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A Retrospective of A.I.D.'s
Experience in Strengthening
Democratic Institutions in
Latin America

1961 - 1981

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

BACKGROUND

Promoting democracy and respect for human rights is an important objective of U.S. foreign policy and a stated priority of A.I.D.'s program in the Latin American and Caribbean (LAC) region, particularly in Central America. The promotion of democracy is not a new concept for A.I.D., however. Over the past two decades, various assistance strategies have been used to foster political development and build democratic institutions.

In an effort to capitalize on the strengths of previous programs and to benefit from past experiences, A.I.D. contracted with Creative Associates International, Inc. to conduct a retrospective of the Agency's experience in building democratic institutions. This study is intended to be a tool for the LAC Bureau in reviewing and refining its democratic development strategies.

Specifically the retrospective intends to fulfill the following objectives:

- review A.I.D. experiences in building democratic institutions in Latin America from 1961 to 1981, emphasizing Title IX programs during the period 1966-1976 and focusing on four topic areas--legislative training; public administration development, particularly at the municipal level; civic education; and leadership training; and
- identify lessons learned from the previous programs examined.

Findings from this research will be used to test assumptions underlying present strategies and will help determine what types of future assistance programs are likely to be the most effective and appropriate for A.I.D. support.

APPROACH

A variety of sources was used in conducting the research, including project evaluations, A.I.D. documents, interviews with individuals who were directly involved in planning and implementing the programs or who were recipients of the assistance, and documentation from completed or ongoing programs. Interviews were conducted, in person or by telephone, throughout the United States, and in Costa Rica and Guatemala. The preliminary findings were reviewed by nationally recognized experts in the technical fields under review. Final revisions were made based on comments received from this review and from the Project Manager.

REPORT HIGHLIGHTS

The opening chapter provides an overview of Title IX of the Foreign Assistance Act. Chapters II, III, IV, and V focus on A.I.D.'s efforts in the four key areas: legislative capacity, local government, civic education, and

leadership training. In these chapters, background information is followed by one or more profiles of projects in the particular area. The final chapter, Chapter VI, specifies lessons learned from A.I.D.'s experience in strengthening democratic institutions.

Overview

Title IX of the Foreign Assistance Act was passed in 1966 as a result of pressure from Congress to increase popular participation in developing countries. Title IX states that "...emphasis shall be placed on assuring maximum participation in the task of economic development on the part of developing countries, through the encouragement of democratic private and local governmental institutions." This concept was to be integrated into A.I.D.'s existing programs as a guide for strengthening democratic institutions such as trade unions, cooperatives, professional associations, and volunteer associations at the local level. Title IX emphasized popular participation, democratic institution building, and a multidisciplinary approach to development. Immediately after its passage, Title IX was generally interpreted to mean that A.I.D. was to become more involved with political development activities.

From its inception, Title IX objectives faced difficulty in being incorporated into A.I.D. projects. A.I.D. staff, primarily economists, were neither trained nor experienced in political development. A.I.D. also raised questions concerning how to integrate Title IX into existing programs, how to determine which political development activities were appropriate for A.I.D., how to evaluate Title IX activities, and how to build the expertise to effectively carry out the directive. In addition, staff were not comfortable with this new area of responsibility as political affairs were traditionally handled by the Department of State.

In the 1970s, Title IX was overshadowed by the Foreign Assistance Act of 1973, commonly referred to as the New Directions mandate, which called for shifting resources to meet the basic human needs of the poor majority. Legislation that followed raised the issue of human rights; the Harken Amendment in 1974 stated that security assistance and economic aid would be based on a country's adherence to human rights. In 1978 Section 116(e) promoted and encouraged more respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, calling for adherence to civil and political rights.

Legislative Capacity

Under Title IX, strengthening legislative capacity became a new area of technical assistance for A.I.D. As there was a lack of policy guidelines and strategies for this new initiative, a rigorous program of research was undertaken by the American Society of Public Administration and U.S. universities. Through A.I.D. support, the universities did succeed in developing an institutional capacity to continue research, training, and publishing within their universities and relevant professional associations. Valuable information concerning legislative development was brought to light as a result of the research grants.

A.I.D.'s legislative development projects in Costa Rica and Brazil were reviewed in this report to illustrate the technical assistance efforts that

resulted from the capacity created in institutions such as the State University of New York at Albany. According to the results of the field work conducted in Costa Rica, interviewees felt that legislative capacity building was an appropriate area for A.I.D. assistance. Nevertheless, this area remains a sensitive one and A.I.D. should carefully consider the unique conditions within each country that would adversely or positively effect the outcome of a project in legislative development before embarking on legislative development programs.

Strengthening Local Government

Municipal development assistance was another sensitive activity for A.I.D. to undertake since the development of local governments is so closely related to political power, power sharing, decentralization, and/or devolution of authority. A.I.D.'s approach to strengthening governments was primarily through assistance to centralized municipal development institutions, which were lending institutions that provided loans to local governments to finance infrastructure projects.

A.I.D.'s municipal development assistance was effective in creating efficient lending agencies, which in turn enabled local communities to improve the delivery of basic services to the populace. Little progress was made, however, towards increasing the capabilities and decision-making power of the municipalities. Provisions were not made during the planning, implementation, or evaluation stages of the projects to ensure that political goals would be realized; A.I.D. assumed that greater municipal autonomy was implicit in the projects and would be a natural outcome. Two municipal development efforts--one in Guatemala and a second in Costa Rica--underscore A.I.D.'s technocratic, centralized approach to municipal development projects, and illustrate that capacity-building strategies for local development were not adequately incorporated into the project designs.

Civic Education

Support for civic education was mandated in the Culver Amendment to Title IX of the Foreign Assistance Act. Broadly defined, civic education includes adult literacy training, activism in cooperatives or trade unions, youth groups, and leadership training. Although some projects did provide the beneficiaries with content information on civics, the majority of A.I.D. civic education projects aimed to increase the involvement of citizens in their local communities.

Strengthening local volunteer associations is one successful approach that A.I.D. has taken in promoting civic education in Latin America. Through A.I.D. grants, U.S. organizations such as the Overseas Education Fund and the National Association of the Partners of the Americas provided volunteer organizations with technical assistance that enabled them to expand their membership base to include a range of socio-economic classes, thereby increasing popular participation.

The Partners of the Americas partnership with Guatemala demonstrates how local organizations can foster democratic practices. The structure and organization of the partnership supports participatory processes for decision

making. Officers and board members are elected, and by-laws kept current and voted on by the membership. The wide reach of the Guatemala partnership to various sectors, regions, and socio-economic levels of Guatemalan society has spread the democratic, participatory model of this organization to a wide audience.

Leadership Training

A.I.D. considered leadership training an essential element of democracy building. One of the training goals was to develop a cadre of leaders dedicated to popular participation ideals.

By and large, A.I.D. leadership training programs, such as the Loyola Leadership Training Program, were effective in giving leaders skills in democratic processes. Careful selection of participant groups and the inclusion of a "critical mass" of people from a particular organization or community seemed to improve the effectiveness of the leadership training.

When providing leadership training, however, A.I.D. should carefully assess the political climate of the host country. The tragic assassinations of Guatemalan program graduates provide evidence that participants' safety and wellbeing and inevitably, program success, can be jeopardized by a seemingly close association with the U.S.

Lessons Learned

The report concludes with eighteen lessons learned from A.I.D.'s experience in strengthening democratic institutions.

General

- Programs aimed to strengthen democratic institution building need to be flexible to accommodate the changing political, social, and economic context in which they function.
- New tools and methodologies are needed to effectively plan and evaluate programs designed to strengthen democratic institutions.
- Programs intended to strengthening democratic institutions have higher chances of success when the program objectives are clearly stated and understood.
- The country's capability to absorb and integrate assistance is an important factor to consider when planning and implementing programs to strengthen democratic institutions.
- The degree of success is higher in democratic institution-building projects when projects are initiated and supported by local institutions.

Legislative Capacity

- Legislative development programs resulting from the initiative and demand of the recipient country are more likely to succeed.
- Legislative development projects that have the commitment of key political actors are more likely to succeed.
- Legislative development projects supported by more than one donor government or by several international sources are more likely to succeed.

Local Government

- Increasing the efficiency of centralized municipal development institutions does not automatically promote popular participation at the local level or result in strengthened local governments.
- Centralized municipal development institutions can increase the dependence of local governments and reduce opportunities to strengthen the decision-making power of municipalities.
- Training that enhances the capacity of local governments to participate in all stages of municipal development projects from assessment and design to implementation can potentially enable local governments to operate in a more autonomous manner.

Civic Education

- Local volunteer associations are an appropriate vehicle for A.I.D. support in civic education because they provide a sound model for a democratic institution.
- Democratic principles can be best learned when participants can directly and actively practice the mechanics of democracy.
- Local volunteer organizations provide a forum for creating greater understanding among socio-economic groups.

Leadership Training

- Leadership training programs have a positive effect on the professional and personal growth of their participants. In general, these programs improve participants' understanding of their potential for promoting development and they provide participants with tools for managing development efforts.

- A careful selection of participants based on clear criteria is a critical aspect of leadership training success.
- A.I.D. must recognize the potential risk to individuals participating in leadership training programs. The political climate in the host country needs to be monitored carefully to determine the level of risk participants may face if they are perceived to be directly affiliated with the U.S.
- Appropriate follow-up support is needed to sustain and increase the effectiveness of leadership training.

INTRODUCTION

This report reviews the Agency for International Development's (A.I.D.'s) experience in promoting and building democratic institutions and practices in Latin America. Commissioned by the Office of Administration of Justice and Democracy Development of the Latin America and Caribbean (LAC) Bureau, the study is intended to review A.I.D.'s past experience and identify lessons learned. These findings will assist A.I.D. in determining programs that are likely to be the most effective in strengthening democracy in Latin America.

In response to Title IX of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 and other Congressional legislation, A.I.D. has, over the past 25 years, implemented projects to increase the political and economic participation of people in Latin America. This report reviews the experiences and lessons learned from A.I.D.'s programming in these areas.

A broad spectrum of activities reflected Title IX goals. Among these efforts were cooperative and trade union development, legislative training, local government development, civic education, and leadership training. In order to respond to A.I.D.'s current interests and priorities, the retrospective will focus on four key subject areas during the period 1961-1981:

- strengthening legislative capacity;
- strengthening local government;
- civic education; and
- leadership training.

STRUCTURE OF THE REPORT

The report is divided into six chapters. The first chapter traces the foreign assistance legislation that established guidelines for A.I.D. to follow in encouraging the growth of democratic practices in Less Developed Countries (LDCs). Chapters II through V cover specific areas of A.I.D. assistance: legislative capacity, local government, civic education and leadership training. Each chapter follows basically the same format, with minor adaptations due to the differences among topics: background information; an overview of selected projects; and a profile of one or more projects to provide more detailed information on some of the issues discussed in the background section.

The final chapter synthesizes the findings of the paper in order to present lessons learned from past experience in A.I.D.'s assistance to build and promote democratic institutions.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Data were collected through a review of project documentation and related literature, interviews, and field work in Central America. Over twenty-five projects were selected for program review after an extensive search of A.I.D.'s

project database (MINISIS). Selection was based on an understanding reached with the Project Manager that the A.I.D. projects should relate to Title IX legislation, fall within the time frame established for this study (1961-1981), be within the LAC region, and qualify as one of the four subject areas selected for this review (legislative capacity, local government, civic education, and leadership training).

Project documentation included project papers, project appraisal reports (PARs), and program evaluation summaries (PESs). Final reports or evaluations conducted by A.I.D. contractors were also consulted. In addition, to reconstruct the historical overview, information was drawn from proceedings of A.I.D.-sponsored conferences, internal memos and airgrams, and other A.I.D. research papers. The research team conducted over forty-five interviews with present and former staff members from A.I.D. and other institutions who were involved in the administration and/or implementation of Title IX or were beneficiaries of Title IX projects. Two team members conducted twenty-nine interviews in Costa Rica and Guatemala.

LIMITATIONS

A retrospective study, conducted over a three-month period, that focuses on numerous projects implemented during a twenty-year period, has inherent limitations. The amount of documentation available varied from project to project. Some cases provided rich data, whereas others yielded only "spotty" information. It was difficult, and at times impossible, to locate individuals who had been involved in projects implemented during the 1960s and 1970s. Our interview sample was based on a selection of those who were available. Furthermore, the time lag between this review and the projects limited the interviewees' memory for events or details. Nonetheless, the interviews were critical in providing an interpretation and ordering of events that was not always obvious from the literature. In addition, field research was originally to be done in five countries. Field trips, however, were only possible in Guatemala and Costa Rica due to the political conditions and sensitivity to the topics in the remaining countries of El Salvador, Panama, and Honduras. The reduction in country visits limited the amount of information the research team could gather.

The research team has worked very closely with the Project Manager throughout the project to shape this study within the time constraints. In addition, the team sought and received the comments of four experts on the draft report. Many of their suggestions have been implemented. The result of these efforts is a study that is mainly descriptive and documentary in nature. It is not intended to address or resolve theoretical issues surrounding the field of democratic and political development today, particularly the issues of appropriate definitions of democracy, typologies or models of democratic development. The researchers would like to acknowledge that these issues do exist and that they may affect the direction the Agency selects for defining future programs.

Bearing these constraints in mind, this report attempts to do what has never been done: to provide a twenty-year overview of the Agency's involvement in strengthening democratic institutions in Latin America, with a view toward using the lessons of the past to plan for the future.

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I. STRENGTHENING DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS IN LATIN AMERICA--AN OVERVIEW

This chapter provides an overview of A.I.D.'s efforts to strengthen democratic institutions from 1960 to 1981. It describes major periods of legislative activity related to Title IX, and A.I.D.'s response to the legislation.

A. WHAT IS TITLE IX?

Enacted in 1966 and amended in 1967, Title IX of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 was one of Congress' key efforts to build democracy by strengthening democratic institutions in developing countries. The Title IX intent to ensure that the broad masses of the people both participated in and benefitted from the development process made an impact on U.S. development efforts for several years and left influences after other legislation had been passed.

Many of the concepts included in Title IX were not new to U.S. foreign policy (A summary of A.I.D.'s democracy building activities is provided in Figure 1). Improving and strengthening democratic institutions through self-determination by the people was one of the goals of the Alliance for Progress, the United States' first comprehensive Latin American foreign assistance program. Amendments to the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 encouraged the development and use of cooperatives, credit unions, and savings and loan associations and promoted popular participation at the local level in countries with agrarian economies.

Title IX of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 directed A.I.D. to provide new opportunities for people in less developed countries. The final version, which was included in 1967 as Section 281 of the 1961 legislation, provides:

SECTION 281.

- (a) In carrying out programs authorized in this chapter, emphasis shall be placed on assuring maximum participation in the task of economic development on the part of the people of developing countries, through the encouragement of democratic private and local governmental institutions.
- (b) In order to carry out the purposes of this title, programs under this chapter shall--
 - (1) recognize the differing needs, desires, and capacities of the people of the respective developing countries and areas;
 - (2) use the intellectual resources of such countries and areas in conjunction with assistance provided under this Act so as to encourage the development of indigenous institutions that meet their particular requirements for sustained economic and social progress; and

Figure 1

Strengthening Democratic Institutions--A Summary

<u>Year</u>	<u>Legislation/Initiatives</u>	<u>Key Concepts</u>
1961	Title VI of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 (the Alliance for Progress)	Social and economic development with democratic institution building as one of its goals
1961	Amendment on Cooperatives of 1961 (Humphrey Amendment)	Development and use of cooperatives, credit unions, and savings and loan institutions to increase popular participation
1962	Amendment on Community Development of 1962 (Zablocki Amendment)	Development of popular participation at the local government level in countries with agrarian economies
1967	Title IX of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961	<p>Maximum participation from the masses of people in private and government institutions</p> <p>Political and economic approaches to development</p> <p>Consideration of needs and desires of individual countries</p> <p>Training of country's people to develop leaders, strengthen democratic institutions, and encourage participation in democratic processes</p>
1973	Foreign Assistance Act of 1973 ("New Directions" mandate)	New direction to help the poor majority, primarily the rural poor, by supporting equal distribution of wealth and more more active participation in their countries' development
1974	Harken Amendment of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1973	Security assistance and economic aid based on country's adherence to human rights
1978	Section 116(e) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1973	Human rights and fundamental freedoms in all countries, and adherence to civil and political rights

- (3) support civic education and training in skills required for effective participation in governmental and political processes essential to self-government.

Included in these paragraphs are several important concepts.

- A Stronger Emphasis on Popular Participation

Despite passage of the Humphrey and Zablocki Amendments, which encouraged popular participation in voluntary organizations and in rural economies, in 1966 the Congress felt that popular participation was proceeding too slowly. Legislators felt that failure to involve all of the available human resources not only hindered economic growth but did little to overcome the basic causes of social and political instability.

Title IX stipulated that A.I.D. work towards "maximum participation" on the part of the people of the developing countries--people for whom the projects were intended to benefit. This participation from the mass of the people in developing countries was intended to enhance the achievement of social and economic progress.

- Encouragement and Support of Viable Democratic Institutions

Title IX emphasized maximum participation through the encouragement of "democratic private and local governmental institutions." This emphasis on local developmental institutions did not exclude national institutions but rather expressed an attempt to provide support to government institutions closer to the people and more responsive to their needs. Private institutions included such organizations as trade unions, corporations, non-profit organizations, and private universities. Local governmental institutions referred to municipal governments, or governments for the towns and surrounding rural areas that made up districts, cantons, or municipalities. Development assistance to municipal governments was focused on improving their capacity to providing basic services to the local residents and to allow decision making by the people. Honest, efficient administration was considered key.

The creation of viable, democratic institutions would do several things: provide the residents of the aid-receiving country an opportunity to participate in democratic types of institutions; build an institutional capacity to sustain programs and concepts long after a particular A.I.D. funding effort had been completed; and increase the power of local institutions and municipal governments while reducing A.I.D. support of centralized governments that

were sometimes characterized by top heavy and unstable political systems.

- An Interdisciplinary Approach to Development

Title IX represents a corrective to the view that economic development alone is the surest route to progress and peace. Rather, "development" is a complex concept involving economic, political, social, and institutional development.

Donald M. Frazer of Minnesota and F. Bradford Morse of Massachusetts, the co-authors of Title IX, included political as well as economic development in the improvement and strengthening of democratic institutions because they felt that economic assistance was having only a marginal impact upon the conduct of other nations. Title IX was to address their concern that equal attention needed to be given to the development of human resources, including political development. (A.I.D., 1970).

Title IX was not intended to give equal weight to economic, political, and institutional development. The intent was to give the non-economic factors more emphasis relative to the economic aspects of development that had received priority consideration (Coe, 1970, p. 35). Popular participation, human resource development, and institutional development were seen as the avenues for refocusing foreign assistance efforts toward more political arenas.

- Training for People in Developing Countries

Unlike the approach implemented from 1955 to 1965 when U.S. technicians provided the technical expertise to developing countries, Title IX specified that programs "use the intellectual resources of such countries and areas in conjunction with assistance provided under this Act to encourage the development of indigenous institutions." Achieving this goal required dedicated and trained leaders. Since approximately 40% of the population was less than 15 years of age, the leadership training was directed primarily at youth. Teaching leadership and democracy at an early age would likely produce future leaders who would expand and maintain a democratic system in a region.

- Civic Education

Civic education was seen as a vital component because economic and social progress by themselves do not guarantee that people will live together peacefully, humanely, and democratically. Civic education was encouraged as a major

means of helping to foster the values, knowledge, and skills needed to prepare people to live together more harmoniously and address the problems experienced daily.

Civic education was to include the following elements:

- values about democratic rights and obligations;
- knowledge of one's own nation and other nations and their civic systems and problems; and
- civic skills to prepare people to participate effectively in civic life.

● Community Development Tailored to Each Country's Needs

Title IX stipulated that programs should recognize the differing needs, desires, and capacities of each developing country and area. "All activities should be conceived and pursued on a country-by-country basis, in open cooperation with host governments." No one type of activity or any specific instrument of foreign aid should necessarily be emphasized. In a given country, Title IX might involve inaugurating no new activities at all and expanding on traditional activities, initiating new activities, or helping to bring change where obstacles to development might exist.

Together these six elements--popular participation; support of democratic institutions, an interdisciplinary approach to development that emphasized political development as well as economic development; leadership training; civic education; and development based on each country's individual needs--represented a concept, a philosophy for strengthening democratic institutions in developing countries. It was not a program in and of itself, and money for Title IX projects was not available through any particular set of funds. Rather, this concept was to be integrated in all A.I.D. projects.

In summary, as stated in an A.I.D. Briefing Outline, there was "nothing particularly new" in the substance of Title IX of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1966. In the final analysis, Title IX was the next logical step in a sequence of legislation over a period of two decades (A.I.D., 1968b, pp. 129-30). Title IX was based on the concept of popular participation and institution building introduced in earlier legislation. Title IX, however, expanded those concepts to bring about increased participation by the masses of people in a developing country; the building of public institutions at all levels--local, state, and national--in all countries (not just in local governments in agrarian economies); A.I.D. efforts tailored to the needs and desires of a particular country; and training and education for the people to implant democratic ideas among the masses and prepare them to promote democracy within their own governing system. Developers of the legislation more clearly linked popular participation with political development.

B. A.I.D.'S RESPONSE TO THE ENACTMENT OF TITLE IX

With the passage of Title IX, A.I.D. was encouraged to establish a Title IX Division to coordinate and evaluate the Agency's activities and explore new program possibilities. The Division was directed to coordinate the agency's Title IX program through an intra-agency committee; select five or six countries where the integration of Title IX would be appropriate; and explore the possibility of applying agency experience in prior and present activities elsewhere. The Division also developed policy, provided training and technical assistance, and raised key questions and issues about Title IX's implementation.

1. Policy Development

One of the key roles of the Title IX Division was to develop and/or clarify A.I.D. policy on Title IX and provide implementation guidelines. In November of 1966, AIDTO Circular XA-1063 (A.I.D., 1968b), the first official policy statement, was issued. This circular documented A.I.D.'s increased concern for improving the governmental and political framework within which economic and social development takes place and the need to give more attention to the non-economic factors of development, e.g., democratic institution building and popular participation. In this circular, A.I.D. stated that "development is not so much a series of independent activities labeled economic, social, and political but a whole cloth, requiring an overall approach" (p. 83).

In addition, the circular did the following:

- specified four areas--administrative competence, national integration, legal institutions, and the development of democratic institutions--as areas where the governmental and political frameworks of less developed countries could be strengthened;
- directed A.I.D. attention to three related needs: more systematic identification of governmental and political weaknesses that impede economic and social progress; more evaluation of how assistance programs contribute to the four emphasis areas mentioned above; and the need for more imaginative ways to strengthen public and private institutions and increase popular participation for long-run development;
- stressed the importance of working constructively with the government and people of host countries for the solution of developmental problems. Implementors were not to interfere "improperly" with host country governmental and political processes or to attempt to manipulate local political activity; and
- stressed the intent to affect long-range institution building and training efforts rather than short-term political crises.

in a 1967 Advisory Committee on Economic Development (ACED) Issues Paper (A.I.D. 1968b, p. 92), A.I.D. officers Richard Hough and John Schott reported four basic propositions as a result of their interpretation of Title IX:

- that the implementation of Title IX does not necessarily require the commitment of additional funds to certain types of new or ongoing activities but rather a change of approach to include political development as a vital concern;
- that this change in approach entails an expanded and more operationally-significant emphasis upon activities and programs of an economic and socio-political character;
- that more consideration be given to the selective encouragement and promotion in aid-recipient countries of those institutional reforms in their government and political framework; and
- that to evaluate A.I.D. success in achieving the more broad gauged developmental objectives, they would need a different set of criteria than the economic ones previously used.

In a 1967 report to the Congress, A.I.D. confirmed its understanding of Title IX as a focus on institution-building characteristics, with its primary purpose being to involve an increasing number of people in the development process (A.I.D., 1968b, p. 111). The report presented a policy framework that reflected three general themes:

- a pragmatic approach, based on popular participation, which would respond to the differing needs and capacities of aid-recipient countries with a wide variety of activities and programs;
- a cooperative effort between A.I.D. and host countries to identify the most appropriate means to solve individual country development problems; and
- a multi-faceted process, involving interconnected social, economic, and political factors.

In addition, to assist A.I.D. staff in understanding and implementing Title IX, A.I.D. developed and published Increasing Participation in Development: Primer on Title IX of the United States Foreign Assistance Act. This document included excerpts from legislation, statements, and papers to explain the development of Title IX, the intent of Title IX, and the A.I.D. response to the mandate.

These documents, along with periodic airgrams, defined A.I.D. Title IX policy. They reconfirmed the directives in the legislation and emphasized political development; the differing needs, desires, and capacities of individual countries and their citizens; a more integrated approach to development; and evaluation using more qualitative criteria.

2. Training and Technical Assistance

A.I.D. also responded to Title IX with the following training programs for A.I.D. and host country personnel:

- Regional Seminars--Week-long seminars were offered in 1969 and 1970 to provide an opportunity for selected senior officials in A.I.D. and other U.S. Foreign Affairs agencies to analyze and discuss the meaning, importance, and implications of Title IX and to learn ways of increasing and implementing popular participation in specific foreign assistance program areas.
- Long-term Training--In 1968, A.I.D. sponsored a nine-month, specialized training program to orient staff to Title IX. The training included courses on political and economic development as well as practical instruction on how to relate this learning to the implementation of Title IX.
- Seminars for Mid-Career Officers--Discussion of the concept of Title IX was included in the Agency's four-week seminars for mid-career officers held during fiscal years 1970 and 1971.
- Project American Development Training--This training provided A.I.D. staff with the opportunity to study and analyze development programs, with particular attention to popular involvement in social, political, and economic development.

In addition to these formal training efforts, A.I.D. officers made trips to A.I.D. Missions and held countless discussions and meetings to explain Title IX and encourage participation.

3. Issues Related to Title IX

Despite the policy development, research, and training, Title IX implementation proceeded rather slowly. As stated by A.I.D., their initial response to Title IX was "balanced, deliberate, and rather low-key." (Coe, 1970, p. 38). As early as 1967, cautions were being raised. The final paragraph of a 1967 Briefing Outline, for example, states:

"To date, Title I, as an instrument of foreign-policy, remains more conceptual than concrete. Its very breadth and complex nature, not even to mention the existing limitations on A.I.D. funds, make it a difficult creature to harness and put to work. Only time and sustained effort will tell whether A.I.D. possesses the talent, ingenuity, and patience to implement Title IX and all of its implications--as distinguished from the piecemeal approach of decades gone by (A.I.D., 1968b, p. 130)."

In the previously mentioned 1967 ACED issues paper, (A.I.D., 1968b, pp. 92-94), A.I.D. identified six questions that needed to be addressed:

- How do we integrate Title IX as an important element or dimension of our country programming strategies while preventing it from becoming a vehicle of particular project fields of the Agency which, by themselves, inadequately comply with the instructions of Title IX?
- How do we best inaugurate an action program under Title IX? Should A.I.D. begin by focusing on four or five selected countries or by reacting to as many opportunities as financially possible in as many different countries as possible?
- How do we distinguish between activities in the field of political development which A.I.D. can directly undertake, and those which might best be undertaken by nongovernmental--private and voluntary--groups or host governments?
- How do we best go about developing criteria by which to evaluate our performance in this essentially nonquantifiable area of development? Can guidelines for such evaluations be established which will have general applicability, or must this be done on a country-by-country basis?
- How do we determine priorities in research and analysis in the area of political development? Should initial emphasis be given to evaluations of ongoing and/or past A.I.D. projects and programs, to studies of current developmental problems in host-countries, or to broad-gauged country-studies designed to determine what sort of democratic development can be reasonably expected of a particular country and to determine how development could be prompted?
- How do we develop a sufficient expertise within A.I.D./W and missions so as to deal systematically and realistically with this new dimension of our responsibilities?

A.I.D. identified the development of meaningful criteria by which to judge A.I.D.'s success in implementing Title IX as one of its more difficult tasks. First, because no general theory of evaluating these types of programmatic activities existed, criteria had to be developed on a country-by-country basis. Second, qualitative rather than quantitative data had to be considered in developing evaluation criteria. Figures such as number of schools built or number of cooperatives, valid indicators prior to Title IX, were no longer sufficient. As stated in the ACED report,

"No less important than the number of people participating in a given activity is the manner and form of their participation. Success in implementing Title IX means, for instance, that the institutional durability of a cooperative, and the manner in which its services are truly utilized, are every bit as important as the number of its members. A properly functioning local magistrate's court is no more effective a developmental institution than the equity of its

judicial output. A 90 percent turnout of the electorate is not a useful index if there are no meaningful alternatives among which to choose. The extent of democratic development in a country clearly does not easily lend itself to quantification."

Third, the evaluation would have to be more of a long-term nature than A.I.D. was often accustomed to using. Indices such as balance of payments, equilibrium, and satisfactory levels of national investment could be attained in a few years; the fundamental results envisaged by Title IX were likely to take much longer.

Other reactions to Title IX stemmed from the nature of A.I.D. during that period. The primary purpose of A.I.D. was to bring about social change. It was not intended to work towards political change, which was seen as the exclusive responsibility of the Department of State. Throughout the period, A.I.D. was dominated by economists, capital development officers, and field personnel with backgrounds in more technical areas such as education, health, and public administration. A.I.D.'s skill capability was low in terms of political science and the planning and implementation of political development activities.

Acceptance of Title IX was slow in coming. At a 1968 conference of academic scholars of political and economic development and A.I.D. representatives from Washington and the field, it was noted "that in the two years since its enactment, Title IX had had only limited effect." (Coe, 1970, p.40). In 1970, Coe summarized the following concerns with Title IX:

- Lack of relevant work on political development--The most overriding problem for the Title IX policy makers was the virtually "complete lack of operationally oriented work on political development, despite the enormous amount of academic research on the subject." There was some theoretical guidance but very little practical guidance on what the specific non-economic suggestions should be, what the implications of economic change are, what could be done, and how to evaluate progress and program effectiveness. To meet those needs A.I.D. funded academic research, but that research took time. Because of this lack of knowledge and information, A.I.D. had problems training its economically oriented staff in approaches to political development.
- Internal resistance from staff--The technicians and program people were primarily economists accustomed to working with precise economic measures, where goals and progress were clear. Under Title IX, the objectives were vague and not clearly measurable. Others saw Title IX activities as just another special interest activity, like women in development, without much development significance.
- Political resistance--Many felt that the U.S. should not be involved in the sensitive activities implied with Title IX. They felt that while economic aid was more neutral, assistance in political development might hinder the ability to work with countries on economic as well as social issues.

- Low appropriations--Limited dollars made it difficult to finance the training, recruiting, and research needed to change the attitudes described above.
- A.I.D.'s relationship to the State Department--As mentioned earlier, during this period, the State Department was considered the Department with the responsibility for working to bring about political change. Many State Department officers viewed Title IX as an encroachment on their own responsibilities in the field of overseas political analysis or as a significant threat to important short-term interests in the Third World. The State Department could veto any aspect that it did not like (p. 43).

Agency policy makers acknowledged that while the personnel could be trained and recruited over the short-run and research could be conducted, "the interrelated problems of attitude change and adequate measures of impact" remained and might be insurmountable in their bureaucratic setting. They noted that the solution would require more than a change in attitude to sensitize A.I.D. personnel to the non-economic factors. Decision makers would have to be persuaded to take risks in budgeting decisions to approve projects even though their impact seemed uncertain and even though there were other projects with more certain economic benefits. This decision-making problem was exacerbated due to limited funds for A.I.D. projects that resulted from steadily declining, Congressional appropriations (Coe, 1970, p. 44).

C. THE 70s--A SHIFT TOWARDS HUMAN RIGHTS AND ECONOMIC EQUALITY

The early 1970s brought a shift in foreign policy and A.I.D. activities away from political development and more towards human needs and providing assistance to the poor majority in developing countries. This was precipitated by several factors.

First, despite the passage of Title IX, Congressional criticism of the U.S. foreign assistance program began in the mid 1960s and continued through the early 70s. Representatives and senators were increasingly unhappy about the large amounts of economic and military aid channeled to South Vietnam. There was also increasing criticism of the Alliance for Progress for which there had been significant advancements in meeting educational and health goals, but less recognizable improvements in the political and economic areas. Few countries had adopted more democratic governments, and in fact, military regimes had strengthened (Rodinelli, 1987). In the 70s, there was mounting evidence that, despite the tremendous amounts of assistance and the rapid economic growth in developing countries, poverty was becoming more widespread and serious and the gap between the rich and the poor was widening (Rodinelli, 1987). Foreign aid budgets were slashed as early as 1968. For several years following, funding was provided through continuing resolutions, an act that kept funding at 1969 funding levels.

The controversies mentioned above brought about a fundamental rethinking of U.S. assistance to developing countries. As early as 1969, a task force was appointed to assess foreign aid programs and to suggest new directions for the 1970s. After years of congressional debate, scholars and practitioners who

were involved in development assistance agreed that the foreign aid program had to be redesigned to assure that aid funds went to helping people who really needed assistance rather than to supporting existing regimes, or simply to making life more comfortable for the economic and political elite who ruled many developing countries. Planners called for reforms that would create in developing countries institutions that would give the underprivileged citizens an opportunity to participate in the decisions most important to their lives and which, furthermore, would link them to "the mainstream of modern society." In becoming more involved, the poor would be encouraged to invest more in their own futures, raise their incomes through higher production, and have more input into how the results of their efforts would be distributed (Rondinelli, 1987).

As a result, a new Foreign Assistance Act was passed in 1973. It was hailed as a new "mandate" for the administration and for A.I.D. that would provide "new directions" for U.S. foreign assistance. The new act emphasized that "economic growth alone does not necessarily lead to social advancement by the poor, and thus U.S. policies and programs must be aimed directly at helping the poor majority's problems." Congress instructed A.I.D. to give highest priority to activities in developing nations that directly improved the lives of the poorest of their people and their capacity to participate in the development of their countries. Among the new guidelines from the Foreign Assistance Act of 1973 were the following:

- Future United States bilateral support for development should focus on critical problems in those functional sectors which affect the lives of the majority of people in the developing countries: food production, rural development and nutrition; population planning and health; education, public administration; and human resource development.
- United States cooperation in development should be carried out to the maximum extent possible through the private sector; in addition to those public service institutions which already have ties in the developing countries, such as educational institutions, cooperatives, credit unions, and voluntary agencies.
- Development planning must be the responsibility of each sovereign country, with United States assistance administered collaboratively to support the development goals chosen by the country receiving assistance.
- United States bilateral development assistance should give the highest priority to undertakings submitted by host governments which directly improve the lives of the poorest of the people and their capacity to participate in the development of their countries. (Rondinelli, 1987, p. 72-73).

Under this new Foreign Assistance Act, the concept of popular participation by the masses was integrated into the main body of the Act. Under the new Act, however, the participation was directed more to social and economic rather than political participation. The new directions mandate focused A.I.D.'s program on rural areas, because that was where the vast majority of the poorest people lived; directed A.I.D. to help the rural poor increase their productivity and income, and emphasized management skills as important to achieving development goals. (Rondinelli, 1987). Political development, per se, was not mentioned.

In 1974, Part II, section 502B was amended to the Foreign Assistance Act of 1973 which stated that the president would "substantially reduce or terminate security assistance to any government which engages in a consistent pattern of gross violations of internationally recognized human rights, including torture or cruel, inhuman, or degrading treatment or punishment; prolonged detention without charges; or other flagrant denials of the right to life, liberty, and the security of the person."

In 1978, section 116(e) of the Foreign Assistance Act was added. This section promoted and encouraged increased respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms throughout the world. At least \$750,000 of Fiscal Year 1978 development assistance funds were allocated for studies to identify and openly carry out programs and activities that would encourage or promote increased adherence to civil and political rights. It was made clear, however, that the funds could not be used to influence the outcome of any election. In addition, the assistance was to come primarily from individuals and nongovernmental groups.

The shift in policy away from political development and towards human needs was supported by the leadership in the Title IX Division which began with Princeton Lyman in the late 60s and continued with Jonathan Silverstone, the division director from 1972 until the office was eliminated in 1981. Under their direction, A.I.D. Title IX activities began to reflect the viewpoint that Title IX was not a political development activity and that A.I.D. should not be involved with political development per se. As explained in a recent interview, the phrase "political development" never actually appeared in the Title IX legislation; it had been integrated based on people's interpretation of the legislation rather than on the wording itself. The new leadership chose to minimize political development as an integral part of Title IX.

Both believed that A.I.D. could not go out establishing small town U.S. democracies throughout the world. Rather, they saw a need for a more sensitive and cultural approach to development, and encouraged consideration of such questions as who were the people, what were their values and beliefs, and would their values have an impact on U.S. development efforts. The office encouraged Congress and A.I.D. to implement a more humanistic approach to foreign assistance and development. They also worked to encourage the integration of the Title IX philosophy into new and existing projects rather than to fund or sponsor new projects. Activities were limited to disseminating information about Title IX, sponsoring research on strengthening democratic institutions, and providing some training and technical assistance to field personnel and country legislatures. The primary achievements were made in

legislative activities, with the office supporting research on and technical assistance for working with legislative staffs in developing countries. Political development was minimized.

With this increased interest in redistributing the economic wealth and reducing the violation of human rights, Title IX and the concern for strengthening democratic institutions seemed almost forgotten. In 1976, the director was detailed to another office. Title IX responsibilities were later transferred to human rights staff within the Bureau for Program and Policy Coordination.

D. SUMMARY

A.I.D.'s involvement in strengthening democratic institutions was a continuum that began in 1961 with the passing of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 and the establishment of A.I.D., but became more prominent and more politically focused with the enactment of Title IX in 1966. As early as 1971, however, the political development aspect was being minimized, and by the mid-70s, more interest was placed on human liberties and redistributing economic wealth to reach the poor majority in developing countries. The New Direction program under the Foreign Assistance Act of 1973, the Harken Amendment of 1974, and Section 116(e) of the Act passed in 1978, were instrumental in refocusing the foreign assistance effort through the rest of that decade.

The remainder of this report reviews A.I.D.'s democratic institution-building activities during 1961 - 1981 in four areas--legislative capacity, local governments/municipal training, civic education/community development, and leadership training--and the lessons learned from them. This retrospective can provide a foundation for future A.I.D. policy, strategies, and program development.

II. STRENGTHENING LEGISLATIVE CAPACITY

This chapter assesses A.I.D.'s role in strengthening the legislative capacity of some Latin American countries. It examines how, by strengthening the legislatures, increased participation takes place and democracy is strengthened. This chapter begins by reviewing the background for strengthening legislative capacity. It then describes the different project activities funded by A.I.D. Finally, the chapter presents a brief profile of A.I.D.'s technical assistance program in Costa Rica.

A. BACKGROUND

In the past, most technical assistance to developing countries and specifically public administration assistance has been focused on the public sector and on strengthening the executive branch within the public sector rather than the legislative branch. This results from two major reasons:

- technical assistance almost always had a socio-economic focus and was provided with the belief that the executive branch and its different ministries were the most appropriate channels for improving the socio-economic conditions of developing countries; and
- those who implemented the technical assistance were generally public administrators, economists, and social scientists who neglected legislatures, thinking that these political organizations did not have a great impact on the development process of their respective countries.

Title IX changed that focus, stating that economic development alone was not the surest route to progress and peace, and that development involves political, social, and institutional progress. Title IX also directed A.I.D. to work towards maximum participation on the part of the people of the developing countries. Because of these changes, new directions as well as new programs for technical assistance were developed. Among those new programs were ones to strengthen legislative capacity.

Although strengthening legislative capacity was one of the new programs that emanated from Title IX, neither legislative development nor strategies for strengthening legislative capacity were explicitly defined. Because of the lack of policy and strategies concerning technical assistance for legislative bodies, A.I.D. awarded the American Society of Public Administration (ASPA) a contract in February 1967 "to develop plans for a program of training, education, research, and technical assistance advisory activities directed to the establishment and strengthening of legislative service centers at selected universities. The competence and knowledge these centers attained would be used to provide more effective and efficient legislative capabilities in developing countries."

1. Planning Activities Aimed at Strengthening Legislative Capacity: 1960s

The objectives of the ASPA contract reflected clearly the desire of Title IX to give attention to the political aspect of development. The contract stipulated that in order for ASPA to assist A.I.D. in planning how to strengthen legislative capacity, three activities had to take place:

- surveys to provide information on legislative services and pertinent university programs in the United States;
- a conference devoted to problems of legislative service centers and the related administrative infrastructure of legislatures as they pertain to developing nations; and
- assessment of the feasibility of establishing legislative service training centers as part of U.S. overseas development efforts.

The survey was undertaken by Lloyd Musolf. His final report recommended five major activities in order to establish a program of legislative studies. Musolf recommended that "Comparative Legislative Studies Centers should be established at carefully selected American universities and that they should serve as international exchange centers for the strengthening of legislatures abroad through a better understanding of the development of legislatures here and abroad. Geographical specialization among the Centers should be encouraged." Recognizing the scarcity of past research on legislative bodies and the lack of past experiences in strengthening legislative capacity, Musolf recommended that the goals of the Comparative Legislative Studies Centers should be the testing of hypotheses about legislatures and legislative development.

The conference, devoted to problems of legislative service and their relationship to developing countries, was held by ASPA in December 1967. The conference brought together distinguished American and foreign scholars, representatives of interested civic groups and foundations, as well as officials of A.I.D. Several papers presented at the conference were later edited by Kornberg and Musolf and published by Duke University.

Several issues related to the definition of legislative development and the concept of strengthening legislative institutions surfaced during the conference that continue to have relevance today. Among the major issues discussed were the following:

- Various functions of legislatures: It was agreed that law making is popularly accepted as the main function of elected assemblies even though it might not be the most practiced. Other functions include: legitimization, the conferring of status, the release of tension, and influence over the executive branch, either by controlling the executive branch in some systems or by acting as a rubber stamp for the executive in others. The recommendation was that all available expertise in the universities is needed to further define and analyze the

various functions of the legislature. It was also recommended that liaisons with overseas counterparts should be sought.

- Sensitivity of host-countries: the sensitivity of host countries to receiving aid aimed at its legislature was anticipated. They recommended that technical assistance be implemented by universities and nongovernment organizations so that host countries would be more receptive than if the assistance was administered by a foreign government agency. Initiative from the host country requesting aid was considered to be a crucial guide. The conference participants agreed that the long-term goal of such assistance should be to build institutions or legislative service centers in developing countries.
- Political equilibrium: Scholars in the conference highlighted the issue that one part of the political system can scarcely be strengthened without disturbing the political equilibrium. This is particularly true of the parliamentary system with its interconnected legislative and executive branches. This issue led to the recommendation that the first step in a legislative service program would be to learn more about legislative development and its relation to political, administrative, and economic development.

The third component of the ASPA contract was also conducted in 1967. The feasibility of establishing legislative service training centers as part of U.S. overseas development efforts was assessed. Thirty-four U.S. universities were surveyed. The findings of this assessment indicated that few universities had close relationships with state legislatures, and that relationships varied. The assessment report stated: "Some were close in one field, some in another. None had close relationships in all fields relevant to the establishment of a legislative services center" (ASPA, 1967).

As a result of that first phase of planning, the following steps were identified:

- learn more about the different legislative bodies in developing countries, their functions, and their relationships to political, administrative, and economic development; and
- strengthen the institutional capacity of the few U.S. universities that had already demonstrated a commitment to utilizing their university resources for legislative improvement in the U.S. and overseas.

These conclusions prompted A.I.D. to give grants to Duke University, the University of Hawaii, and the University of Iowa. Together the three

universities formed a consortium; the consortium also included a number of scholars from other universities such as UCLA, UC Davis, and the University of Kentucky.

2. Researching Legislative Institutions and their Linkage with National Development: 1970s

A.I.D. and the consortium operated on some basic assumptions with regards to strengthening legislative capacity. Among those assumptions were the following:

- Legislative bodies historically have played an important role in the process of the modernization of societies.
- Legislative bodies play some role, even though it may be variable, in determining actions in certain developmental areas such as urban growth, political integration, and family planning.
- Legislative bodies are in a position to contribute or retard development and modernization.

Reflecting these assumptions, the three closely related grants to the consortium of universities had two principal purposes:

- to develop institutional capacities to provide skills relevant to the comparative study of legislative organization, function, and impact as these relate to the process of societal modernization; and
- to generate a body of principles for donor agencies which would be useful for policy decisions relating to the support of legislative institutions as facilitators of development.

The grants of \$500,000 to the three universities covered a period of five years each from 1971 to 1976. The universities generated numerous activities to accomplish the objectives of the grant, including research, conferences, publications, and training of social scientists in field legislation. The programs achieved these results:

- the addition of new faculty members at the departments of political science, whose research and teaching involved the comparative study of legislatures, varying roles played by the legislatures, and methodologies of comparative research;
- studies undertaken by the University of Iowa in Kenya, Turkey, and Korea;

- various conferences including,
 - a 1972 conference sponsored by Iowa on the function of legislatures in developing countries,
 - a 1973 conference in Hawaii on origins of legislatures,
 - an Iowa-sponsored conference in 1974 in Malaysia on legislatures and constituency services,
 - a 1975 conference sponsored by Duke in Camel, California, on legislatures and economic development,
 - a second conference sponsored by Duke in 1981 on legislatures and regime support;
- archives of data available on legislatures to interested scholars;
- inventories of research instruments for studying legislatures in developing countries; and
- a publications program consisting of a series of books on legislatures in third world countries published by the Duke University Press, and a journal, the Legislative Studies Quarterly, which was originally published by Iowa's Legislative Studies Center and is now the official publication of the Legislative Studies Section of the American Political Studies Association (APSA).

The first phase of planning was to define in a clearer way what was meant by strengthening legislative capacity and to specify the appropriate means of technical assistance to achieve that purpose. The second planning phase was to conduct research and learn more about the different legislative bodies in developing countries and to strengthen the institutional capacity of three U.S. universities in researching legislative institutions and their linkage with national development. The definition, however, of legislative development and strategies for strengthening legislatures was not yet explicitly stated. It was not until 1975 that a clear definition and understanding of legislative development was articulated.

As part of the second phase, the State University of New York at Albany (SUNYA) received \$750,000 from A.I.D. to study the operational implications of basic approaches to legislative assistance. Originally, the research activities were to be shared, with the consortium conducting the basic research regarding legislatures in developing countries and SUNYA using that research to develop training programs. In actuality, both the consortium and SUNYA developed their own research programs, seminars, conferences, and publications with SUNYA doing training and technical assistance.

To study the operational implications of basic approaches, SUNYA sent a task force to a number of developing countries to review literature in the field, ascertain local interest in and need for legislative development, and design specific, practical programs for assistance to legislative development based on the interest and priorities expressed by developing countries and an

assessment of U.S. capabilities. The members of the task force were sent to seven developing nations: Jamaica, Costa Rica, Brazil, Paraguay, Uruguay, Ghana, and Ethiopia.

The findings as summarized by the SUNYA report of 1970 were: "Legislative development is new to the technical assistance field. There is little experience with it, and where there has been experience, it has been widely scattered, uncoordinated, and seldom recorded. The conceptual and theoretical dimensions of legislative development are likewise thin" (SUNYA, 1970). The report concluded that because legislative development is a new activity, technical assistance should be experimental, and designed flexibly and cautiously. Flexibility would allow program designers to adjust ongoing programs as mistakes are identified or as new opportunities appear.

In addition to conducting their own independent research, both the consortium and SUNYA were instrumental in establishing research groups within private associations. Special research groups were started at the International Political Studies Association (IPSA) and the APSA to address legislatures and legislative development. SUNYA also succeeded in establishing a similar group in the American Society of Public Administration. Each year these groups sponsored panels on various aspects of legislatures in developing countries. These panels brought together scholars from the U.S. and other countries to present their research and focus on legislative development. During the 150 panels held in the 1970s, papers were presented, summarized, and distributed.

By 1977, when A.I.D. support ended, the universities and relevant professional associations had developed the institutional capability to continue doing research, training, and publications. Because of this, material on legislatures in developing countries is no longer as scarce a commodity as when the program started. The development of the institutional research capability represents one quantifiable measure for the impact of A.I.D. initial support.

3. Issues Relevant to Strengthening Legislative Capacity

Evolving from different research studies on legislative development, the following are major issues highlighted by James Heaphey in a SUNYA report prepared for A.I.D.:

- Considering the range of meaning assigned to legislative development and the various roles that different legislative bodies play, a possible conclusion is that legislative development programs should be undertaken only in countries where there is the most favorable disposition towards them, both on the part of legislative leadership and of other important groups outside the legislature.
- Considering that strengthening the legislative capacity could be interpreted as "political meddling" in the internal affairs of a country, legislative development should be pursued only insofar as there is demand from within the country to do so, and within the organizational context of an international or multinational organization.

- Technical assistance to legislatures should be adjusted to reflect the fact that in many developing countries technical assistance to legislative bodies is not clearly understood. Administrators of legislatures might respond positively to less threatening types of aid such as technical assistance to increase the capacity to analyze the budget of the legislative body only because the understanding of these administrators is that their power will be increased.
- Programs in legislative development need continuous dialogue between the country in which the program will be implemented and the country(ies) offering assistance.
- Legislative assistance has higher chances of success when financial support is not solely dependent on one donor government. When several governments participate in the financial support or when foundations, international organizations, and the private sector participate in funding, the assistance is viewed as neutral and objective, while when it is solely supported by one government, partisan political aims could be seen as the *raison d'être* of the assistance.
- There are various ways to provide technical assistance to strengthen legislative capacity. Training can be conducted in country or out of country. Out-of-country training could be provided by conferences, consultations, or a "hands-on visit." Determining which is most appropriate should be based on the specific needs of each situation.
- Legislative assistance has higher chances of success when established universities, international organizations, or nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) carry out or at least co-sponsor the activities. Assistance through universities and NGOs reduces political sensitivity (Heaphey, 1973).

B. OVERVIEW OF PROJECTS

The Comparative Development Studies Center (CDSC) was founded in 1971 at the State University of New York at Albany. A.I.D.'s grant to the CDSC was for seven years, from 1971 until 1978. The major objective of the CDSC was the implementation of technical assistance programs that addressed the needs of legislatures in developing countries.

To be able to engage itself in the implementation of technical assistance programs that address the needs of legislatures in developing countries, CDSC at SUNYA had to clarify further the definitions and the approaches to legislative development. In an international conference co-sponsored by the CDSC in Nicosia-Cyprus in 1972, the major themes of the discussions included:

- Development and Legislative Development: What are the interrelationships between development of legislators and overall development of a country?
- Organization Theory and Legislative Behavior: Is the process of decision making within a legislature different from the process of decision making within the executive branch or the bureaucracy?
- Role of the Legislature: What is the role of legislature in the 1970s? Can a "rubber-stamp" legislature affect legislation? In what ways?
- Means to Legislative Development: What are the various means to legislative development? Should the legislators become technocrats? Can they? What is the role of the staff of legislative institutions?

As a result of the thinking done by scholars at the universities engaged in determining the nature of legislative development, and the research James Heaphey and Abdo Baaklini were conducting, a clearer definition of legislative development emerged. In 1975, Baaklini and Lenore Heaphey wrote a paper entitled: "Legislative Development: A New Direction in Technical Assistance." In it they stated: "legislative development is seen as a set of structural, procedural, and value changes that are identified by the political actors themselves as requisites for their legislature to function. It begins with the actors in a specific political system defining the problems and then moves to the formulation of solutions considered useful in that particular system." Baaklini and L. Heaphey continued to say: "Legislative development is not a concept or process defined a priori; it is a field-variant concept linking values, needs, and limitations of actors and their environments."

Baaklini noted that legislative development can manifest itself in a variety of forms. In some political systems it may be the provision or the strengthening of staff capabilities; in others it may be providing the legislators with more information based on their specific needs, while in others it may be a process of image building to establish public trust and confidence.

1. Discussion of Activities of the CDSC

The CDSC adopted James Heaphey's approach to technical assistance, which assumes that technical assistance programs are open-ended experiments rather than predetermined, pretested solutions to problems. The CDSC was careful not to adopt a normative approach to legislative development. The Center recognized that regardless of the role the legislative institution plays in a given political system, it is usually considered the symbol of state sovereignty, a characteristic that gives it a sense of direction. Legislators, the Center believed, look upon technical assistance not to determine goals but to assist them in achieving goals that were already determined. One of CDSC's goals was to involve other countries in providing assistance to legislatures. SUNYA assumed from the beginning that a unilateral U.S. presence--whether

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officially through A.I.D., or unofficially through U.S. universities--would be politically sensitive and detrimental to the program. By internationalizing the program, potential perceptions of "political meddling" were minimized.

This internationalization took several forms. The CDSC worked with the Interparliamentary Union in Geneva and the European Parliament. The Commonwealth Institute at the London School of Economics, the Institute of Social Sciences at the Hague, the Institute of Public Administration in Dublin, and the Lebanese University provided training facilities. Legislative experiences were provided by the British, the Irish, the French, the Canadians, the Lebanese, and the Israeli Parliaments. The Ford Foundation, IBM, Japanese and German foundations were also approached for funding. Perhaps most important recipient countries were encouraged to use their own resources and training facilities.

Based on the CDSC's open-ended approach internationalizing the program, the Center studied and defined the most common needs of legislative bodies. The findings indicate that even though legislative bodies play different roles, their needs are similar and they fall into three categories:

- access to relevant information;
- training of staff to understand the nature of legislature, the role it plays and the kind of information it need; and
- linkages.

To realize its goals, the CDSC developed a program with three components: the examination and study of a legislative institution as part of its political setting; the development of training programs that would fit the specific needs of the particular legislature; and the creation of an international community of scholars and professionals concerned with strengthening legislative bodies.

For the implementation of the second component, the CDSC developed two types of training programs: a short-term training program for leading legislative staff members and legislators; and a long-term, eighteen-month training program for legislative staff, leading to a Master of Public Administration.

The Center's research stressed the importance of legislative bodies in developing countries. A major finding was that, although some legislatures are more powerful than others, even the least powerful legislatures perform some functions that are important to the political system. Legislatures can perform one or several of the following functions:

- Provide information. Legislatures, in their deliberations, bring to the planning process a perspective that the executive may have overlooked. Rural areas may be better represented in the legislatures than in an urban-dominated bureaucracy.

- Monitor the executive branch. Legislatures, even with limited resources, authority, and autonomy, still watch over the executive branch to some extent, especially in the area of human rights.
- Provide a forum. In divided societies, legislatures provide a way for groups with varying and sometimes opposing viewpoints to present their demands and to learn to understand and accommodate each others' legitimate concerns. In the case of conflict, legislatures represent an appropriate forum for managing and resolving the conflict.
- Train future leaders. By providing opportunities for involvement, legislatures train future leaders and instill a civic awareness in the newly mobilized segments of the population.
- Legitimize governments. Legislatures provide legitimacy, both internally and internationally, to established regimes.

Based on the different roles of the legislative bodies identified in Costa Rica, Brazil, Ethiopia, Ghana, and Korea, the CDSC had various bilateral technical assistance relationships and regional relationships with Cyprus, Jordan, Israel, Kuwait, and Lebanon. As any assistance to legislatures might be considered interventionist and was likely to affect the power distribution both within that institution, and between it and other institutions in the society, the CDSC proceeded cautiously in providing even the most basic assistance. A description of CDSC activities to strengthen the legislative capacity in Brazil follows. The Center's activities in Costa Rica are described in more detail in the project profile in Section C.

2. Strengthening the Legislative Capacity in Brazil: 1970 Until the Present

The role of the legislature in Brazil had been considered by researchers a mere rubber-stamp role. The legislative body was often described as powerless. Heaphey noted that the "virtual powerlessness of the Brazilian legislature has encouraged both legislators and staffers to seek technical and procedural modernization, perhaps as a substitute for a more rewarding political role." The Brazilian legislative reform began in 1967 when the use of computers in the legislative process was first discussed. The Brazilian legislators and staffers expressed the need to strengthen the information base available to the legislature by introducing data processing. The legislators believed that the whole legislative process, from bill drafting and bill approval to personnel procedures, research procedures, and access to and retrieval of information, would be improved if the appropriate computer technology were introduced and the staff were trained.

The SUNYA program to strengthen legislative capacity and provide technical assistance coincided with the Brazilian needs. A high level Brazilian legislative delegation visited SUNYA in 1970 and agreed that SUNYA

would train Brazilian staffers both at the academic and at the practical levels. In addition to training, the following suggestions made by the Albany Task Force were implemented:

- providing technical advisors to the Senate and the House;
- rewriting by-laws and regulations incorporating many modern aspects of personnel administration in both houses; and
- changing the information center of the House, including the conversion to data processing equipment.

From 1970 until 1978, A.I.D. continued funding the Legislative Development Programs at the CDSC, and the Strengthening of the Brazilian Legislature Program continued its activities. Training became the major component of the program. In addition, the availability of short-term and long-term study grants kept increasing. Many members of the Brazilian legislative staff received training in a variety of areas. Training topics included operational topics such as finance, management, computer applications, and bill drafting, as well as theoretical topics such as approaches, methods, and goals of legislative development, underlying assumptions of legislative development, and concepts and practices in the analysis of the efficiency and the effectiveness of government programs in meeting objectives.

The Brazilian program was multi-faceted, involving training, research, consultations, and exchange of professors and senior professional staff. It included staff and elected members. The Brazilian Congress provided over 80 percent of the funding for this program. In time, with USIS financial assistance, the program was extended to the state legislatures and involved cooperation with Brazilian universities. Since the beginning of the technical assistance program to the Brazilian legislature, over 200 Brazilian members and staff benefited from this program. SUNYA faculty spent numerous weeks and months in Brazil conducting seminars on various aspects of the legislative processes and technologies. Program characteristics can be summarized as follows:

- All initiatives were decided, articulated, and communicated by the Brazilians. Reforms were initiated by the Brazilians before any U.S. assistance was provided.
- The two major political parties participated in the decisions and benefited from the programs.
- Brazil provided most of the funding.
- The program was widely recognized (receptions by Brazilian leadership to numerous U.S. delegations, active involvement of the U.S. mission in Brasilia, numerous speeches in the Congress acknowledging the contribution of the program, and wide press coverage.)

- The program remained essentially a relationship between the Congress and SUNYA. The Congress formulated its needs and, in consultation with SUNYA, looked for ways to finance and implement those programs.
- The Brazilian program involved significant research jointly undertaken between SUNYA faculty and legislative staff in Brazil.
- A SUNYA professor based at the University of Brasilia was an essential part of this program, since it provided a constant university presence. At present, the Congress contracts with the University to conduct institutional research and training activities. A permanent source of expertise has been created and institutionalized at the university and the legislatures.
- The Brazilian program continued and sustained itself after A.I.D. funding ended. A network of Brazilian, U.S., Italian, and German official and private resources has been developed to keep the program ongoing both in Brazil and in the U.S.
- The Brazilian program represents the transfer of one of the most advanced legislative technologies (computers in the legislative process). At present, the Congress of Brazil has one of the most comprehensive computerized information systems.
- The Brazilian program has a high spillover effect, with the federal Congress playing a leading role in modernizing services at Brazil's twenty-three state legislatures. Training and computer services are also available to many state legislatures. Finally, the staff of the Congress established national organization of legislative employees to disseminate innovations to the states.

C. PROJECT PROFILE: STRENGTHENING LEGISLATIVE CAPACITY IN COSTA RICA

In Costa Rica, one of the oldest and most established Central American democracies, the legislature's strength is one of the major characteristics of the system. This quiet, independent, and strong legislature had certain technical needs. The assembly expressed them as two major legislative development goals: 1) to codify all legislation from 1948 to 1974 and publish them in a legislative index; and 2) to improve the skills of the staff through training.

This profile focuses on the assistance that A.I.D. provided the Costa Rican legislature in response to that need. Field work for the profile consisted of interviews with five individuals in Costa Rica and four individuals in the United States who were either directly involved in the project or strongly linked to the legislature and political system in Costa

Rica. In addition, the profile involved a review of pertinent documents concerning the project.

1. Background

The legislative development project in Costa Rica, funded by A.I.D. and conducted by SUNYA from 1970 to 1973, had two components: the publication of a legislative index that codified all legislation from 1948-1970; and the establishment of a Technical Services Department for the legislature that could conduct research for congressmen to assist them in producing effective legislation.

According to a report produced by James Heaphey (1973), the project director of the SUNYA legislative development activities, both the majority and minority parties in the Costa Rican Congress as well as members of the law school and political science department of the University of Costa Rica recognized the need for legislative development and saw the need to link with university resources to meet this need. Planning for the project included: 1) a visit of New York State legislators and North American university professors to San Jose where they discussed legislative development with key Costa Ricans; and 2) a visit of a Costa Rican team consisting of legislators and university professors to Albany. After this last visit, the Costa Rican delegation recommended that a committee be formed to plan a legislative development project and to present these plans to the president of the Congress. The committee met over a period of seven months and submitted a plan to the Congressional president that presented the need for both a Technical Services Department and a legislative index.

In June of 1972, the Costa Rican Congress signed a contract with the Equity Publishing Corporation of Oxford, New Hampshire for the publication of the Legislative Index. The company not only compiled the index, but insured that those designated to use and update it would participate in the process and be trained for their task. Therefore, at all times when the project was underway, one or more staff from Costa Rica were stationed in New Hampshire to receive the training.

An additional task outside of the original scope of work and not a contract requirement was the compilation and publishing of an annotated list of Costa Rican laws. Although project staff assisted in its initial planning, they were not responsible for overseeing the document's production and it eventually was dropped.

The Technical Services Department established in September, 1972, consisted of twenty-two individuals, including eight professionals. The professionals were experts in economics, political and social sciences, and public administration. Their role was to provide the congressmen with needed research data and analyses. In addition, the staff relied on student interns from the University of Costa Rica.

No activities are documented after 1973. A 1978 SUNYA report by Baaklini stated, "... in Costa Rica the initial activities were a success, the program was implemented, but it did not flourish. It achieved limited goals, but did not become a self-sustaining activity."

2. Field Interviews

Current Situation

The field research revealed several interesting facts concerning the project. First, the Technical Services Department still exists, however, according to those interviewed it provides more assistance in legal writing than it does in research and analysis of issues relevant to proposed legislation. The Technical Services Department, for example, does not review public sentiment or potential public reaction toward upcoming legislation. The limited role that the Technical Services Department plays does not coincide fully with its original intent. As several interviewees indicated, in Costa Rica the executive branch has more power partly because it draws more highly educated individuals. The Technical Services Department was to be a means of providing legislators with greater access to expert information.

~~Because the Technical Services Department is not used in this manner,~~ however, the imbalance of expertise between the executive branch and legislative branch still exists.

Like the Technical Services Department, the Legislative Index still exists and is in use. However, some interviewees claimed that although the index is a well-used reference document, it contains errors; others mentioned that although the legislative index and its updates may not be totally accurate, it is the only index available and without it, referencing new legislation would be a difficult task.

The interviews indicated that the project experienced some difficulties during its implementation. Interviewees stated that the Costa Rican Congress did not feel the need to conduct research concerning the potential success of a particular piece of legislation because the congressmen had little trust in the Technical Services Department. They relied more on employees of the legislature who were linked with their political party. The concept of apolitical technical assistance was not accepted. Furthermore, the interviewees indicated that the congressmen felt somewhat threatened by the experts because of their high levels of education.

In addition, there were problems in management. A U.S. scholar residing in Costa Rica was hired to supervise the project, help articulate its needs, and insure that agreed upon reforms were implemented. Two Costa Ricans trained in the U.S. were hired to conduct research and training. Within a few years, tension grew between the U.S. advisor, the Costa Rican staff, and the Director General of legislative staff, a veteran administrator of over 25 years of legislative service. The Director General eventually forced the new staff out of the program and adapted its functions as he wanted them.

The work of the research unit of the Technical Services Department has been gradually adjusted and presently conforms with the felt needs of the members and senior staff of the Congress. The Technical Services Department in Costa Rica adapted to its environment and has been institutionalized to perform the function that is accepted by the leadership. It is important to note that the Costa Rican program included little training (academic or non academic) and that its major outcomes were the index and the creation of the research unit.

Suggestions for Future Legislative Assistance Projects

The majority of the interviewees expressed a preference for assistance from A.I.D. that would concentrate on technologies that could assist the legislature rather than projects that would more directly relate to the legislative personnel. Computerizing congressional archives, legislation, and other references sources were some areas in which A.I.D. could provide assistance without immersing itself in political complexities. One interviewee suggested that the legislature also needed references in Spanish on such topics as how to present legislation before congress, how to change laws, and how to manage relations with the executive branch.

All the interviewees indicated that training of the legislators is needed, but that this is a very sensitive area. Several interviewees stated that if a training program for the legislators is to be conducted, the request for such a program must come from the congressmen themselves. In addition, the program should not be overtly labeled as a training program. Holding seminars for discussion of key issues would be preferable to organizing training programs. If training is to occur, interviewees emphasized that it should begin at the level of the political parties so that legislators enter office with a clear idea of their responsibilities and means of carrying them out. Another "training" approach the interviewees supported was arranging observational tours for the congressmen that would allow them to see key operations of state legislature in the United States. Though most of the interviewees stated that technological assistance would be easier to implement than educational programs, one interviewee stated that training of the legislators was the most crucial area of need.

A number of interviewees advised that A.I.D. work through intermediary groups, for example, local or foreign universities or in-country public administration groups, to maintain a low profile. Yet, it was also suggested that A.I.D. be up-front about its objectives in terms of legislative development projects to build a level of trust between the Agency and the beneficiaries of the program. One interviewee declared that A.I.D. needed to have the support and insight of a broad base of politically savvy individuals within the host country before planning any type of legislative development project.

D. SUMMARY

With the advent of Title IX, strengthening legislative capacity became a new area of technical assistance for A.I.D. As the Agency realized that there was a lack of policy guidelines and strategies for this new initiative, a rigorous program of research was undertaken by U.S. universities and the ASPA. Through A.I.D. support, universities did succeed in developing an institutional capability to continue doing research, training, and publications within their universities and the relevant professional associations. Thus, more information concerning legislative development has been brought to light as a result of the research grants.

According to the interviews conducted in Central America, legislative capacity building is an appropriate area for A.I.D.'s assistance. A.I.D. must, nevertheless, carefully consider the unique conditions within each country that would adversely or positively effect the outcome of a project focusing on legislative development. This area is a sensitive one, and A.I.D. should be cautious in its assistance efforts by providing support in a manner that "considers fully the range of political responses to the assistance effort and the context in which the assistance will be implemented." As indicated in one of SUNYA's reports on legislative assistance,... "advice, however diplomatically couched from the Colossus of the North needs always to be given gingerly" (Roberts and Musolf, 1970).

III. STRENGTHENING LOCAL GOVERNMENT

This chapter examines A.I.D.'s role in strengthening local governments (also known for the purposes of this report as municipal development) and the effect those efforts have had on increasing participation and democracy at the local level. The first section provides background concerning municipal development in the A.I.D. context, which is then followed by a brief overview of projects. Finally, studies of specific projects are presented to illustrate programs undertaken by A.I.D. during the Title IX period.

A. BACKGROUND

Municipal development in Latin America has been carried out by A.I.D. for more than 27 years. This particular activity was often subsumed under the broader category of public administration. This section provides background gleaned from project documentation and reports.

1. The Early Years: The 1950s and 1960s

According to Louis Rouse, a Public Administration Officer for the Latin American Bureau in A.I.D. during the 1960s, U.S. assistance to local governments in Latin America began in 1952. In the early years it was provided via the central governments. Rouse characterized assistance delivered during the period from 1952 to the late 1960s as "broad in scope, but fragmented in application" (Rouse, 1968). Projects in the following areas were implemented:

- strengthening local government associations;
- training local government officials;
- improving local government finance;
- broadening and improving local government service; and
- assisting urban planning and development.

Municipal development programs in Latin America were created to strengthen local government by making the government more efficient and effective in the provision of services to the local populace. According to Rouse, municipalities were found to be financially and administratively weak, primarily because they did not have the revenue needed for an efficient local government.

Thus, the first approach taken by A.I.D. was a technocratic one. In other words, municipal development programs focused primarily on improving the local government's capability to provide basic services to inhabitants. Technical assistance and training were also provided in accounting and administrative functions such as tax administration and collection, the development of cadastral surveys (tax mapping and tax appraisal), and the creation of lists of service users.

The Effect of Title IX on Municipal Development

A.I.D.'s directive to develop local governments with a view towards bringing about democracy can be found in Section 281 of Title IX of the Foreign Assistance Act, as amended in 1966, which states that U.S. assistance programs are to encourage democratic private associations and local governmental institutions.

The FY 1967 Congressional Presentation stated that the Agency recognized the need for efficient, responsive, administrative units at all levels of the government. It added that special attention should be given to the administrative capabilities of local government units. Part of the reason for this was that it is at the local level that people first come into contact with "government". If there is no faith in the local government this will lead to apathy and indifference to national development efforts.

The document pointed out that, in general, a major stumbling block to achieving the objectives of Title IX was the over-centralized nature of governments in developing countries. Accordingly, A.I.D. stated that it planned to encourage, where appropriate, the decentralization of responsibilities to governmental units "nearer the people" and to "shore up the capability of these units to respond to popular needs and desires (A.I.D., 1966)."

The period immediately following the introduction of Title IX witnessed a great deal of attention focused on the role of A.I.D. in strengthening local governments. Seminars were held on Title IX, and there were A.I.D.-sponsored seminars on municipalities in Latin America. The Title IX Division of the Bureau for Policy and Programming Coordination also produced papers addressing the issue of political development and foreign aid.

MIT Title IX Seminar. One such seminar was held at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) in the summer of 1968. Academic experts and A.I.D. staff from both Washington and the field met to discuss the implications of Title IX for A.I.D. programming. It was noted in the proceedings that most U.S. aid in the area of public administration had been targeted at "auxiliary" or "support" agencies such as planning, civil service, and administrative management. The assumption was that increasing the capabilities of those entities would thereby enhance the political capabilities of the government. However, it was also thought that strengthening auxiliary agencies may in fact limit the potential for popular participation. It was believed that U.S. advisors in public administration were obliged to consider the political ramifications of their work.

Another issue addressed at the MIT seminar was decentralization. Title IX implies that decentralized decision-making should be a central feature to assistance in public administration. The underlying assumption to that premise was that decentralization would automatically promote increased popular participation.

The seminar report cautioned, however, that advocating decentralization "across the board" could actually harm local governments if they did not possess the necessary capabilities for carrying out the new responsibilities.

Therefore, it was recommended that the abilities of local governments be examined before decentralization is determined to be an appropriate strategy.

The MIT proceedings stated that A.I.D. had paid little attention to local units of government. In part this may have been due to the fact that A.I.D. deals directly with central governments in its work. The seminar participants believed that in the future, A.I.D. should put greater emphasis on local government as a conduit for increasing popular participation; due to 1) the rapid urbanization that was taking place at that time, thereby making urban units of government a key avenue for enabling citizens to participate, and 2) the important relationship between community participation projects and political-administrative structures.

The report discussed which units of local government A.I.D. should assist and how. It was noted that assistance to local units of government could be quite costly in terms of human and even capital resources. Because of this, developing in-country competence by concentrating on central government ministries and the development of indigenous education and training institutions was recommended as the best approach for improving local governments. The assumption was that there would be a multiplier effect reaching down to the local level. It was decided that perhaps the most effective A.I.D. instruments would be:

- economic planning and policy advisory boards;
- development loans and P.L. 480 programs that would develop administrative and financial capability; and
- waterworks, sewage, and other municipal projects that would be used to enhance municipal taxing and administrative powers.

It was felt that A.I.D.'s focus should be on "encouraging national planning units to involve local government officials in the planning process, urging that sectoral plans and projects involve a high degree of decentralized administration, adjusting service on national tax policy and administration, and building managerial concepts of decentralized authority into development programs in agriculture, industry, etc." (Millikan, 1968, p. 112). Thus the seminar participants did not feel that it would be appropriate to work directly with the local level government, but that it should take a more indirect approach.

XII Inter-American Municipal Congress. In his presentation at an A.I.D.-sponsored symposium on Inter-American Municipalities in 1968, Rouse posited that local government modernization depended on a clear definition of roles and responsibilities for the various levels of government. It should not be an either/or, central vs. local proposition. In fact, Rouse believed that the distribution of municipal, urban, community, and rural responsibility for development ought to begin with a rational redistribution within and among all levels of the governmental and political policy and power structure. The basis for social and economic growth results mainly from the action of individual citizens, with government at all levels providing the necessary legal framework and administrative and social institutions.

Rouse stated that maximum participation in the task of social and economic development required democratic private and local governmental institutions. However, A.I.D.'s approach in those early days addressed the mechanics of governance and not the larger issue of autonomy and power. According to Rouse the first step that A.I.D. took was to put into place mechanisms for providing local governments with the funding necessary for infrastructure projects to provide local services. This was attempted through the establishment of revolving loan funds.

2. The 1970s

The lack of a firm conceptual framework for working with local governments was brought out in a paper prepared for the Civic Participation Division of the Bureau for Program and Policy Coordination in 1970. The author noted that, although much research has been done in the area of political development, a large gap existed in the area of operationally oriented work (Coe, 1970). Therefore, there appeared to be little theoretical guidance on what specific non-economic objectives should be, what were the implications of economic change, or how progress to political and social goals could be charted.

In 1971, the Office of Development Administration examined the role of local institutions as a means of delivering foreign assistance. In that study, E.G. Alderfer felt that the approach the Agency had taken to delivering assistance to local governments was due to the nature of the Agency. For example, as a bilateral international development agency, A.I.D. is obliged to work with the central government in making country agreements, project agreements, etc. In terms of its human resource base, Public Administration Officers had traditionally been more suited to dealing with central governments and were more familiar with administrative mechanics than with the organizational nature of local governments. Alderfer concluded that the Agency's conception of the role of the municipalities had remained undefined, "even though Title IX would seem to refocus attention on development opportunities through local institutions, including local governments as the principal legally established local entity, there does not seem to have emerged a strategy (or even a rigorous analysis for supporting a strategy) of assistance directly aimed at supporting and improving local government" (Alderfer, 1971).

B. OVERVIEW OF PROJECTS

The purpose of this section is to give background on the type of activities that A.I.D. has supported in the past in the area of strengthening local governments. The following projects were reviewed:

- the National Urban Development Service (SENDU), Bolivia;
- the Brazilian Institute of Municipal Administration (IBAM);
- the Institute of Municipal Development and Assistance (IFAM), Costa Rica;

- the Municipal League (Liga), the Dominican Republic;
- the Municipal Development Institute (INFOM), Guatemala;
- the Autonomous Municipal Bank (BANMA), Honduras;
- the Municipal Development Fund (FODEM), Panama;
- the Municipal Development Institute (IDM), Paraguay;
- the In-Service Training Center (ISTC), Paraguay; and
- the Municipal and Community Development Foundation (FUNDACOMMUN), Venezuela.

Because there were many municipal development projects implemented during the 1960s and 1970s, information about each project is grouped under seven categories to provide a composite view of project activity. The overview addresses seven factors: the time frame for foreign assistance; targeted institutions; A.I.D. funding for municipal development projects; project initiation; implementors/providers of technical assistance; project goals; and project strategies and activities.

1. Time Frame for Foreign Assistance

Almost half of the projects began in the middle 1960s, with the remaining projects being initiated in the early 1970s. The length of the projects was, on average, approximately twelve years. Assistance to Bolivia and the Dominican Republic, however, was limited to five years.

2. Targeted Institutions

A.I.D.'s approach to strengthening local governments has been almost exclusively to provide support to Municipal Development Institutions (MDIs), which is an autonomous or semiautonomous banking institution or foundation. The primary function of MDIs was to provide concessional credit to local governments for public works and other capital improvements.

The stated objective of the MDIs was to assist municipalities in planning, financing, implementing, and maintaining projects and services. In addition, technical assistance and training were also offered. The review of project papers and other documentation revealed that democratic institution building was not explicitly stated or developed as an objective although it was, in some instances, viewed as a long-term outcome of the project.

The majority of MDIs saw their greatest period of growth during the 1960s. In fact, the wave of agencies created at that time was thought to indicate a new "municipal movement" in the region of a more professional character than before, which would possibly provide an avenue for a wider diffusion of power at the grassroots level (Rouse, 1970).

The MDIs received their annual revenue from a variety of sources, among these were the funds allocated by the central government, municipal membership dues, subsidies granted by the federal or state governments, earnings from contracts with other municipalities or foreign governments, and foreign assistance grants and loans.

3. A.I.D. Funding for Municipal Development Projects

A.I.D. provided support to MDIs through both loan and grant obligations. Projects in Brazil and the Dominican Republic were financed through grants, whereas the other projects were financed primarily by loans, with some grants being provided. Additional support came in the way of grants for pre-project studies, special technical assistance, and evaluations related to municipal development (Gall, 1975). In general, the loans were used for lending capital.

The MDIs did not receive all of their funding from A.I.D. The World Bank, the Inter-American Development Bank, the United Nations, and bilateral aid agencies also provided assistance to MDIs.

4. Project Initiation

A.I.D. played a major role in the support and development of MDIs. The Agency provided the start-up money for the establishment of agencies in Bolivia, Costa Rica, and Paraguay, and funds were obligated to reorganize the MDI in Honduras.

MDIs in Bolivia and Paraguay were initiated at the request of the host government. For example, in 1970 the Institute of Public Administration (IPA) conducted a study of municipal development in Bolivia and offered several options for the national government to consider. Bolivia accepted the recommendation that a central government agency charged with the coordination and supervision of local government be created. In 1971, proposals were solicited, and the IPA was chosen to carry out the task. Similarly, A.I.D./Paraguay's decision to assist in the development of the In-Service Training Center was in response to requests by the University in Asuncion, the Ministry of Finance, and the Center itself.

The Municipal Development Institute in Paraguay was established in much the same manner. In 1968, a group of Paraguayans toured Central America on an information tour to see how other countries dealt with strengthening municipalities. As a result, the Organizacion Paraguaya de Cooperacion Intermunicipal (OPACI), with the support of the Ministry of the Interior, began to plan for an MDI. Once the preliminary plans were approved by the President, OPACI leaders approached A.I.D. for assistance in further refining their plan. A.I.D./Paraguay brought in two consultants to work with OPACI, the In-Service Training Center, and the Ministry of the Interior. The consultants and A.I.D. technicians worked closely with the Paraguayans in developing the project.

5. Implementors/Providers of Technical Assistance

A.I.D. used a combination of long- and short-term advisors from both the United States and third countries to design and implement the municipal development projects. U.S.-based consulting firms, such as Institute of Public Administration (IPA) were charged with carrying out the development plans. IPA provided long-term advisors to assist SENDU (Bolivia) and FUNDACOMMUN (Venezuela), and also oversaw the contract for technical assistance to the Liga (Dominican Republic).

Latin American institutions also played a significant role in providing technical assistance to MDIs. The Venezuelan Association for Intermunicipal Cooperation (AVECI) was contracted for work in Honduras; a senior staff member of the firm used the experience gained in working with FUNDACOMMUN (Venezuela) to assist in the reorganization of the municipal development institution in Honduras.

IBAM (Brazil) provided assistance to initiate MDIs in Costa Rica, Paraguay, Bolivia, Panama, and El Salvador. IBAM developed municipal training programs in administration, accounting, project planning, and budgeting, and provided assistance in internal administration and procedures, credit policies, municipal budgeting and accounting, administration of local public services, and municipal administration. A.I.D. missions often contracted local consulting firms to work with IBAM. As a result, A.I.D.'s involvement in municipal development encouraged and facilitated technical cooperation among developing countries, and created a sense of continuity and linkages among the various MDIs.

6. Project Goals

The goals of the municipal development projects were similar as they referred to strengthening municipalities. For example, the goal of the SENDU projects was to "bring about improvements in the performance of Bolivian municipalities," whereas IFAM (Costa Rica)'s goal was to "strengthen the municipal system, stimulating the efficient functioning of local government and promoting constant improvement in municipal public administration." For the IDM project it was "to promote the development of cities and towns in the interior of Paraguay."

Other projects were more defined in scope, focusing solely on the targeted agency and taking more of an institution building approach in articulating goals. For example, the goal of the IBAM (Brazil) project was to "develop the intermediate Brazilian institutions which provide training in municipal development and who are fostering better local governments through institutional assistance in modernizing municipal law, planning, financial management, and strengthening municipal associations." In a similar vein, A.I.D. efforts in Paraguay were to "develop the ISTC's capability as a service institution providing in-service and on-the-job training and technical assistance in public administration skills and techniques in support of economic and social development activities."

"Strengthening" had different meanings for different groups. To some, the political goals of local control and decision making were believed to be

implicit in the word itself, whereas others regarded the MDIs solely as a means for improving the delivery of services. In the majority of projects examined, there did not appear to be any reference to how the municipal development project related to larger national development goals. This observation has been voiced by several people involved in A.I.D.'s municipal development programs. According to Alderfer:

"With a relatively few notable and interesting exceptions, U.S. foreign assistance in public administration has been concentrated on the improvement of the central rather than local government activities...programs of this kind have generally been oriented to the mechanics of administration with only minimal concern for larger goals and objectives or of their social, economic, and political content and consequences" (Alderfer, 1971, p. 3).

The Checchi study (Gall, 1975) notes that project papers did not fully discuss the broader implications of supporting local government. For example, the notion of decentralizing government functions was most often mentioned in passing or in a rhetorical manner. On a similar note, loan papers contained references to Title IX, but the required inputs or strategies for encouraging greater democracy at the village or town level were not included in the project design. It would appear that giving municipalities decision-making power was not explicitly stated in the goal statement, but was perhaps implicit in the notion of "strengthening" government at the local level.

7. Project Strategies and Activities

The strategy for the MDI projects most often had two foci: one of strengthening the MDI itself, and a second of providing technical assistance to the municipalities. The major activities conducted under the A.I.D. projects included:

- institution building;
- technical assistance;
- loans to municipalities; and
- training.

Institution Building

The IBAM (Brazil) project is a good example of institution building. A.I.D. support provided the Brazilian Institute with new headquarters, established an urban research center, and began the Escola Nacional de Servicios Urbanos, which was a permanent training agency for public administration personnel.

Technical Assistance

Technical assistance activities were fairly consistent from project to project, being primarily technical in orientation. For example, the MDI in

Bolivia conducted preliminary studies for possible financing of village markets. IBAM (Brazil) completely overhauled administrative services as well as revised basic local legislation in taxation, personnel, and services in general. In Paraguay, the MDI conducted research into present systems of municipal financing and tax administration and provided assistance to municipalities in establishing modern methods of tax collection and administration.

According to the work done by Checchi and Company (Gall, 1975), technical assistance was delivered in two ways:

- in the narrow context of preparing for a subloan; or
- on an ad hoc basis, unrelated to other program activities.

Loan-related technical assistance. The principal objective of this assistance was to assure that the loan would be repaid by the municipality to the lending institution so that the revenue could be returned to a revolving fund. To increase the chances of that happening, the following steps were usually taken:

- municipality applied for a project;
- MDI examined financial records of the municipality to determine the risk involved in making the loan;
- if the municipality was considered credit worthy and the project was deemed to be potentially self-financing, MDI approved with the understanding that 1) the municipality would manage the project so that it would pay for itself; or 2) the local government would generate revenue to subsidize the project; and
- to enhance the financial revenue base of the municipality, the MDI sometimes conducted cadastral surveys, updated user rates for services, or improved tax collection systems.

Two types of technical assistance were involved in the project/loan application process: conducting feasibility studies and developing project plans; and instituting new methods to improve local administration to increase revenues. In terms of banking practices, the Checchi team believed this to be a sound procedure.

It is interesting to note the type of assistance that was not provided by the MDIs. Mechanisms to enhance local initiative were not included in the design. So, the ability of the local government to govern was not an issue. As a result, measures of increased civic consciousness or local autonomy were not taken. Baseline data concerning the degree of popular participation were not collected at the outset of the project nor during its implementation or upon completion.

Technical assistance delivered on an ad hoc basis. Delivering technical assistance unrelated to other project activities did not appear to have been effective in terms of endowing the local governments with the capabilities needed to function in an autonomous manner. In Costa Rica, IFAM tried to help all municipalities. However, its human resource base was too limited and each advisor was required to visit ten to twelve municipalities. The resulting assistance was found to be sporadic and even confusing to local officials (Gall, 1975).

It was noted in the final report prepared by the Institute of Public Administration (IPA) in 1969 that the municipal league in the Dominican Republic felt it was important to increase the number of field technical missions. It wanted to establish regular contact with the municipalities and avoid responding to them only under "crisis" conditions.

In Guatemala there was a lack of coordination in its attempts to provide assistance to local communities. As assistance was provided to the municipalities by different departments and divisions within the organization, there was often duplication of efforts and even conflicting advice.

The IPA final report of the SENDU (Bolivia) project noted that an insufficient amount of technical assistance had been provided. Although the loan agreements stipulated that training and technical assistance be provided to the municipalities, as an organization, SENDU was not committed to fulfilling that obligation. This may have been because upper management at the MDI was comprised of architects who were more familiar with technical aspects as opposed to "softer" technical assistance.

In general, some technical assistance was available to the communities; however, efforts were at times uncoordinated and were not comprehensive or integrated. The practice of providing outside experts to conduct the work did not enable the municipalities to carry out such functions themselves.

Loans to Municipalities

It would appear that the MDIs were successful in their abilities to make loans. A notable exception occurred in Bolivia. In 1975, A.I.D. threatened to de-obligate project funds because loans were not being made according to the predetermined implementation plan. As a result of the pressure put on the Government by A.I.D., loans were eventually processed at a faster rate. According to the IPA, the reason given for the delay was that carrying out the functions of a lending institution while at the same time building a new organization was more difficult than anticipated.

Training

Training for local development projects included long- and short-term in-service courses provided in the capital or in the municipalities themselves. Both in-service and participant training were incorporated into the project designs. The audience for training was both MDI and local government staff.

Permanent training units were established under several projects. For example, IBAM (Brazil) provided personnel training through a permanent in-country training agency, which offered courses in: budgeting and accounting; town planning; administrative services; community leadership; taxation and pension funds; and organization of water services.

The MDIs also provided training in the field to municipalities. SENDU (Bolivia) sponsored motivation seminars for mayors and offered courses on municipal financial administration. The municipal league in the Dominican Republic sponsored regional training seminars, which were believed to show commitment on the part of the central government to improving local government.

Training was also available as an institution-building device. For example, IBAM (Brazil) upgraded its staff through degree and non-degree programs at institutions in the United States and at the Getulio Vargas Foundation in Brazil. Participant training components were included in projects conducted in Honduras and Costa Rica. Training was to be given in the following areas:

- general financial operations of development banks;
- controllership of local credit institutions;
- municipal law, city ordinances, and administrative regulations;
- municipal financial administration;
- project formulation, evaluation, and administration;
- urban, municipal, and regional organization and planning;
and
- management audit and financing analysis.

In some cases the training was not linked to the technical assistance being given. For example, in Guatemala training was initially not offered by the MDI, but was done through another organization, the National Institute of Development Administration (INAD). INFOM did begin offering training, but then did not provide the technical assistance needed for follow-up.

In general, it was felt that the training component of the municipal development projects was insufficient in meeting the expressed needs of the municipalities. According to a study conducted by Checchi and Company in 1974, a median of 13.6 percent of the loan package was allocated for technical assistance and training. This ranged from a low of 4.8 percent for INFOM in Guatemala to a high of 22.5 percent for IDM in Paraguay (Gall, 1975).

C. PROJECT PROFILES

The municipal development project supported by A.I.D. in Guatemala is reviewed in depth. The review is based on available project documentation that includes project papers, project appraisal reports, evaluations and a visit to the field. A second briefer profile of the municipal development project in Costa Rica presents information gathered from interviews in Costa Rica with individuals who have been or are currently involved in municipal development. Their perceptions of the effect of A.I.D. assistance on municipal development in the past and their view of municipal development in the future are useful for discerning lessons for future programming.

1. Municipal Development in Guatemala

Time Frame

The municipal development project began in fiscal year 1971 and was scheduled to end in fiscal year 1976. Assistance was provided through grants and loans to strengthen key Guatemalan institutions involved in municipal development principally INAD (National Institute for Development Administration), ANAM (National Association of Municipalities), and INFOM (The National Municipal Promotion Institute). In 1973, A.I.D. signed a 2-year, \$2.1 million loan agreement with matching funds from the Government of Guatemala to provide loans to small municipalities to construct water systems, markets, slaughterhouses, electrification systems, and other infrastructure projects. INFOM would administer the loan and manage the design, engineering, and accounting work for up to 200 infrastructure projects in third and fourth class rural municipalities.

Project Goal

Derived from the congressional mandate of 1973, the goal was to contribute to Guatemala's five-year rural development program by strengthening the administrative, financial, and planning capacity of municipal government in selected rural areas.

Regional associations would be created for the purpose of promoting, designing, and submitting project proposals on behalf of member municipalities to INFOM for financing. Additional assistance to mayors of larger municipalities would be provided by Peace Corps Volunteers trained in municipal development. It was expected that the regional associations would serve as the means for increasing the number of infrastructure projects in small municipalities and improving the administrative, financial, and maintenance procedures followed by municipalities in connection with these projects.

Project Purpose

The stated purpose of the project was to establish six regional municipal associations with professionally staffed technical offices to provide administrative, financial management, and project planning assistance for up to 120 municipalities.

It was anticipated that the technical offices of the regional associations would provide assistance in training municipal officials and employees, planning and design for municipal projects, improving administrative procedures and increasing tax revenue, and coordination with government agencies on local and regional-level projects.

Initial technical assistance and training would be provided by INAD which would be later absorbed by INFOM after the loan agreement was signed. INFOM was considered to be a natural choice for the administration of long-term municipal development. The official mandate of INFOM, created in 1957, was to provide credit, engineering assistance, accounting services, training and technical assistance to municipalities. Since the training and technical assistance functions of INFOM were not as well developed as its other functions, it was hoped that INFOM would build on the initial project accomplishments and training capabilities of INAD during the transfer of responsibilities.

Thus, it was expected that administrative improvements and training provided by INAD in the beginning and INFOM later would result in strengthening the capacity of third and fourth class municipalities to manage the public services financed by INFOM as well as to meet the terms of the loan repayments.

Linkage to Title IX

The linkage of Title IX was broadly conceived in the project paper. Even though active participation by local citizens in municipal projects is stated as one of eight anticipated outcomes of the project, the project paper does not contain specific programming elements that explain how it is to be achieved. Essentially, the project aimed to improve the administrative, financial, and managerial capacity of municipalities and to increase their access to improved public services through subsidized loans from INFOM. It was anticipated that this would strengthen the position of municipalities vis-a-vis the central government and eventually increase their capability for self-development.

The project paper did include references to Title IX. For example, it described itself as essentially a "Title IX-type of activity" and stated that success would depend on a high degree of popular participation and support, particularly a willingness on the part of the people to respond to increases in municipal revenues. Even though active participation by local citizens in municipal projects and elections was an anticipated outcome of the project, it was assumed that this would occur on the basis of tradition and strong identification with the municipality. Also, the project was to encourage and train municipal leaders in ways to increase citizen participation. However, how this was to be achieved is not elaborated in the project paper.

In a larger context, the original project paper acknowledged that a strong sense of autonomy exists at the local government level in Guatemala, especially in comparison with other Latin American countries. However, the central government's control of tax and police power limits local independence in a significant manner. The project paper stated, "Development undertakings in the rural areas could in time undermine the fragile democratic

underpinnings which local government represents, and make the people even more dependent on the benevolence of the central government and national capital" (1970, p. 2). This project was viewed as a means of strengthening local government to the point that the municipalities could manage their own affairs, and promote their own development with a maximum level of local support and a minimum amount of dependence on the central development.

Results of Evaluations

Project evaluations during the 1970-1972 period indicate that INAD was making steady progress toward meeting the project goal and purpose during the 1970-1972 period. INAD teams were successful in promoting the formation of departmental associations of municipalities in some areas and in promoting participation in the annual Municipal Congress held in December 1971. In addition, there was improved participation in the 1971 municipal congress particularly from the targeted group of third and fourth class municipalities. ANAM was growing in strength and capability. INAD was successful in developing and setting in operation Guatemala's first civil service and conducting large training programs for mid- and low-level government employees.

A 1974 Project Appraisal Report (PAR) indicated that during the 1973 to 1974 period the municipal development project remained uncoordinated with INFOM. The transition of control from INAD to INFOM appears to have been unsuccessful. Furthermore, the government of Guatemala had not provided INAD with adequate budget control. As a result, A.I.D. decided to terminate its support of the project through INAD and to concentrate its assistance on INFOM commencing July 1, 1974. Even though INAD had made some progress toward achieving the goal of establishing regional associations by 1973, INAD was instructed by the central government to end its field training activities and organization of technical offices for 12 months due to the presidential and municipal election campaign.

The 1974 PAR also indicates that two out of the expected six associations had initial pledges for support through a fixed percentage of municipal revenues of its members. With the termination of INAD involvement in the project it appears that meeting the original expectation of six regional associations would not be possible. The PAR stated, however, that "there is preliminary evidence to indicate that well established municipal governments, in an increasing dialogue with national institutions can give local representatives a greater role in the determination of national priorities. The associations provide local governments with an effective vehicle of communication among themselves to identify common problems and develop regional strategies. They also serve as a good platform for coordinating inputs in training" (p. 4).

An assessment of INFOM by Checchi and Company published in 1975 stated that the municipal development project was successful if measured in terms of the limited scope of providing basic service projects to the smallest and weakest municipalities through the loan packages of INFOM. In the larger context of institutional development and strengthening of municipal development, the project appears to have encountered more difficulty. The Checchi report acknowledges A.I.D.'s attempt at institutional development

through support given to INAD to establish regional associations, and to prepare training manuals. Of the eight manuals produced by INAD, only two were judged by INFOM to be satisfactory. The original intention of coordinating the institutional development activities of INAD in the municipal development field with INFOM after the loan agreement was signed appears to have fallen short of expectation particularly in view of the fact that the central government failed to provide support to INAD. The Checchi report states: "The net result has been that the A.I.D. assistance has apparently served to confirm INFOM's limited approach, reinforced the formation of yet another specialized engineering unit within the institution, but has done little or nothing to date to encourage municipal development in its broad sense through the institution primarily responsible for it. Instead the institutional efforts were channelled through separate agencies, with little net benefit" (1975, p. 72). The Checchi report suggests that it would have been better for the original loan and grant package to go through INFOM, thus requiring it to set up a broader capability to assist municipalities with planning, financial improvements, staff training, and other reforms.

In response to Checchi's analysis of the INFOM as an efficient production machine but not equipped to provide a full range of assistance in financial and administrative matters, A.I.D. issued three project agreements in 1974, 1975, and 1976 to create a capability within INFOM to provide training and technical assistance to municipal officials in areas of administration, budgeting and finance. The 1977 project evaluation summary that covered the time period between 1974 to 1977 indicates that INFOM had largely accomplished the goals of the project agreements through the creation of a capable Training and Technical Assistance Section within the Department of Financial and Economic Studies. The cycle of on-site problem investigation, training courses and follow-up visits had been successfully completed in 26 municipalities and would be extended to 141 additional municipalities in 1977-1978. In general, the evaluation report indicates confidence in INFOM's ability to meet the goals of the project and end-of project status contemplated in the revised logical framework. It was anticipated that there would be significant increases in tax revenues particularly for those municipalities which had participated in training programs and that INFOM would take over the responsibilities of field technical assistance and training activities.

Field Interviews

Five individuals were interviewed - the current general manager of INFOM, the previous manager of INFOM (1983-1986) who supervised A.I.D. loans during the period of this project, the secretary of ANAM who also served as secretary of ANAM during the project period, the mayor of a small municipality who served as secretary of the municipality during the project period, and the secretary of a larger municipality who also worked as a municipal employee during the period of this project. The purpose of the interviews was to acquire a general sense of the current municipal situation in order to ascertain what the lasting effects of A.I.D. assistance may have been, the extent to which participation is evident in the municipal system, and the future direction of municipal development. This researcher is aware that these issues are very broad and five interviews are insufficient for the

purpose of drawing firm conclusions. However, the interviews do allow certain insights and permit one to form some initial impressions of the situation which might be followed up later with more in-depth study.

The study of any topic in Guatemala with a history going back to the early 1970s needs to take into account the political and civil strife the country faced during the late 1970s and early 1980s during the military regimes. The recent election of a civilian president has had an important effect on the country and the population giving rise to new initiatives and a general sense of hopefulness. This, however, should not mark the ever present threat of the military. The military continues to maintain a strong position in the government and represents a potential threat to the current government in spite of the appearance of fairly calm relations.

It appears that during the years of military rule, municipal governments and INFOM continued to function in much the same manner in which A.I.D. left the project in 1978. Today, INFOM is a strong institution that continues to provide loans to municipalities (including third and fourth class municipalities on a subsidized basis) for infrastructure projects, provides all the services for designing and executing the projects, and provide training of municipal employees in administration and management. Thus, one might conclude that in general the assistance provided to INFOM by A.I.D. under its loan agreement to extend the MDI's services and loans to poorer, rural municipalities and to increase its technical assistance and training capacity has been successful if measured on the basis of continuity over the long term.

The relationship between INFOM and the municipalities appears to continue in the manner characterized in the Checchi interim report published in 1975. In general, INFOM believes that municipalities as a whole are not entirely ready to assume full responsibility for managing infrastructure projects.

opportunity for greater independence, they view INFOM as a resource and appear less vocal about its presence. The mayor of the small municipality pointed out that often INFOM will decide on a design for a project that may not be best suited for the municipality. The fact that municipalities can access the services of INFOM easily and that once commissioned, INFOM assumes most of the responsibilities for project management and operation most probably reduces the burden on smaller municipalities which have fewer employees to administer the project with the same degree of efficiency as INFOM.

ANAM (National Association of Municipalities) views INFOM and the current move toward distributing eight percent of the budget to municipalities suspiciously and tends to attribute political motive to the policies of INFOM. ANAM also questions the move of INFOM to decentralize operations to eight regional offices stating that it only acts to strengthen the outreach of the present party, increases bureaucracy by one more layer and poses a potential threat to the autonomy of mayors. The secretary of ANAM believes that it has an important role to play in the future. It can represent the view of over 300 mayors and the issues faced by municipalities regardless of size. The secretary admitted, however, that the role of ANAM was not as effective in the past because of the political role it played in the politics of the government. The organization provides a powerful political platform for the mayor of Guatemala City (who is automatically the president of the association) because of the access it provides to over 300 municipalities. This factor and others probably contributed to the decision of the government to suspend the activities of ANAM for a period of about 10 years starting during mid-1970s. ANAM was revived only last year by the current president of Guatemala.

There appears to be a tradition of citizen participation at the municipal level that is strong in many areas of Guatemala. Except during certain periods of Guatemalan history, mayors are elected and work with a representative body, the city council, in reaching decisions about important issues that face the municipality. While there is participation of the citizenry in reaching a decision to request assistance for infrastructure project, once a letter requesting the assistance is sent to INFOM, INFOM manages the entire process from that point onward and there is little opportunity for substantive input into the process by the constituency. The opportunity to manage more resources as will be the case with eight percent of the budget has the potential of increasing the amount of control municipalities can have over the process of decision-making. Given the present structure of municipalities and the role of city councils and mayors, there appears to be a recipient structure that can support an increase in the participation of the citizenry. Furthermore, the re-emergence of ANAM provides another voice for the needs of municipalities if ANAM is able to disentangle itself from the political history of the past. It is still too early to know what direction ANAM will take since it is just beginning to become active.

In general, there appears to be a positive mood in the country about the direction of municipal development in the future. The resources available to INFOM and municipalities is increasing. There is a move in the government to increase the autonomy of municipalities and INFOM is moving in the direction of decentralizing. There is a difference of opinion about the effects

decentralization will have on municipalities and their sense of independence. Autonomy continues to be a critical issue. INFOM is concerned over the readiness of municipalities to manage projects on their own. This may be a logical concern on the part of INFOM because of the paternalistic relationship it has with municipalities. Municipalities are totally dependent on INFOM for deciding how projects will be executed and managed. Municipalities have little to no input in the process or control of the project once INFOM takes charge. INFOM is well-run, efficient and an excellent manager of the delivery of services to rural areas. However, it has neglected developing the capacity of municipalities to manage projects by excluding them from the process of decision-making and project management. It appears that the need for education and training of municipal employees continues to persist and is seen as a way to enhance the capability of municipalities to develop autonomy. In view of the opinions expressed by the individuals interviewed, it is interesting to note the following statement from the 1975 Checchi evaluation:

"The most basic issue of all of course is that of attitude. As long as the municipalities are not required or allowed to make their theoretical autonomy effective and given the tools to start doing it, there will be little fundamental change in local government. Many technicians basically distrust the municipalities, regard them as incompetent to solve their problems locally. The municipalities reach upward for their solutions, in many instances receive some response to their demands, and have also come to believe that this is the best and natural order of things. There must be a new mutual conviction at the local and national levels that this relationship can be changed or the old ways of doing things will live forever" (p. 57).

2. Municipal Development in Costa Rica

Project Overview

The field research focused in great part on the assistance A.I.D. provided for the Institute of Municipal Development and Assistance (IFAM) in Costa Rica between 1970 and 1976. A.I.D. provided the seed money, long- and short-term technical assistance, in-country training, and participant training. Some of the technical assistance focused on the design and implementation of regional development plans and establishment of a regional coordinating authority. IBAM, the Brazilian municipal development institution, provided technical support by assisting in the organization of IFAM and the development of training programs for municipal administrators.

Evaluation of A.I.D.'s Assistance

Those interviewed in Costa Rica who are currently working with IFAM or have worked with IFAM expressed a high level of gratitude toward A.I.D. for its past assistance. The interviewees stated that IFAM's current healthy existence is a strong indicator of A.I.D.'s success in assistance. They also stated that the revolving fund A.I.D. helped set up is functioning well because of the high rate of loan repayment on the part of the municipal

governments. The major factor for the decrease in this revolving fund has been inflation, not unpaid loans. The interviewees associated with IFAM indicated that using IBAM for technical assistance was an excellent strategy because this Latin American institution and its staff could identify with and understand the challenge IFAM was facing.

Role of Municipalities in the Development of Democracy

All of those interviewed believed that a strong municipal government is essential for a viable democratic system. There was, nevertheless, disagreement concerning the role IFAM has played in the development of democratic systems in Costa Rica. Those involved with IFAM indicated that because IFAM strengthens local governments by providing them with access to funds to improve their municipalities and with some training and/or technical assistance to carry out the responsibilities of local government officials, IFAM therefore strengthens democracy. Others argued that IFAM functions primarily as a lending institution and does not really increase popular participation. Furthermore, some interviewees stated that the public does not feel that IFAM is having much of an effect on improving municipal governments.

Furthermore, most of the interviewees noted that over the last 100 years, the power of the municipal governments has decreased as the power of the national government has increased, particularly since the 1940s. Concurrently, faith in the local governments has waned. According to those interviewed, Costa Ricans view most municipal officials as politicians who are more concerned with seeking higher posts than they are with improving their municipalities. In addition, many of the individuals who hold municipal posts are not trained appropriately to carry out their responsibilities. IFAM representatives also agreed that one of the greatest areas of need for the municipalities is training of the municipal administrators, particularly the core staff that will remain permanent. IFAM officials indicated that the organization needs assistance in providing this training. The other interviewees stressed the importance of training as well. If constituents are to have more faith in the municipal governments, the administrators must be capable of handling their responsibilities.

Because of the lack of trust in the municipal governments, some interviewees suggested that A.I.D. focus its efforts to increase popular participation on neighborhood associations--smaller organizations that exemplify the democratic system. One interviewee indicated that such associations are common in Costa Rica. They are generally formed to solve a local problem and the Costa Ricans are highly motivated to "take their neighborhoods in their own hands." Strengthening these groups, some interviewees stated, would be an appropriate and efficient means of providing a firm foundation for the democratic system in Costa Rica.

Timing of Assistance

The interviewees noted that A.I.D. first provided municipal assistance after Costa Rica had initiated municipal reform, which gave more power back to the municipal government in the late 1960s. With the reform of the 1960s, municipal mayors were elected by the community, new municipal codes were

developed, and the municipalities were given access to more tax revenue. In the early 1970s, IFAM was created to provide technical assistance and funds to the newly empowered municipal governments.

A similar reform is now occurring, with the emphasis on decentralization. There is a plan to provide the municipal governments with 10 percent of the tax revenue so that they can have more resources to work with and take over some of the activities now controlled by the central government. One interviewee argued that decentralization is very possible now because the rural areas are more developed and "livable" than they were in the past; consequently, it is time that they had a more effective bureaucratic structure to offer services to their constituents.

Because of this push for decentralization in Costa Rica, there is a great need to provide the municipal government officials with training that will help them manage their new responsibilities and resources appropriately. Those involved with IFAM suggested that A.I.D. could support municipal development in Costa Rica through IFAM by providing training for IFAM trainers and funds to carry out technical assistance and training. All of the interviewees indicated that assistance from A.I.D. during periods of transition can be most effective and crucial.

Suggestions for Future Assistance in the Field of Municipal Development

The interviewees had several suggestions for A.I.D.'s future assistance in the field of municipal development. As indicated above, training for municipal leaders was high on their list of priorities. Several interviewees stressed that much of this training must focus on the political parties who in fact generate the municipal leaders. One interviewee suggested that A.I.D. offer short-term training programs for municipal leaders that would allow them to exchange ideas with both Latin and U.S. municipal leaders and to see a broad range of systems. Assisting neighborhood associations through training and funding was another area highlighted. Funding conferences for municipal leaders in Latin America was another suggestion. One interviewee emphasized that A.I.D. needs to formulate a strategy for promoting municipal development throughout all of Latin America because strong local governments are crucial to the continued existence of democracy in the region. Another interviewee stressed that the best way to strengthen local governments is through civic education that will increase the number of individuals who vote and take an interest in their community government.

D. SUMMARY

It would appear that A.I.D. needs to more directly address the issue of how to strengthen municipalities in a way that reflects Title IX goals. According to several sources, this might be a rather sensitive activity for an international development agency to undertake as it spills over into the realm of political power, power sharing, decentralization, and/or devolution of authority.

The Agency's approach to strengthening local governments has been primarily through assistance to Municipal Development Institutions. In many

cases, the loans and technical assistance provided to the various agencies was effective in creating lending agencies that were efficient and institutionally strong. It could also be argued that the quality of life had been improved in municipalities as basic services that had previously been nonexistent, were made available to the local populace. However, in terms of giving greater autonomy and decision-making power to the local governments, this technocratic approach was not effective. The political aims were often not explicitly expressed in project papers and accordingly, the need for developing strategies for their implementation was not addressed. This is understandable, given the public administration and economic focus of the municipal development projects.

Municipal development continues to be a concern for local governments. Although there is a difference in opinion concerning the effects of decentralization on municipalities and their independence, autonomy remains a key issue.

IV. CIVIC EDUCATION

This chapter examines A.I.D.'s efforts to support civic education as a means of increasing popular participation and strengthening democracy in Latin America. Background information regarding A.I.D.'s approach to civic education is provided, which is then followed by a discussion of selected civic education projects. Major themes that were identified in that section will then be examined further in a project profile.

A. BACKGROUND

Civic education as an area for development assistance has not received the systematic treatment in terms of policy and programming development accorded to other sectors. There does not seem to have been any one officially articulated definition of civic education. Based on the work conducted for this study, the term civic education refers to any learning or participatory activity which is intended to enhance the participants' ability to take an active role in his or her community and respond to problems that confront the community as a whole.

1. Civic Education: Its Initial Stages

Civic education was first mentioned in the Culver Amendment of 1967. The Culver Amendment in effect provided specific guidelines for operationalizing the intent of Title IX. The new amendment stated that Title IX programs would

"...support civic education and training in skills required for effective participation in government and political processes essential to self-government."

In the FY 1967 Congressional Presentation, it was stated that A.I.D.-sponsored training should go beyond instruction in technical areas to include strategies to build self-reliance, community consciousness, and entrepreneurial interests. It was believed that such skills were critical to bring about the institutional development called for in the Culver Amendment.

At that time, the Congressional Foreign Assistance Committee felt that both the initiative and the human resources required for this type of development activity should come from the aid-receiving countries. A.I.D.'s role would be to provide support to locally initiated projects, encourage institutions to become active in the area of civic education, and promote joint collaboration between public and private institutions in the same geographical area. It was also suggested that A.I.D. seek the advice of national and international experts in civic education and politics to devise new and innovative ways of programming in this relatively new field.

H. Field Haviland was one of the most vigorous spokespersons for civic education during the late 1960s. Haviland believed that the objective of U.S.

foreign assistance was to encourage the development of neighbors who would be stronger and better equipped to deal with their own problems in a way consistent with American values and U.S. interests. Economic and social development alone would not meet those ends. Development of civic systems was necessary to promote values and institutions essential in managing public affairs and in dealing with major national and international tensions. In Haviland's view, weak civic development inhibited economic development as evidenced by:

- poor public understanding of national and international problems;
- insufficient community involvement and organization; and
- weak government performance.

2. The Conceptualization of Civic Education

In the early years following the introduction of Title IX, A.I.D. held several conferences and seminars to explore civic education and its implications for A.I.D. programming. A number of seminars was held by the Brookings Institution in 1969. The most significant of these conferences concerning civic education was held by Tufts University in 1970.

The Executive Seminar on Social and Civic Development

The Brookings Institution sponsored a seminar for A.I.D. staff and scholars in Antigua, Guatemala. The purpose was to discuss how A.I.D. was encouraging social and civic development in Latin America. The following points were brought out during the discussions:

- past experience showed that cooperatives were most conducive to accepting modernization;
- mass communication was believed to be a powerful strategy for encouraging participation;
- the best way to "teach" participation was by having people participate directly in an activity; and
- all training should be sensitive to the organizational setting, i.e., people should be trained within their own environments.

One of the conclusions of the seminar was that the culture of "patronismo" (the mentality where an authority figure has power and people defer decisions to that figure) would have to be changed if broad-based participation by all socio-economic groups in a society was to be achieved. Deane Hinton, then Director of the Mission in Guatemala, offered in his case study that development was a process of changing attitudes, rather than purely economic growth. One of the constraints to social change was the polarization between the various strata of Latin American society. It was pointed out that the upper classes must be more responsive to and show respect

for the less advantaged members of the community. Without a steady, measured sharing of wealth and power, a "peasant explosion" was seen to be a likely result.

Edward Hirayabashi shared with the participants the work he had done to break down the social/psychological barriers in Ecuador. The main objectives of the civic education projects were to: 1) encourage leaders to accept the concept of shared authority; 2) encourage followers to perceive options permitting them to reject authoritarianism; and 3) sensitize and educate all to be more concerned with their fellow citizens. It should be noted that the members of the seminar were strongly divided on the use of sensitivity training.

The Tufts University Seminar on Civic Education

The most thorough discussion of civic education occurred during the Tufts University Seminar of 1970. Held through the university's two professional schools, the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy and the Lincoln Filene Center for Citizenship and Public Affairs, the seminar brought A.I.D. staff and academicians together to discuss this relatively new area of international assistance.

John Schott, then acting Director of the Title IX Division, noted that up to that time, the Agency had not yet carried out its congressional directive to support civic education and training in skills required for effective participation. Framing the discussion, he raised the following issues:

- What is civic education?
- Is the subject so culture-bound that external assistance is inappropriate?
- Does the U.S. have a comparative advantage in this field?
- Should a U.S. foreign assistance aid program broaden its responsibility into such a political, value-laden area?
- Given limited resources, what development priority should be given to programs in civic education?

Although these questions were not answered, the seminar did reveal a variety of ways of defining the topic. H. Field Haviland, then a professor at the Fletcher School, reiterated the definition he had previously presented to Congress saying that the purpose of civic education was to prepare all citizens to be effective actors in the civic systems of their society. A civic system is a complex system of public and private institutions that have the greatest influence on the management of community affairs, especially in resolving conflicts among competing interests.

Civic education involved three major issues. The first was the cultivation of values that provide a fertile ground for the right kind of civic participation. Among those cited by Haviland were democratic rights and

obligations and the concept of modern, rational behavior. The need for knowledge was another major consideration. This included not only knowledge of one's country and its related problems, but of the civic systems and problems of other nations in the world, which would serve as a basis for shared understanding. The last was the need for civic skills, the analytical skills required in making informed opinions about national policy issues and those skills needed to become an engaged member of society.

John S. Gibson defined civic education as a part of the broader socialization of the individual into the civic realm of society. Civic socialization was a continuous process and many different types of agents or transmitters provided significant input on the orientation of the individual. Gibson noted that the goal of civic education in the United States was to instill student with a high degree of civic quality and efficacy. Although there are differences in the way civic education was delivered, Gibson contended that it was a fundamental and necessary means of developing support among future citizens for the basic unity, stability, and integrity of the state.

According to Bernard J. Lavin, civic education encompassed moral, patriotic, political, cultural, and traditional values and behavior which are taught through the formal education system. This included studies related to developing knowledge of one's own society, national ideas, common good, and processes of self-government, and analytical skills necessary for evaluating major policy decisions of the government, and action skills on how to conduct meetings and vote.

Lavin believed that the U.S. had a comparative advantage in the field of social studies. Technical assistance could be provided to developing countries in this area and educators should exchange innovative ideas. However, he cautioned that it was extremely important to work within the cultural and traditional context of the country to which technical assistance was given. Technical assistance should include experience, materials, and professional personnel that might be useful and adaptable in the democratic development of each country's political, social, and economic structure. He also stressed the importance of continuity of commitment and the level of commitment on the part of the host government.

The academicians focused on schools as the preferred delivery system for civic education. In Haviland's opinion, the primary level should receive first priority as many of these concepts are acquired early in a child's life. Gibson offered several ways to improve civic education: improving the quality of teaching, by strengthening teacher training and providing in-service training; and increasing the involvement of the students by providing more individualized instruction for students and encouraging greater student participation in the teaching-learning process. In terms of the content, curricula would need to be made more relevant, with cocurricular activities incorporated in the program and flexible and primary resources serving as instructional materials. In addition, schools would need to be made more democratic.

The academicians also realized that civic education could also be taught through nonformal channels. Lavin termed this "applied civic education,"

political, and economic institutions by encouraging the development of civic, agricultural, labor, and economic institutions and assisting the growth of community and rural development programs.

Gibson cited the importance of youth, church, and professional organizations such as teacher groups and community groups like the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) in promoting civic education. Organizations that provide civic services or that consider public matters were another avenue for protracted civic socialization. Gibson noted that more research should be done in the area of adult civic education in order to determine the impact of these activities on the political orientation of adults.

In response to the academicians, Schott noted that A.I.D. had discovered that host countries were becoming increasingly reluctant about U.S. assistance in the public schools. Accordingly, A.I.D. restricted itself to providing technical assistance in the relatively value free areas of math and the physical sciences or by working in school construction or teacher training. Given the highly sensitive nature of working in formal education, Schott offered that it could be preferable to support only a few projects in civic education directed at carefully selected target groups and performed exclusively by NGOs that could tie a civic education element into more broadly defined projects.

Schott acknowledged that the lack of meaningful and practical guidelines concerning the role of NGOs, and A.I.D. staff's limited training in the new area of civic education would be impediments to this approach. Schott suggested that the Agency should depend less on U.S.-funded technical personnel, reduce the number of visible American technicians in the field, and have private host country institutions implement programs. However, he also noted the difficulties involved in making medium-size grants to private institutions in developing countries.

In closing, Schott saw the need to clarify the role that different types of civic education play at various stages of a country's development. In addition, it would be helpful to have a better understanding of the appropriate channels for this type of development assistance.

Although civic education had been legislated in Title IX, the Title IX/Civic Participation Division of the Bureau for Policy and Program Coordination did not provide the field with any policy guidance or programming suggestions. Missions were, however, encouraged to program in this area. A former director of the Title IX Division stated that he viewed civic education as a very broad concept in which the educational process was expanded or utilized to make people better citizens. In his opinion, the notion of civic education provided the Title IX Division with a forum in which to discuss education in the developing world in general.

B. OVERVIEW OF PROJECTS

CIVIC education, in its broadest terms, includes adult literacy training, "consciousness raising," activism in cooperatives or trade unions, community organizing, awareness of land reform, rural development, youth scout groups,

and the promotion of human rights. In fact, leadership training can also be considered a form of civic education. The overview below, however, focuses on those projects that are most relevant to A.I.D.'s current priorities in democracy building. It will examine strengthening local volunteer organizations, which is one approach that A.I.D. has taken in implementing programs of civic education.

1. Civic Education Projects

The projects to be reviewed include the following:

- Partners of the Americas;
- the Overseas Education Fund's Leadership Development for Women; and
- the Servicio Ecuatoriano de Voluntarios (Ecuadorean Volunteer Service, SEV).

A discussion of common themes that emerged from the research follows the project descriptions.

Partners of the Americas

Partners of the Americas was a movement initiated under the Alliance for Progress in 1964. Funded by Latin American Regional accounts, the project was established by an administrative determination of the Latin America Bureau to coordinate self-help programs implemented by organized partnerships of U.S. states and regions or countries in Latin America and the Caribbean. In March of 1970 there were forty North American state partnerships, which were paired with forty-one partnerships in seventeen Latin American and Caribbean countries. By contrast, there are presently fifty-six North-South partnerships.

Objectives of the partnerships are to develop self-help attitudes, strengthen democratic organizations, broaden understanding, and establish lasting friendship between the people of the United States and Latin America. The project paper states that Partner activities contribute to development at the grassroots level because it involves the cooperation of private citizens within communities instead of central government bureaucracies. In addition, the Partner project serves to create greater awareness on the part of the citizens of the United States of their neighbors to the south.

The partnerships carry out small-scale development activities in health and rehabilitation, rural development and agriculture, women in development, disaster preparedness, and sports and cultural events. In recent years, projects with a socio-economic focus have been stressed over cultural exchanges (Dicker, 1985).

The National Association of the Partners of the Alliance (NAPA) was created at the outset of the project to provide general backstopping, such as

fund-raising, promotion and publicity, and coordination. As the Partnerships focused more and more on socio-economic projects, NAPA began to serve as a technical resource as well.

A.I.D. has funded NAPA and the Partners program through a core grant, which is used for staff salaries, consultants, office supplies, and travel (both international and domestic). In addition, other sources of A.I.D. funds such as Child Survival are allocated to various programs. For example, the Central American Partnerships now have access to funds available through the Central American Expansion Program, a three-year grant which went into effect in the fall of 1985.

Leadership Development for Women

Similar to Partners of the Americas, the Leadership Development for Women project (hereafter referred to as the OEF project) was an Alliance for Progress activity that was conducted by the League of Women Voters through its Overseas Education Fund. The project was financed by several grants, with funds originating primarily from the Latin American Regional account. The OEF project lasted from 1964 until 1976.

As stated in the project paper, the overall goal of the OEF was

- to encourage and assist, within the framework of the national cultures of other countries, the development of citizen initiative, participation, and action; and to help volunteer groups work together to identify realistic goals and plans to meet them.

The sub-goals, which were also delineated in the project paper, were as follows:

- a) "to encourage the establishment of viable institutions such as citizens' organizations, community action groups, and information or volunteer training centers;
- b) to stimulate the undertaking of practicable civic programs involving local, national, or regional cooperation, and initiative which will expand perspectives for citizen action;
- c) to provide counsel to voluntary educational and professional organizations which are or will assume responsibility for the civic, political, and democratic education of its citizenry; and
- d) to train for civic leadership able women who will be willing and competent to assume a leadership role in order to further civic development in their countries."

Although A.I.D. initiated the OEF project in FY 1963, three years prior to the passage of Title IX, OEF's commitment to establishing and/or supporting institutions such as citizens' organizations, community action groups, and

voluntary educational or professional organizations that would educate the citizenry certainly fell under the rubric of Title IX. OEF's first efforts in Latin America were in providing training to women and women's organizations in civic education and civic action, following the same model used by the League of Women Voters in the United States. This model focused on the mechanics of democracy such as elections, platforms, and political parties. It was discovered, however, that the United States model did not transfer well to the Latin American context. By way of illustration, the project paper outlined the following points that inhibited the success of OEF's attempts at civic education.

- Many attempts at forming organizations for women voters were motivated by feelings of anti-communism as opposed to bipartisan interest.
- The high rate of illiteracy among lower socio-economic classes limited the number of people from that stratum of society to become involved in civic organizations.
- The lack of a tradition of democratic organizations in the country made it difficult for women to accept democracy.
- An emphasis on local issues was not particularly relevant in Latin America, as power was centralized and local officials were often appointed rather than elected.
- Voting procedures of certain countries hampered voter education drives.
- The military did not always respect the outcome of national elections.

OEF therefore refocused its efforts towards establishing the process through which ideas are discussed and political action is taken as opposed to focusing on the mechanical aspects of democracy. OEF began working with women's voluntary organizations in the fields of family planning, adult literacy, civic education, and community development. In order to provide them with the skills they lacked in organizational and group participation techniques, OEF conducted U.S.-based training and short-term seminars for groups in Latin America and established coordinating volunteer training centers in Costa Rica, Argentina, Ecuador, and Bolivia and local citizen organizations in the Dominican Republic. This stage of the project is discussed in greater detail in Chapter V.

In 1972, an evaluation of OEF's work was conducted by the American Technical Assistance Corporation (ATAC). This proved to be a turning point in the project, as OEF was consequently redesigned. OEF received a three-year grant (1973-1976) from A.I.D. to implement some of the recommendations made in the ATAC report. Although OEF continued to work with voluntary groups, the revised project concentrated more on institution-building and on empowering the poor to develop and manage their own self-help projects. By adopting a training rather than what was previously termed a "paternalistic" approach to volunteerism, OEF believed it could make a positive contribution to improving

socio-economic conditions in Latin America. OEF's plan also involved coordinating the various politically and socially acceptable voluntary organizations by means of umbrella or coordinating agencies. Thus, the grant provided technical assistance to twenty-one coordinating agencies in Colombia, Ecuador, Bolivia, and Costa Rica.

The Servicio Ecuatoriano de Voluntarios (Ecuadorean Volunteer Service)

The Ecuadorean Volunteer Service (SEV), which was created as a component of the Youth Affairs project, was part of a civic development effort in Ecuador. The A.I.D. grant underwrote the founding of the SEV, a volunteer youth corps. Legally established under Ecuadorean law, the SEV is a civil, nonprofit association intended to develop linkages with private and public sector organizations.

The purpose of the project was to establish a self-sufficient national youth volunteer service through which youth could participate in national development, the rationale being that young people would be able to gain a better understanding of the development process by working with local community self-help groups.

The role of the SEV volunteers was to hold seminars and lectures with young people to discuss democratic development and social justice. Specific training was to be given in a variety of areas: group dynamics; leadership patterns; community development; cooperativism; communication skills; and understanding of economic and social problems in Ecuador.

The volunteers also helped community leaders develop skills in planning community projects and mobilizing outside resources for activities. In addition, SEV provided technical assistance to other groups such as the Ecuadorean Development Foundation of Quito and the UNESCO/Ministry of Education Pilot Literacy Project.

2. Volunteer Associations as a Vehicle for Civic Education

Encouraging volunteer associations serves the cause of promoting popular participation in two ways: by creating a microcosm of democratic procedures that are practiced by organization members; and by fostering interaction among the various socio-economic classes. This reflects the findings of the early seminars on civic education, which stated that participation is best learned or internalized through direct exposure, and that trying to narrow the gulf of understanding between socio-economic groups was critical for a democratic, pluralistic society.

These projects, notably the OEF and SEV, also delivered civic education in the more traditional sense of teaching people about their civic duties and responsibilities. In the documentation it was not clear what impact this had on people's ability or inclination to participate in politics. For the purposes of this analysis, however, the focus will be on process and not content. The operating procedures of each organization demonstrate how they used democratic practices and fostered popular participation. The project designs and the role of A.I.D. played in their implementation were also found to enhance the Title IX aspects of the programs.

Practicing Democratic Procedures

The volunteer civic associations that received support from the three A.I.D. projects can be viewed as microcosms of democracy. The volunteer organizations under examination all were and still are legally established entities in their countries, and thus were working within the system. By-laws were also a feature. The SEV and Partners projects provide the best examples of democratic practices.

The SEV codified its by-laws in the Constitutive Declaration, which was adopted in 1970. Article 10 describes the rights and duties of the volunteer members, outlining the democratic procedures that were to be followed:

- a) Participate in the election of and be elected to any of the functions or positions contemplated in the by-laws of SEV;
- b) Attend with voice and vote the meetings of the General Assembly;
- c) Present projects and suggestions before the Executive Committee and General Assembly;
- d) Agree to be hired as determined by the Executive Committee to render administrative, technical, or community development services on a permanent or occasional basis; and
- e) Utilize SEV's decisive backup in the performance of his tasks as a volunteer.

It was noted in a project appraisal report from June of 1974 that the extreme commitment to democratic procedures frequently worked against strong decision making and implementation.

The structure of the Partnerships also emphasizes the mechanics of democracy. Each partnership was required to write by-laws, hold elections for officers, and make decisions by committee. This aspect will be treated in greater detail in the project profile.

NAPA staff interviewed in Washington felt that progress had been made in instilling democratic practices within the Partnerships. They were also quick to point out that evaluation of this type of activity was difficult, and they used data that could be termed anecdotal or impressionistic in assessing any effects on strengthening democratic institutions. For example, holding elections or having a smooth transfer of power from one president to another were cited as being indicative of success. It was also stressed that the degree of progress could only be determined within the context of the country.

Another way of fostering popular participation was through membership policies and practices. The OEF project demonstrated a gradual evolution during which the voluntary agencies were able to establish a broader membership base that drew from all socio-economic groups. The leadership

training originally offered by the OEF was geared towards women from certain economic levels, as most of them were educated and had been targeted as civic leaders. In a study conducted by Thomas Scanlon it was noted that very few participants for the training programs were from campesino or labor movements (Scanlon, 1970). Even when the OEF adjusted the focus of its program towards voluntary agencies directly, it still found itself working primarily with upper-and middle-class women as this had traditionally been the profile of those involved in volunteer work in Latin America.

Although, according to an end-of-project evaluation, the OEF approach was still based on the use of middle-class volunteers, it was noted that OEF-supported coordinating agencies were making modest progress towards the goal of integrating middle and lower socio-economic classes within a single organization (OEF, 1976). OEF conducted several studies to determine the extent to which participation had been increased in project activities, especially across class lines. The final report of the three-year grant revealed that volunteer agencies had widened the pool of membership to go beyond either their personal friends or women of the same social standing (OEF, 1976b).

In fact, involving the beneficiary in the development activity had become a new priority. For example, Corazon de Maria, an affiliate of the Colombian umbrella agency--Agencia Coordinadora del Voluntariado (ANAVOL), involved women from the community in the management and direction of the local center. Corazon de Maria was founded in the mid 1950s by a group of influential women. As of 1976, four members of the barrio community had become members of the Center's Board of Directors (OEF, 1976).

In 1978, two years after the end of the OEF technical assistance, an impact evaluation was conducted to determine the status of voluntary agencies. Their findings were similar to the 1976 report. In Colombia, leadership was becoming more diffused and members were seen to be participating actively. In addition, women of all ages and economic status were joining and participating in the activities of the affiliate agencies. In Costa Rica, beneficiaries had become more involved in the activities of the coordinating agency, Federacion de Organizaciones Voluntarias (FOV), and its affiliates. For example, members of the community were actively involved in formulating the policies and programs of an affiliate-supported school. In the FOV's Human Development Project, the beneficiaries assisted in setting project objectives and identifying areas for training (OEF, 1978).

Changing Attitudes

Providing citizens with the opportunity to work directly with their compatriots from different socio-economic backgrounds enhances their understanding of the need for civic action and social change. Awareness is increased and social work becomes more effective as the concept of self-help, rather than charity is internalized by the volunteers.

The SEV project demonstrated a creative approach to instilling "democratic" ideals in youth. According to the project paper, the youth corps was intended to target two different types of young people. The first group included those students who had not yet been exposed to development ideas.

The purpose was to give them a first hand look at the economic and social conditions existing in their country. The second group included those young people who were already politically/socially active and appeared to be drifting towards radical or extreme courses of action. The SEV was, therefore, intended to provide them with an alternative, demonstrating that it was possible to bring about change by working within the system.

The notion of a youth corps came about as a result of close contacts that Mission staff had made in the various universities in Ecuador. According to the project paper, a sampling of students from the extreme left and right was taken to identify their conceptions of the role of Ecuadorean youth in development. From this evolved the idea of a domestic youth corps. Ten university students were then chosen to develop guidelines and the internal legislation needed to be officially recognized by the government.

The young people chosen to be volunteers were 18-30 years old. Most of the volunteers had a high school education, although some were campesinos, who had completed primary school. A project appraisal report noted that many of the volunteers could be considered elites due to their level of education and, in some cases, socio-economic status. It was expected that by working with the disadvantaged in both rural and urban areas, the youths would undergo a change in attitudes through increased awareness of the realities of the country and the concomitant problems of development. Although changes in attitudes were not measured, the observation was made that some young people continued in social service activities upon completion of their volunteer tenure.

The OEF project also appeared to have a positive effect on enhancing understanding among the socio-economic classes. OEF's final report (OEF, 1976) stated that one significant result of the three-year grant was the attitudinal and behavioral changes that had occurred in the volunteers. The very notion of volunteerism had changed from "helping others" to "working with others". The OEF training had made women aware that, in some cases, their intended benevolence had only maintained dependency and had not enabled the poor to improve their own lives. The reasons for participating in civic groups also changed. The report indicated that there was an increased sense of advocacy for social change.

Finally, OEF's work in Costa Rica serves as an example of the new outlook volunteers believed that they had gained, which resulted in

- greater respect for project beneficiaries;
- greater respect for themselves and for other members of the families; and
- a new belief in the capability of individuals to determine their own needs;
- a cooperative-sharing approach of working with the beneficiaries rather than a paternalistic-dependent approach; and

- an increased sense of responsibility and importance as a volunteer (OEF, 1978).

Strengthening Democratic Institutions

Volunteer associations appear to have enhanced their effectiveness due, to some extent, to the A.I.D. grants. Technical assistance delivered by NAPA and OEF seem to have had a positive effect on the organizations they served. For example, the "Pursuit of Excellence" plan, which was adopted by NAPA in 1984, was intended to be a blueprint to provide the partnerships with broad guidelines to be used in determining the status of the organization's operations. The standards refer to organizational development, communications, and program planning. The charter requirements, necessary for becoming a federated member of the Partners of the Americas, were also revised. The Guatemala project profile, which follows the overview, will demonstrate how the "Pursuit of Excellence" plan was implemented in that partnership.

Prior to the American Technical Assistance Corporation report, OEF delivered technical assistance in an ad hoc manner by responding to individual requests from organizations. The ATAC report recommended that OEF shift from a training orientation to one of institution-building. This was accomplished by focusing on strengthening the planning capabilities of the local organizations and their abilities to better articulate and delineate goals and objectives for their organizations and develop work plans for subsequent implementation. In addition, training was delivered in conducting needs assessments of community problems.

The Role of A.I.D.

In the projects examined, A.I.D. did not take an active role in project implementation. The OEF and Partners projects were conducted by nonprofit organizations, whereas the institution building required for the SEV was carried out by Ecuadoreans.

The Agency also maintained a low profile during project implementation. In the case of SEV, this was deliberate as Mission staff felt that working with university students was a "delicate" matter and as little publicity as possible was to be given to A.I.D.'s role. Due to the potentially political nature of the youth corps, little effort was made to gain the attention of the government in providing support to the undertaking. Rather, the long-range plan was that SEV would become independently financed.

OEF and Partners of the Americas are striking in the apolitical, nonpartisan stance that is taken. In interviews conducted at NAPA headquarters, some members felt that such an approach allowed the partnerships to survive in countries where other development groups had been asked to leave. The interviewees did not feel that there was any hostility directed against the program due to its funding source. The partnerships are viewed as collaborative development efforts undertaken by people, not governments. The importance of the people-to-people connection was also expressed in OEF project documentation.

C. PROJECT PROFILE: PARTNERS OF THE AMERICAS/GUATEMALA PARTNERSHIP

This project profile is based on information gathered from interviews with the NAPA representative responsible for Guatemala, and the President, Executive Director, and first Vice-President of the Guatemala partnership. The purpose of the interviews was to identify how the concepts of participation and democratic process are reinforced by the structure and organization of a partnership. Guatemala was selected because an annual workshop was being held in Guatemala during the week of the site visit, and the key people of the organization would be easily accessible. During the site visit, several attempts were made to contact two previous presidents of the Guatemala partnership whose names were suggested by the current officers. Those persons could not be reached. Therefore, the information collected during the interviews covers current activities.

The questions asked during the interview cover five areas: background membership, organization, funding, and programs.

Background

The Guatemala partnership was started in the early 1970s during the Alliance for Progress. The U.S. partners state for Guatemala is Alabama. Thirteen chapters comprise the Guatemala partnership. Chapters are located throughout the country and vary by size and composition. Under the leadership of its current president, the Guatemala partnership has doubled the number of chapters since 1980 and expanded into new regions of the country, particularly into rural areas with poorer populations. Each chapter is assigned a sister city from the Alabama partnership. The visibility of the partnership is higher in smaller communities where fewer volunteer-based organizations operate and compete for the time of volunteers. New chapters that want to join the partnership are assigned an existing chapter that works with it in an advisory capacity for one year prior to being given a partner city from Alabama.

Membership

Private citizens of Guatemala, including soccer coaches, educators, small business owners, foresters, farmers, and nutritionists, belong to the Guatemala partnership. Composition of membership varies greatly from chapter to chapter. The membership is very diverse, drawn mainly from the lower to middle socio-economic strata with an even distribution of men and women. All members work as volunteers.

Many of the partnerships in Latin America, including Guatemala, have used funds available through A.I.D. to pay for an executive director and secretary, either on a full-time or part-time basis. Since members, including the President and the other officers of the partnership, contribute their time as volunteers to the organization, the addition of paid staff has been critical in allowing the partnerships to extend their activities into new areas and provide management continuity and support to the organization.

Organization

The officers of the Guatemala partnership include a president, four vice-presidents, a secretary, and a treasurer. Each of the thirteen chapters elects its own officers. The Board of Directors is elected by the membership during the mid-year assembly. Everyone who attends the assembly can vote. A one-year membership is the only requirement for a candidate to run for a position on the Board. There are twelve program committees which are headed by an appointed committee chair.

As previously indicated, NAPA adopted the "Pursuit of Excellence" Program in 1984. The program presents standards for the partnerships to follow with respect to organization, communications, and project planning. In conformance with the standards, the Guatemala partnership submits annually to the NAPA office a Letter of Understanding outlining the responsibilities and understandings of the relationship between the Guatemala and Alabama partnerships and an annual plan decided on jointly by the Guatemala and Alabama partnership. The Guatemala partnership submits to NAPA quarterly reports which describe progress made during the quarter and include a financial status report.

Each year the Guatemala partnership holds a planning meeting to review the plans of the chapters and to formulate a proposed plan for the Guatemala partnership. In attendance during this year's meeting were the presidents of the chapters, the Board of Directors, president and executive director of the Alabama partnership, the Central American representative, and the NAPA regional representative. Eventually, the plan for Guatemala is joined with Alabama's to form the National Plan for the Guatemala-Alabama partnership. The National Plan is finalized during a regional meeting during which the partnerships review activities of the past year and introduce the plan for the coming year.

The by-laws of the Guatemala partnership are approved by the membership. The by-laws passed in 1980 were revised this year. The revisions limit election of officers to a two-year term and reelection for the same position to one time. The proposed by-laws were drafted by a lawyer, reviewed and revised by the Board of Directors, and then taken to the General Assembly where they were again reviewed and revised by the membership. The final draft of the by-laws is awaiting approval by the government of Guatemala which is a legal requirement in Guatemala and other Latin American countries.

The Board of Directors is the decision-making body of the partnership. The members of the Board are elected to one-year terms. Board members are elected by the general membership and come from the various regions represented by the chapters. The Board meets twice a month. Because it is difficult to assemble the Board more often, an Executive Committee meets once a week to review partnership activities and to propose a course of action to the Board. The minutes of the Executive Committee meetings are read to the Board for their approval. The Executive Committee is comprised of the President, first Vice-President, and two other appointed members.

Funding

Activities of the Guatemala partnership are supported through membership dues, NAPA, A.I.D., and profits from a business operated by the partnership. NAPA provides grants to the partnerships for travel, training, and small projects. In addition, it supports the cost of annual workshops that are designed by the partnerships. A number of themes will be addressed by this year's annual workshops. A workshop on natural resource management was recently hosted by the Guatemala Partnership. Future workshops will be conducted on volunteer management, to be hosted by the Costa Rica partnership and youth development, to be hosted by the Louisiana partnership.

The Guatemala partnership raises additional money by arranging conferences and workshops in Guatemala. Profits from the operation are used to support mini-grants and a revolving fund for community-based self-help projects suggested by the chapters. This funding is separate from NAPA funds. The criteria used to review applications and decide on awards are that the projects involve members of the partnership, demonstrate a multiplier effect, are realistic and feasible to implement, and show a potential for return. Although the criteria require involvement by members of the partnership, it is possible that the level of involvement might be minimal compared to the involvement of non-members in the community for whom the projects are designed to benefit. The Executive Committee screens the applications and makes recommendations for award to the Board of Directors.

Funds managed by the Guatemala partnership are used to pay for the positions of executive director and secretary, support activities of the chapters if the chapters do not have enough available funds, and pay for mailings, newsletters, telephone, telex, office space, and supplies.

Programs

The 1987 National Plan for the Guatemala-Alabama partnership emphasizes programs for the protection of natural resources and a plan to develop a national park in the region of Peten. It also includes activities in new areas within agriculture, community education, cultural exchange, emergency planning and preparation, health, rehabilitation, protection of natural resources, sports, and women in development. There are twelve program committees in the Guatemala partnership which are responsible for implementing programs. The partnership encourages participation of members in educational exchange and training programs with the intention that the trained individual will hold seminars and workshops in their field with others in Guatemala upon their return. This is to encourage a multiplier effect which the partnership emphasizes as an important aspect of their programs. In addition, the programs continue to build on people-to-people contacts as well as establishing relationships with institutions in the partner state.

The Guatemala partnership programs fall into the categories of exchange, training, and development assistance. Exchange programs may have a professional or cultural focus. For example, in 1986 fifteen soccer players from a high school in Alabama traveled to Guatemala and stayed with partnership member families. The Guatemala partnership took the responsibility of hosting the students while in Guatemala. The event provided

opportunities for exchange and development, particularly for the young people. An exchange program for boy scouts from Guatemala and Alabama has been planned by the partnership. Also, doctors and dentists from Alabama worked in clinics in Guatemala to assist in providing medical assistance and patient care. A dentist from the Alabama partnership treated 250 patients in various sites in Guatemala during a 10-day period.

Through the partnership training programs, twenty-six bilingual secretaries from Guatemala were trained in the uses of computers and other automated office equipment during a six-week training course in Alabama which included on-the-job training in offices in Alabama. Volunteer firemen from Alabama traveled to Guatemala to offer training courses to eighty-two volunteer firemen from thirty-two companies in Guatemala. Topics covered during the courses included methods of fire control, uses of equipment, resuscitations of fire victims, and first aid.

Partnership members who were trained at the University of Alabama in Birmingham in emergency medical care have conducted courses for others in various communities of Guatemala on how to provide first aid. Similarly, the knowledge gained during training and experience on a partnership training program in the area of solar dehydration of fruits and vegetables is being imparted to others through seminars and training programs.

The structure and organization of the partnership in Guatemala supports a participatory process for making decisions. Officers and board members are elected. By-laws are kept current and are voted on by the membership. Annual plans are formed through a participatory process starting with the plans of each chapter. Since members and the decision-making units of the organization are volunteers, participation is inherent to the design and structure of a partnership. The success of partnerships depends on the participation of its members. Partnerships thus need to respond to the interests of its members in order to maintain their commitment and involvement in the organization and thereby insure their participation.

D. SUMMARY

Civic education is a broadly defined notion, which was encouraged in many programs. As practiced, civic education referred not only to providing people with the necessary skills, capabilities, and knowledge to become more involved and aware of their government, but was also broadly applied to the notion of participation in community activities. It attempts to change people's attitudes about their relationship to the wider community and increase their sense of social responsibility and participation. As a result, the focus is more on process as opposed to infrastructure projects, which demand concrete results.

For example, the wide reach of the Guatemala partnership to various sectors, regions, and socio-economic levels of the society most likely means that the participatory model of the organization has been transmitted to a wide audience. The impact of the model on the lives of the membership could not be assessed fully by this study; however, an indicator of its possible success might be found in the words of the first vice-president who said that the participatory model of the partnership is a base for understanding team

work, respect for opinions of others, openness, and following rules. The president of the partnership believed the organization encourages community participation as a means for problem solving and development of leadership skills. Thus the partnership appears to produce direct benefits through project activities and also indirect benefits through its system of operation and structure on the meaning of civic responsibility and decision making in a participatory environment.

Volunteer associations appear to be an appropriate vehicle for A.I.D. support. The official procedures of each organization demonstrate how they used democratic practices and fostered popular participation. Volunteer organizations increase popular participation by providing citizens with a forum for social action. In addition, greater awareness is created among different socio-economic groups, which in turn serves as a motivating factor in working for social change.

A.I.D. has strengthened these particular democratic institutions through the provision of technical assistance delivered by U.S. Private Voluntary Organizations rather than the Missions directly. This strategy appears to have contributed to the sustainability of the projects.

V. LEADERSHIP TRAINING

This chapter reviews A.I.D.'s role in undertaking and strengthening leadership training in Latin America under the policies of Title IX as a means of strengthening democracy and increasing popular participation in the region. The first section of this chapter provides background on how policies were developed by the U.S. Congress and A.I.D. to carry out programs devoted to leadership training. In the second section, various projects are described that either focused totally on training future leaders or that included leadership training as a principal component. The third section presents a profile of one of the leadership training projects. Findings about leadership training are summarized in the final section.

A. BACKGROUND

Research has indicated that leadership training policies developed under Title IX in the late 1960s were consistently implemented through the 1970s. The Action Memorandum for the A.I.D. Administrator on Title IX, March 1967, stated that one means of responding to the Title IX initiative would be the initiation of new activities such as training of local leaders in a country. It was with this policy that leadership training projects were introduced and carried out by A.I.D. throughout the 1960s and the 1970s.

Certain policy makers considered leadership training essential for building democracies. At a 1967 Stanford University conference, "Societal Change in Developing Countries: Alternatives to Revolution," F. Bradford Morse, a co-author of Title IX, mentioned, "...some of the most important programs involve the training of leadership", this is "to help train the community development workers who will go out into the rural areas and attempt to integrate those elements in the national economic and political life" (A.I.D., 1968a, p.25).

William S. Gaud, Administrator of A.I.D., reiterated this point in a statement before the House Foreign Affairs Committee in March 1968 on A.I.D. progress toward Title IX objectives: "As we see it, this objective cannot be accomplished without managing individual motivation and attitudes, and developing leadership dedicated to progress..." (A.I.D., 1968a, p.36). He further added: Leadership ability, a commitment to progress, and recognition of the values of a free society are just as important for participants to learn as technical skills...A.I.D. assistance to host country training programs helps less developed countries build self-reliance, community consciousness, and leadership qualities among peoples living in rural areas" (A.I.D., 1968a, p.37). He also mentioned two successful programs in leadership training: the Loyola University's Leadership Training Course in Louisiana, and the Rafael Landivar University's Rural Community Leadership and Modernization Center for Training Social Promoters.

In addition, both Presidents Kennedy and Johnson expressed the view that if leaders of developing countries were to play their full role in the realization of their country's hopes, they must be guided by sound principles and trained in appropriate skills. "Only then would they be prepared to

contribute decisively toward evolving an institutional framework for the attainment of peace with justice and freedom in the context of democratic processes" (Loyola University, 1968, p.2).

How to plan leadership training programs was discussed at the Conference on the Implementation of Title IX, held at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, June-August, 1968. Points raised during the conference were: should the leadership of associations (such as voluntary associations, trade and labor unions, legislative assistance, local councilmen, etc.) be trained in-country, in the U.S., or in third countries; should training be functional (i.e., related to the profession) or organizational (how to recruit members, establish dues-paying systems, etc.); should A.I.D. concentrate on training existing leaders or potential future leaders; and what should be the nature of post-training support? The conference members concluded that each A.I.D. program was an isolated case and that the above issues should be determined on a country-by-country basis for achieving specific objectives.

The 1980s policy towards leadership training was achieved and directed by the National Bipartisan Commission on Central America (NBCCA) appointed by President Reagan in July 1983 and by the Central America Democracy, Peace, and Development Initiative (CAI), the resulting legislation which encompassed more than forty of the NBCCA's recommendations. The proposed strategy, funding, and supporting activities were organized around four fundamental goals. The first of those four goals was strengthening democratic institutions and processes to bring about greater participation in the political and development processes. A proposed means of achieving this goal was the development of leadership skills. Leadership training has therefore been identified as one of the specific activities that A.I.D. would sponsor and conduct in Central America over the next decade.

The Secretary of State's 1985 report to the President of the U.S. (United States, 1985) indicated that A.I.D. was helping to finance programs aimed at promoting the democratic process in decision-making at the community level. Civic leaders are being prepared as trainers in techniques of problem solving, community action, and civic responsibilities, so that they may help the citizens of their communities become informed participants in the local political process.

The 1986 State Department update reported that the A.I.D.-funded \$146 million Central American Peace Scholarship Program would bring 7,000 Central Americans to the U.S. Most are either current or potential leaders within their sector or will directly influence the preparation of future leaders (United States, 1986). Therefore, through the 1980s A.I.D. will administer a broad range of projects in the region that emphasize leadership training.

Research has indicated that throughout the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s the general objective of leadership training has been to create a corps of leaders dedicated to the proposition that progress in their respective countries should and can be achieved through the active and maximal participation of the people in the tasks of development.

The basic purpose was to develop a knowledgeable, alert, and dedicated corps of articulate and determined young leaders who recognized the urgent need for political, economic, and social betterment. These leaders were to advise, direct, and support programs for development that would bring about peaceful institutional change within their respective countries. A further purpose was to help create the democratic climate in which representatives from the sectors of Central American societies could more effectively work together for national and regional development.

B. OVERVIEW OF PROJECTS

Numerous projects in the 1960s and 1970s were generated to provide leadership training for the Latin American countries. A few projects, such as the Loyola University program and the Rural Leadership Training Institute of the Rafael Landivar University in Guatemala, were totally devoted to training leaders in the region. In addition, many projects designed for civic education, municipal development, trade and labor unions, and cooperatives included leadership training components. This section will review three projects, two of which concentrated completely on training leaders, and one which was a civic education project that concentrated on leadership training in its early years and institution building in its later years.

1. Loyola University's Leadership Training Course

The Leadership Training Course for the Youth of Central America, Panama, and the Dominican Republic was developed and implemented by the Inter-American Center (IAC), Division of Institute of Human Relations, Loyola University, New Orleans, Louisiana. The project was initiated by the efforts of Father Twomey, a Jesuit priest at Loyola University, and terminated in 1971 because of lack of funding. Although this project started under the Alliance for Progress in 1964, two years prior to Title IX, it was a progressive program that closely adhered to Title IX policy.

Csanad Toth, in his 1967 evaluation of the Loyola program, indicated that "by design the program is a Title IX project for upgrading leadership resources as a potential investment in the growth of democratic private and local governmental institutions. It is a Title IX project also by its broad implication of training leaders in eliciting and relying upon popular participation" (p.1). The Deputy Coordinator for the Alliance for Progress, David Bronheim, identified the Loyola program as one of the Title IX activities already initiated by A.I.D. that was designed to develop democratic leaders in key Latin American groups (Toth, 1967).

Thirty-six seminars were taught during the six years from October 1964-November 1970. ~~Approximately 1,250 participants attended the program, with roughly five candidates from the seven countries attending Loyola University for each seminar. Both sexes were represented; ages ranged from 18 to 40.~~

Each seminar consisted of six weeks of training organized into three segments: sensitivity training for one and a half to two weeks, academic training for three weeks, and action planning for one week.

Goals of the academic portion of the Leadership Training Program were to make participants familiar with and understand the dynamics of change related to a quickening pursuit of political, economic, and social progress; help the participants learn methods for rational problem solving and decision making in the initiation and stabilization of institutional change; develop clearer concepts and a realistic understanding of the cultural, economic, and political life of the U.S.; increase skills in planning and implementing projects for effective intra- and inter-group action; and understand how to create a democratic climate in which representatives of various sectors of society and from the various Central American countries could work more effectively toward national development and regional integration.

During these six weeks, the trainers employed techniques that led participants through a self-discovery process. Participants were challenged intellectually and emotionally to find their own solutions, which led to increased self-confidence. They returned to their countries equipped and eager to deal with a variety of problems involved in the transition from a traditional to a modern society, a core problem faced in these countries.

Trainees were selected from various sectors; trainees were public health and welfare personnel, members of cooperatives and credit unions, university students, rural community leaders, civic affairs leaders, secondary school teachers and administrators, and national and regional planners. All participants were selected by A.I.D. Missions in the region.

Although this leadership training program originally concentrated in Central America and the Dominican Republic, it was later expanded to South America, particularly Brazil.

To train participants in the region, the IAC also developed ties and training programs with several universities in Latin America, such as the Rural Leadership Training Institute of the Rafael Landivar University in Guatemala, the Centro de Motivacion y Asesoría (CEMA) in Ecuador, and the Center for In-service Training in Paraguay.

Some follow-up activities were carried out in participant countries by the Loyola program such as staff visits to the participants' countries, the publication of Francamente, a newsletter that was sent periodically to participants after they had returned home, in-country conferences, and funding of small development projects that participants planned, either through the Loyola Mini-grant Program or the A.I.D. Small Project Assistance Programs. However, Loyola had neither the capability nor the authority to provide extensive follow-up to its graduates. This resulted from A.I.D.'s failure to integrate the Loyola training with any of its development programs.

Two evaluations were done under this project. First was the evaluation of the Leadership Training Course done by Csanad L. Toth in April 1967, and second was the American Technical Assistance Corporation's evaluation of Motivational Training used by A.I.D. completed in January, 1971. Both evaluations, conducted in-country and in the U.S., concluded that in general the program was successful but that quantifying the program's success was a very difficult task.

2. The Rafael Landivar University's Rural Community Leadership and Modernization Center for Training Social Promoters

The Rural Community Leadership and Modernization Center for Training Social Promoters was housed at the Rafael Landivar University in Guatemala City, Guatemala. Unlike the U.S.-based Loyola training program, the Center for Training Social Promoters was an in-country leadership training program. Developed in 1964 from the Loyola University Regional Leadership Training Program in 1967, it was funded through 1974 by A.I.D./Washington and supported by A.I.D./Guatemala. The Center worked with IAC to get necessary technical advice to carry their own leadership training program in Guatemala with indigenous staff. The Center for Training Social Promoters activities consisted primarily of training rural leaders and providing follow-up to activities of social promoters.

The Center for Training Social Promoters continues to operate in Guatemala. When A.I.D. funding of the Center for Training Social Promoters ended in 1974, the Center succeeded in receiving local and international financial support from both the private and public sectors which included the Inter-American Foundation, the Catholic Church, and West German Christian Democratic institutions.

During the period of A.I.D. funding, Center for Training Social Promoters offered four courses per year for campesinos (farmers) in the Center. Each course trained thirty social promoters. In addition, the Center for Training Social Promoters offered two courses for teachers in the rural areas. These courses were offered through the Training and the Extension Departments of the Center, aiming to develop and support local leadership. Training was highly motivational and was designed to give leaders the tools to effect creative and needed change. The Extension Department attempted to encourage and support the trained leaders in the field as they put their training into practice. Social promoters were trained in the methodology of diffusion of innovation. They themselves became channels for the introduction of technology. In addition, they worked to create and reinforce local organizations that served as channels for such an introduction. The Center also held regional and national congresses of graduates and initiated regional courses to do substantially the same training. It also created an advanced course for the best graduates of the Center, and a special course for training of sensitivity trainers. Although the Center for Training Social Promoters basically followed Loyola's training program, it included various other training courses to address the needs of its rural population.

The project aimed to develop and support responsible rural leadership at the municipal and village levels in Guatemala. The Center's specific responsibilities as described under the project agreement were to assist in the organization of campesino associations, provide follow-up assistance to ongoing groups, organize group training at the village level, and provide counseling to association officials. The Center was also involved in promoting effective relationships between government offices and extension agents in the field and the local associations. The Center provided central training courses for selected key community leaders and backstopped activities in the rural areas through the publication of training materials and newsletters, and sponsoring occasional central meetings and seminars for

updating the skills and knowledge of the organization's instructors and extension agents. The Center was also active in identifying and enlisting new governmental, private, and international resources that could be channeled toward rural development projects. In summary, the overall purpose of the program fits under Title IX by aiming to increase the ability of local leaders to involve community members in organizations dealing with development in the rural areas and patterns of democratic change. These objectives are also in line with what Loyola tried to achieve with its participants once in the region.

Selection of participants and instructors was done with the cooperation of the Government of Guatemala's Rural Development Agencies and with private institutions in Guatemala. In this process, the Center's method of selecting participants was different and more effective than Loyola's. This was because private and public local agencies aware of individuals' capabilities were providing suggestions to the Center for Training Social Promoters and trainees selected had comparable educational backgrounds. Most trainees were campesinos from the rural areas. Records show that campesinos trained at the Center returned to their communities to work voluntarily on a wide variety of self-help projects at the local level.

An A.I.D. project closing paper revealed that the Center for Training Social Promoters had planned to train 1,222 social promoters by 1974 and in actuality it trained 1,619. Also, the Center for Training Social Promoters had no difficulty placing the 435 social promoters in development projects by 1974 which it had promised.

The Center for Training Social Promoters was successful in providing a variety of continuous follow-up to its graduates. Follow-up included such activities as extensionists' visits to graduates, evaluations to reflect the percentage of ex-participants' success, and two annual follow-up courses in the region for teachers.

3. Leadership Development for Women

A.I.D./Washington funded a grant to the Overseas Education Fund (OEF) of the League of Women Voters to train professional and volunteer women from Latin America in leadership and organizational development. This Leadership Development for Women Project, more commonly known as the OEF project, was described in Chapter IV as one of A.I.D.'s civic education efforts. While it is true that the overall goal of OEF was to encourage and assist the development of citizen participation, one of its designated subgoals was to train women to "assume a leadership role in order to further civic development in their countries." The OEF project will therefore be discussed in this section as well, but from a leadership training perspective. Also, during its early years, from FY 1963-FY 1971, the project concentrated on direct political stimulation through leadership training to women of Latin America (A.I.D., 1970b, p.2).

The project's main leadership training component was based in the U.S. The training program originally was set up for a full academic year at Wellesley College in FY 1963 and was called "the Leadership Institute" (A.I.D., 1973, p.13). Later, the Institute was moved to Pembroke College at

Brown University, and, in 1967, to Boston University. At Boston, the Institute was shortened to four months and the courses were conducted in Spanish, providing leadership training to eighteen participants per course. From 1963-1971, 156 women attended the Institute.

The main thrust of the U.S.-based program was the observation of U.S. volunteer organizations in action, particularly the League of Women Voters, and discussions on the possible adaptation of these activities to the respective home countries. The training focused on the sharing of organizational experience and skills; data collection and application; program development and implementation; group motivation and volunteer training; public relations; and fundraising.

The project also provided short-term, civic leadership seminars such as multinational and in-country training seminars (called cursos or cursillos) held for civic groups in seventeen Latin American countries. The multinational seminars were held biannually for a total of thirty highly-qualified leaders active in civic and volunteer work throughout Latin America. Three seminars included two weeks in Washington, D.C., and a three-week field trip to visit civic action projects throughout the U.S. One of these seminars was regional in focus, concentrating on a particular development problem. These multinational seminars were funded by the Bureau of Cultural Affairs in the Department of State.

The in-country training seminars were taught by Institute personnel who went to the field, both to the capital cities and to the interior of the country, to give short, concentrated courses in the development of leadership skills. The field courses provided more intensive training for women who had already had some leadership training, but not with OEF. The field Institute emphasized the free and creative exchange of ideas in field training situations and resulted in the establishment of a nuclei of trained personnel. The OEF field program also established coordinating volunteer training centers and local citizen organizations in Latin America. The full-time, permanent, in-country field representatives in Costa Rica, Guatemala, Colombia, Ecuador, Bolivia, and the Dominican Republic were responsible for participant follow-up, technical assistance to community organizations, and--assisted by A.I.D.--the selection of OEF participants.

OEF had many things in common with both the Loyola and the Center for Training Social Promoters projects. It offered both U.S.-based and in-region training of leaders. The Institute covered leadership courses, although the OEF courses focused on civic involvement in volunteer organizations. Although the number of participants trained was smaller per seminar, the goals were very much in line with those of the Center for Training Social Promoters, as they encouraged institution building and popular participation in Latin America. These goals as related to training leaders were aligned with those of Loyola and both worked toward achieving the same objectives. On the whole, the length of training was much longer than that offered by Loyola or the Center for Training Social Promoters.

After training, participants returned to their countries possibly to serve as coordinators for volunteer activities under a three-year contract with OEF Latin American Programs. Responsibilities included liaison with OEF Institute and seminar graduates; assistance with the planning, financing, and evaluation

of civic programs; the instruction of workshops and cursillos; liaison with other civic organizations; the provision of technical assistance to volunteer organizations; data gathering; active involvement of former OEF trainees in program planning, training and consultation; and coordination with the Washington office.

Graduates of the OEF U.S.-based and regional training programs formed many local organizations where OEF field staff worked. It was through these local institutions that OEF graduates had their best opportunity to put their training to use and to have a real impact on society. OEF was very supportive of its graduates. In a way we see this with the Center for Training Social Promoters program, which provided work at the Center for some of its graduates and follow-up on a regular basis, and the Loyola program, which tried to support its graduates with mini-grants to start development projects and some other follow-up.

Overall, 400 participants were trained in the U.S. and Latin America between 1963 and 1972. Training efforts ceased, however, when a 1972 project evaluation resulted in a recommendation that OEF transform itself from a training organization into one with clear institution-building goals related to strengthening the role of women in Latin America.

C. PROJECT PROFILE: LOYOLA UNIVERSITY'S LEADERSHIP TRAINING COURSE

This profile will focus on the Loyola University leadership training program because it played such a major role in providing direction for other leadership training programs and involved participants from Central American countries, Panama, the Dominican Republic, and Brazil. Since the preceding section provides an overview of the Loyola University program, the profile will focus more specifically on evaluations of the program and reactions of individuals interviewed in the U.S., Guatemala, and Costa Rica. In all, 16 individuals were interviewed: seven graduates of the program and nine individuals involved in or knowledgeable of the Loyola program or similar leadership programs. The purpose of the profile is to provide A.I.D. with guidance concerning future leadership training programs through a compilation of highlights from documents concerning the program and through reporting of suggestions that arose in the interviews. The profile does not attempt, however, to serve as an impact evaluation of the program.

1. Reported Effect of the Loyola Leadership Training Course

Measuring the effect of the Loyola program was a difficult task for those who evaluated the program in the 1960s and early 1970s because of the lack of planning for measurable results. As a 1971 evaluation of the Loyola project states, "social or economic development impact, while welcomed and generally desired, has not specifically been intended or planned at Loyola" (Pines, et. al., 1971). Furthermore, there was a lack of objective data concerning the participants after their return to their respective countries; consequently, "evaluation of the development impact of Loyola motivation training had to proceed without the benefit of any systemic baseline data or performance reports" (Pines, et. al., 1971). Despite the limitations in terms of objective data, the evaluators did report that the Loyola program was very

well received by the participants and apparently provided them with useful tools for leadership. In addition, the findings of the evaluators of the program were supported by the field research conducted for this study.

A repeated theme throughout the evaluations and documents concerning the program as well as the recent interviews was the effect of the program on the professional and personal growth of the participants. In 1967 Csanad Toth, after interviews with 50 graduates of the first fourteen sessions of the leadership course, reported that the participants stated that they had learned much concerning their relationships with others, increased their level of perception concerning human behavior, acquired new skills for directing a group, and improved their understanding of their communities and organizations. In addition, the participants had experienced a high level of promotions and upscale job changes and had revealed that the Loyola program had "contributed substantially to ... handling of professional problems" (Toth, 1967). The 1971 Pines evaluation, like the Toth evaluation, points out numerous examples of participants running impressive community development projects--in areas such as urban renewal, cooperative development, health care--and indicating that the Loyola program had an influence not only on their level of motivation for carrying out these projects but also on their means of doing so. The Inter-American Center, which ran the Loyola Leadership Training Course, states in a document entitled, "History, Philosophy, Purpose, and Course of Action of the Inter-American Center," that another factor illustrating the success of the program was "the desire and commitment to establish "Loyola-type" in-country centers and programs in all the countries where there are Loyola graduates" (Inter-American Center, 1971). Guatemala is one country where such a center is still operating, the Center for Training Social Promoters.

In recent interviews, the ex-staff members in the Loyola program said they had received much positive feedback from the participants concerning the value of the program, and the few Loyola graduates who were interviewed were enthusiastic about the effect of the program on their professional lives. Some of the positive outcomes of the course that the interviewees most frequently cited were:

- increased self-confidence;
- a high level of dedication to community service;
- improved awareness of group dynamics;
- renewed motivation; and
- a sense of appreciation for the U.S.

The interviewees stressed that they saw themselves and their colleagues differently and that they attempted to manage a group and group conflict in a manner that relied more on group participation and consensus. Their attempts were not always successful and required patience and practice, but the concepts they learned concerning group interaction remained with them. The program also fostered improved relations with the U.S. according to both ex-staff and returned participants. The staff repeatedly described the

lack of trust on the part of the participants when they first entered the program. They were suspicious of the program and its trainers, but as the program progressed and they got to know the staff members and other members of the community on a one-to-one basis, these suspicions dissipated. A number of the participants stated that the program had established a link for them with the U.S. that they still feel to this day.

Moreover, the process of locating ex-participants suggests that some of the Loyola graduates are individuals who have become leaders of their countries, though one certainly cannot attribute their success as leaders solely to the training they received in the U.S. Nor can one use the small sample of the study to draw conclusions about the rest of the Loyola graduates. It was, nevertheless, interesting that all of the ex-participants interviewed hold or have held high level professional positions either in the government or the university. The same was true of approximately 15 other participants who were contacted but not available for interviews. In addition, ex-staff members interviewed indicated that the current presidents of two Central American countries are graduates of the Loyola program.

In Guatemala, however, the destiny of many graduates of the Loyola program and of its spin-off center in this country, the Center for Training Social Promoters was tragic. A number of the interviewees stated it is estimated that approximately 750 of the graduates of these two programs were assassinated by members of either the extreme left or the extreme right. Though a direct link between these programs and the assassinations cannot be drawn, a number of the participants expressed concern that the visibility of the programs may have helped identify individuals who would stand in opposition to the extreme factions in the country. The interviewees also argued that though A.I.D. cannot predict whether participants in its training programs will be endangered in the future because of their link with the U.S. agency, A.I.D. can and should carefully consider the political climate in a country before offering training to individuals that may prove to be controversial.

The difficulty that a team researcher experienced in Guatemala in locating individuals who were willing to discuss the Loyola or the Center for Training Social Promoters programs also points out the high level of political sensitivity concerning these programs. Only one interview was conducted on the topic of leadership training in Guatemala and under very guarded circumstances. The interviewee indicated that even the certificate that the trainees received stating that they were future leaders and change agents for the youth of Guatemala was dangerous for them because others were suspicious concerning the types of changes the returned trainees would have instigated.

With the exception of the tragedies in Guatemala, it appears that the Loyola program in many cases did have a positive impact on the lives of many leaders in Central America and other selected countries in Latin America. The situation in Guatemala, nevertheless, provides a strong caveat for A.I.D.'s future planning of leadership training programs and its selection of participants. As one A.I.D. official stated, A.I.D. does not want to implement a training program that may become a participant's "death warrant."

2. Critique of Loyola Leadership Training and Suggestions for the Future

There was consistency in the commentary of the evaluations and the feedback of the interviewees concerning the strengths and weaknesses of the Loyola program. Areas highlighted repeatedly by throughout the study were the selection process, program content, and follow-up.

Selection of Participants

In general, selection was a component of the program that the implementors and ex-participants believed could have been improved upon. The ex-staff members and evaluators stated that the selection process varied greatly from country to country. Some Missions selected excellent candidates; others did not seem to follow the selection criteria Loyola University provided before each training session. At times the groups involved individuals with different levels of education or varying occupational backgrounds, which made design and implementation of the training difficult. Homogeneous groupings in terms of education and career interests allowed for more effective programming. Some interviewees stated that the leadership training conducted for a group of Brazilian educators was particularly successful because they were all being trained as part of an educational reform project A.I.D. was sponsoring.

The mix of individuals from different countries in Central America and the Caribbean region, nevertheless, was viewed by both project implementors and returned participants as one of the advantages of the program because representatives of each country enjoyed exchanging experiences and methodologies with their counterparts from other areas.

To increase the impact of the program, the evaluators and interviewees stated that there was a need to select a "critical mass" from an organization or community so that the trained leaders would have more support for implementing their new skills successfully. The Pines evaluation cites a group of five Panamanian Loyola graduates who started an urban renewal project in their community upon their return as an example of the effectiveness of training a core within a community or organization. In their description of the group project, the evaluation team remarks that "the context suggests that one or two leaders, however well motivated, would not have been able to initiate the process [urban renewal project] now in effect" (Pines, 1971).

Furthermore, the returned participants and the evaluations emphasized the need to recruit participants from organizations that are democratic in their mode of functioning and to select participants that show support for democracy or at least are not opposed to the democratic system. According to some participants, individuals who lean to the extreme left or right should not be included in the program because they are difficult to convert and become disruptive. In addition, the Loyola graduates interviewed stated that selecting individuals who express and exhibit a strong desire to commit themselves to service that will benefit their country directly is important for the success of a leadership training program. Participants' dedication to their countries' development may increase their impact as future leaders.

Because they believe in the importance of leadership training programs for the development of their countries, a number of participants interviewed stated that they would be interested in assisting in the selection and orientation process for such programs that A.I.D. might sponsor in the future.

Program Content

Objectives. The participants and ex-staff members interviewed stated that although one of the objectives of the program was obviously the promotion of democracy in Central America, this objective was not openly expressed to the participants either before or during the program. Repeatedly throughout the interviews, various beneficiaries of the program and program managers declared that it was important to be honest and open about the objectives of a leadership training program. If building democracy and improving relations with the U.S. are some of its goals, all those involved in the program should be well aware of these goals.

Sensitivity Training. Most of the participants interviewed as well as the previous staff members indicated that the sessions on group dynamics conducted by trainers from the National Training Laboratory (NTL) were valuable because they led to much self-introspection on the part of the participants. The participants interviewed were very enthusiastic in general about this portion of the program, although they did have a few suggestions for improvement.

One interviewee stated that this portion of the training could have been conducted in less time, and another expressed some frustration with the sensitivity training because of its loose structure. He wished he had been more clearly informed concerning the purpose of the sensitivity training from the outset, rather than involved in long sessions in which the group determined its own topics for discussion--a hands-on technique employed by the NTL trainers to illustrate group dynamics.

The ex-staff members interviewed also had some suggestions for improvement of the sensitivity training. Many of them were not informed of its purpose; thus, it was difficult for them to provide support for the participants who wished to discuss their reaction to the sensitivity training after class hours. Furthermore, the lack of consistency in staffing for the NTL sessions and the lack of coordination between these trainers and the academic trainers somewhat limited the continuity of the program.

Despite their criticisms of the sensitivity training, all of the interviewees felt this portion of the program had a positive impact on the trainees. Although the approach used to teach group dynamics may vary in the future, they felt this topic should be included in the curriculum. As leaders learn how they function in a group and how others perform, they acquire tools necessary to manage a group in a positive manner.

Academic Sessions. The interviewees had more suggestions for change concerning the academic portion of the program. Although they felt the content was interesting, they thought that the program could have been more effective if the lectures and presentations were tailor made to meet the particular interests and on-the-job responsibilities of the group members. Some participants and ex-staff members stated that the program focused too

much on North American problems, i.e. the civil rights movement. The participants did not feel that they could identify with the problems and solutions that were suggested. Some of what they learned was not applicable to their home situations. To alleviate this problem, some participants stated that future programs could employ more Latin American specialists. Attempt should be made to use other Latin American countries as examples or models in these programs because their situations are generally more closely related to the problems faced by other Latino nations than those faced in North America.

In addition, the interviewees stated that there should be more hands-on, practical activities that allow participants to work with their counterparts in the U. S. or other countries and to apply what they learn. Even family visits should be arranged with those who have similar occupational interests so that there can be both a cross-cultural exchange as well as a professional exchange.

A final suggestion that came up frequently in the interviews concerns translation and language training. Some of the participants found the simultaneous translation tiring and said that the program could have been more effective if the majority of the sessions had been presented in Spanish. Several other trainees also said that the training they received in English was not necessary, considering the length of their stay in the U.S. They believed that these hours could have been usefully spent on content areas instead.

Location. A number of the ex-staff members advised that future leadership programs be held in the host-countries, not the U.S. because they believed the programs would be more cost-effective in this manner. One ex-staff member stated, however, that holding the training in the U.S. was crucial for exposure to democratic systems and for improving relations with the U. S.

Many of the participants also stated that the experience of going to the U.S. increased the impact of the program for them in that it broadened their perspective of the world and changed their opinions of their northern neighbor. They indicated that the Loyola program brought many of the young leaders out of their country for the first time and therefore became one of the benchmarks of their personal and professional development. Some participants said that holding portions of the program in-country and portions in the U.S. would be an excellent mix.

Action Planning. The Loyola graduates and ex-staff members agreed that the action planning portion of the program in which the trainees developed a project plan for their return was an important part of the program, but they felt the plans formulated were often not very specific or helpful because they lacked the data necessary to devise a plan. They, therefore, advised that action planning should start before the participants leave home; they should come to the training program with an idea of a project and begin honing this idea into a feasible workplan throughout the entire training program, applying what they learn.

In addition, the interviewees believed that more time should be spent on future programs preparing the trainees for reentry and the cultural shock or

frustrations they may face when they return home to those who may not understand why they want to implement changes.

Follow-Up

Unanimously, the interviewees and evaluators of the program agreed that more follow-up is essential for future leadership training programs. Follow-up is necessary as indicated earlier for accurate evaluation; moreover, it is necessary to increase the impact of the program. One Loyola graduate used an analogy to explain the need for follow-up: he stated that the trainers convinced him that he could swim and showed him some of the basic strokes, but there was no one to help him once he got in the water and started to sink. He needed someone to keep him afloat until he became more adept at using his new skills.

The Loyola program cannot be fairly criticized for its lack of follow-up because it did not receive funding for an extensive follow-up program. It was able to publish a newsletter, Francamente, conduct some field visits, and provide some funds for projects of returned participants through its mini-grant program, but the university was not authorized to do more than this.

There were many different suggestions for follow-up. A number of interviewees as well as the evaluators stated that A.I.D. should draw trained leaders into its development projects, which implies that the selection process should also bear in mind A.I.D.'s development priorities for a country. By using the leaders as resources for implementation of its development projects, the leaders would receive experience in a working situation that could support the application of what they had learned. Some interviewees pointed out, however, that such a linkage would increase the visibility of the program and might endanger the trained leaders if a politically sensitive situation were to arise.

Another suggestion was that the returned leaders have an individual in the A.I.D. office that they could report to for support of their development efforts. Toth, in his evaluation, stated that more funds needed to be available for the project implementation because the returned participants he interviewed complained about the lack of resources to carry out their plans (Toth, 1967).

Other suggested ideas for follow-up included graduate associations, follow-up conferences, frequent correspondence, and mailing of materials. Indeed, the Loyola program did result in some alumni meetings and some correspondence among participants and trainers, but this happened informally without official initiative or funding.

The participants interviewed were in fact so interested in the development of follow-up programs for future leadership training programs that they indicated a willingness to play a role in such programs and thereby assist the developing leaders in their countries.

The Loyola Leadership training program was highly rated by its evaluators. Although the extent of its impact is not possible to measure within the constraints of the project, it is apparent that the program had a

positive effect on a significant number of young leaders in Central America and other Latin American countries.

D. SUMMARY

Leadership training has long been considered by the U.S. government as an essential element of democracy building. One of the goals has been to develop a cadre of leaders dedicated to the ideals of popular participation. Leadership training has been included as a component to many development activities in such divergent areas as municipal development, trade and labor unions, cooperatives, and civic education.

At the same time, however, several programs have been devoted solely to the delivery of leadership training. The OEF, the Center for Training Social Promoters, and Loyola programs fall under this category. The review of the three A.I.D. leadership training projects indicates that although each project differed slightly in target group, setting for training, and participant selection, the goals were similar in that they all tried to train and develop leaders capable of building institutions and encouraging maximum popular participation in their countries.

The Loyola Leadership Training Course has often been cited as a model to follow in designing leadership programs. The project profile revealed that, in spite of the difficulties encountered in evaluating projects in this area, participants believed that the Course had made an important impact on both their professional and personal lives. The profile findings are extremely similar to those of most other participant training program evaluations, in that interviewees felt selection, transferability of training, location, and follow-up could be improved. An important difference was that former participants believed that project goals, i.e., building democracy and strengthening relations between the U.S. and Latin America, should be made explicitly clear to trainees. However, support for future programs designed to train leaders appears to be strong, and the interviewees and evaluators agreed that the Loyola University program stands as an appropriate model for programs in the coming years, particularly in countries where leadership training will not be considered a political threat.

VI. LESSONS LEARNED

A twenty-year retrospective on A.I.D.'s experiences in strengthening democratic institutions suggests several considerations for A.I.D. in planning for future programs. The compilation of program experiences gathered in this report presents A.I.D. with an important opportunity to build on the past. A strategy that incorporates lessons learned from past experiences will be stronger and will increase the probability for lasting success.

The lessons contained in this chapter are structured to reflect general considerations that pertain to all program areas and specific considerations relating to the four program areas reviewed in this report: legislative capacity, local government, civic education, and leadership training.

A. GENERAL

A major lesson emerging from this report is that democratic institution building is unique among A.I.D. development assistance efforts. Accordingly, A.I.D. may want to adapt present planning, implementation, and evaluation procedures in order to meet the special requirements of programs in this area.

Lesson: Programs aimed to strengthen democratic institution building need to be flexible to accommodate the changing political, social and economic context in which they function.

Social, historical, political, and economic factors in a developing country interact to define the context in which programs designed to strengthen democratic institutions and processes function. By nature, the context is dynamic and changing. We cannot assume, therefore, ready-made, predetermined solutions when designing programs. Not only do programs need to be situation-dependent, they need to be designed flexibly to allow for flux within the system. Programs that are more flexible will be more responsive and adaptable to the context within which they will operate. Ultimately, the programs will be more lasting. Providing development assistance without identifying the factors that affect the current situation and tailoring the aid to address them also reduces the likelihood that the assistance will be considered appropriate, effective, or appreciated by the host country.

Lesson: New tools and methodologies are needed to effectively plan and evaluate programs designed to strengthen democratic institutions.

An evaluation methodology is needed that takes into account the process-nature of democratic institution building and the fact that progress is not necessarily linear nor immediate. Progress is dependent to a great extent on the prevailing conditions within the host country, particularly the context in which programs are applied. The conditions may change, causing the program to change direction even if only temporarily. It may take a long time to achieve expected outcomes. Given the unique nature of programming in democratic institution building, special attention must be given to identifying appropriate performance expectations and outcomes, constructing a generous timetable for meeting objectives, and designing a flexible evaluation methodology.

A product orientation to evaluation may prematurely show failure or may inadequately reflect on the process components of the project. Process is not easily measured; however, tools and methodologies that are more qualitative in nature can be developed to provide data on program activity for evaluation and planning purposes.

Lesson: Programs that are based on a clear understanding of program objectives related to strengthening democratic institutions have higher chances of success.

Good program planning is based on clear statements of goals and objectives that specify direction and indicate specific actions to reach established goals. Projects that do not explicitly state strengthening democratic institutions as one of their goals and objectives often do not produce results in that area. Project planners cannot expect implementors to know implicitly that building democracy is a goal. Democracy building and the strengthening of democracy-building institutions should be stated clearly as an objective.

Lesson: The country's capability to absorb and integrate assistance is an important consideration when planning and implementing programs to strengthen democratic institutions.

The historical, political, and economic makeup of a country affects its capability to absorb technical assistance at different levels of input. Countries that are willing to adopt new concepts, ideas, or methodologies may not have the socio-political environment, human resources, or technical capacity to implement them. Even within the same country, different institutions may be more capable of absorbing programs than others. Considering the capacity of a country and its agencies, organizations, and institutions during project planning increases the likelihood that project goals are realistic and attainable.

Lesson: The degree of success is higher in democratic institution-building projects when projects are initiated and supported by local institutions.

Assistance efforts seem to work best when a country requests or is in full agreement with the assistance that is provided. In addition, programming is likely to be even more successful if it is supported by all parties involved in the assistance process: the donors, governments of countries where the project program is implemented, and the different institutions involved.

A.I.D. acknowledged the importance of these concepts when it stated that Title IX should be implemented "in open cooperation with host governments" and reported to Congress that a cooperative effort would be made between A.I.D. and host countries "to identify the most appropriate means to solve individual country development problems."

Initiation from the host-country organization helps to ensure that the assistance will be accepted. Acceptance is further enhanced if the assistance is also supported by local institutions.

B. LEGISLATIVE CAPACITY

Strengthening legislative capacity was one of the new programs that emanated from Title IX legislation. A.I.D. supported the establishment and strengthening of legislative service centers at selected universities. It was anticipated that the universities would develop an institutional capability to conduct research and training on the comparative study of legislative organization, function, and impact, and define principles and strategies related to the support of legislative institutions as facilitators of development. The different research and studies on legislative development supported by A.I.D. generated several important lessons that pertain to planning future programming strategies on strengthening legislative capacity.

Lesson: Legislative development programs resulting from the initiative and demand of the recipient country are more likely to succeed.

Strengthening legislative capacity might easily be interpreted as "political meddling" in the internal affairs of a country because of its direct interaction with a nation's law-making body. Given the potential for misunderstanding, legislative development is more likely to be accepted when offered in response to a country's specific request for assistance.

In many developing countries technical assistance to legislative bodies is not clearly understood. In the view of the Comparative Development Studies Center at the State University of New York at Albany (SUNYA), legislators tend to look upon technical assistance not as a means to determine goals, but as a way to assist legislators in achieving existing goals.

Programs to assist in legislative development need to be based on the interest and priorities expressed by developing countries. As stated by one researcher, the success or failure of a program depends on local actors, not outside forces. A.I.D. may be a catalyst for change, but it is the key actors' acceptance and support of a program that will ultimately determine its success.

Lesson: Legislative development projects implemented with the commitment of key political actors are more likely to succeed.

Strengthening legislative capacity involves a set of changes identified by the political actors as necessary for their legislature to function. The process begins with the actors defining the needs, then proceeds to formulation of solutions tied to the particular context in which they will be implemented. Establishing and maintaining the commitment of key actors from the recipient country will help to insure the success of the project.

Legislative development projects in Brazil and Costa Rica are examples of this and the previous lesson. In Brazil, all initiatives were decided, articulated and communicated by the Brazilians. Reforms were initiated by the Brazilians before any U.S. assistance was provided. Both major political parties participated in the decisions and benefited from the programs. Key groups in Costa Rica, such as the majority and minority parties in the Costa Rican Congress, and members of the law school and political service department

of the University of Costa Rica, recognized the need for legislative development and took the initiative to plan the project. While support for initiating the project existed among key groups, there was a lack of consensus by the groups on the role of the Technical Services Department, established to provide congressmen with research and analysis of issues relevant to proposed legislation. The lack of consensus limited the support needed to fully implement the Technical Services Department component of the project in the way it was originally intended.

Lesson: Legislative development projects supported by more than one donor government or by several international sources are more likely to succeed.

When several governments participate in the financial support or when foundations, international organizations, and the private sector participate in funding, the assistance is more likely to be viewed as neutral and objective. When solely supported by one government, partisan political aims are often considered the reason for providing assistance. Assistance provided by established universities, international organizations or non-governmental organizations reduces political sensitivity and the appearance of political meddling. Funding from several international sources or organizations increases the likelihood that a project will be accepted.

For example, one of the goals of the Comparative Development Studies Center at SUNYA was to involve other countries in providing assistance to legislatures. SUNYA assumed from the beginning that a unilateral U.S. presence--whether officially through A.I.D., or unofficially through U.S. universities--would be politically sensitive and detrimental to the program. By internationalizing the program through the involvement of other countries and institutions, U.S. presence was minimized.

C. LOCAL GOVERNMENT

Strengthening local government is another sensitive area for a bilateral development agency to take part in as it touches upon such issues as political power, power sharing, decentralization, and/or devolution of authority. In the past, A.I.D.-supported projects in municipal development did not adequately address those issues as A.I.D.'s approach to strengthening local governments consisted almost exclusively of providing support to municipal development institutions (MDIs) that provided credit to local governments for public works and other capital improvements.

Lesson: Increasing the efficiency of centralized municipal development institutions does not automatically promote popular participation at the local level or result in strengthened local governments.

The stated objective for the majority of the MDIs was to assist municipalities in planning, financing, implementing, and maintaining projects and services. Individual project goals aimed to bring about improvements in municipal systems, stimulate the efficient functioning of local government, or improve municipal public administration. Institution-building efforts largely focused on building municipal law, planning, financial management, or support

for municipal associations. The projects generally resulted in an improvement in the delivery of services to the citizens in the local communities. But there is no overwhelming evidence that democracy grew as a result. There was not necessarily more participation by the recipients in the decision-making process or in the municipal government agencies themselves. Citizens received more services, but not more local control or input into the decisions concerning the provision of those services.

Support for the administrative aspects of municipal development can improve service delivery but does not automatically lead to strong, democratic municipal governments. Goals concerning strengthening democratic processes need to be explicitly and clearly stated and implementation strategies well defined if planners intend for them to happen.

Lesson: Centralized municipal development institutions increase the dependence of local governments and reduce opportunities to strengthen the decision-making power of municipalities.

Municipal development institutions foster dependency through centralization of procedures and management of loans and services to local governments. Technical assistance efforts to strengthen the management and administrative capacities of local government have achieved minimal results. Little responsibility is given to municipalities to enhance their ability to function in an autonomous manner. Municipal development institutions such as INFOM in Guatemala, are often well-run, efficient managers of services to municipalities. However, they have neglected to develop the capacity of municipalities to manage projects by excluding them from decision-making and project management.

Lesson: Training that enhances the capacity of local governments to participate in all stages of municipal projects from assessment and design to implementation can potentially enable local governments to operate in a more autonomous manner.

The dependency of local governments on central government institutions reduces their chances for developing a management capacity and decision-making role. A training program to enhance their capacity is an important step to prepare municipalities for the responsibilities of more autonomous functions brought on by decentralization.

D. CIVIC EDUCATION

A.I.D.-sponsored civic education projects attempted to provide people with the necessary skills, capabilities, and knowledge to become more involved in their government by participating in community activities. Civic education attempted to change people's attitudes about their relationship to the wider community and increase their sense of social responsibility. It is a broad concept, which A.I.D. operationalized in programs ranging from adult literacy training and motivational training for campesinos to community organizing and youth groups. This retrospective study revealed that strengthening local volunteer associations is one approach A.I.D. has taken in implementing civic education programs.

Lesson: Volunteer associations are an appropriate vehicle for A.I.D. support in civic education because they offer a sound model for democratic institutions.

Providing assistance to local volunteer associations encourages the use of democratic practices and fosters popular participation. In addition, these organizations provide citizens with a forum for social action.

A.I.D. has taken a low profile approach to project implementation by awarding grants to U.S.-based PVOs, which work directly with the local groups, thereby minimizing official U.S. presence. This may have contributed to the long-term sustainability of the programs. The activities undertaken by the Overseas Education Fund and the Partners of the Americas are striking in their apolitical, nonpartisan nature. For example, the partnerships established between U.S. states and Latin American countries are viewed as collaborative development efforts undertaken by individuals, not governments. This autonomy has helped the program survive in countries where other development groups have been asked to leave.

Lesson: Democratic principles can be best learned when participants are directly and actively involved in practicing the mechanics of democracy.

The civic education programs reviewed in this report function "as microcosms of democracy." The volunteer organizations are legally established entities in their countries and provide citizens opportunities to work on social issues within the system. The Ecuadorean Volunteer Service, for example, maintains by-laws that include the rights and duties of its volunteer members and democratic procedures that are to be followed. Members elect officers, present projects and suggestions, and make decisions by committee or group vote. The structure of the partnerships of the Partners of the Americas project also emphasizes the mechanics of democracy as each partnership is required to write by-laws, hold elections for officers, and make decisions by committee.

Involvement in democratically structured organizations that promote participation in group decision making provides members with first-hand experience in democratic processes. This opportunity is a meaningful step in building appreciation and understanding for democracy among the people with the potential for having it transfer to the broader political arena.

Lesson: Volunteer associations provide a forum for greater understanding among socio-economic groups.

Volunteer organizations promote popular participation by fostering interaction among socio-economic classes. This is a significant outcome, reinforcing findings of the early seminars on civic education which stated that narrowing the gulf of understanding between social groups was critical for a democratic, pluralistic society. As noted in the Brookings Seminar of 1969, one of the constraints to social change was the polarization between the various strata of Latin American society; the upper classes needed to become more responsive to and show more respect for the less advantaged members of the community.

A.I.D.'s assistance to civic education projects has contributed to that goal. The OEF's Leadership Development for Women project was successful in bringing about attitudinal and behavioral changes in the volunteers, who were drawn from the elites of Latin American society. Training provided by OEF made these women aware that, in some cases, their actions only maintained the dependent condition of the poor. By moving from "helping others" to "working with others" the membership pool of the volunteer organizations eventually expanded.

Providing individuals with the opportunity to work directly with fellow citizens from different socio-economic backgrounds creates an understanding of the needs of all members of society. This then motivates people to take a greater role in their own governance.

E. LEADERSHIP TRAINING

Leadership training has long been considered by the U.S. government as an essential element of democracy building. One of the goals has been to develop a cadre of leaders dedicated to the ideals of popular participation. Although leadership training has been perceived as a successful strategy, because of the political sensitivity of this type of training program, A.I.D. may want to work through and with host-country organizations that foster the growth of democracy. Indicating up front that the intent of the leadership training is to nurture democratic leaders may help establish trust between those sponsoring the program and the participants from the start.

Lesson: Leadership training programs have a positive effect on the professional and personal growth of their participants. In general, these programs tend to improve the participants' understanding of their potential for promoting development and provides them with tools for managing development efforts.

As a result of leadership training efforts, participants increased their understanding of human behavior, acquired new skills for directing a group, and increased their understanding of their communities and organizations. Interviewees frequently stated that the program increased their self-confidence and their level of dedication to community service. Participants in the Loyola program returned to their native countries and many assumed leadership roles in community projects in urban renewal and cooperative development. Participants seemed motivated not only to participate, but to establish Loyola-type programs in their own countries. These group leadership skills, dedication to community service, and desire to apply new knowledge and skills in their native country contribute indirectly to democracy.

Lesson: A careful selection of participants based on clear selection criteria is a critical aspect of leadership training success.

As evidenced in the findings on the Loyola Leadership Training Program, the selection of participants is an important factor in the success of the leadership training programs. It was found that grouping individuals who shared similar educational backgrounds and career interests yet represented different countries in Central America contributed positively to the effectiveness of the training programs.

The following criteria for identifying leadership training participants appeared useful:

- o a strong desire to commit themselves to service that will benefit their country directly;
- o active participation in organizations that are democratic in their mode of functioning; and
- o a support for democracy or at least no opposition to the democratic system.

Ex-participants and administrators of the Loyola program believed that selecting a "critical mass" of individuals from an organization or community could improve the impact of the training. Trained leaders may be more able to implement new program ideas at home if there is some level of support or acceptance of these new ideas in the home community. This support is likely to be greater if a group of people rather than one or two people are trained, thereby creating a core group of supporters.

Programs that select participants using these criteria are well on the way to having leadership training programs that are likely to produce leaders who will return to their countries and work to implement democratic principles at home.

Lesson: A.I.D. has to recognize the potential risk to participants for having been involved in a leadership training program. The political climate in the host country needs to be monitored carefully to determine the level of risk involved.

The deaths of many Loyola graduates in Guatemala and the reluctance of individuals to discuss A.I.D. leadership training programs in that country are indications of the political sensitivity that accompanies such programs. Although the deaths of the Guatemalans cannot be directly linked to the Loyola leadership training program, these tragedies provide ample warning to future program planners. Countries that are experiencing political turmoil and volatile change may not be appropriate participants in a leadership training course or may require less visible connection to the U.S. because such an association may prove to be politically dangerous for leaders trained with A.I.D. funds.

Lesson: Appropriate follow-up is needed to increase the effectiveness of leadership training.

Follow-up is needed to help and support newly trained leaders as they become adept at applying new knowledge and skills. In addition, follow-up is necessary for accurate program evaluation. Given the political sensitivity of these programs, the visibility of follow-up activities and linkage to A.I.D. needs to be carefully assessed. Follow-up can be provided in a variety of ways including providing practical experience on development projects; providing support in terms of follow-up visits, correspondence, or telephone

calls after participants return to their home countries; providing funds to implement projects designed by participants; developing graduate associations; and/or holding follow-up conferences. In addition, follow-up does not just increase the effectiveness of a leadership training program, it also extends its life. The addition of follow-up can add months or years to A.I.D.'s efforts to firmly implant democracy in a country through its leaders.

APPENDICES

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APPENDIX A

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APPENDIX B

LIST OF INTERVIEWEES*

U.S. Interviewees*

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Human Rights and Democracy Programs Coordinator
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Bureau for Latin America and the Caribbean
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Marilyn Zak
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Eric Zallman
Finance Officer
LAC/DR
Agency for International Development
Washington, DC 20523

Field Interviewees*

Mario Alvarez
Director of INFOM
Guatemala

Armando Arauz
Ex-executive of IFAM
Costa Rica

Marco Antonio Azurdia
Director of CAPS at the Rafael
Landivar University
Guatemala

Manuel de Jesus Baldares
Professor
University of Costa Rica
Costa Rica

Jorge Barboza
Lawyer in the Civil Tribunal
Costa Rica

Enrique Bendana
General Manager
Monitor Consultora, S.A.
Paraguay

Juan Vicente Billacorta
Secretary of ANAM
Guatemala

Victor Manuel Bujan
Advisor to the Minister of
Education
Costa Rica

Dick Burke
USAID
Guatemala

Milton Clarke
Ex-director of the Technical
Department of the Legislature
& Specialist in Public Administration
Costa Rica

* The vast majority were interviewed in person. Only a few were interviewed by telephone.

Ronald Fernandez
Lawyer
(Involved in the SUNY/A Project)
Costa Rica

Kermit Ferrer
President
Partners of the Americas
Guatemala

Ana Maria Galinda
Executive Director
Partners of the Americas
Guatemala

Rolando Diaz Gutierrez
First Vice President
Partners of the Americas
Guatemala

Mark Hathaway
National Association of the
Partners of the Alliance, Inc.
Washington, DC
(interviewed in Guatemala)

Harry Jager
Executive of IFAM
Costa Rica

Mayor of Jocotenango
Guatemala

Gustavo de Jesus Larranaga
Municipal Secretary of Antigua
Guatemala

Daniel Oduber
Ex-president of the Congress
Costa Rica

Sonia Picado
Director
Inter-American Institute for
Human Rights
Costa Rica

Rodolfo Portillo
SGPLAN
Guatemala

Victor Pozuelos
Ex-director of INFOM
Guatemala

Jose Antonio Quintanilla
(Graduate of the Loyola Program)
Guatemala

Franklin Rechnitzer
Official in the Ministry of
Government
Costa Rica

Angel Edmundo Solano
Lawyer, Ex-ambassador, Ex-minister
of Public Security, and Ex-legislator
Costa Rica

Antonio Tascan
First Secretary of Congress
Costa Rica

Constantino Urcuyo
Executive of CIAPA
Costa Rica

Paul White
Deputy USAID Mission Director
Guatemala

APPENDIX C
LIST OF PROJECTS

<u>Country</u>	<u>Project Title</u>	<u>A.I.D. Project Number</u>	<u>Initiation Date*</u>
LEGISLATIVE DEVELOPMENT			
Costa Rica and Brazil	SUNYA Legislative Development Projects		1970
United States	Program of Legislative Studies and Services		1967
United States and seven field sites: (Jamaica, Costa Rica, Brazil, Paraguay, Uruguay, Ghana, and Ethiopia)	University Consortium for Comparative Legal Studies		1971
LOCAL GOVERNMENT			
Bolivia	Local Government Assistance	5110082	1973
Brazil	Municipal and State Administration	5120302	1962
Costa Rica	Municipal Development	5150118	1970
Dominican Republic	Municipal League		1966
Guatemala	Municipal Development Institute	5200196	1973
Honduras	Municipal Development	5220038(07)	1965
Panama	Rural and Municipal Development	5250176	1975
Paraguay	In-Service Training	5260018	1964
Paraguay	Municipal Development	5260801	1973
Venezuela	Municipal Development	5290032	1962

* Dates represent fiscal year rather than calendar year.

<u>Country</u>	<u>Project Title</u>	<u>A.I.D. Project Number</u>	<u>Initiation Date*</u>
CIVIC EDUCATION			
Ecuador	Civic Education	5180096(02)	1966
Latin America-Regional	Leadership Education Women	5980109	1973
Latin America-Regional	Partners of the Americas	5980436	1964
LEADERSHIP TRAINING			
Guatemala	Rural Community Leadership and Moderniza- tion Center for Training Social Promoters	5200187	1966
United States	Leadership Training Course for the Youth of Central America, Panama, and the Dominican Republic		1964
United States	Leadership Development for Women	5980109	1963

* Dates represent fiscal year rather than calendar year.