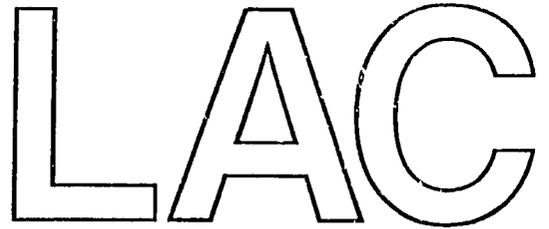


PANABN-021



LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN

EDUCATION AND HUMAN RESOURCES  
TECHNICAL SERVICES PROJECT

## **SOCIAL INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK ANALYSIS**

**CLASP - II**

**PANAMA**

**SOCIAL-INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK**  
**CLASP-II, USAID/PANAMA**

**EXECUTIVE SUMMARY**

The Social-Institutional Framework (SIF) provides general sociocultural and economic information for Panama and a picture of leadership patterns pertinent to the democratic and economic development of the nation. The SIF report serves as a foundation for planning the second phase of the Caribbean and Latin American Scholarship Program (CLASP-II). In CLASP-II, as compared with the earlier CAPS program, there is heightened emphasis on training opportunities for identified leaders. These include not only formal leaders, but also informal leaders who shape opinion, represent influential community groups, and catalyze group action. A lesson learned from the now-ending CAPS program is that training opportunities for youth must be balanced with the advantages of providing resources to proven leaders and existing organizations. Phase II mandates the active participation of local communities and employment institutions in defining the content of the training. CLASP-II is designed to encourage leadership of a stable democratic system in Panama, to bring training opportunities to the disadvantaged -- including the less developed, outlying provinces -- and to strengthen the practice of free enterprise. These goals and the training plans described in this document are fully compatible with the USAID/Panama Mission objectives of economic diversification, stable democracy, smooth transition to Panamanian operation of the Canal, and promotion of wise ecological policy.

The criteria for selecting CLASP-II trainees in Panama are listed in order of importance, from most important to least: 1) leadership abilities; 2) opportunities for youth; 3) relative disadvantage (leading to special consideration for training needs of indigenous groups, less developed provinces, and women); 4) skill shortages in Panama, particularly in the non-urban provinces.

Actual and potential leaders are identified through the following criteria. Most important is the demonstration of an ideological commitment to help their community advance, economically, politically and ecologically. Other criteria include: broad knowledge base (particularly in socioeconomic and political arenas); membership in organizations; speaking ability; ability to work well with others; organizational capacity.

Under CLASP-II, at least half of the trainees participate in short-term training (1-9 months); a second group attends long-term technical courses (1-2 years). A third group is supported for study in a four-year university. Both intermediate and long-term training emphasize areas of key shortage and/or strategic importance (e.g. maritime careers for Canal employment). Key training needs will be identified by USAID/Panama by consulting with CAPS scholarship committees and other leaders.

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SOCIAL INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK ANALYSIS  
for  
CLASP-II, Panama  
Caribbean and Latin American Scholarship Program

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## LIST OF ACRONYMS

- CAPS = Central America Peace Scholarships
- CLASPII = Caribbean and Latin American Scholarship Program II
- IIE = Institute of International Education
- LAC = Latin American Countries
- LASPAU = Latin American Scholarship Program of American University
- PANAJURU = Patronato Nacional de la Juventud Rural Panamena  
(National Foundation for Panamanian Rural Youth)
- PCC = Panama Canal College
- PIET = Partners for International Education and Training
- PTMS = Participant Training and Management System (computer system for tracking scholarship recipients - to facilitate evaluation and reporting capacities)
- USAID = United States Agency for International Development
- USIS = United States Information Service

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## SOCIAL-INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK ANALYSIS

### I. GENERAL BACKGROUND

Sociocultural Characteristics of Panama  
Economic Context  
Historical Context of Leadership in Panama  
USAID/Panamá Program  
Social-Institutional Framework (SIF) Report

Panama is a curving bridge of tropical terrain that connects North and South America. The nation varies between 31 and 113 miles in width and has a total land area of 29,000 square miles. Cutting through the middle of the country, the Panama Canal permits ships to pass between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans; roughly 12,000 vessels go through annually (oral communication, Canal employee). Although the United States has controlled the Canal since 1907, Panama will take over Canal operations on the last day of 1999. In order to do this effectively, the nation must recover its balance after a severe political and economic crisis in the last three years. The crisis was brought on by the dictatorship of Noriega, his involvement of Panama in the global drug market, and the subsequent invasion of U.S. armed forces to restore stability. Though relatively small in area and population (2,400,000, DEC 1990), Panama has a distinctive strategic importance in the world transportation, business, and military picture.

#### Sociocultural Characteristics of Panama

In Panama, one very important feature of the social landscape is the contrast between urban areas and rural areas. Overall, 53% of the population is urban, and 47% is rural (D.E.C. 1990). There are two provinces, Panama and Colon, which have large cities. These cities, also called Panama and Colon, are located at either end of the Canal; Panama City is about ten times larger than Colon. The seven other provinces and the comarca of San Blas are largely rural. (San Blas is the Cuna Indian reservation, but is treated in many ways as a tenth province.) Panamanians regard the social and cultural life as very different in the two locales: hurried, tense, and somewhat closed in the city versus relaxed, open and friendly in the countryside. Population density figures suggest the contrast between urban and rural provinces. The province of Panama has a density of about 90/Km<sup>2</sup>, while the densities in San Blas and Darien are 15/Km<sup>2</sup>, and 3/Km<sup>2</sup>, respectively (D.E.C. 1990). Panama City tends to dominate the country's cultural, political and economic life; over one third of the nation's population lives in the capital city (CNPV 1990).

Panama's population is racially very mixed due to the country's historical development as a crossroads. Waves of people from different locales have settled in Panama over the past 500 years, including Chinese, Jews, Blacks, Middle Easterners, and

diverse Hispanic groups. The urban areas (Panama City and Colon) show a more intense ethnic and cultural heterogeneity than the rural provinces. This heterogeneity has been heightened by migration from outlying provinces. Rural residents are attracted to the city for its commercial and industrial activity, and for its consumer and educational resources. Despite the many different groups that have settled in Panama's cities, the multiculturalism is a muted one. While characterized by a tremendous diversity of genetic phenotypes, the great majority of Panama's residents fully identify with a Spanish-speaking Mestizo ethos. There are, however, three groups that stand out as culturally distinct. These are the Antillean Blacks, the social elite, and the indigenous populations.

It is probably inaccurate to characterize Black as a generally disadvantaged minority group in Panama. As noted by other social scientists, skin color per se is of almost no importance in determining the Panamanian individual's opportunities and life experience (Weil et.al. 1972). The experience of a society with no color line is a striking one for North Americans. Although skin color has little effect on opportunity, degree of conformity to mainstream Hispanic culture has significant impact. In Panama, one large group of Blacks does suffer discrimination. These are the Antilleans whose forbearers came from the British Caribbean to work on Canal construction (early 1900's) and on banana plantations. This group is set apart from the mainstream by a preference for Protestant religious practices, and an inclination to use English; in 1970, they constituted 8% of the Panamanian population (Weil et.al. 1972, p.99). Large populations of Antilleans are located in the provinces of Colon and Bocas del Toro. Smaller numbers reside in Chiriqui and Darien.

The cultural tradition of the socioeconomic elite in Panama emphasizes the values and customs of old Spain. The upper stratum has traditionally been white and urban. The social, political and economic power of this group has been based on their mercantile success in Panama's trade and transit zone. Since colonial times this group has tended to practice in-marriage (Weil et.al. 1972). However, those who gain wealth and prestige through business may be admitted to the elite, if they conform to its values and ethos.

In contrast to the cities, Panama's outlying provinces have a population of largely Hispanic origin that has been rather stable since the period of the Conquest. The outlying provinces are also the location of most of the country's indigenous population. Five percent of Panama's citizens are members of indigenous cultures according to the census of 1980 (DEC 1980). This is undoubtedly a great underestimation because the census of 1980 made little or no effort to count indigenous Panamanians in urban areas and those in very remote rural areas. In the census of 1990, efforts have been made to correct this undercounting, but these figures are not yet available. The majority of indigenous people live in the provinces of San Blas, Darien, Bocas del Toro, Chiriqui, and Veraguas. Of

the seven distinct groups, the Guaymies and the Cuna are the most populous (49,000 and 29,000 population, respectively D.E.C. 1980). Together, they comprise 84% of the indigenous peoples in Panama. However, these two cultures exist in different regions and have very different traditions, including patterns of leadership and orientation toward the outside world.

### Economic Context

The Panamanian economy is currently undergoing a transition from a state dominated system to a liberalized economy. For much of the last 20 years, economic policy was oriented toward internal growth, and there was little development of new products for export. The agricultural sector emphasized self-sufficiency in food production, especially in grain supplies for the internal market. This included products for which Panama was not particularly well suited. The industrial sector emphasized development of import substitutions, often instituting government protection for inefficient production. The success of this import substitution strategy was limited due to the small size of Panama's internal market; lack of internal demand increased the price of the products. With labor legislation to increase worker benefits in the 1970's, there came a dramatic escalation in the cost of labor. The private sector was not ready to finance these additional benefits. Thus, the benefit laws tended to discourage the creation of new jobs in the private sector. In response to Panamanian labor demands, the public sector was transformed into a major employer.

At the current time, Panama's political economic policy emphasizes the following three aims: 1) economic liberalization with growth of the private sector and free enterprise, and reduction of state involvement in production; 2) improvement in the efficiency of production through technological and organizational advances; 3) increases in production of selected products for export (MIPPE 1990a).

The gross national product grew modestly (3.4%) in Panama in 1990 (Controlaria General 1990, p.157). This was a positive sign following the political and economic crisis of 1987-89. During 1988 there was a precipitous 16% decline in the GNP; activity also fell in 1989, though at a reduced rate of decline. The Panamanian GNP in 1990 was at about the same level as in 1981, controlling for inflation; per capita GNP was at about the same level as in 1974-75 (Controlaria General 1990).

The economy of Panama is based largely on the service sector, particularly the commercial activity of the Canal and the large international banking infrastructure. Overall, service accounts for almost 80% of economic activity, while agriculture contributes about 12%, and manufacturing about 9% of the total (Controlaria General 1990, p. 158). The largest component of the service activity is in transportation, which accounts for 25% of the gross

domestic product. Shrimp and bananas are the leading exports (D.E.C. 1990). It is a goal of both the national government and USAID/Panama (USAID/Panama 1991) to promote economic diversification and to increase activity in primary production, particularly in the outlying provinces. The agricultural sector grew only 2.3% per annum between 1970 and 1985 (MIPPE 1990b). One of the problems with development in the outlying provinces is the inefficiency and lack of development of the distribution system and the transportation facilities within Panama.

About one-third of the population of Panama is classified as being part of the workforce. There is a high rate of unemployment (estimates vary from 16% to 20%) and of underemployment (D.E.C. 1990, MIPPE 1990). Unemployment patterns vary dramatically by province, with Veraguas and Darien having the most severe problems in this respect (D.E.C. 1980). This is one reason why the urban population is growing relative to the rest of the country. In 1970, 52% of the population was rural in Panama; by 1990, this had diminished to 47% rural, primarily due to urban migration (D.E.C. 1980; D.E.C. 1990).

Currently, Panama is seeing a polarization of wealth. Upper class income is increasing, while there are income declines among the working classes and minority groups. Some upward social mobility continues due to improvements in education and an increasing number of middle class professionals. Government social programs in education, health, housing were well supported during the 1970's. This led to a marked improvement in mortality and education rates (MIPPE 1988, MIPPE 1991). However these programs were substantially reduced during the 1980's. This reduction has contributed to a rise in poverty during the past few years. By 1988, the problem of poverty had been aggravated to the point where an estimated 50% of Panama's population were without the basic necessities (MIPPE 1991). The great majority of indigent and poor households are located in the rural areas of Panama. The indigenous populations of Panama have the highest incidence rates of malnutrition (62%, MIPPE 1988), the poorest life expectancies, and the highest levels of poverty (MIPPE 1991). In 1983, the provinces that had the highest levels of poverty were Veraguas, Bocas del Toro, Darien and San Blas.

Panama's annual population growth rate in the 1980's was 2.4% (D.E.C. 1990). The provinces with the highest growth rates were Bocas del Toro (5.7%), Darien (5%), and Panama (2.8%). Those with the smallest population growth rate are Los Santos (.9%), Herrera (1.3%), and Veraguas (1.6%). In the province of Panama, the growth is due primarily to urban migration by people in search of jobs and educational resources. In Darien and Bocas del Toro, much of the growth is due to peasant colonization of these less inhabited provinces. The latter is illegal since the majority of the lands being settled belong to indigenous groups. The process is also of ecological concern since it involves extensive loss of forest.

Since the colonists are leaving due to lack of economic opportunities and land access where they live, one of the solutions to this problem is broad-based economic development of the outlying provinces. To put the brakes on migration, the development plan must emphasize job creation and improved access to farmland.

### Historical Context of Leadership in Panama

Until the early 1900's, Colombia controlled the Panamanian isthmus as part of its national territory. The Republic of Panama was founded in 1903 in a short military action against Colombia. United States naval forces were a key factor in the separation. The U.S. had been negotiating with Colombia at the time to obtain rights to build a canal across the isthmus. This effort had been begun by the French in the 19th century but was abandoned for financial and health reasons. United States diplomats made use of Panama's newly-won independence to get a canal treaty signed in late 1903. The treaty was ratified by the U.S. Congress in 1904 and work on the canal began in 1907 (Weil et.al. 1972).

During the decade of the 1970's, Panama saw political participation by sectors of the population which had not been active previously. Although the Torrijos government was a military one -- technically a dictatorship -- there is evidence that many in the middle class, ethnic minorities, and women all made gains vis-a-vis the traditional dominance of the upper class. The military rulers depended on the support of populist sectors to maintain their position. To consolidate their position, the government instituted many educational, health, and worker benefit programs.

Since Panamanian independence in 1903, United States influence on the country's internal politics and on its foreign relations was a persistent and powerful issue. However, this issue was largely defused by the Carter-Torrijos treaty of 1977, which turns control of the Canal Zone over to Panama in 1999. There is not as much scope for anti-American sentiment as there once was. With Norriega's seizure of power and the subsequent crises of 1987-90, a process of political transition began in Panama. One hopeful sign is that about 70% of the population voted in the election held after Norriega was ousted. The process of political transition continues to the present time, such that it is difficult to predict how Panama will unfold politically in the future.

With respect to leadership roles, the greatest marginalization occurs in the indigenous groups. Members of these groups have the lowest access to effective education, and the highest levels of malnutrition (which may block optimal child development). A certain prejudice also characterizes the attitudes of many Mestizos toward indigenous Panamanians. Antillean blacks also constitute a socially and politically disadvantaged group. Although women are doing well in Panama with respect to some indicators (for example, there are more women than men professionals in Panama, more female

than male students in the University of Panama), many barriers still impede women's equal advancement in the work world. Barriers include lack of female representation in formal bodies of government, low rates of female income relative to males, and disproportionate responsibility for maintaining homelife and raising children.

#### USAID/Panama Program

The USAID program in Panama emphasizes four key areas at this time (USAID/Panama 1991). The mission is concerned with helping the Panamanian government consolidate democratic institutions, including the judicial system. A second goal is to promote economic diversification and the growth of effective production for export. An important strategic aim is to facilitate a smooth transition to successful and stable Panamanian operation of the Canal, according to stipulations of the Treaty. Finally, the Mission regards deforestation as a serious problem, and has several projects underway to investigate and remedy the ecological deficits in Panama. A recent AID planning report, Economic Assistance Strategy/Panama 1991- 1996 states:

The AID development strategy for Panama thus calls for a program of institutional and human resource development, primarily composed of technical assistance and training to support genuine Panamanian reform initiatives (1991, p.ii).

#### Social-Institutional Framework (SIF) Report

The main purpose of the Social-Institutional Framework report is to help USAID/Panama plan the mission's strategy for the next phase of the USAID scholarship and training program, CLASP-II. To arrive at the best possible plan, the SIF report summarizes the experience of the Panama CAPS program to date and summarizes results of interviews with a range of AID personnel, community leaders, and returned trainees. An important focus of discussion with the latter two groups is the relationship between education and democratic leadership in Panama.

CLASP-II is dedicated to the four Mission aims: pluralistic democracy, free enterprise market economies, broad-based economic development, and sound ecological policy. The CLASP-II planning document states:

The key to the successful implementation of this strategy is to identify people whose training will have a broader impact on their community or society either directly or indirectly through their action . . . Leaders may be found in scientific and intellectual circles, popular groups, professions, ethnic groups, government, private companies, voluntary organizations, or cooperatives. In some cases, the focus may be on individuals who are leaders and in others potential

leaders may be sought or developed in institutions whose effective functioning contributes to democracy - such as labor unions or community advocacy groups (1991 p.1).

CLASP-II, like its predecessor CAPS, requires that 70% of the participants be from socioeconomically disadvantaged groups and 40% must be women. To summarize, the SIF report is intended to identify important sociocultural and political institutions in Panama, describe patterns of leadership, refine definitions of "disadvantaged" and other pertinent concepts, and suggest appropriate CLASP-II target groups and training programs.

## II. PROGRAM BACKGROUND

Working Definitions

CAPS/CLASP Panama Experience to Date

Process and Criteria for Participant Selection

Training Programs

Follow-up

### Working Definitions

**Disadvantaged** -- the working definition for this has been based on per capita household income. In CLASP-II, persons from households with per capita incomes below the national median will be considered relatively disadvantaged. The national median is used rather than the provincial median to correct for the radical imbalance in distribution of wealth between Panama City and the outlying provinces. In addition to the income criterion, all indigenous persons and all Antillean Blacks should be considered socially disadvantaged in Panama.

**Leadership** -- leaders include not only formal leaders, but also informal leaders who shape opinion, represent influential community groups, and catalyze group action.

**Potential leadership** -- potential leaders can be identified through the following, in order of importance with the most important factor listed first: 1) demonstrated commitment to helping their community advance: economically, politically and ecologically; 2) participation in organizations, particularly in a leadership role; 3) broad knowledge base, particularly in regard to socioeconomic and political arenas; 4) organizational capacity; 5) speaking/writing abilities; 6) ability to work well with others.

**Youth** -- for the purpose of this project anyone who is 27 or under shall be considered a "youth."

**Rural** -- for CLASP-II, all areas outside of Panama City and Colon shall be considered to have a rural level of development.

**Elite** -- applicants shall be ruled out as participants of the CLASP-II program if their household incomes are in the upper 20% of income distribution for Panama as a whole (i.e., the top two deciles for household income). Consistent with the CLASP-II program requirements, no student shall be selected for CLASP-II scholarship assistance whose own family has sufficient resources to finance overseas education for their children.

### CAPS/CLASP Panama Experience to Date

The CAPS/Panama program is described below, ending with a summary of major lessons learned from analysis of CAPS experience to date.

The CAPS program was originally conceived partly to counter the influence of the Socialist Block countries; these nations, were fully financing the studies of many Latin American students in the Soviet Union and other Socialist countries. The Socialist program has abated somewhat with recent political changes in those nations. However in 1990, the Block nations were still the location of 27% of the Panamanian college students who study abroad (IFARHU 1990). During the same year, the United States accounted for only 17% of Panamanian students overseas. The CAPS program finances a large proportion of these students.

By the middle of 1991, a total of 509 participants had studied in the United States under the CAPS program. Of these, 342 (67%) were sponsored for long-term university training, and 166 (33%) were sponsored for short term courses. To date, only nine of the long-term scholarship recipients have withdrawn from the program. This suggests that the selection process is working from the standpoint of academic preparation and student motivation to complete a degree.

Panama's political and socioeconomic crisis of 1987-90 bit deeply into the CAPS program, most directly because Noriega closed the USAID office for two years. During this time, only minimal activities could be carried out. These efforts were directed toward maintaining contact with and support for CAPS scholarship students in four-year U.S. university programs.

The USAID/Panama program has been implemented through two different contractors: Partners for International Education and Training (a very short time), and Georgetown University.

The provincial CAPS committees have constituted a very important component of the CAPS program in Panama. These are groups of five to ten community leaders who evaluate applications from students, interview students, communicate with the selected students before and during their time in the United States, and work with returned trainees in follow-up activities and identification of employment possibilities. All their labor is voluntary. In the original plan, USAID funds were planned for reimbursement of committee expenses, but this has not always been carried out. The committees feel it is essential to reimburse them for telephone, transportation, and other expenses incurred while interviewing and maintaining contact with CAPS trainees.

### Process and Criteria for Participant Selection

Publicity that invites applications for the Panama CAPS program has largely toward the long-term scholarships. These scholarships have been publicized through newspapers, printed announcements in libraries and other public areas, and informal communication networks. The latter particularly radiate out from the civic associations (e.g., Lions Club) to which many members of

the provincial scholarship committees belong. That the publicity has reached many high school students is clear. Typically, a provincial CAPS committee evaluates between 300 and 500 applications for 5-10 long-term scholarships, each year. They also carry out interviews of between 10 and 50 students after the USAID office has gone over the applications.

The applicants are evaluated and assigned points for a variety of factors. There are a total of 15 points possible, as shown below:

- a) (3 points possible) rural/urban residence
- b) (3 points possible) leadership potential  
Leadership potential is evaluated by examining participation in extracurricular activities (e.g., organized sports, band, chorus).
- c) (3 points possible) grade point average
- d) (3 points possible) family income  
Family income is prorated according to the average income of the province in which they live, and the size of the family. In Darien the average per capita income is \$672/year, while in Panama the average income is \$2322/year (MIPPE 1989). In Panama as a whole, the average per capita income is \$1766/year.
- e) (1 point possible) membership in a disadvantaged group  
Applicants receive one point for being female, black or indigenous.
- f) (1 point possible) career goals  
Applicants receive one point if the career goals are oriented toward the development of Panama.
- g) (1 point possible) self-presentation  
Applicants are evaluated with respect to their written essays and personal interviews.

### Training Programs

Almost all of the 327 long-term scholarship recipients were selected at the high school level and then attended a four-year university in the U.S. The most common majors have been business administration, maritime science and engineering. A small number (15) were sponsored to complete associate (two-year) degrees at undergraduate universities. An estimate of the average cost of the program per long-term participant varies between US\$46,500 and US\$52,736. This is a rough estimate because some students are in the middle of their training, and because the figure is based on blanket contractor payments, thus pertaining also to organization of several short-term courses.

In the short-term CAPS training (3-12 months in duration), the Panama program has sponsored groups of journalists, rural youths from the organization PANAJURU, mayors, and high school English teachers. Training courses for the short-term groups have been arranged at different institutions in the U.S. by the USAID

contractor, Georgetown University. To look at two examples, the cost of the short course for the PANAJURU rural youth group was US\$4810 per person, for a nine-month stay; the participants were high school students and they attended high school in the United States; there was, however, expense involved in the intensive English course they receive before leaving for the States. In the most recent short-term course (high school English teachers, 4 months at the University of Delaware), the average cost per participant was US\$5,370.

### Follow-up

Follow-up has been intensive for the long-term CAPS scholarship recipients, particularly those in Panama City. Upon return, each student completes a standardized interview in the USAID office; this interview covers certain aspects of the trainee's experience in the United States. The contractor has organized a support group which meets weekly and which provides a continuing experience in group decision-making. The group's plans include earning funds to sponsor membership participation in workshops on leadership and small business development. It appears that a reasonable number of the returned CAPS recipients are interested in participating in this group. There are plans for similar support groups in the outlying provinces, however these have not progressed as far as that in Panama City. Some follow-up support is also provided to scholarship recipients in regard to locating employment; this is particularly focused on those with business, engineering and maritime science degrees.

With regard to the short-term participants there has been little or no follow-up, either of the support or the evaluative type. At this point, there is no computerized system for tracking the effects of the CAPS experience with the short-term trainees. However, CLASP-II provides for such a system.

\* \* \* \* \*

### LESSONS LEARNED FROM CAPS/PANAMA

The CAPS/Panama program was studied using three types of interviews: USAID/Panama personnel, returned CAPS trainees, and provincial CAPS committees. Major lessons learned are these:

1. Accurate prediction of leadership potential and community participation goals is difficult among people of high school age. Appendix 2 shows that many returned CAPS trainees interpreted the training to be solely for their personal benefit. CLASP-II recruits more trainees from organized groups, e.g., cooperatives, youth groups, young government leaders. These recipients are already recognized as active and committed individuals. One advantage of such recruitment is that returned trainees have an automatic support network to help them and profit from their new expertise, upon return.

2. Returned CAPS trainees are much more focused on their own careers than on community involvement. CLASP-II directs participants to the concept of community pay-backs from the outset of the selection process. Short-term, intermediate- and long-term trainees will all be made aware of the need to develop a plan for sharing the benefits of their training with their organization and/or local communities in the form of written and/or oral presentations. A brief summary of each trainee's presentation will be kept on file in the USAID office.

3. For the language skills demanded by intermediate and long-term CAPS education, Panama Canal College appears to be doing a very good job of preparing participants (see Appendix 2 for more detail.)

4. Short-term training is much less expensive per participant than is long-term training. Therefore, the program can reach far more people through short-term training. However, the CAPS English teacher short course shows that USAID and the contractor must put considerable effort into facilitating release time from jobs, preferably with salary, for short-term trainees. This means "selling" the benefits of such training to the employer, from the standpoint of skills/productivity improvement. Even with such an effort, securing salaried release time may continue to be problematic.

5. The CAPS program has a set of goals that are not always easily reconciled. One goal is to increase political leadership and influence, in order to promote democratic institutions. Another goal is to reach primarily the social and economically disadvantaged. The latter come from groups which typically have minimal political influence and a severely constrained financial base on which to build economic development. Thus, disadvantaged individuals are starting from a position of political deficit. They must be supported psychologically and with access to capital upon return, in order for full realization of program aims.

6. CAPS trainees had little exposure to political processes (e.g., town council meetings, student government) during their stays in American universities. Since this is not an experience that trainees typically have without deliberate structuring, such experiences are carefully planned and implemented with CLASP-II.

7. CAPS shows the importance of systematic evaluation of problems encountered by trainees (both short and long-term), and of program impacts on participants and communities. For instance, changing to PCC for language training was based on information that CAPS trainees needed more comprehensive preparation than that received by the first group. A random sample of trainees should be tracked on an extended basis (e.g., 5-10 years). Only with extended tracking can we know what community participation and leadership roles returnees may eventually assume (see Appendix 2).

8. The provincial CAPS committees represent an impressive pool of wisdom and local connections (see Appendix 1). They have done a fine job with the limited role given them in the CAPS program; they can be utilized for higher-level functions in the CLASP-II program. To this end, expenses they incur in carrying out USAID aims should be reimbursed.

### III. STUDY OBJECTIVES AND METHODOLOGY

#### Key Questions Methodology

##### Key Questions

The key questions we brought to this study were as follow:

1. What has been the experience with CAPS to date in Panama? What has worked well, what needs improvement?
2. What are the institutions that currently contribute or that could contribute to the development of democratic process in Panama -- both formal political institutions and informal community level institutions?
3. What are the priorities of USAID/Panama with respect to mission objectives, and how can these be reinforced through CLASP-II?
4. What are the needs of the less developed (non-urban) provinces and of disadvantaged populations of Panama, with respect to leadership and education?

##### Methodology

Laurie J. Price is a cultural anthropologist who specializes in applied anthropology and in public health. She is a full-time faculty member of the Anthropology Department at Northern Arizona University. Eligio Alvarado is a sociologist who specializes in educational administration. He teaches at the University of Panama and has been extensively involved with practical and community-based work in Panamanian education, particularly among the Cuna Indians.

To locate background information on Panamanian leadership patterns, sociocultural and economic factors, we used both library and interview research. Discussions took place at the USAID office with a total of ten persons to whose work the CLASP-II program is relevant. Attendance at various CAPS activities added an extra dimension, e.g., one of the weekly follow-up meetings of the returned long-term trainees in Panama, the celebration luncheon for the high school English teachers recently returned from a short course in Delaware.

An interview was carried out with a representative of the CAPS contractor, Georgetown University. Another interview was arranged with USIS and the AID CAPS Coordinator to refine the format for provincial interviews, and get a broader perspective on how CLASP-II may be articulated with other scholarship and educational activities in Panama.

In the outlying provinces, we interviewed a total seven CAPS

scholarship committees. Five of these were very comprehensive (Cocle, Veraguas, Chiriqui, Los Santos, Herera); two were somewhat less comprehensive (Bocas del Toro, Colon), because the questions were not as refined at that stage. In all, we talked with 26 individuals, all of whom are active leaders of the community at the provincial level.

Finally, in-depth interviews were carried out with returned students from the long-term training, both in Panama (5), and in outlying provinces (6). It proved difficult to locate the short-term students for interviews since there is no follow-up program for these trainees, and their current phone numbers and addresses were not available at the USAID office.

#### IV. CONCLUSIONS ON LEADERSHIP

- National Leadership
- Provincial Leadership
- Municipal Leadership
- Special Leadership Considerations
  - Working Class Leadership
  - Indigenous Leadership
  - Identifying Potential Leaders

This section briefly describes Panama's formal system of government, and analyzes some of the key informal processes in national and local politics. A variety of social groups and institutions are identified which influence public opinion and help shape social, political, economic, religious, and cultural policies in Panama.

##### National Leadership

As specified in its constitution, Panama has three branches of government: the executive, the legislative and the judicial branches. The President is elected by popular vote for a term of five years. Government ministers are named by the President. The Institutes and Ministries operate as part of the executive branch, although some have a certain autonomy. In addition, there are a number of independent national government organizations. The Controller General Office, the Electoral Tribunal, and the Public Ministry are three of the most important. Other quasi-independent agencies include the National Bank, the Social Security Fund, the Institute for Economic Development, the Institute for Housing and Urbanization, the University of Panama, and the Colon Free Zone (Weil et.al. 1972).

Politically, Panama is divided into nine provinces. The provinces are in turn divided into districts, of which there are 71. Provinces range from Bocas del Toro with 3 districts to Chiriqui, which has 13 districts. The districts are subdivided into corregimientos, of which there are 510 in total. Panama has national government structures at the provincial, district, and municipal levels which carry out extremely critical functions.

One of the most important national-level structures -- part of the executive branch -- is the Ministry of Government and Justice. This Ministry is responsible for administration of the following: National Guard (the only armed force in Panama); fire departments of all major cities; governance of indigenous populations; Department of Correction (including major urban prisons); telegraph and radio systems; provincial affairs; and supervision of municipal governments.

The legislative branch is unicameral, with the National Assembly composed of 67 legislators. They are elected every five years on the same date as the Presidential election (MIPPE 1987). Political parties play a key role in the legislative branch of

government because it is a formal requirement that a candidate be sponsored by a recognized political party.

The judicial branch of government is headed by the judges of the Supreme Court. Judges are appointed for a period of ten years by the executive cabinet (president, vice-president, ministers); appointments are subject to approval of the Assembly. Other judicial bodies that operate under the authority of the Supreme Court are the superior tribunals, circuit courts, and municipal courts.

Panamanian national elections usually can be characterized by one of two situations. A particular party may completely dominate the field. Or -- if there is no single strong party -- party coalitions tend to form. These coalitions may not be very stable in the long run. For instance, the present situation is particularly conflicted because Panama's most powerful party (the P.D.C., Partido Democratica Cristiana) has abandoned the government coalition, leaving the Liberal Autentico, Molirena and Arnulfista parties to keep the nation functioning. After an election, government positions are distributed to members of each party according to the amount of power that particular party demonstrated during the election. The distribution of government jobs according to political party membership has characterized Panama's political organization since its founding as a nation in 1903, and continues to the present day.

Though fewer at present, during many periods of Panama's history there have existed 15 or more political parties. At the national level, leadership is exercised by the elite group of individuals whose political party (or parties) is in power. Positions are selected and decisions are made in accord with the vested interests of those parties. Although a few political parties are organized along ideological lines, such as the PDC and some small parties on the left, this is the exception. Most Panamanian political parties revolve around one man or a group of men rather than around an ideology. This is the well-known caudillismo which depends more on charisma than on political platform (Weil et.al. 1972). Loyalty to a particular person is of paramount importance; loyalty to a political ideology is secondary. Caudillismo flourishes not only on the national but also on provincial and local levels. Such a pattern reflects a lack of sophistication among many Panamanians with regard to evaluating political issues directly.

In the atmosphere of crisis and change which characterizes Panama currently, it is difficult to predict what alterations may occur in political leadership. The public tends to have a skeptical attitude toward political processes; this attitude probably derives more from their experiences with government institutions than from their perceptions of specific leaders. There exists what can be called a leadership vacuum on national,

regional, and community levels. Due to traditions of political opportunism, leadership is often of a superficial type. In a categorical sense, Panamanian leaders are persons who exercise power or have wealth. But these individuals frequently lack the skills and value orientations of the statesman. They often put other interests above the wellbeing of the general population.

The operation of political power in the upper echelons typically involves alliances of convenience between groups which have achieved political or economic success. There may be little commitment to forging a truly effective coalition, especially one that is dedicated to achieving broader community goals.

Panama's national government since its earliest days has been controlled by a small socioeconomic elite, e.g., an oligarchy. A few families, in particular, hold great political power. When this power structure is highlighted by specific events, populist groups typically react by reformulating the populist platform and attempting to mobilize the population for anti-government actions. These groups turn to new leaders and strategies when they are reminded of the skewed distribution of power. Such a dynamic is underway in Panama today, and it may be accelerated by measures described in the current government's program, The National Development Strategy and Economic Modernization.

Informal Leadership. Business associations have a major impact on policy, particularly political economic policy. Important ones include: Asociacion Panamena de Ejecutivos de Empresas (APEDE), Consejo Nacional de la Empresa Privada (CONEP), Sindicato de Industriales de Panama (SIP), Camara Panamena de la Construccion, Camara de Comercio, Asociacion Nacional de Ganaderos (ANAGAN), etc. Their political orientation emphasizes free market ideology. In general, these groups openly oppose state intervention in the economic system.

Although labor unions and other labor associations concentrate particularly on policies that affect workers, these groups also serve as important channels of opinion in a broad sense among Panamanians. Labor unions carry out political activities which underscore contradictions in the socioeconomic system, and which focus attention on some of the nation's problems which might otherwise be ignored. Among the important labor groups in Panama are: la Central Nacional de Trabajadores de Panama (CNTP), Central Istmena de Trabajadores (CIT), Local 907, Sindicatos de Transportes, Consejo Nacional de Trabajadores Organizados (CONATO). The majority of these groups follow the political line of the previous government; they can be generally described as nationalist and anti-imperialist. Because of this orientation, many organized labor groups have been engaged in demonstrations against the political economic policies of the current government.

There are few indigenous groups which maintain national level

visibility in Panama. Two of the leading organizations are the Consultoria Juridica Indigena and Fundacion Dobbo Yala. The first group works to promote legal justice, the second works to bring about socioeconomic and ecological betterment of all indigenous populations in Panama.

Student political groups are active in Panamanian high schools and universities. Not infrequently these groups operate as pressure lobbies in national events; students tend to mobilize most readily around social or economic problems. The groups exhibit a range of ideological and political orientations, but those in leadership roles are predominantly "leftist," "nationalist," and "anti-imperialist."

Religious organizations have limited influence over national public opinion on political, cultural and social issues. The Catholic Church has never been a dominant force in Panama, but Catholic organizations can be very active around certain issues. An example is the Conferencia Episcopal Panamena; this group has mobilized the population against actions of the previous (Norriega) government and against the current one, as well.

Among the professional guilds which help shape opinion and policy at the national level are: Magisterio Panameno Unido, Asociaciones de Profesores, Sindicato de Periodistas, Colegio Nacional de Abogados, Asociacion de Abogados Independientes, Sociedad Panamena de Ingenieros y Arquitectos, Asociacion Nacional de Enfermeras, Asociaciones Medicas. These associations influence members' attitudes toward a variety of government policies. In particular, each group functions to channel opinion on specific issues that are directly relevant to the interests of its own profession.

### Provincial Leadership

Each of Panama's nine provinces has a Governor. This leader has minimal power and authority of his own because he is appointed and removed by the President, and because he lacks an autonomous budget. In actuality, the provincial Governor functions as a representative of the national government on the provincial level. He is the maximum authority in all police matters at the provincial level, and it is his responsibility to maintain law and order. One of the Governor's most central tasks is to coordinate policies, plans and programs of all the centralized and decentralized public entities which operate in the province. His priority is to assure that all public activities and policies are consistent with the socioeconomic objectives of the national government. The provincial budgets are administered through the Ministry of Government and Justice.

The Provincial Coordinating Council is an organization which serves the Governor in an advisory capacity. It is composed of representatives of the corregimientos from that province. The

Council is presided over by the Governor and receives assistance from directors of the national government ministries which function in the province. The Provincial Council also is aided by a committee which provides technical services.

On the level of the district, the administrative chief is the Corregidor. This type of political leader is part of old Spanish political tradition, and there is no exact counterpart in Anglo (U.S.) systems. The Corregidores are appointed by the Ministry of Government and Justice. In addition to administrative duties, the Corregidor oversees police functions and takes responsibility for the maintenance of public order. District governance is exercised by the Communal Council, composed of the District representatives and delegates from the community.

The province and the district represent administrative units rather than a compelling sociopolitical reality in Panama. Non-government organizations tend to be organized on a municipal locus rather than a provincial or district basis. To use an example that is immediately relevant for this report, of the nine CAPS scholarship committees, only one (Cocle) has a formal plan to include representatives of all the major towns in that province. The other committees are largely composed of residents of the primary municipal center.

### Municipal Leadership

The municipal government is a local autonomous political organization organized according to district boundaries. The Municipal Council is formed by the elected representatives of the corregimientos in each district. (Corregimiento representatives are elected through popular vote every five years.) The chief administrative officer at the municipal level is the alcalde (mayor). In the past, mayors were elected; currently, they are appointed by the national President. In Panama, mayors have far more power than do provincial officials because the municipalities run their own tax collection and budgets.

At the national level there are 510 Representatives in the Corregimiento, one from each of the districts into which Panama is divided. A meeting of Representatives of the Districts constitutes the National Assembly of Representatives. This body functions largely in a consulting capacity. These leaders exert a great deal of genuine influence on the local level, but relatively little influence at the national level.

At the community or village level, each Corregimiento representative organizes Juntas Comunales (community boards) and Juntas Locales (neighborhood boards). These bodies facilitate broad participation of the local populace in political and development processes.

In contrast to the Area Handbook for Panama (Weil et.al. 1972) which states that associations have never been very important in Panamanian politics, we found that local associations and clubs play a vital role in political processes, particularly at the local level. Important groups include the following: civic clubs (such as the Lions Club, the Rotary), business organizations (e.g., Chambers of Commerce), professional guilds (especially teachers associations), juvenile groups (Scouts), and religious groups. Church-sponsored groups are particularly active in rural areas, and help involve small farmers in the political processes of the nation. Such associations have a profound influence in local political processes and, indirectly, in national processes as well.

There also exist groups with little overt participation in the political arena, but which influence people because of their efforts to address social or cultural problems. For example youth groups such as the Scouts and Girl Guides provide a leadership model which members subsequently draw upon in their adult lives. It is likely that local conservation groups will ultimately have a major impact on national as well as local political processes.

### Special Leadership Considerations

This section outlines leadership patterns among population groups which are relatively socially/economically disadvantaged, and discusses guidelines for identifying potential leaders.

Working Class Leadership. Working class organizations exist in indigenous communities, among rural peasants, and to a lesser extent among the urban working class in Panama. Helping the poor to develop a more effective political voice, these organizations educate members and facilitate their interactions with government agencies (e.g., for land title). Working class organizations include those sponsored by Catholic and Protestant denominations, cooperatives, indigenous associations, some occupational associations, production groups, youth movements.

Indigenous Leadership. Panama's indigenous groups show major differences in leadership traditions. The Cuna are quite highly organized politically, while Guaymie and other indigenous groups are much less so. The Cuna live in relatively centralized villages; they maintain an indigenous congress, production groups, cooperatives (e.g., a Cuna mola cooperative, Canal Zone Cunas, especially focused on ecology); the Cuna youth movement (afiliated with Communist Party), and the Youth Dueren, a cultural preservation movement. Among the Guaymies are el Congreso General Guaymie and the Frente de Liberacion Guaymie.

Identifying Potential Leaders. In order to identify potential leaders in the community groups targeted for CLASP-II it is important to establish effective contact with members of the selected groups. CLASP-II/Panama mandates that the contractor

devote a full- or half-time position to community outreach efforts. These activities will help establish working communication with agricultural/fishing cooperatives, indigerous development associations, young government officials, Scouting groups, and local ecology organizations. The selected groups will be invited to nominate a given number of their members (e.g., 10-12) for scholarships. From this group of nominees, the USAID office and contractor will together make the final choices. The groups' nominations should be roughly consistent with criteria set forth in the CLASP-II document (see following section). For instance, in making nominations a Scouting group or an agricultural cooperative should be instructed to consider: individual's preparation and ability to complete the training program (whether short-, medium- or long-term); philosophical commitment to helping the community; knowledge base and inclination to pass on new information to others; inclusion of women whenever possible; relative emphasis on youth (27 and under). A given group should not be required to conform to the desired overall demographic profile for CLASP-II participants. But selection outcomes will be monitored in an on-going way to check for consistency with demographic requirements of CLASP-II.

## V. CLASP-II PROGRAM FOCUS

Project Objectives  
Target Groups for Leadership Development  
Plans for Recruitment and Selection of Participants  
Training Programs  
Plans for Follow-up  
Experience America Considerations

### Project Objectives

CLASP-II is dedicated to the four general aims which characterize USAID goals in Panama: pluralistic democracy, broad-based economic development, wise ecological practices, and free market enterprise. As the CLASP II planning document states:

The key to the successful implementation of this strategy is to identify people whose training will have a broader impact on their community or society either directly or indirectly through their action (p.1).

CLASP-II, like its predecessor CAPS, requires that 70% of the participants be from socioeconomically disadvantaged groups and that at least 40% be women. The SIF report identifies important sociocultural institutions in Panama, describes patterns of leadership, refines the definitions of disadvantaged, and helps identify CLASP-II target groups and training programs.

### Target Groups for Leadership Development

Plans for leadership development through the implementation of CLASP-II are grounded in an assessment of key urban and rural institutions in Panama. The institutions and their spheres of influence are shown in Matrix 1. The first two pages of Matrix 1 concern the urban environment; the second two pages address the rural situation. On the far left of each page are listed the various spheres of influence that play an important role in the political processes (e.g., national issues, community issues, general attitudes). Groups and institutions that have impact in Panama's political milieu are listed to the right of each sphere of influence. These groups are separated into two columns; the first column is for medium-to-high income entities (e.g., civic clubs, mayors), the second is for low-income groups (e.g., church service groups, cooperatives).

Matrix 2 describes six categories for CLASP-II scholarship support in Panama. Any or all of these sectors are appropriate training targets. The specific organizations that are chosen will depend on in-depth information and assessment by scholarship committees, contractor, and USAID/Panama CLASP-II personnel.

- 1) Rural production cooperatives (technical skills and ecology training)
- 2) High school students -- to study specified fields (e.g.,

- maritime science, fruit processing technology)
- 3) Young leaders in Panamanian government
  - 4) Youth groups/Scouts
  - 5) Indigenous cooperatives
  - 6) Teachers associations, selected special programs (e.g., special education, ecology), English teachers

\* \* \* \* \*

#### SELECTION OF TARGET SECTORS FOR CLASP-II TRAINING

Appropriate sectors for CLASP-II training were identified through interviews with USAID personnel, interviews with provincial CAPS committees, and USAID planning meetings. The CLASP-II orientation/planning meeting was attended by nine persons from the Mission, and the two consultants. Only a few of those attending the first session were able to come to the second planning session, (which centered on discussion of appropriate target sectors)

Final identification of sectors was based on the following parameters:

1. There is a preference on the part of both USAID personnel and the CAPS committees for providing opportunities to young people. This accounts for the several identified sectors which are youth-centered, e.g., young government officials, youth groups, high school students.

2. All but one of the identified sectors were named by multiple CAPS committees as important ones for CLASP-II support (young government officials are the exception).

3. The upper and middle-income sectors shown on Matrix 1 have a great deal of leadership impact and could benefit from U.S. training programs. However, CLASP-II mandates support for the disadvantaged; this severely limits the number of middle-class/upper-class organizations that can be considered for inclusion in the program.

4. Target sectors further overarching aims of USAID in Panama:

-- Economic diversification and free enterprise are furthered by skills development in rural cooperatives and indigenous production groups. Though past experiences working with such groups has sometimes been less than gratifying, CLASP-II establishes a margin of safety in that it provides for skills enhancement rather than outright funding.

Economic diversification and free enterprise are both promoted by training young people in technical fields needed for primary production in the less developed provinces, and by preparing them to establish viable small businesses.

-- A stable democratic system is encouraged by broadening

access to resources, through training for grass-roots sectors, and by bringing young government leaders together to discuss new ideas for implementing democracy on all levels. Teachers have a great deal of influence in this regard as well.

-- Smooth transition to Panamanian-run Canal is addressed by continuing use of some CLASP-II funds for training of young people for maritime careers, one of the designated fields of study for high school students.

-- Ecology awareness and policies are enhanced through ecology/conservation training for a variety of the named target sectors. Ecology organizations are at present not very well organized in Panama. However, CLASP-II facilitates the growth of ecology awareness and networking by the training of active, community-minded individuals who belong to youth groups, cooperatives, government circles, and educational institutions. These individuals upon return will present a program on some aspect of their experience (part of their contract in return for the training). Thus, CLASP-II can be expected to have a radiating effect within local communities and the nation as a whole.

5. The groups which are potentially important but which were omitted from the final list of target sectors are the following:

-- Protestant and Catholic church groups. These do a great deal of outreach and organizing with disadvantaged rural residents, and were mentioned as important by many of the CAPS committees. However, these groups have access to resources through the religious institutions to which they belong.

-- Civic clubs (e.g., Kiwanis, Camera de Comercio, Soroptimistas), and professional associations (e.g., medical societies, engineering associations). These are important organizations in informal leadership, locally and nationally. However, CLASP-II demands that 70% of its participants be disadvantaged, rather than middle class. (As discussed on p.12, CAPS and CLASP-II contain an inherent tension between the aim of mobilizing political/economic leadership to implement democracy, and the aim of helping the disadvantaged. The latter start from a very reduced base, educationally and economically. Although they can certainly carry out leadership and development roles, especially with follow-up support, it is unlikely that they will have as much impact on political and economic institutions as might be achieved by middle class people with a broader social and economic base.)

-- Unions. These are very powerful in some provinces, but USAID staff and the CAPS committees largely concurred that Panamanian unions have methods and goals that diverge too far from the spirit of the CLASP-II program.

In Matrix 2, the target sectors are numbered 1 through 6; each group is listed at the top of a column (on two contiguous

pages). For each target sector, the matrix outlines its influence, income level, spread effect (transmission of skills, attitudes through social networks), special concerns, selection criteria, skills to gain through CLASP-II, training possibilities, experience America considerations, and a plan for follow-up.

### Recruitment and Selection of Participants

Recruitment should take place with initial personal outreach to the target groups; it would be most efficient to arrange all training in only one or two given areas per year. This eases organization of program activities in the U.S., since many activities and institutional arrangements can be overlapped. (For example, many activities in ecology training would be similar for indigenous production/conservation groups, Scout groups studying ecology, and primary school science teachers.)

In CLASP-II recruitment, there will be a special emphasis on youth. It is anticipated that at least half of the participants will be 27 and under. The selection process will strive to assess applicant's leadership achievements or leadership potential; this dimension is given heavy weighting in the final decisions. Leadership factors are listed below:

- 1) Most important -- demonstration of a commitment to help their community advance, economically, politically, ecologically
- 2) Broad knowledge base, particularly in regard to socioeconomic and political areas
- 3) Membership, preferably leadership roles, in organizations
- 4) Speaking and writing abilities
- 5) Ability to work well with others
- 6) Organizational capacity.

In selecting scholarship recipients for intermediate or long-term training, the selection process is designed to pre-screen for income. This is to ensure that CLASP-II/Panama meets the requirement of 70% disadvantaged. Thus, all applicants for technical or university training will be evaluated for family income before the remainder of the evaluation takes place. Those at or below the national median income will form one group; those above the national median income will form another group. At least 70% of the finalists will be chosen from the first group (at or below the national median per capita income).

Because of reduced levels of financial support with CLASP-II, it is a wise use of resources to emphasize short- and intermediate-term training rather than long-term support of 4-5 years. The short- and intermediate-term training can involve more people in the program with fewer funds. In addition, evidence suggests that both economic usefulness to the nation, and leadership capacities may be strengthened with shorter training periods in the United States. In view of these considerations, the Mission is considering the possibility of devoting roughly 50% of CLASP-II

funds to short-term training, and 50% to intermediate and long-term training.

Intermediate training will take place primarily in technical colleges and institutes (after initial English language training). Members of any of the six identified target groups could benefit from long-term (4-5 years), intermediate term or short-term (1-9 month) CLASP-II programs. However, there are preparation and training appropriateness considerations that enter into the recruitment emphasis in each case.

Given the resources and priorities described above, it is estimated that at least 600 participants can receive scholarships over a five-year period. Because short-term training costs much less than long-term training per participant, (see CAPS training figures, p. 10-11), it is anticipated that at least half to two-thirds of the CLASP-II recipients will be short-term trainees. Thus, short-term training can be offered to at least four groups per year, for a total of 20 groups over the course of CLASP-II. Only one or two topical areas will be selected for the short-term training during each year (for example, English one year, agricultural/fishing cooperatives one year, government officials one year, indigenous handicrafts one year). This eases the burdens of organizing recruitment and training programs.

#### Training Programs

USAID Mission objectives for Panama are to promote economic diversification (e.g. develop the production sector), stable democratic government, smooth and effective transition to a Panamanian-run Canal, and wise ecological policy. These objectives can be furthered by the following kinds of training. Examples are given of organizations that are appropriate for CLASP-II training. The specific groups will be selected after gathering more information and through dialogue between USAID/Panama, the contractor, and the provincial CAPS committees (see special section below on CAPS committee role).

Agricultural and fishing cooperatives can be strengthened by both short and longer-term training. For instance, young people already working in these groups can be recruited to study specified fields (e.g., food processing, micro-marketing, reforestation). Acquisition of new skills promotes economic development of their region; exposure to conservation and ecology modules can help Panama institute wise ecological practices (e.g., fishing cooperatives could learn ecologically advanced net techniques). Cooperatives which might be contacted regarding CLASP-II include: Cooperativa Juan XXIII (Veraguas); Cooperativa Serafin Nino (Colon, transportation); Cooperative de Pescadores de Chorillo in (Panama, fishing). Training includes familiarization with U.S. cooperatives that have outstanding ecological practices.

Rural development organizations which already pay considerable attention to ecology include: Naturaleza, Fundacion PA.NA.MA. (Fundacion de Parques Nacionales y Medio Ambiente), and PANAJURU. The latter group has already been funded for a CAPS short course, so other other organizations should be given preference.

High school students are recruited for long-term (4-year university) and intermediate term scholarships (2-year technical) to study for maritime careers and to get training in specified fields needed in non-urban provinces. These include majors such as preservation and distribution of agricultural, dairy and meat products, leather preparation, fixing computer hardware, production/distribution and marketing of tropical fruits, public sanitation, ecology - reforestation and recycling in particular. Drawing on provincial scholarship committees and other localized information, trainees will be chosen primarily to study fields which have known or anticipated economic niches.

Young leaders in national government and civic associations at the municipal/provincial level will be sponsored for an inter-American conference to facilitate their knowledge of U.S. government functions. An important part of this training derives from interpersonal networking with young democratically inclined leaders from other locales in Latin America. It is anticipated that CLASP-II programs in two or three other nations will want to help coordinate this training module, to last 4-6 weeks.

Youth groups to target include Scouts, Junior Chamber of Commerce, and Girl Guides. This will largely be short-term training -- emphasizing ecology, wise development and democratic process. These courses may be organized around the activities of counterpart organizations in the U.S. Members of these youth groups will have impact on their communities through their CLASP-II presentations in school and elsewhere on return, through influence on parents and siblings, and eventually as adult members of their communities.

Indigenous cooperatives which may be contacted for CLASP-II include DOBBO-VALA, a national level alliance of Guaymie and Cuna, dedicated to indigenous development and conservation; the Cuna cooperative for mola marketing; other primary production groups (e.g., Cuna workgroups)

Appropriate teachers groups to target for CLASP-II include teachers' associations, English teachers, and selected special programs. For example an association exists in Panama City that is devoted to improving special education programs and facilities in the nation (Howard Leek, USIS/Panama).

### Experience America Considerations

Every training program that is instituted will try to include

at least one week's visit to a small or medium size United States town, with special emphasis on experiences that relate to the topical focus of the group. For example, a Scouts group could visit Davis, California, to learn about their innovative bike trails and recycling programs. Young government officials can visit New England and attend a traditional town meeting. Special consultant assistance from a U. S. resident is needed to make sure that this part of the CLASP-II program is organized in a way that is both entertaining and educational.

### Plans for Follow-up

Two types of follow-up are planned for all trainees: 1) evaluative follow-up and 2) support follow-up. In this regard, a new software program is being instituted in the USAID/Panama office called Participant Training and Management system (PTMS). This program is especially appropriate for keeping records on CLASP scholarship recipients.

Evaluative follow-up calls for exit interviews with all CLASP-II trainees: long-term, intermediate and short-term. The exit interview must evaluate qualitative as well as quantitative changes in the trainee's skills and outlook. (See Appendix 3 for a copy of the interview questions we used with CAPS returnees.) Ideally, these interviews will be carried out by an independent consultant (sociologist or anthropologist) who is hired by the contractor on a part-time basis. A systematic sample of CLASP-II trainees (e.g., every tenth person in alphabetical order) will be evaluated more fully and periodically over the course of five years. The purpose of this longitudinal evaluation is to document the effects of the CLASP-II program on the leadership attitudes, social participation, and career course of the participants.

Outcome data are to be collected systematically, with confidentiality of participants maintained. The information will be entered in PTMS or an equivalent data management program, to facilitate outcome analysis. Part-time data data processing/secretarial help will thus be needed to analyze the exit interview data and prepare period reports.

Support follow-up in CLASP-II will continue the impetus begun in the CAPS program. A focal aim is the organization of returned trainee groups in each province. The group in Panama City is already strong. Those in the other provinces require a larger base of returnees and more outreach efforts. With more encouragement and minimal economic support, most of the provincial scholarship committees can become important sources of mentoring and advice, particularly for returnees who are attempting to set up small businesses.

With the greater diversity of training approaches in CLASP-II, a more varied type of support follow-up is also called for.

Short-term trainees will be told about the CLASP-II support groups and encouraged to explore possibilities for productive collaboration in various civic projects. (For example, Scouts coming back from a course on recycling/reforestation might want to teach and involve some of the long-term scholarship returnees in local ecology projects.)

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## ROLE OF PROVINCIAL CAPS SCHOLARSHIP COMMITTEES

The CAPS scholarship committees are composed of active provincial and local leaders. Committee members are people who dedicate a great deal of time to the betterment of their communities. These committees have the knowledge and commitment to become involved in a productive way with many aspects of the CLASP-II program. Specifically, they may be helpful with the following:

### Program Refinement

1. Committees should be asked for their recommendations for specific organizations to contact in the target sectors for recruitment. The committees can provide information about these specific groups, and may help facilitate the initial outreach by the contractor

(It should be noted that the sectors most strongly recommended by the CAPS committees for CLASP-II support were somewhat different in each province. However, there was a great deal of consensus about the importance of the following: training for youth; training for production cooperatives; training in ecology and public sanitation.)

2. Committees have considerable knowledge about their province's manpower needs and can recommend fields of study for intermediate and long-term CLASP-II training. However, it should be the contractor's responsibility to assess identified skill shortages for each province, and provide information to specify a final list of 3-5 high-priority career choices for applicants.

3. One or two volunteers from each committee will be asked to consult with the contractor and USAID about the design of short-term courses, and about possible community forums for trainee presentations upon return. This consulting would entail a minimal investment of time by the committee volunteer/s, but would help to ensure that the training program is articulated with province needs and contingencies.

### Participant Selection

4. Short-term participants. The first stage for selection of short-term participants is to educate the chosen groups about selection criteria, and then ask for nominations of the most qualified individuals. Roughly three times as many nominees as anticipated trainee positions will be requested from each group. The CAPS committees can do the initial screening on these applications just as they have been with the long-term scholarship applicants.

5. CAPS committees should continue to do the evaluation of high school applicants for intermediate- and long-term training. They should, of course, be fully acquainted with the new set of guidelines for selection, which emphasize leadership abilities and social commitment. (The new guidelines will be reflected in new application procedures.)

6. It is vital that the public understand that leadership and commitment are prerequisites for selection. This should help cut down the flood of applications from unqualified individuals which have inundated scholarship committees in some of the provinces.

#### Follow-up Activities

7. Committees are already serving many returned CAPS trainees as a source of psychological support and informal job networking. Trainees should themselves take over many of these time-consuming functions, when they are able. However, the CAPS committee will likely continue to be a fulcrum for organizing the activities of returned trainees (e.g., small business workshops, continuing education, community presentations, etc.). As mentioned in #3 above, the committees are a good source of knowledge about possible forums for returned trainees to share what they have learned. This type of sharing will ensure maximum "spread effect" from CLASP-II training.

#### Support to CAPS Committees

8. Given all the volunteer labor that CAPS committees are providing to the program, it is important that expenses incurred in the course of CLASP-II be reimbursed. In some instances this may mean providing funds for small office and phone; in very busy provinces, CLASP-II should pay a returned trainee to manage that office part or full-time.

9. The benefits of more involvement by CAPS committees are these: more appropriate program design, tailored to provincial needs and contingencies; greater likelihood of retaining returned trainees in their native provinces; community outreach and education for maximum spread effect; facilitation of national networking of CLASP-II graduates (as opposed to the current concentration in Panama City); USAID visibility as a promoter of fair and ecologically sound development.

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**MATRIX 1**  
**CLASP-II/PANAMA**  
**Key Urban and Rural Institutions and Their Spheres of Influence**

Sphere of Influence	URBAN	
	Medium-High Income	Low Income
National issues policies, and concerns	Business associations (e.g. APEDE, CONEP, SIP) Professional Associations: lawyers, doctors, economists, journalists, nurses, university profs Government, executives, legislators Civic clubs	Unions Cooperatives Churches Teachers assoc. Student groups
Provincial issues	Governors Professional associations Business associations Civic clubs	Government agencies Churches Unions Mayors Cooperatives
Municipal issues (and District)	Mayors Business associations and professional associations	Corregimiento Representatives Sports groups Teachers associations Youth associations
Community	Small business owners Student and youth associations	Civic clubs Corregimiento Representatives Churches
General attitudes	Journalists Lawyers Civic clubs Business and professional associations	Church Teachers Lawyers Unions
Technical/professional	Lawyers associations Medical associations, business associations	

URBAN

Sphere of  
Influence

Medium-High Income

Low Income

Environment

Certain university professors  
Certain government officials

Canal Zone Cunas

Indigenous  
development

Consultoria Juridica Indigena

Fundacion Dobbo Yala  
Canal Zone Cunas

MATRIX 1 cont.  
CLASP-II/PANAMA  
Key Urban and Rural Institutions and Their Spheres of Influence

Sphere of Influence	RURAL	
	Medium-High Income	Low Income
National issues policies, and concerns	Business associations (e.g. ANAGAN, Rice Producers)	Churches Teachers associations Cooperatives
Provincial issues	Governors Producers associations	Cooperatives Churches, church groups Teachers association Producers associations
Municipal issues (and District)	Mayors Business and professional associations Community council	Unions Corregimiento Representatives Community council
Community	Cooperatives Small business owners Community council	Teachers associations Parents associations Churches Community councils
General attitudes	Churches Journalists	Churches Teachers Local leaders Farmers associations Parents associations

**MATRIX 1 cont.**  
**CLASP-II/PANAMA**  
**Key Urban and Rural Institutions and Their Spheres of Influence**

Sphere of Influence	RURAL	
	Medium-High Income	Low Income
Environment	Some civic associations Some local officials	Youth farmers
Indigenous development	Professors	Indigenous congress Informal work groups Fundacion Dobbo Yala

**MATRIX 2**  
**CLASP-II TRAINING PLAN, USAID/PANAMA**  
**Target Groups: Selection, Training and Potential Influence**

- CATEGORIES:**
- |                             |                            |
|-----------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1) PRODUCTION COOPERATIVES  | 4) YOUTH GROUPS/SCOUTS     |
| 2) HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS     | 5) INDIGENOUS COOPERATIVES |
| 3) YOUNG GOVERNMENT LEADERS | 6) TEACHERS ASSOCIATIONS   |

<u>CATEGORY</u>	<u>1) PRODUCTION COOPERATIVES</u>	<u>2) HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS</u>
<b>INFLUENCE</b>	Knowledge and attitudes with respect to agricultural/fishing policies of government. Direct influence in the community and with other workers.	Influence with other students in regard to attitudes about the political process and social problems; Influence also in the family sphere
<b>INCOME LEVEL</b>	Low	Low to middle
<b>SPREAD EFFECT</b>	Knowledge and skills sharing with other coop members. Potential for contact with other cooperatives and with product distributors.	Friends and family members. Potential impact throughout adult life in work and other community roles
<b>SPECIAL CONCERNS</b>	Need training in production techniques and crops that use intermediate technology, and are environmentally safe. Gap in knowledge of product processing and marketing.	High school student groups tend to have leftist ideology, typically influenced by university political groups. Nationalist and anti-U.S. sentiments common in such groups.

MATRIX 2 cont.

CLASP-II TRAINING PLAN USAID/PANAMA

Target Groups: Selection, Training and Potential Influence

CATEGORY	1) RURAL PRODUCTION COOPERATIVES	2) HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS
SELECTION CRITERIA	Active members in the cooperative will be nominated according to their leadership potential, commitment to assist the group, and ability to complete the training program.	Students 18 or older that demonstrate leadership potential and a commitment to help their communities and nation, and who demonstrate the ability to keep up with the training program.
SKILLS TO ACQUIRE	Use of appropriate technologies for production and processing; conservation/ecology techniques; management/accounting; small-scale marketing techniques. New ideas for organizing and decision-making in cooperative-style groups	Training in areas most needed by each particular region, e.g. production, distribution, and product marketing on a small scale Reforestation, community organization, management of small businesses. Computer hardware maintenance.
TRAINING	Short-term technical training, maybe in Spanish	Short, intermediate (1-2 years) and long-term academic/technical training in key areas as identified by provinces and USAID together.
EXPERIENCE AMERICA	Visits and workshops with members of agricultural/fishing cooperatives in the U.S., particularly those which are established leaders in ecologically sound production; Earth Day in the U.S. (e.g., Davis, California); tour Biosphere in Tucson, Arizona	Meetings and workshops with other student groups from Latin America. A structured plan for experiencing American life in a family setting, for at least two weeks
FOLLOW-UP	Presentations to cooperative, schools community. Tracking returned trainees to set up event of national or provincial interest, every two years	Presentations in schools and community by returnees; associations of returnees on provincial level; networking (through CAPS committees; workshops in key areas for leadership and economic development of province.

MATRIX 2 cont.

CLASP-II TRAINING PLAN USAID/PANAMA

Target Groups: Selection, Training and Potential Influence

<u>CATEGORY</u>	<u>3) YOUNG GOVERNMENT LEADERS</u>	<u>4) YOUTH GROUPS/SCOUTS</u>
INFLUENCE	Ideas/skills to acquire information for new programs and to implement new and existing programs; influence in making government policy	Attitudes of other young people and community members. New ideas for scouting or other youth programs. Influence over family members.
INCOME LEVEL	Medium to high	Low to middle
SPREAD EFFECT	Introduce new ideas to other government leaders at same and lower levels, help shape government publications, educate all of constituency, potentially (e.g., through public meetings).	Other members of the groups they belong to, over fellow students and possibly over community members through special programs that are organized on return.
SPECIAL CONCERNS	After its crisis, Panama is looking for new ideas and direction in government operation; one key avenue involves establishing contacts and networking with other Central American and South American nations. Other important goals (at all levels of government) are wise ecological programs, export products and development policies to aid rural provinces and the 50% of the population who are in poverty.	Youth associations such as Girl Guides and Scouts orient young people to civic values and democratic process; they also have an important part in developing future leaders.
SELECTION CRITERIA	These government leaders are 35 or younger. They hold official positions. At least half of the leaders will be from outside the province of Panama. Leaders may be nominated by the CLASP committees, mayors, provincial governors, municipal councils, federal government agencies or officials.	Youth groups will be contacted to nominate leaders for CLASP-II training, according to the criteria set out in the CLASP-II plan (including commitment to helping the community). At least two thirds of these youth trainees will be from outside the province of Panama

CLASP-II TRAINING PLAN USAID/PANAMA  
Target Groups: Selection, Training and Potential Influence

<u>CATEGORY</u>	<u>3) YOUNG GOVERNMENT LEADERS</u>	<u>4) YOUTH GROUPS/SCOUTS</u>
SKILLS TO ACQUIRE	Networking systems of communication with leaders in other locales in Panama, and in other Latin American nations (e.g., computer mail); techniques for participatory democracy in government	Group organization, and leadership; youth group/community cooperation on reforestation, recycling, or other civic improvement projects. Local government systems.
TRAINING	Short-term training, at least partly in Washington, D.C., in conference format also attended by government leaders from other Central and South American nations.	Short-term training in context of similar youth groups in the U.S. Scout Jamborees, youth ecology movements, natural history, and social science workshops (e.g. at National Park Ranger Centers).
EXPERIENCE AMERICA	Attendance at town meetings and local policy hearings on ecological/zoning issues (with simultaneous translation system). Tour of U.S. Congress, and Library of Congress. Talk with Congressional aides or Congressmen (many speak Spanish) regarding trade issues, reforestation and other ecology issues, Hispanic populations in the U.S.	Visits to national parks, camping trips with U.S. youth groups, attendance at town meetings, and talk with local recycling groups
FOLLOW-UP	CLASP-II yearly report mailed out to returned official, informing them of that year's activities and plans.	Presentations to their groups upon return (planned and begun during visit to the U.S.) Short report concerning impact of their training on the group's activities (for CLASP-II newsletter).

**MATRIX 2 cont.**  
**CLASP-II TRAINING PLAN**

Target Groups: Selection, Training and Potential Influence

<u>CATEGORY</u>	<u>5) INDIGENOUS COOPERATIVES</u>	<u>6) TEACHERS ASSOCIATIONS</u>
<b>INFLUENCE</b>	Practical knowledge that can aid productivity and income of community; teaching of family members, youth and other community members	Major influence in transmitting values to students and affecting their present and future participation in society.
<b>SPREAD EFFECT</b>	Community and provincial levels: relations within and outside the group. Indirectly, through their participation in community activities and government.	Approximately 40 students per educator per year. At the national level, teachers associations influence public opinion, especially on education policies.
<b>SPECIAL CONCERNS</b>	Low level of knowledge regarding systems of distribution and marketing. Work groups often arise spontaneously but may lack leadership; or they may be set up by outside organizations, but then the group itself often has little control.	The educational system is not fully designed and educators are uncertain of the best approaches. Serious deficiencies in materials and personnel in public education: improvement in badly needed.
<b>SELECTION CRITERIA</b>	Active members who currently work in production cooperatives with a high potential for group cooperation and effective marketing. Group may decide to nominate only young people or a mix	Public educators, nominated by the provincial associations of educators. Particularly English teachers, and teachers in special education.
<b>SKILLS TO ACQUIRE</b>	Accounting, cooperative organization, new marketing techniques, e.g. by catalogue, product design for export, small business administration; new technologies for production.	Technical preparation in teaching methods; with emphasis on bilingual education, on the teaching of English, and on advances in special education techniques.

**MATRIX 2 cont.**  
**CLASP-II TRAINING PLAN, USAID/PANAMA**  
**Target Groups: Selection, Training and Potential Influence**

<u>CATEGORY</u>	<u>5) INDIGENOUS COOPERATIVES</u>	<u>6) TEACHERS ASSOCIATIONS</u>
<b>TRAINING</b>	Short-term technical training, designed for the specific area of production and/or marketing.	Short-, intermediate-, long term training, e.g. 4 months of English teaching program; 1 year for special education skills
<b>EXPERIENCE AMERICA</b>	Visit indigenous groups in the U.S. which have effective production and marketing of handicrafts through cooperatives (e.g., Hopi).	Meetings with educators, and teachers associations in the U.S., workshops and tours of schools, particularly to see innovative programs in bilingual education (e.g., Northern Arizona Univ.), and in special education
<b>FOLLOW-UP</b>	Facilitate technical and financial help by government in order to promote existing cooperatives and assist in the formation of new ones	Form an association of returned teachers, with optional workshop in a particular topic of interest every two years (Panama)

APPENDIX 1  
FINDINGS FROM COMMITTEE INTERVIEWS

1. In all the provinces there are important civic organizations, such as the Lions Club, Soroptomists, Chambers of Commerce, Teachers Associations, Associations of Professional/University Women. It appears that these organizations in many locations function in important community leadership roles; in addition, many are dedicated to projects to improve life for the disadvantaged, for example fundraising for scholarship programs. Particularly the Lions Club appeared to have a very important place in all the provinces interviewed. In respect to membership, it appears that these organizations are not open to people in general, but rather to people who have gained a certain position within the community economically and/or professionally.

2. With respect to unions, the situation is very different in different provinces. For example, in Bocas del Toro, Veraguas, Cocolé, and Chiriquí the unions exert considerable influence over people in the province, in the others they either don't exist or are very weak. They influence the public the most when they announce a position against a proposed law or official.

3. Cooperatives are different from unions in a number of ways: they are organized to facilitate buying and selling in quantity, not simply to defend labor interests, but rather to carry out certain concrete economic tasks in the interests of all members. Most of these are organized and function in rural areas.

4. Church organizations are very important in rural leadership, with a special focus on the needs of the poor. Examples are: CARITAS; Delegados de la Palabra - composed of campesinos; Movimiento; Familiar de Cristo; Juventud con Cristo; Federacion de Mujeres Catolicas.

5. Town mayors have more power than provincial governors; they have the power to tax income, while the governors do not, and have no budget of their own.

6. Almost all of the selection committee members are members of one or more organizations, most of them civic and church organizations. On most of the committees, there is at least one member who belongs to a cooperative; no representatives of unions. A number of members (of diverse committees) stated a view that union groups are rather rigidly leftist and undemocratic.

7. In each province, somewhat different kinds of organizations were identified as being composed of the socioeconomically disadvantaged and concerned with bringing about improvements in the situation of the poor. Two of the main vehicles for work of this type were Catholic outreach organizations and rural cooperatives.

8. With regard to the scholarship program, the committees in general are of the opinion that both short and long-term courses are important to sponsor through CLASP-II. Committee members often held diverse about the relative priority that should be given the two.

#### Long-term study

Some of the problems mentioned by committee members, in the CAPS funding of long-term study are described below:

a) At least at present, returnees may have difficulty finding work in their field of specialization. In some provinces, their training is too specialized when they go back. If they cannot locate positions, they may become demoralized. Some migrate to Panama City, but then their native provinces do not benefit from their special training.

[USAID NOTE: THESE EMPLOYMENT DIFFICULTIES MAY BE A FUNCTION OF THE RELATIVELY SHORT TIME WHICH HAS PASSED SINCE THESE TRAINEES RETURNED TO PANAMA, AND OF THE RELATIVE SOFTNESS OF THE ECONOMY, AT THIS TIME.]

b) Returnees need to have more skills for starting their own small businesses. Even those with degrees in business administration have few of the micro-level skills they need to plan such an enterprise.

c) Returnees do not have sufficient access to capital to start their own businesses. Many lack access to funds partly for the same reason that they qualified for the CAPS program -- they come from the ranks of the socioeconomically disadvantaged.

d) Most firms in the provinces are family companies, and substantial barriers exist to newcomers joining from outside the family, however impressive their training and credentials.

e) There is a great deal of culture shock when CAPS trainees return from four years of study in the U.S.

f) Trainees need to select majors that are appropriate ones for their provinces -- areas of study that can help in development of the province; many CAPS trainees have specialized in disciplines that they could study at the university in Panama.

#### Recommendations of committees:

USDAID should develop a way to help the students when they return to establish their own little businesses.

There should be more funding of study in 2-year technical programs in specified (needed) fields, e.g., fixing computer hardware; preservation and distribution of agricultural, dairy and

meat products; leather preparation; production/distribution and marketing of tropical fruits; public sanitation; ecology - reforestation and recycling in particular.

Some committee members believe that the USAID investment in CAPS can be made more productive with respect to promoting leadership, social conscience, and economic development in Panama. One recommendation is to do a more thorough and continuing evaluation of the CAPS and CLASP-II trainees, to see if they are accomplishing the long-range goals of the program.

#### Short-term study

Problems were also described with short-term training that is or may be supported by CLASP:

a) It is often difficult for trainees to get permission to leave their jobs

b) Trainees often have to forfeit their salary when they do the courses, which imposes a hardship on them and their families, and which makes it impossible for many deserving individuals to participate

c) English language skills are a problem with short term courses

#### Recommendations of the committees:

CLASP-II could bring in Americans who speak Spanish and can give short courses on subjects such as democratic process, recycling/ecology, cooperative development, agricultural and food preservation and processing techniques.

In the training programs that take place in the U.S., more attention to learning about democracy directly through observation of political processes and instruction.

Priority should be given in the short courses to making the experience and training relevant to the problems and situation of Panama so students can use what they learn upon return.

APPENDIX 2  
FINDINGS FROM STUDENT INTERVIEWS  
NOTES FROM INTERVIEWS, CAPS 6/4/91

Interviews were carried out with 11 returned CAPS long-term trainees. Of these, 6 took place in Panama City; interviewees were selected through a random sampling process. The other 5 interviews took place in the rural provinces with returned students who were closely connected with the CAPS Scholarship Committees. A sample bias exists with the provincial interviews, because students involved with the Committees are likely to be more active and community-minded than average.

1. The majority of those interviewed said that they had obtained the CAPS traineeship without any special influence or recommendation of a CAPS committee member. A majority of informants believe they received the award because of the way they expressed themselves in the personal interview. A minority think that their selection was due to their academic qualifications and their stated career goals. Most of the interviewees first received information about the CAPS program through informal channels, from persons who were not members of the selection committees.
2. In general, the students were favorable toward the aims and expectations of the CAPS program, as they understood these. There was confusion among many of those interviewed as to the goals of CAPS with respect to promoting sociopolitical knowledge and community leadership; very few understood this to be one of the desired outcomes of CAPS-supported training.
3. Many of the students had problems during their time in the United States with communication in a different language, but these were usually only bothersome at the beginning; some thought it difficult to adapt to a different kind of food. Some encountered discrimination due to color, language, etc.: on occasion this had such a disagreeable impact that it made them change their plans to stay. A number of the CAPS trainees felt a sense of belonging in the U.S. through sports activities, and through joining student and other types of organizations. None of those interviewed had major problems of an economic sort, during their stay.
4. Concerning their experience of American life, the ex-trainees demonstrated little surprise because they felt familiar with many of the situations they observed. Some stated that the reality in the U.S. does not correspond to the propaganda that is often heard about the U.S. Some of them observed a great deal of poverty, discrimination, violence and criminal activity. Nor did they consider the U.S. to be as democratic a society as it is painted in the media. On the other hand, their ideas about American character also changed: they

concluded that Americans are very polite, cooperative, and go out of their way to be helpful.

5. Interviewees were unanimous in their view that the training they had received through CAPS will help them better their standard of living, realize more satisfying career goals, and improve their social standing in Panama. Just the fact of having learned English is thought to guarantee an improved personal status.
6. In relation to their contribution to the development of Panama and their own provinces, most of the CAPS recipients felt that they would be doing this by finding a job. Most did not express any ideas about how they might contribute on other fronts. The interviewees largely focused on their personal interests and aspirations. They lacked any clear picture of how they might help achieve economic development or social justice, with the training they had received. This value orientation was expressed directly but also through a low level of knowledge about the political and economic realities in Panama.
7. There is very little participation by the returned trainees in civic, cultural, labor organizations. A few are involved with sports activities and/or religious observances, but they carry out these activities largely on an isolated and individual rather than a group basis. This lack of integration may in part be due to the recent return of many of the students (within the last 6-18 months), and the understandable concentration of their energies on finding or learning a job.

Only two of the interviewees expressed any interest in future participation in service and community organizations. The remainder are focused on becoming upwardly socially mobile through career advancement. Some of the interviewees wish to create a company in order to work on an independent basis. Although their youth must be kept in mind, it appears that these most of the CAPS trainees who were interviewed have little desire to assume leadership roles.

APPENDIX 3  
PROTOCOL USED FOR RETURNED TRAINEE INTERVIEWS  
CAPS, 5/27/91, Alvarado y Price

1. Cómo se enteró del programa de becas de CAPS? Por quién fue recomendado?Cuál cree que fue el principal factor o factores para su selección?
2. Cuál es su opinión acerca de las metas que establece el programa de CAPS, sus expectativas?
3. Qué dificultades encontró durante su permanencia en Estados Unidos?
  - a) En relación al programa de estudiar
  - b) Estilo de vida
  - c) Relaciones humanas: con quiénes se relacionó más frecuentemente?
4. Cómo catalogaría la impresión que le prodiyo su experiencia en los Estados Unidos con las expectativas que tenía antes?
5. Cree que la capacitación que recibió en Estados Unidos le ha servido o le serviría en el futuro para mejorar su estatus?
  - a) En el nivel de ingreso
  - b) En sus funciones de trabajo
  - c) en su función social
6. Qué trabajo realiza en las actualidad? (público or privada?)
7. Considera que las funciones que desempeña en el trabajo y su remuneración está de acuerdo a su nivel de preparación?
8. Qué expectativas tiene para el futuro con relación al trabajo?
9. Qué actividades sociales, culturales, deportivas or religiosas (o otras) le gusta o gustaría realizar?
10. Pertenece a alguna asociación, organización, o grupo? (cívico, cultural, religioso, communitario, deportivo)? Cuál y a qué se dedica?
11. Qué cargo o posición ocupa dentro de la organización o grupo? Cómo fue su escogencia?
12. Qué opinión le merece la situación panameña en relación a:
  - a) La ley 11
  - b) Las Reformas a la lay del Seguro Social
  - c) El Plan Estratégico para la modernización económica
  - d) La Ley 25
  - e) Reformos al Código de Trabajo
  - f) La aplicación de la justicia
13. En qué forma considera que Usted está contribuyendo o puede contribuir con el desarrollo sociopolítico, cultural, or económico de Panamá?