing the activistic values of control over the physical environment and greater independence of paternalistic figures in rural neighborhoods. But there was less success in developing a sense of the necessity for more basic structural changes and for redistribution of the opportunity structure in favor of the rural, lower-status population.

3. The radio school movement has also been quite successful in the third goal, developing organizational capacity and participatory collective decision-making institutions in rural communities. But participants in the movement are still lacking in the ability to make more complex rural development organizations such as cooperatives or a permanent local community government function well.

4. Finally, the radio school movement has had much less success in the fourth goal, the development of a greater awareness of, and ability to participate in the national governmental process. But it has influenced the growth of a more balanced, constructive political attitude at the local community level and has contributed to the reform of municipal government.

However, our goal in this study has not been simply an evaluation, but rather to determine what the potential of the radio school movement is as a rural development organization in Honduras. That is, what specific contribution can this movement make toward the development process in Honduras which other rural development agencies cannot do or can do less well. It is presumed, of course, that the radio school movement is working in coordination with other rural development organizations such as FACACH, La Fundación Hondureña de Desarrollo, DESARRURAL, FECOAGROH, INA, Bienestar Social, rural health agencies, the primary school system, the Banco Nacional de Fomento, and others. The adult education program of ACPH both depends on these agencies and complements their work. A further question is: given the specific potential of the radio school movement, in what directions should this

potential be developed so that it can be more effective. Throughout this report we have been making recommendations regarding the directions of future development of the radio school movement. In the conclusions, now, we will put all this together in a brief proposal for a concrete plan for the adult education program of ACPH.

The Role of the Radio School Movement in the Processes of Social Change in Honduras

In analyzing the role of the radio school movement in rural development, one must keep clearly in mind that it is essentially an educational agency specializing in rural adult basic education. As an educational program it is not to be expected to fill the role of a campesino pressure-group organization (organización reivindicativa) with capacities for influencing the political process of Honduras. It is not an agency of technical assistance which provides information on specific technical operations of health or agriculture. This technical assistance requires professional personnel (and a research support) as well as resources which an agency of adult basic education does not pretend to have. It is not making credits available; it is not local government, it is not providing special health care or meeting rural health problems. All of these agencies are involved in education, indirectly. But the radio school movement, as an adult education agency, is attempting to teach much more basic capacities which will enable the rural lower-status population to take advantage of all of these other rural development agencies. It has developed a special philosophy and special methods, incorporating the ideas of the recognized educationalist, Paulo Freire, for teaching, not just specific skills, but the broad kind of value and attitudinal changes which are necessary if the campesino is to be able to cope with the dramatic changes which are taking place in Honduras.

Honduras has been largely an agricultural country, and the rural sector remains very traditional; but over the last twenty years Honduras has been undergoing great social and economic changes--which are affecting the campesino in many ways--and we can expect this process of change to accelerate.

In Chapter I we described four major forces for social change inherent in Honduran society:

1. The growing social integration of the nation through improved transportation and communication and consequent economic linkages;

2. The growing dissatisfaction of the popular classes as the victims of an increasingly rationalized economy without participating in its benefits, which is conducive to the mobilization of the classes in organized pressure groups.

3. Differentiation within the urban, technical sector, the breakdown of the old solid front, and alliances of elements of the urban, technical sector with the popular classes;

4. Growing nationalism, causing the elites to turn in upon the interior and their own indigenous racial and cultural roots.

It is generally assumed that industrialization and modernization are automatically beneficial to all sectors of a society and that these factors of progress will automatically do away with the problems of poverty, sickness, and ignorance. However, we also noted in Chapters I and II that in spite of these tendencies toward change, there are strong counter tendencies of resistance to change. From the point of view of this analysis, the popular classes and especially the campesino sector are not participating in the benefits of increasing industrialization and modernization. Rather, the traditional domination and exploitative relationship of the elites to the campesino sector is being accentuated and the campesino seems less able to cope with the increasing insecurity which he is experiencing. There appears to be a whole series of bottlenecks in extending the benefits of modern technology and modernization to the rural lower-status population. Why there are so many obstacles to successful rural development in Honduras and in other Latin American countries is important to understand in order to define the potential role of the radio school movement in Honduras and the directions that the programs of adult education should take. Unless the processes of social change can be understood and directed in some degree, the results are going to prove increasingly disadvantageous for the popular classes and the campesino sector in particular.

Honduran society, like most of Mesoamerica, tends to be structured in terms of dichotomous, hierarchical sectors with the traditionally urban-based, literate sector defined as inherently superior and inherently capable of governing. Correlatively, the campesino is defined as inherently ignorant, irresponsible, backward, and resistant to improvement. The relationship of the educated, "ruling" elites to the campesino has been one of cultural, economic, and political dominance. Traditionally, however, this dominance has been paternalistically benevolent, and in the relatively flexible, less rigidly defined

society of Honduras, there has been considerable vertical mobility.

But as this urban, literate, ruling elite responds increasingly to the demonstration effect of the highly capitalized, industrial nations and becomes increasingly linked into the international economic, political, and cultural systems, it begins to transform itself according to the sociocultural models of these world industrial centers. The traditional urban, literate elite is gradually becoming an urban, technical, "ruling" elite. There is a relatively rapid introduction of new technical roles and a new set of modern values which imply a much more diverse pattern of social differentiation. One might expect that with this increasing differentiation of society, there might be also a differentiation of bases of prestige and, consequently, an increasing distribution of power. But this social differentiation is following the lines of the traditional structure of the society and is leaving the dichotomous, hierarchical distribution of prestige and power undisturbed.

Thus, the process of industrialization and modernization is entering into Honduras through the sector of the urban, literate, "ruling" elites. There is an improvement of transportation and communication. There are new sources of technology and capital, as well as new forms of complex organizations which are increasing human productivity. There are also new opportunities for general and technical education. New markets are opening up, and incomes are rising. But all of this remains largely in the hands of the urban, technical sector and, in rural areas, in the hands of the larger landholders (the rural elites), who are, in reality, socially and culturally part of the urban, technical sector. The campesino sector remains physically and culturally isolated from the processes of change which are taking place, and the opportunities open to the campesino are nearly as limited as they have ever been.

In part, this lack of fundamental change in the distribution of power, prestige, and opportunity is due to the inherent "conservativism" of a dichotomous, hierarchical social system. In part, it is due to the model of socioeconomic development that is being followed. Supposedly, socioeconomic development in competition with the highly capitalized, industrialized, technically advanced countries can take place only through rapid industrialization and capitalization, utilizing the capacities of the urban, technical elites and exploiting the cheap labor of the popular classes. As an industrializing country (using this model) moves from one financial crisis to another, the alternative

of opening up the advantages of modernization and technology to the campesino sector appears to be a luxury which cannot be afforded. Basing the increase of national productivity on the campesino sector, at least in part, seems to be a hopeless cause, and this sector is generally neglected or abandoned. It is true that the means have not generally been found to make the campesino sector more productive, but this is due in large part to a model of development which discounts this sector from the beginning.

The only opportunity that is opened up to the campesino is competitive, vertical mobility out of the campesino sector. Usually the vertically mobile individual severs all identification with his campesino background and adopts the attitude of the urban, technical elite, including the depreciation of the campesino. There is little or no interest in helping to improve the situation of the class from which he has come. Some individuals may make it, but the class as a whole remains in the same depressed situation.

There are some attempts at rural development, and rural development bureaucracies proliferate, but the fundamental motivation which is held out to the campesino sector is to imitate the urban, technical sector and gradually introduce the institutions of the urban, technical sector into the backward rural areas. The campesino sector is looked upon as a cultural and social vacuum to be filled by the urban, technical culture which is often only an imitation of the fads and fashions of the industrialized centers of the world. Agents of development from the urban, technical sector, themselves imbued with a depreciation of the campesino, dogmatically set themselves up as the authoritative teachers of progress; the campesino is not expected to exercise any creativity of his own, but simply to listen and imitate. This is often destructive of the campesino personality, culture, and social organization. Above all, this model of rural development, based on the demonstration effect of the urban, technical sector, assumes that the center of culture, of political control, and of economic domination remains within the urban, technical sector. The campesino is not expected to make any cultural or social contribution to national development. Most of the agencies of rural development, especially the rural primary school system, presuppose this model of development and actively promote the destructive values supporting it.

There are strong currents of nationalism among the urban, technical sector which reject the increasing Herodianism (identification with foreign cultures) and tend to identify

with the campesino, Indian roots--the "interior" of the nation. But the dominant cultural and economic trends establish the cultural norms of the rural development bureaucracies, so that individual teachers, agronomists, nurses, doctors and others with a sense of service to the campesino are forced out or lose their personal dedication. Following the dominant cultural norms of the bureaucracy, they gravitate back toward the capital where they can enjoy the advantages of the urban, technical sector. Many of them eventually move to the commercial agencies which serve primarily the rural elites, and offer better wages as well as easier working conditions. There is undoubtedly a great deal of frustration working with the rural lower-status population, and the temptation to abandon this work is too great.

Some elements of the urban, technical sector, such as the Church and the University, and those who are working with campesino organizations and labor unions are making tentative alliances with the campesino sector. But, they are so accustomed to the role of "ruler" that it is difficult for them to really submit themselves to the direction of campesino leadership.

Thus, in spite of the industrialization and modernization of the urban, technical sector, the rural lower-status population, as a class, tends to remain as isolated and as traditional as ever: without the advant ges of the new markets and sources of credit and technology, without access to advances in medicine or education, and without the capabilities of using more complex organizational forms. The rural elites, who are linked with the urban, technical sector, do have these advantages and are steadily increasing their economic and political power. There is a gradual increase of minifundismo, as the population increases and land is divided, and a corresponding increase of latifundismo as the elites incorporate the available land resources to exploit new markets.

In the face of the increasing insecurity which he faces, the campesino often tends to become more resistant to change. The small cultivator is relatively isolated and self-sufficient in his rural community. Rather objectively, he does not see the changes, which are taking place, as an advantage to him. He is only getting poorer in comparison with former years, and modern communication and transportation only take the sons and daughters of his neighborhood off to urban slums.

As the campesino loses control over his situation he tends to become more fatalistic in order to rationalize an impossible situation, lowers aspirations to meet the realities of increasing poverty, and takes fewer risks in investment or experimentation with agricultural improvements in order to avoid losing what he has. What little there is, is shared

among members of the extended family and within a network of loyal friends (compadres). In times of special crisis, he can find help among the more powerful and wealthy farmers, merchants, and politicians of his area, and he forms dependency alliances with these patrons.

The campesino is certainly aware of his increasing poverty and there is a slowly increasing resentment against "los ricos" of the community. At times, when there are sharp deprivations such as evictions from land by large landholders, there are organized movements of protest.

But the campesino finds few sympathetic allies among the urban, technical sector: the government is controlled by the rural elites and those close to them. In general, the campesino does not know how to cope with the changing situation. To compete he must adopt new forms of technology and organization, but these he does not understand well. He recalls that all was once better when there was less population and when there was less competition for land and other resources. So his ideal is often a return to a golden past, when he could plant his individual milpa in peace. Some more alert individuals may realize that the situation is steadily getting worse, but the changes, such as division of land with each generation, are very gradual, and there is usually no sharply experienced deprivation which shocks them into aggressive organization and protest. Consequently, it is difficult for the campesino to mobilize a power base to bring about basic structural changes.

But the worst aspect of the problem is that few, even those working in rural development in Honduras, are aware of how the prevailing models of development have influenced their actions with regard to the campesino sector. While attempting to assist the campesino, the methods and attitudes of these agencies actually increase the cultural dominance of the urban, technical sector over the campesino--a form of internal colonialism.

The guiding principle of nearly all of the development agencies is that the campesino is a cultural vacuum, or at best something very backward, who must be remade in the image of those in the urban, technical sector. Ultimately, the models of how the campesino must think and act come from the industrializing centers of the world, and to those the campesino must conform. Instead of being allowed to maintain some kind of cultural self-determination, the campesino is to be incorporated into and judged according to the hierarchy of developed and underdeveloped. Given the limited resources of the campesino of Honduras, his inferiority as an underdeveloped

sector is now going to be stressed even more. At one time, the campesino could defend himself by his isolation in his rural community and a certain amount of hostility toward outsiders. Now that this isolation is breaking down and there is much more communication, the cultural and economic dominance of the urban-technical sector threatens to destroy what personal and social integration the campesino has been able to maintain. The adult basic education program of ACPH has gone much further in recognizing and countering this cultural colonialism, but the models of education which they are using are borrowed from the prevailing models of education and development and these may also be destructive of the campesino.

Some may feel that this is an overly pessimistic picture and that there have been examples of success in rural development in Honduras. Indeed, there have been successful agencies and successful programs, but these have generally been the result of movements among the campesinos themselves.

One of the overall conclusions of this study has been that the most successful phases of rural development in Honduras (as these were observed primarily in southern Honduras) have been programs which responded to movements which spontaneously arose among campesinos. If INA, for example, has had some success in its land distribution program in recent years, it is only because the campesinos were organized and ready to carry through with the program. INA only facilitated what was already conceived and demanded by the campesinos. The campesino federations (ANACH and UNC) were able to rapidly organize hundreds of communities after 1968, because the conditions were ripe for organization and many small community groups had already formed and had been struggling to recuperate land. The radio school movement has had some success in community development in part because the institution of the community council (the patronato) was already present in the rural community and only needed to be strengthened and directed through education. The radio school movement has also been relatively successful in stimulating a general motivation to initiate social change because it built upon traditional values and because it was only facilitating a general cultural development in rural areas. Ultimately, no program is successful unless the campesinos themselves carry it out.

These conclusions support the general model of development and change which we outlined in the Introduction. There we proposed that the radio school movement (or any other rural development agency) must be analyzed as one factor of social change flowing out of tendencies toward change which are inherent in the social system. At the same time these rural

development agencies are, ideally, facilitating and directing these spontaneous movements, so that they will be technically viable and integrated with other rural development programs. Many rural development programs fail or even terminate in conflict with the campesinos, because they do not take into consideration the spontaneous tendencies of social change and the indigenous institutions in rural areas. They presume that the campesino sector is simply an inert shapeless mass upon which programs reproducing the institutions and values of the urban, technical sector must be imposed.

These conclusions suggest an alternate general model of rural development in which the sociocultural, economic, and political creativity and self-determination of the campesino are not only responded to but aggressively promoted. In this model, the campesino is permitted to gain a sense of the validity of his own identity and is regarded not as a passive object, but as an independent source of economic and sociocultural contribution to national development.

In Chapter V we referred to this reassertion of the self-determination of the campesino sector as agrarianism, a kind of internal nationalism whereby a previously exploited sector establishes itself as a viable subculture along occupational and geographical lines within the national culture.

Following a model of self-determination, the campesino incorporates modern technology, but on his own terms: that is, the campesino is allowed to develop values to explain and justify more technical norms of activity out of his own value tradition and to develop more complex social organizations on the basis of traditional organizational forms (kinship, traditional leadership, friend networks). Whatever is accepted is adapted to the life situation of the campesino in such a way that there is continuity in the transition from the traditional to the modern. Thus, the integration of the campesino personality and social structure are not destroyed in the process of modernization.

Instead of being defined as simply a backward, underdeveloped sector, an obstacle to the development of the nation, the small cultivator is defined as a different occupational sector, but one which is equally valid and worthy of continued existence if the campesino so desires. There is ample evidence that the small farm sector is playing a major role in agricultural productivity for the domestic market in Central America and can play an increasingly important role.[1] Migration

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1. Manger-Cats, Sebald G. and Theodor Berthold, "Small Farm Agriculture in Central America: Outlook to 1985," FAO Monthly Bulletin of Agricultural Economics and Statistics, Vol. 19, No. 6, May 1970.

to urban centers is to be expected, but only when the campesino feels capable of coping with the urban environment. Migration should be a choice, not an escape from a desperate situation or the result of manipulation of public policy.

The reader may ask, how can rural development agencies become aware of the forces for social change which are inherent in the social system and detect the spontaneous movements in the campesino sector so that they can be responded to? What groups of campesinos are to be responded to? Is there not the danger that if the campesino is allowed to chart his own course, he will choose a path of action which is regressive and technically not viable?

In the present evaluation we have attempted to determine the motivations and spontaneous tendencies present in the campesino sector, and four guidelines for analyzing these were developed:

1. Historically, what have been the general factors of change which have generated various kinds of movements among campesinos in the region being studied? We have, from the beginning, spoken in terms of movements (such as the radio school movement), not in terms of bureaucracies or programs.

2. Historically, once an agency, such as the radio schools of ACPH, began to work along with a movement in order to facilitate its growth, how did it build upon and strengthen indigenous institutions and sociocultural developments already present? Thus, we were able to see what was giving results and what constituted the potential of a program which was working with and responding to the self-determination tendencies of the campesinos.

3. Listening to the campesinos, especially leaders in the radio school movement, we tried to become aware of the ways that the program was not responding to the central concerns of the campesino and not meeting the problems campesinos were facing. In some cases, it was apparent that a new stage in the movement was being reached and that new programs were becoming necessary.

4. An attempt was made to suggest the future direction of the program so that it would respond to the concerns and problems of the campesino more, keeping in mind the limitations of the central office of the radio schools and the limitations of the campesinos themselves. In some cases we proposed specific designs for extensions of the program.

In the following pages we will present a brief summary of the evaluation of the potential of the radio school movement and the radio school central office for responding to the major forces of social change in Honduras, as these are affecting the campesino sector, and a summary of how this potential can be effective in overcoming the obstacles we have rather pessimistically (but realistically) outlined above. Most important, we will suggest how we think that the radio school movement can be more effective in facilitating the process of self-determination of campesinos and overcoming the obstacles to this. In stating that the radio school movement has considerable potential we are not ruling out the specific role of other rural development agencies, and we are not saying that the radio school movement is the unique solution to the problem. Nor do we argue that the radio schools of ACPH are the perfect model of a rural development agency.

The Specific Capabilities and Suggested New Directions of the Adult Education Program of Accion Cultural Popular Hondurena

I. DEVELOPMENT OF COMMUNICATION LINKAGES AND COMMUNICATION SKILLS

A. Potential for Facilitating the Growing Social Integration of the Nation Through Improved Transportation and Communication.

The first major factor of social change in Honduras is the gradual integration of the nation, as the network of roads and communication media link remote regions to the population centers. These linkages make possible a growing economic interdependence.

In spite of the fact that these new transportation, communication, and economic linkages are beginning to integrate the nation, this is affecting principally the rural elites who are, in reality, within the urban, technical sector, and it is bypassing the lower-status rural population. The latter remain outside market linkages and a real monetary exchange system. They are not reached by the rural service agencies, since they are away from the roads, and are largely unaware of the national cultural and political system.

The radio school movement does appear to have considerable potential for linking the rural lower-status population into the processes of national integration.

1. As a means of overcoming the physical and cultural

isolation of Honduran campesinos, the radio school movement has elaborated a remarkable development-oriented system of communication:

a) At the community level:

i) The incorporation of the traditional communication linkages of the extended family and indigenous leadership, as a development communication system within the community;

ii) The appointment of a representative of a development agency in the community as a monitor in a radio school or a promotor in a housewives' club or agricultural experimentation group who is responsible for receiving information from outside the community and communicating it to others within the community;

iii) A series of organizations within the community which bring individuals together frequently for communication of new ideas;

iv) A leadership team which encourages circulation of ideas among community influentials.

b) At the Municipal or District (Parish Level)

i) The monthly meetings of monitors and representatives of other organizations in the community in the municipal centers;

ii) The regular visits of supervisory personnel who, because they travel on foot or by mule, can reach the most remote communities. They are not held back by the hardships of living in rural areas.

iii) The municipal or parochial team of supervisors of campesino background: the radio school coordinator, the supervisor of agricultural education; the supervisor of the housewives' clubs and the manager of the cooperatives.

iv) The fraternity of monitors and others who participate in the radio school movement.

c) At the Regional Level

i) The regional radio station with a series of programs for each major development organization;

ii) The regional leadership training center;

iii) The regional team: the staff of supervisors and professors in the training center who are professionally trained or have considerable experience in development; this team can play a planning and evaluating role, establishing contact with other public and private agencies to channel resources to communities.

iv) In some regions an agricultural training school.

d) At the National Level

i) The central office of the radio schools which is in contact with national and international development ideologies and is preparing educational materials for the system.

ii) CONCORDE, the national planning body of the directors of organizations, such as the rural housewives' clubs, associated with the radio school movement.

2. A System of Selecting, Training and Employing Campesino Paraprofessional Personnel

One of the major problems of rural service agencies is that there are very few trained personnel and little money to pay for more. Also, those who are actually in the rural areas are often not identified with their campesino clients.

The radio school movement has been using, with relative success, campesinos who are drawn from indigenous leadership as monitors and coordinators of the radio schools.

a) They come out of a movement which is oriented toward fundamental social change and are not working simply as employees of a bureaucracy.

b) They are educators of campesinos and they have the same idiom and cultural background as their students.

c) Now campesino supervisors are being employed in the housewives' and agricultural education programs. These are given three to four months of training and are able to multiply the work of one professional

many times. Many of them, however, have as much or more practical experience as the professionally trained individuals.

d) They are especially effective in actually reaching the campesino community on horseback or even afoot and in communicating with other campesinos.

e) A team of eight to ten paraprofessionals works with one professional who is continually training them and helping them solve special problems.

f) These supervisors have the ability to go into rural communities and organize campesinos, and they are trained in the animación method.

3. The Capacity to Stimulate an Unusual Development Motivation

Many rural development agencies find it difficult to get campesinos to respond to their efforts because of their fatalism, traditionalism, and suspicion of outside agents.

The radio school movement, through its short motivational courses, its methods of animación and the whole organizational culture has an unusual capacity to develop a general motivation to initiate social change:

a) The fundamental value change which the radio school movement tends to stimulate in its participants is an activism, the desire to develop oneself and the community in which one lives. But it is a communal activism quite different from the typical individualistic, competitive activism characteristic of Western industrial society.

b) Change agents find in radio school participants an unusual willingness to cooperate with new programs and a strong acceptance of the intrinsic value of change and progress.

c) Radio school participants are also moving away from the dependency relationships typical of the rural neighborhood.

d) They also have much more awareness of community problems and more capacity to reach out and make use of the resources which rural development agencies are making available.

The communal activism is much more difficult to maintain because it needs assistance from the public sector, and this is sometimes more difficult to make efficient. It seems, however, that these values of communal activism are going to be of great importance in the development of the social institutions of the country over the long run. It provides the social integrative basis and the sense of common destiny necessary for the bargaining process that underlies any successful national decision-making process. And if this social integration and bargaining capacity is present there is far more possibility of rapid collective problem solving and flexibility in the face of obstacles. This value of communal activism influences the growth of responsibility of individuals to the group, but on an internally motivated, voluntary basis.

There are various campesino movements in Honduras, but none of them stress, in quite the same manner as the radio school movement, the internal values changes which are necessary for the right kind of modernization process to take place. They do not stress, either, the communal activism as does the radio school movement.

The radio school movement is especially capable of giving a modern orientation to the traditional values of campesinos (for example, religious and familistic values) so that the essential motivation of the campesino is not destroyed but simply made adaptable to new situations and therefore utilized.

B. Recommendations for Improving the Potential of the Radio School Movement as a Communication Linkage System Integrating the Campesino and the Urban, Technical Sectors.

1. Center Education on the Focal Concerns of the Campesino

The major recommendation is that the content of the adult education program center not just on communication skills such as literacy but on using communication skills in solving the problems presented by the focal concerns of the campesino, that is, the preoccupations which have the greatest priority in the life of the campesino. These are for the men, agriculture, and for the women, homemaking (with the related concerns of health, child care, food preparation, etc.), and for all, the quest for a sense of personal worth.

Although illiteracy is a problem and prevents the

campesino from holding leadership positions and utilizing reading material as a communication medium, it is doubtful that an adult education program should be centered solely upon the skill of reading or writing. Reading and writing are not, in themselves, traditionally utilized institutions and they are not automatically related to agriculture or homemaking. There has to be an accompanying program of action and experimentation to make information usable.

It is even questionable as to whether the adult basic education should be based on the traditional primary school education. Again, the campesino is taught skills which are not immediately practical. The primary school program is the direct descendant of an education established for the urban professional classes, preparing them for secondary schools and later on for their professional training. To impose this upon campesinos is a form of cultural colonialism. It also imposes the motivation and the value system of the urban, technical sector, the individualistic, capitalistic, career-oriented activism, the essential complex of values guiding the behavioral norms of the urban, industrial centers of the world. The adult education program of ACPH is now planning to establish for adults something resembling the public primary schools as a model, and adopt one which stimulates the cultural self-determination of the campesino. The adoption of the educational philosophy of Paulo Freire has already given the staff of the radio schools this basic orientation, but the following points may be suggestive guidelines in putting into practice an educational process which respects in greater measure the cultural (as well as the socioeconomic and political) self-determination of the campesino.

a) Rather than emphasize a simple transfer of information, this education should help the campesino to make an original and creative response to his environment so that he is better able to cope with the increasingly insecure circumstances of life.

b) This kind of education is concerned not just with techniques, but with fundamental attitudes and values so that the campesino can adapt technology to his own circumstances.

c) An effort should be made to combine information with practice, especially with the practice of innovative experimentation on a small scale in agriculture and homemaking. Success is to be measured less in retention of information and more in actual adoption of practices.

d) The units of instruction should be flexible and should follow the interests of the people and the immediate necessities they have. It is not a preparation for future roles (such as the primary school education), but assistance to farmers and housewives to cope with their changing roles now. Thus, there should be, ideally, some units of instruction of interest to all persons in the community.

e) The objective in this kind of educational process is to train the campesino to make use of many different means of communication and of obtaining information: reading materials, the radio, the representatives of service agencies, and attendance at special meetings and training cursillos. Furthermore, it is training in the process of putting into practice the information obtained.

f) This emphasis in education provides a motivational base in the campesino so that he is interested in the opportunities offered by various rural development agencies and is a receptive audience to service agencies. The emphasis on the value of communal activism should be continued. Otherwise the result of the educational process will be to destroy whatever sense of solidarity with other campesinos that already exists. The motivation behind education should not be individualistic, capitalistic improvement, but improvement of the opportunities for the campesino sector as a whole.

2. Help to Provide Resources, Not Just Motivation

The limitations of the radio school seem to stem in great part from the emphasis on voluntarism, the attitude that if the individual tries to change himself and his environment, he can do so. This activism is directed against the traditional fatalism of the campesino. But there also has to be support in the environment, that is, from many different agencies which provide resources with which the increased motivation can work. There also has to be accompanying structural changes. The campesino cannot do it all by himself no matter how hard he tries. To lead him to think he can is too frustrating. For example, many campesinos have learned to read and write, but they have nothing to read; they have learned a bit about agriculture, but they have not been able to put any of it into practice; something has been learned about health and homemaking, but as one woman said, "They have suggested that we make room divisions out of cloth when we don't even have cloth for clothes." The radio school

movement was fortunate, in its community development emphasis, that CARE and USAID provided funds for community projects.

If there is not greater support this is not, of course, the fault of the radio school movement or of the central office. They are providing a motivational base and a system of communication which is potentially of great benefit. It is to the credit of the directors of the radio schools that they have been generally aware of the limitations of what they are doing and see the necessity of long-range, fundamental structural changes in the country if anything substantial is going to be accomplished.

However, in the meantime, it seems that a great deal can be done by creatively designing ways to fill the gap between the motivational and promotional base and the agencies (Honduran and international) which are "in the business" of supplying materials, technical assistance and even direct financial assistance in certain areas.

The example of the rural housewives' clubs is a good illustration. The motivational program has stressed the improvement of the situation of the campesino woman in a very general way, but also in terms of specific homemaking and health problems. But this motivation does not begin to be effective in terms of real changes until the following conditions are present:

1) A specific organizational structure in the community, the housewives' club, which begins to provide a medium for collective discussion and action in terms of concrete projects;

2) A specific supervisory framework of campesino women promoting the neighborhood clubs, giving training courses to the women, helping the women solve concrete problems, and so forth;

3) A regional and national level supervision which selects and trains local supervisors, provides educational materials for the clubs such as booklets, and credit for projects;

4) A system of establishing linkages with the Honduran government's public health services and other agencies which have trained personnel and much greater material resources (limited though they may be) to provide to the housewives' clubs.

The housewives' clubs and other supervisory systems are in many ways educational brokers, providing an organizational and motivational base, and a communications system, making use of the resources that can be obtained from existing service agencies.

3. Develop a Source of Pride in the Campesino Identity

If the campesino is to be integrated into the national sociocultural system, he must do so as an equal with the urban, technical sectors. The educational emphasis should assist the campesino in redefining his personal identity away from one of inherent inferiority to one of being occupationally distinct but of equal or superior prestige in comparison with the urban, technical sector. This can be encouraged in the following ways.

a) Cultivate in the campesino an appreciation of his importance as a factor of economic development in the country.

b) Place emphasis on pride in the quality of the campesino's livestock and other agricultural products so that there is a sense of artisanry in all that the campesino does.

c) Assist the campesino in establishing his campesino traditions as the ideal and reference point for development, not the culture of the urban, technical sector.

d) Help the campesino to appreciate his traditional values and social structure in such a way that these can become the basis for integrating technology into the campesino way of life.

e) Emphasize the improvement of the quality of life of the campesino and the pleasantness of life in rural neighborhoods, so that the campesino existence is not one of deprivation and drudgery.

4. Prepare the Campesino In His Community to Establish Linkages With the Larger Society

Although the radio school movement has developed a remarkable system of communication linkages, this is not being fully utilized to relate rural communities to the larger society. The following steps are recommended:

a) Use the system of monthly meetings, paraprofessional personnel, the radio and other communication media to link communities to public sector services.

b) Develop in campesinos specific capacities for being aware of existing services and rural development agencies and for taking advantage of these.

c) Emphasize an attitude of demanding better services and a balanced criticism of the governmental process. Radio school participants have a very weak sense of the necessity of improving wealth distribution and greater opportunity among the popular classes through public sector intervention.

d) Emphasize much more the communication of information regarding the national political and governmental process through the regional radio stations of the cadena cultural.

II. DEVELOPING ORGANIZATIONAL CAPACITY

A. Potential of the Radio School Movement in Channeling the Growing Dissatisfaction of the Campesino Sector Into a Stable, Long-Term Organized Mobilization Effecting Major Changes in the Rural Opportunity Structure.

The second major tendency of social change in Honduras is the growing dissatisfaction of the popular classes as the victims of an increasingly rationalized economy which does not include them in the distribution of its benefits. One of the long-term goals of the radio school movement is to develop in the campesino the capacity for a long-term, stable organized action so that:

1) The small cultivator can compete with the large producer;

2) There will be an organizational structure to channel resources to the lower-status population; and

3) The campesino can represent his interests in a concerted fashion in the national decision-making process.

The radio school movement has already demonstrated considerable potential in developing organizational capacity both at the individual and the institutional level.

1. Potential for Developing Collective Decision-Making Capacity at the Local Community Level

The radio school movement has been able to develop a series of specific organizational skills at the community level:

a) It has strengthened the institution of the patronato so that there is a much more effective collective-decision-making structure in communities to which problems may be carried.

b) The integration of the community based on kinship, community identification and the network of loyal friends has been utilized as a basis for developing a stronger sense of common economic goals and a sense of common destiny.

c) By establishing a series of neighborhood organizations, there are now mechanisms for problem recognition and articulation of problems to community leaders.

d) There is more capacity for conflict resolution in decision making and capacity for decision making through a free, more representative election process.

e) The lower-status people of the community have been brought into the decision-making process so that these people are increasingly vocal and can represent their interests.

f) In so far as resources are available, the radio school communities have the capacity to complete more infrastructural projects (schools, roads, etc.) in a shorter period of time.

2. A Broad Ideology of Development and Basic Structural Change

As we noted above, campesinos tend to develop regressive, conservative ideologies (looking back to a golden past because they see the past as better and the forces of modernization as threatening). They also tend to be localistic and unable to identify over a longer period of time with a large regional movement. Many rural development agencies fail because they do not see that the services they offer are really the effect of a movement of social change in which the campesinos themselves take an active part.

The radio schools have been effective in stimulating a movement of social change with an ideology that grows out of the campesino's own perception of the situation.

a) The goals of this movement are not just an imitation of the urban, technical sector, but the improvement of the quality of life of the campesino.

b) The participants see themselves as carrying out the changes, not as members of a bureaucracy but as volunteers.

c) There is a great deal of mística connected with the movement which is able to stir basic value changes. Adhesion to the movement is through a kind of total conversion to a new way of life.

d) The ideology of the movement carries with it a good deal of faith that the activities involved will solve campesino problems.

e) The movement has a very profound and long-range ideology of social change drawing on the best ideological currents of Latin American (nationalism, the educational philosophy of Paulo Freire, a mild class consciousness implied in the marginalidad model of Latin American society, and so forth).

f) The ideology of the movement is gradualist. It sees the need for basic structural changes, but emphasizes that this will come about through the hundreds of small changes in values and social institutions, so that campesinos can not only obtain the reallocation of resources for greater power and productivity, but know how to use that power and productivity effectively once they obtain it.

B. Recommendations for Improving the Potential of the Radio School Movement as Means of Developing the Capacity of Campesinos for Long-Term, Permanent Organization.

1. Changing the Emphasis From Community Development to Cooperative Forms of Organization

Although the radio school movement has had some success in developing organizational capacity in local communities, there has been a great deal lacking in the ability of radio school participants to manage more complex organizations such as cooperatives. The patronato, which has been the principal focus of organization, is a rather haphazard decision-making institution and does not train the campesino for the more complex organizations he will have to manage to establish a permanent mobilization. Fundamentally, the problem seems to be that the leaders of the radio school movement have not given very serious attention to just what kind of permanent campesino organization they are trying to achieve. From the analysis of rural development and the potential of the radio school movement, the following recommendations are made:

a) The radio school movement should switch its emphasis in developing organizational capacity from the community development council (the patronato), to developing capacity to participate in and manage a complex of multiple-purpose cooperatives: marketing, consumer, credit, and, where possible, production cooperatives. This would emphasize economically beneficial types of organizations.

b) The patronato, or local community development council, should be developed into a permanently functioning local community government, but as an extension of the municipal government.

c) The radio school movement and related training programs should switch from emphasis on broad motivational attitudes and participatory skills (animación and concientización) to teaching specific skills of participating in and managing cooperative organizations. These skills would include such things as parliamentary procedure, systematic information gathering, handling the finances and accounting of organizations, skills in organizing meetings, and so forth.

d) Although the participatory leadership should be stressed, much more should be done to improve the communication between leaders and their constituents in order to avoid misunderstanding and conflict.

e) The adult education program of ACPH, once it has shifted its emphasis to the central concerns of the campesino (agriculture and homemaking), should envisage itself as working within the organizational structure of a system of multiple-purpose cooperatives.

f) The cooperative structure should be envisaged as the permanent, long-term, organizational form which will maintain the mobilization and support of the campesino while attaining long-range structural change. The cooperative structure will hold interest by meeting immediate economic ends while the more difficult and much slower process of basic structural changes are taking place.

g) In connection with this emphasis on cooperatives, it is recommended that there be much more emphasis on aggressive campesino action for income distribution and against paternalistic dependency. The radio school participants are weakest in these value dimensions.

2. Contributing to the Development of Local Government

The municipio is perhaps the oldest institution of rural development in Honduras and it is certainly the most thoroughly institutionalized in the rural areas. In spite of the fact that municipal government has been coopted as a tool of partisan politics, it is potentially a very important instrument of rural development, especially if local community councils with their subcommittees of education, health, roads and cemeteries, and so forth are made a part of them. The radio school movement can contribute to the revitalization of local government in the following ways:

a) Although the training in specific organizational skills described above would be directed primarily at the cooperative form of organization, it could be applied both to the local community council as a permanent form of government and to the local municipal government.

b) In the radio school instructional courses and in the courses at the regional centers, an attempt should be made to develop much higher expectations of services in the areas of health and education at the municipal level.

c) The rural lower-status population should be encouraged to demand non-partisan behavior of officers filling municipal offices and much more just treatment in the courts.

d) Where it is possible, instructions in the structure and functioning of municipal government should be included in the radio school classes, and special courses might be given to campesinos holding municipal offices.

e) The radio school movement should attempt to work toward a type of municipal government which assumes responsibility for non-partisan assistance in infrastructural projects and for the development of a system of cooperatives. This would relieve radio school coordinators from this kind of work.

III. DEVELOPING ALLIANCES WITH SYMPATHETIC ELEMENTS OF THE URBAN, TECHNICAL SECTOR

A. The Potential of the Radio School Movement for Obtaining Support and Assistance From the Technically Prepared Agencies and Individuals.

The third and fourth major factors of social change in Honduran society, mentioned in Chapter I, were: 3) differentiation within the urban, technical sector, the breakdown of the old solid front, and the alliances of elements of the urban, technical sector with the popular classes; 4) the growing nationalism causing the elites to turn in upon the interior and their own indigenous racial and cultural roots.

As was noted in Chapter I, it is almost impossible for the campesino to achieve a status of real self-determination without some assistance from the urban, technical sector. The radio school movement has been successful in building an alliance with the Church in which the Church has made an almost unconditional commitment of support. An alliance has also been made with some business, professional and university students through its contacts with the Christian social movement. On the basis of these alliances the radio school movement has been able to attract individuals with a strong sense of personal dedication to the campesino into work with the movement. Two aspects of this are especially noteworthy: 1) the unusual service orientations of the bureaucracies which are working with the radio school movement; and 2) the regional team concept.

1. A Rural Development Bureaucracy With A Strong Service Orientation

One of the major obstacles to rural development is the fact that agencies which are established to deliver services to campesinos in more isolated areas do not function well. Although there are many unusually dedicated individuals, many are involved in government agencies only for the salary and the advancement. Others become discouraged because they find the salaries low, politics enter into the decisions, equipment is bad, transportation into rural areas is a problem, campesinos do not respond, and the kind of technology they are trying to communicate is not well-adapted to the campesino level. In the face of this, an organizational culture of hopelessness and discontent thrives.

The general supervisory staff of the radio schools has an organizational culture of unusually dedicated and self-sacrificing service to the lower-status population.

a) Most of the personnel has a background in the Christian social movement in Honduras and is therefore working, in part, with idealistic motivation. Nearly all accept lower salaries than they might get in public agencies.

b) On the basis of the educational philosophy of Paulo Freire, they have adopted an attitude of great respect for the freedom and creativity of the campesino, taking a non-directive, non-authoritarian approach.

c) Campesinos are increasingly becoming a part of the staff of the radio schools of ACPH.

2. The Regional Team Concept

In Honduras, a great deal of flexibility in planning and evaluating is necessary at the regional level because of the diversity of the conditions in each region and transportation and communication problems. The radio school movement has a great advantage in its regional team concept: the team of supervisors and professors working in the leadership training center and the regional radio station.

a) The regional team has direct contact with the community leaders and therefore knows directly the peculiar problems which they are facing; they can therefore plan and then evaluate performance from intimate, day-to-day knowledge.

b) Each regional team is able to work out collaboration with public sector agencies in its areas according to the special needs of the region and unique opportunities that an agency might provide in a given region.

B. Recommendations for Improving the Service Orientations of the Rural Development Bureaucracies Directly Involved with the Radio School Movement and for Building Further Alliances with Elements of the Urban, Technical Sector.

1. Avoid Bureaucratization

One of the greatest dangers for the rural develop-

ment agencies such as the central office of the radio schools, and the supervision of the housewives' clubs, is that, as they grow and become more immersed in the administrative aspects of their work, they become bureaucratically oriented. When this happens, there is greater stress on salaries and advancement than in proper delivery of services. The following recommendations are made:

a) It should be realized that the success of the activities of the radio school movement depends more on the campesino leadership and participation than on the central office; campesino control of the movement and of the policies of the central office should be increased.

b) As much as possible, decentralize the supervisory staff so that they live in the regions and are part of the regional teams.

c) Upgrade the training of the paraprofessional personnel so that they are effective bridges between the campesino and urban, technical sectors and so that they have much more personal self-confidence.

d) Bring more persons of campesino background into higher levels of the organization, understanding that they have the capacity and training necessary.

e) The supervisory staff should look upon themselves as resource linkages, not just as sources of motivation.

f) Although the importance of the regional team has been established, many of these teams are very weak. The selection of personnel for the regional centers is very haphazard and there is almost no training for them.

g) An effort should be made to link the development efforts of the radio school movement with agencies of development in the public sector.

2. Maintaining a Sense of Social Movement in the Adult Education Program of ACPH.

The institution of adult education which goes under the name of radio schools directed by the central office in Tegucigalpa and is under the aegis of Acción Cultural Popular Hondureña is a campesino movement which, in a

sense, is "owned and operated" by the campesinos themselves. The central office in Tegucigalpa is an integral part of the movement, providing the essential services of administration and supervision, financing, training of personnel, and preparation of materials. The board of directors of ACPH is also most important as the intermediary representing the radio school movement to the general public, the Honduran government and international agencies. But the "educational process" is carried on by campesinos who have made a personal decision to "join" the movement and thereby adopt new values and attitudes. A movement, we noted in the Introduction, is an organized attempt to intervene in the social change process. This organization exists in the fraternity of rural leaders who have their own reasons for getting involved, their own communication system, and their own system of values and norms. It is the campesinos who are "intervening in the social change process."

Most certainly we miss the point if we look on the radio schools as a development bureaucracy providing services to isolated individuals. The essential organization in this case is not in the bureaucracy, but among the campesinos themselves. The members demand that the directors and staff be "leaders" not just functionaries and that they have a personal commitment to the movement, too. The directors cannot just offer a service, but have to identify with the movement and its values. Should the radio school movement be transformed into another development bureaucracy, it would soon be dead. It functions best as a voluntary association which one joins and which involves personal value commitments. For this reason, the educational program under the aegis of ACPH can operate best if it remains a voluntary association, not an official government bureaucracy.

The central staff does seem to have adopted the attitude that they are part of the movement and that they are subordinate to the wishes of the campesino leadership. This attitude has been influenced by the adoption of the methodology of Paulo Freire which suggests as essential in the teaching process a more symmetrical relationship between the teacher and the student, the teacher not talking down to the student but working with him in the learning process. This attitude is also evidenced in the willingness of the central staff to organize their personal schedules around the activities of the radio schools and the radio school movement, often sacrificing weekends and holidays. It is extremely important that this sense of being part of a campesino movement, and

the realization that the campesino leaders are the center of attention, be fostered so that a gradual bureaucratization and urban bias do not grow. As long as there is identification with the campesino and his problems and a subordination to the aspirations of the campesino, there is more likely to be an attitude of service and creative response to the problems of the campesino.

For this reason it might be worthwhile to have more campesino representation in ACPH--in the general assembly and even the board of directors. The association of coordinators is a step in this direction and might be used for this purpose. In spite of its emphasis on participatory decision making, there are aspects of the structure of the radio schools which are not very participatory. The coordinators tend to make the decisions regarding the radio schools in the communities, not the communities themselves. The supervisor deals hierarchically with coordinators, although the coordinators' association is giving them a greater voice.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The overall impression one has of the radio schools and the radio school movement, after some two years of acquaintance with it, is its remarkable vitality. Over the last ten years, in spite of the severe financial and administrative difficulties--compounded with all the difficulties of doing anything in a situation of underdevelopment--the movement has managed to creatively overcome the obstacles to growth.

It has a most interesting philosophy and methodology of social change. It has a strong popular base in the dedicated campesino leadership, yet has resources of a great deal of equally dedicated development expertise in its urban, technical allies. It has finally managed to establish itself on a national basis with relatively solid administrative and planning support in the regional teams. It is decentralized enough so that when the central office is weak in some aspect the regions carry on, and when the regions are weak the central office manages to revitalize them. As an autonomous institution and free enough of the shifting sands of politics and independent enough of the existing power structure, it can respond to the real needs of the popular classes. Unlike many such promotional systems in Latin America (Guatemala, for example) it is not split into competing regional segments, but is a national, integrated network. It has a specific balanced methodology, yet a variety of programs (literacy, community development, agricultural education, and is associated with

the housewives' clubs). It is aware of the necessity of long-range, fundamental structural changes, but has a gradualist approach so that it does not absorb its energies in conflict over issues that the culture (with its rigidities) is not ready for.

It would seem that the adult education program of ACPH, working with the radio school movement, is a rural development institution with some potential in Honduras.

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