

**ASSESSMENT FRAMEWORK FOR AN INTEGRATED APPROACH TO NGO  
RURAL DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS: THE SALVADOREAN CASE**

**By  
Roberto Menendez Arriaza  
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**ASSESSMENT FRAMEWORK FOR AN INTEGRATED APPROACH TO NGO  
RURAL DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS: THE SALVADOREAN CASE**

Submitted in partial fulfilment for the degree of  
Master of Arts in International Development Studies  
at Saint Mary's University,  
Nova Scotia, Canada.

Roberto Menendez Arriaza, 1995

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Date of Submission:

September 21, 1995

Supervisor's Signature:

Anthony H. O'Malley  
Anthony O'Malley PhD.

Advisors:

Jim Sacayan  
Jim Sacayan PhD.

Henry Voltmeyer  
Henry Voltmeyer PhD.

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**ASSESSMENT FRAMEWORK FOR AN INTEGRATED APPROACH TO NGO RURAL  
DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS: THE SALVADOREAN CASE**

**Abstract**

It is clear that now, at the threshold of a new millennium, most people in civil society are experiencing a dramatic impact on their welfare and sustainability of their livelihood as a result of social and political neglect by the state due to the neo-liberalism and its programs of structural adjustment. The state has been converted more into a facilitator of the market capitalist development, led by people who do not appreciate the negative impact on society and the environment, particularly on the livelihood of the poorest in the rural communities. In this context, NGOs have become the only alternative to fill the gap left by the state and the market.

In El Salvador, the situation of the rural community is one of profound impoverishment and environmental deterioration, as a consequence of historical neglect by the state and twelve years of civil war. This has increased during the post war period by a conflict in the implementation of two different socio-economic alternatives: a.) the structural adjustment program initiated in 1989; and b.) the Peace Accords which have created the best conditions the country has ever had for overcoming the structural conditions of poverty and underdevelopment. In this context, NGOs have been extremely active, particularly after the Peace Accords. However, their **effectiveness** and **accountability** have been of great concern in El Salvador, particularly due to their proliferation, the large amount of economic aid given to them with little results, and the ongoing budget cuts from the international community which is seeking more effective allocation of aid funding. This study addresses three research questions:

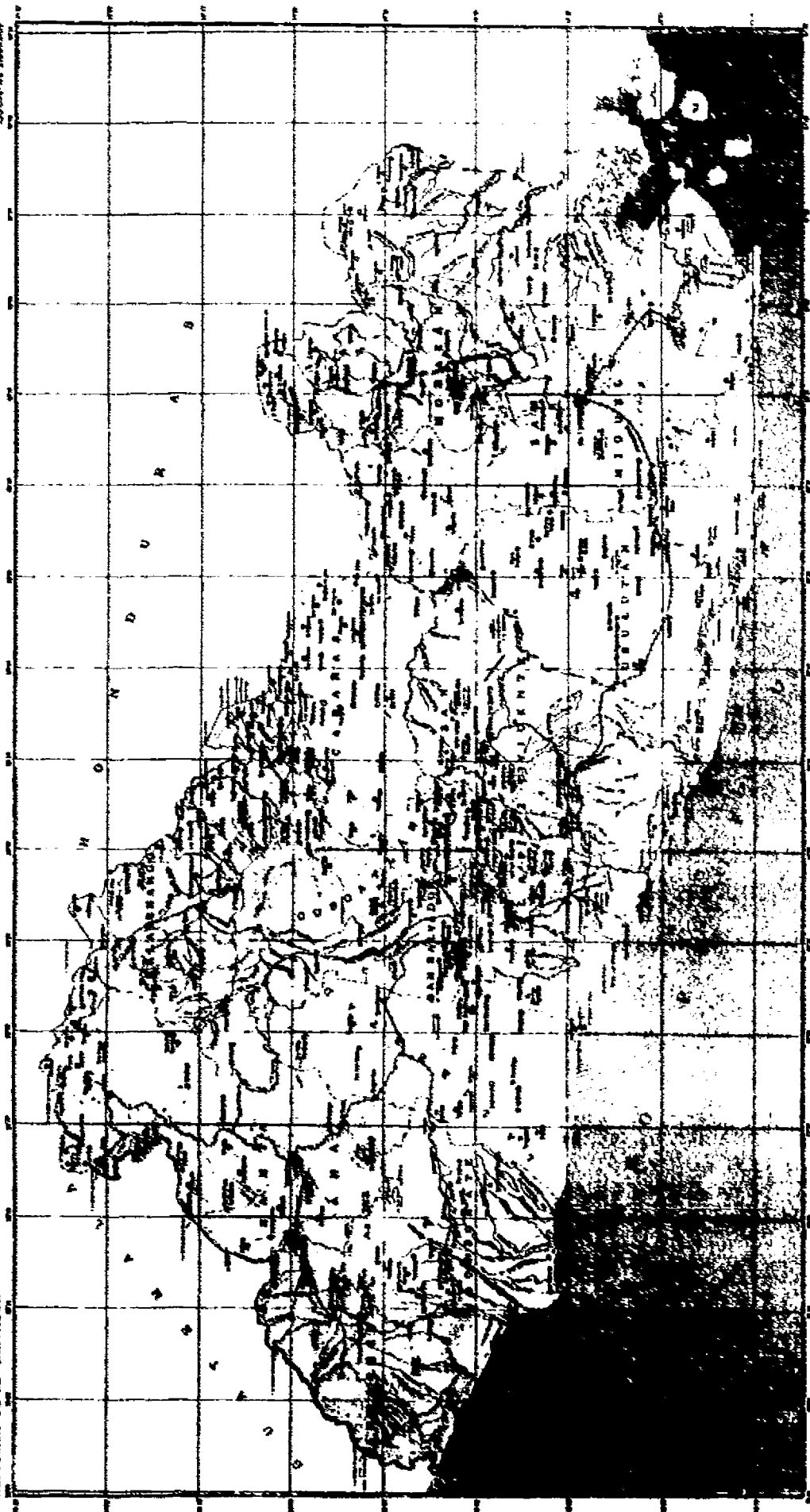
1. **How effective and accountable are the NGOs that operate in the context of rural development in El Salvador?**
2. **Is there a need for an assessment model to NGOs rural development programs?**
3. **If there is, what an adequate assessment model looklike?**

Our study makes use of field research data collected in two visits to El Salvador. We see our main contribution as the formulation of a practical assessment model that is derived from a theoretical framework made up of five elements (Marxism, Dependency, Christianity, Environment and Basic Needs) each of which addresses a critical dimension of development and that have proved to be relevant within the historical and contemporary rural development context in El Salvador. Finally, a set of policy recommendations are provided. They include the proposal that the assessment model formulated in this study should be adopted by international and local NGOs that are working in rural development in El Salvador, and by extension by other NGOs in the Central American context.

**Roberto Menendez - Nova Scotia, September, 1995.**

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I acknowledge and am grateful for the great contribution of the Corporacion Fe y Trabajo (Rev. Xavier Aguilar; Lic. Anaya; Rev. Mawhinney (PhD); administrative staff; field Engineers - Marconi, Mayen & Benitez, and field Technicians - Benjamin Fuentes and Hernandez; but specially to the CFT's beneficiaries - The rural people. Also, I am thankful to the ADC, ANTA, and CEBES, and to many other organizations, people, friends and relatives that shared their concerns, ideas, analysis, and vision towards rural development. Also, I am very thankful to Anthony O'Malley (PhD), James Sacouman (PhD), and Henry Veltmeyer (PhD) for their sincere support.

Finally, I owe many thanks to my beautiful wife and friend Sonia and my son Roberto Daniel for their tolerance, patience, and love to enable me to complete this study.

## Acronyms and Abbreviations

|                     |                                                                                           |
|---------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <b>ADC</b>          | Alianza Democratica Campesina                                                             |
| <b>ANTA</b>         | Asociacion Nacional de Trabajadores Agrarios                                              |
| <b>ANEP</b>         | Asociacion Nacional de la Empresa Privada                                                 |
| <b>ADEFADES</b>     | Asociacion de Demovilizados e Invalidos de la Fuerza Armada de El Salvador                |
| <b>ARENA</b>        | Alianza Republicana Nacionalista                                                          |
| <b>ASOCODE</b>      | Asociacion de Organizaciones Campesinas Centroamericanas para la Cooperacion y Desarrollo |
| <b>CAPS</b>         | Central American Program Scholarships                                                     |
| <b>CFT</b>          | Corporacion Fe y Trabajo                                                                  |
| <b>FAS</b>          | Fuerza Armada de El Salvador                                                              |
| <b>FMLN</b>         | Farabundo Marti para la Liberacion Nacional                                               |
| <b>FUNSAGRO</b>     | Fundacion Salvadorena de Asuntos Agrarios                                                 |
| <b>F7SADES</b>      | Fundacion Salvadorena de Desarrollo Economico y Social                                    |
| <b>FEDECOOPADES</b> | Federacion de Asociacion de Cooperativas de Produccion Agropecuaria de El Salvador        |
| <b>FUNDE</b>        | Fundacion Nacional para el Desarrollo                                                     |
| <b>FRATA</b>        | Fondos Rotarios y Asistencia Tecnica Agricola                                             |
| <b>GOES</b>         | Gobierno de El Salvador                                                                   |
| <b>IRSD</b>         | Integrated Rural Social Development                                                       |
| <b>MAG</b>          | Ministerio de Agricultura y Ganadria                                                      |
| <b>MIPLAN</b>       | Ministerio de Planificacion                                                               |
| <b>NGO</b>          | Non Governmental Organization                                                             |
| <b>OEA</b>          | Organizacion de Estados Americanos                                                        |
| <b>PRN</b>          | Plan de Reconstruccion Nacional                                                           |
| <b>SAP</b>          | Structural Adjustment Program                                                             |
| <b>SEMA</b>         | Secretaria del Medio Ambiente                                                             |
| <b>SRN</b>          | Secretaria de Reconstruccion Nacional                                                     |

### List of Used (local) Terms

|                         |                                                                    |
|-------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <b>Latifundio :</b>     | Large extension of land (in El Salvador, more than 245 Hectare).   |
| <b>Minifundio :</b>     | Small extension of land (in El Salvador, less than 10 Hectare).    |
| <b>Campesino :</b>      | Peasant (but very different than the ones in developed countries). |
| <b>Asistencialismo:</b> | Developmentalism                                                   |
| <b>Paternalismo:</b>    | As Fatherly or Protectionism                                       |
| <b>Parasitismo:</b>     | Parasitic                                                          |
| <b>Desarrollo:</b>      | Development                                                        |
| <b>Corporacion:</b>     | Corporation                                                        |
| <b>Fe:</b>              | Faith                                                              |
| <b>Trabajo:</b>         | Work                                                               |

## **Annexes**

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- Questions for Information Gathering
- Research Protocol of Assessment
- List of People Interviewed, meetings and visits.

## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

#### 1.0. Defining the Problem

El Salvador is one of the smallest countries of Latin America yet has a high population density (320 persons/km). Its economy is based on coffee and sugar exports that generated, during the 1960s-1970s, sufficient surplus to finance an industrialization process based on a successful blueprint of the Taiwan style industrial powerhouse and to improve the life of the people. Unfortunately, the twelve years of civil war, beginning in the late 1970's, interrupted this development due to lack of significant benefits for the working class, and particularly for the rural people.

Historically, peasants in El Salvador have not participated in the economic and socio-cultural development of their country. For political and economic reasons they have always had to live in structural conditions of social marginalization and profound impoverishment. However, with the advent of the Peace Accords ending the civil war on January 1992, the need to carry out fully an agrarian reform, a process that was initiated in the 80s and which can be restructured and completed, as well as a set of mandatory reforms, may give peasants a unique opportunity to escape from poverty by fully integrating them into the productive

and economic life of the country.

However, their struggle will not be easy, considering that since 1985, the World Bank and the IMF have put pressure on Latin America to implement a series of reforms within the framework of neoliberalism and its strategy of structural adjustment programs (SAP) to increase productivity but to expend less in social programs. This trend, will consolidate the urban industrial economies of the third world to ensure that the recipe provides the expected results, as well as the money to payback the debt. In other words, SAP is putting pressure on the local economies to produce more by expanding urban industry which, as a result, it will take from the rural area of El Salvador, depleting along the way its natural resources on land and sea.

Moreover, by the year 2000, according to PREALC-Regional Program of Employment for Latin America and the Caribbean (in Menendez, 1985b), more than 1.5 million people will live in El Salvador's rural areas; yet the maximum capacity of the region is estimated to be 1.3 million (in PREALC, 1983). This trend will lead to a dramatic pressure on the land and will have a negative effect on the quality of the natural environment and living conditions of the peasant population, and also for the urban working class. Since the signing of the Peace Accords on January 16, 1992, the National Government, the FMLN (1), and several NGOs (2) have realized the magnitude of the problems and

have already embarked on several challenging projects to achieve economic growth, demographic and sustainable environmental policies.

However, the post war has challenged both the government and the FMLN's capabilities to provide solutions to the problems that were at the root of the conflicts among them the insufficiency of human resources, the lack of community development expertise and of an institutional infrastructure, and the conservation and management of natural resources. This situation, has made necessary the implementation of the Peace Accords and the need to put El Salvador in the wheel of development, to depend more on the role of the national and international NGOs. On this point, Brett notes that:

Co-operatives, NGOs and community groups are being increasingly used as development agencies by policy-makers because they are thought to provide more accountable, effective and equitable services in many areas than the government or private agencies (E.A. Brett, 1989:130).

Brett's enthusiasm, however, is not shared by March and Olsen who on the same issue state that:

There are legitimate doubts about the ability of individuals to sustain their capabilities for selflessness in the face of overwhelming temptations introduced by positions of power and it is the capacity of power to corrupt that challenges the design of instruments for political integration (in E.A. Brett, 1989:133).

Moreover, Tito Perez (ANTA's General Secretary of El Salvador (3)) disagrees with Brett's statement, and possibly would agree with March and Olsen. He stated:

"At the moment, there are many NGOs in El Salvador that were created before, and during the civil war, but excessively after the signing of the peace accords. Some of them, were to fulfil the gap left by the governments in satisfying the basic needs of the poor (charity and paternalism), others, just to promote social justice within the FMLN's ideology and policies or on the contrary, to contravene the process of popular insurrection of the latter; and from 1992, the ones created for personal economic interest due to the lack of employment or opportunism which operate as consultant agencies promoting a consultant service for a client located in the rural area. Moreover, including the ones from the left, they don't realize that they no longer serve the objective of its creation. That the context and struggle has changed, and that, for an organization to be successful in rural development, it must have a popular peasant base, and lastly, that these NGOs must be made within the campesino Associations" (Menendez, 1995).

Tito Perez finally concluded that:

The FMLN's NGOs created after, and as a requirement of the Peace Accords (i.e. Fundacion 16 de Enero (4)) should also be disintegrated, as well as the others, and let the Campesino Associations create their own NGOs, thus to obtain and conduct, at much lower cost, their own projects and programs for rural development (in Menendez, 1995b).

From the arguments above, one could conclude that the NGOs' ability to contribute to the Salvadorean process of development and to the Peace Accords' implementation is under pressure due to the effects of the post war and the neoliberal agenda; as a result, their role is strongly questionable. In this regard, Alfredo Rodriguez, a Salvadorean university professor and expert in rural development provides an opinion on the issue which might help to clarify it. He says:

Look, the NGOs have laid out their objectives clearly, but what they do, and to what they dedicate their efforts is another matter. Many of them do what the government, through the Secretariat of National Reconstruction (SRN),

asks them to do, simply because the money has already a destiny which contradicts most NGOs' objectives. As a result, the objectives might be good, but they are not fulfilled (Menendez, 1995).

This study looks at the role of the NGOs in the context of rural development in El Salvador, and at a definition of An Assessment Framework for an Integrated Approach to NGO Rural Development Programs. This framework has been developed with the aim of helping NGOs better their effectiveness, accountability, and overall contribution to rural poverty alleviation and sustainable rural development.

### **1.1. Research Questions**

Among the Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) that operate in El Salvador, there are some NGOs that have clear objectives and goals, as pointed out by Alfredo Rodriguez, goals which have not been implemented due to the economic and political constraints and, above all, due to the potential of greater personal risk that their wide vision and commitment may present (Otherwise, the hope for good will in development efforts would be too negative).

Moreover, because of the world economic crisis and capitalist expansionism, rural development is becoming a demanding field which requires a great deal of devotion, commitment, generosity, skills and expertise that only the interested people, the peasants, and the dedicated ones will be



capable to continue. The research questions below intend to answer fundamental needs to pave the way for the NGOs' work, either by the Campesino associations as Tito Perez has suggested or by Non-Campesinos working for rural development.

In this study, I attempted to answer the following research questions:

- 1.) How effective and accountable are the NGOs that operate in the context of El Salvador's rural development ?
- 2.) Is there a need for an assessment model to NGOs rural development programs ?
- 3.) If there is, what would an adequate assessment model look like ?

## **1.2. Thesis**

I will show that in the context of El Salvador's post war, the role of most NGOs in rural development has been conditioned by the neoliberal agenda and, therefore, their present activities and development commitments have become an obstacle to the implementation of an appropriate pro-campesinos rural development program. Also that a suitable assessment model for Rural Development Programs is needed, and such a model can be used by the most appropriate development actors, which on the criteria of effectiveness and accountability, may well be those from the Campesino Associations. The role and nature of the latter organizations, and the development of an assessment model, will form the central analytical part of thesis.

### 1.3. Scope

This study is framed within the context of rural development in El Salvador, putting emphasis on the main actors that have contributed to the making of a more just rural society particularly for the poorest of the poor, the rural people.

Firstly, the time frame for the study will provide the historical and contemporary context, focusing on the most relevant socio-economic and political events: the Spaniards, invasion (1539), Independence (1821), attempts of insurrection (1832 and 1932), and specially the decades of the 70s and 80s. It will then deal with events since the Peace Accords (1992), to the present.

Secondly, I will pass to the central focus of this study: the role the NGOs have played in the making of rural development, and how accountable and effective they are, most particularly since the signing of the Peace Accords. A case study from a field research in El Salvador is presented. An analysis of the efforts of the two most relevant campesino associations (i.e., ANTA and ADC (5)) which Tito Perez has suggested as the most appropriate to deal with rural development is given and the responses of the Salvadorean government and of other national or international institutions, such as USAID, are explored in order to identify the strengths and weaknesses of their rural

development strategies that justify the strengthening of the NGOs and Grassroots organizations. Finally, the major contribution of this study is the design of an innovative assessment model for NGO rural development programs, as a tool to assess NGOs' accountability and effectiveness in dealing with class conflict, economic relations, christian/spiritual solidarity, conservation and management of natural resources, gender, ethnicity education, health, housing, participation, and other factors.

Such model will be conformed by the practical use of guiding concepts identified from five theoretical dimensions of development analysis that I have identified as the most relevant in the historical and contemporary context of El Salvador.

#### **1.4. Methodological limitations and Structure**

The analysis of this study is based on primary and secondary sources of information:

Primary field data was obtained through field research on rural development I conducted in August 1994 (one month) and January-March 1995 (three months).

Secondary information was collected in Canada, and specially in El Salvador where such information has become abundant since the signing of the Peace Accords. Therefore, this study relies

partially on published work done by Salvadorean experts from different institutions and disciplines, as well as from other sources such as newspapers, and NGO documents and publications on development.

Caution has been exercised when using secondary information by cross checking data with other sources, particularly with field research results. My experience and knowledge of the rural context of El Salvador have been assets that have contributed to the level of understanding and awareness of potentially biased views of the various sources of information.

Finally, the study uses qualitative and quantitative data; however, greater emphasis is put on the qualitative, particularly in the case study, in order to pay tribute to the long conversations and meetings I had the privilege to have with members of ANTA, ADC, CEBES (6), and other national and international organizations on issues related to the Peace Accords, land reform, credit, commercialization, gender, ethnicity, education, neo-liberalism, etc.

This thesis is structured in six chapters as follow:

Chapter One - Introduction to the overall problem and organization of the study.

Chapter Two - A discussion of the theoretical framework: An introduction to the selection process for a suitable theory, and summary of the appropriate dimensions; a presentation and discussion on the arguments derived from the five theoretical dimensions of Marxism, Dependency, Christianity, Environment and Basic Needs; a conclusion made on a suggested assessment model with the purpose of achieving an Integrated Approach and its potential applicability, using as the base the theoretical framework.

Chapter Three - Describes the historical and contemporary context and rural development efforts particular to El Salvador. To make the discussion clear and objective, this chapter is divided in two parts by the turning point marked by the Peace Accords 1992.

Chapter Four - The Case Study provides a detailed assessment of the performance, strengths, weaknesses, limitations, and contribution to rural society's formation, of one of the most accountable Salvadorean NGOs working in rural development.

Chapter Five - A synthesis of the theoretical part (chapter two) and the empirical part (chapters three and four) is formulated, from this, an assessment model is derived and subsequently consolidated as "An Assessment Framework for an Integrated Approach to NGOs Rural Development Programs."

Chapter Six - Finally, conclusions on the three research questions of the study. Policy recommendations with regard to the poverty of the Salvadorean rural people, and the role of relevant actors of development, particularly NGOs and the Grassroots organizations, are presented.

## CHAPTER 2

### THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

#### 2.0 Introduction

In this chapter, I have provided the theoretical framework of the study. Clodovis Boff {7} comments that there are many social theories, but of how does one should choose one over another? He notes that:

The question is twofold: Which kind of theory **explains more** (scientific criteria) and which kind of theory will be **more effective** for achieving the ends or realizing the values one regard as most important (ethical criteria) (Barryman, 1985:87).

In Latin America, most theoretical frameworks used to understand development/underdevelopment have been based on two socio-economic theories, Marxism and Dependency. In El Salvador, these theories were applied prior and during the civil war (1979-1992). However, it is my opinion that fundamental parts of an adequate development analysis have been left out in these earlier approaches. To cover this gap, this Chapter proposes a more integrated approach.

## **2.1 In Search of a Suitable Theoretical Framework**

The most common assumption that people make with regard to development/underdevelopment, is that it is the result of the local culture. The North prizes its dominant culture as the key to their successful development, and the South is commonly blamed for its culture as the source of underdevelopment.

For instance, Harrison states that:

More than any other of the numerous factors that influence the development of the latin american countries, it is culture that principally explains, in most cases, why some countries develop more rapidly and equitably than others (Harrison, 1985:xvi).

However, he does not consider that local culture could also be a result of the existing Latin American social structures which, many argue, have been created and nurtured by the dominant developed world. These structures, therefore, have often conditioned, modified, and/or created the given cultural values and attitudes in the people to serve foreign and not national interests. The role of culture might be essential for development, as many suggest has been the case for Japan, Germany and Scandinavia.

In El Salvador, however, as in most Latin American countries, the country's dominant cultural identity has not contributed to develop a sense of true patriotism and love for the country; very often, the love the local elites profess, to

the land's natural resources (as a pool of wealth) is confused and manipulated (by successful slogans of Fatherland Yes, Communism No!), against the implementation of wide development programs.

Traditionally, the Salvadorean local elite's search of cultural identity has been heavily biased towards the USA and Europe, provoking, as a result, a systematic elimination of the cultural ethnicity of the vast majority of the population and, with this, producing a nation without a healthy cultural identity.

El Salvador is often considered to be about 10% ethnological indigenous. However, Christian Base Communities of El Salvador (CEBES) argue that at least 45% of the country's population is still indigenous; moreover, a CEBES leader noted that: "...with the repression in 1932 against the indigenous people, for survival, they gave up their dress, but it does not mean they gave up their indigenous culture" (Menendez, 1995). On this, White stated that;

After the failed popular insurrection of 1932, a massacre of peasants began seventy two hours after, it took the form of a mass execution of suspects which could often mean, anyone wearing indigenous dress (White, 1973).

Sixty three years have passed since 1932 and, with this, the people have faced the perhaps irreversible process of adopting a peasant's culture which, to many, is a culture of poverty in its



full dimension. Any approach to development must understand and work with this reality and be aware that; Culture is an historical phenomenon developed in dependency on the change of the socio-economic formations (PhD dictionary-Rosental, 1985).

From this definition, and the reality explained above, one might conclude that, at least for El Salvador, culture (which is continuously changing, e.g., by the North's process of alienation from 1.5 million Salvadoreans living in USA, Canada, Australia etc.,) may not be an essential dimension to be considered.

My impression is that El Salvador is moving into a capitalist cultural style which might increase people's insensibility to the reality of underdevelopment in El Salvador and, therefore, form a resistance to the need for social change and justice, sacrificing as well, their past and traditions for a change which they might think will alleviate their poverty. For rural development analysis, at least in El Salvador, the cultural dimension may be secondary at this time since the country's process of socio-economic formation has indicated the prior need for transforming other dimensions as the bases for new popular culture. Culture may, on one hand, be considered as product of action, and on the other as a conditioning influence upon further action (Clyde, Kluckhohn & W.H.Kelly, no date).

The need to identify the various dimensions that can better assess the country's historical cycle of development and

underdevelopment would be the right path. This would inconclude first, the use of Marxist analysis as in the past, using the fundamental concepts of Class Structure and Class Struggle. However, caution should be observed that relevant dimensions which have played an important role in the Salvadorean context such as Dependency and Religion are not excluded and with this, the possibility to conform an integrated development analysis approach. Five theoretical dimensions must be explored:

- 1.) Marxism: Introduced to El Salvador in the late 1920s has explained the causes of the Salvadorean underdevelopment through internal relations and conflicts within the state Marxists do not fully accept the dependency analysis;
- 2.) Dependency: Introduced to El Salvador in the 1960s. Its main argument is base on the economic relations between the Centre (developed) and the Periphery (developing) as the main cause of Latin America's underdevelopment, and not specifically what the Marxism states;
- 3.) Christianity: As an organized religion has often been manipulated and blind to the oppression of the working class and rural people. However, since Vatican II, the Salvadorean church has experienced an historical change toward "the preferential option for the poor." Any approach to development analysis in El Salvador can't deflect from the reality that most Salvadoreans are full of religiosity.

These theoretical dimensions, have made an enormous contribution to the understanding of development problems facing El Salvador and, even more important, helped civil society to challenge the whole capitalist system as it was during the civil war (1979-1992). However, none of these three dimensions

necessarily addresses environmental concerns for the conservation and management of natural resources (land and sea, fauna, flora, air, and water) which are highly critical considering the Salvadorean environmental deterioration. Also, none necessarily make specific reference to the critical socio-economic and human relations between men and women, e.g., gender analysis.

Finally, the issue of integral human basic needs such as housing, health, education, participation and others, have not always been incorporated in any of the dimensions. The gap indicated above, suggest the need of five theoretical dimensions for analysis instead of three:

- 4.) Environment: This is perhaps, one of the most important dimensions since the late 1980s, because the hopes to avert world environmental crises is not the same as it was thirty years before the Rio Environmental Summit (Brazil, 1990). A moral and common sense vision indicates that attempting against the environment, is to attempt against life on the earth. This reality, demands that special attention to the environment must be dedicated within development analysis, particularly in El Salvador where according to the UN and USA environmental experts, after Haiti, El Salvador shows the highest process of desertification in Latin America (Foy & Daly, 1989).
- 5.) Basic Needs: Preoccupation with growing economic inequality in developing countries led to the articulation in the late 1970s and early 80s of basic needs oriented approaches to the formulation of development targets and policy (Hunt, 1989). Since the basic needs' dimension can mean many things, one should concentrate the analysis on the issues that according to the Salvadorean's context are a priority such as gender, social development and participation, health, and shelter among others.

## **2.2 Dimensions of a Theoretical Framework**

### **2.1 Marxism**

Marxism is a scientific system of economic and socio-political conceptions to analyze, in depth, social class conflicts, exploitation, and the domination of the capitalist system as a whole. Classical Marxism was developed in the mid 1800s by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels and put in practice by Vladimir I. Lenin with the Bolshevik Revolution in 1917. The classic early formulation of marxism is "Communist Manifesto" in 1840. (Dictionario Filosofical Rosental, 1985). For Marxists, the final formation of society is communism, developed and concretized in the theory of its two phases; first, socialism, and then superior phase, communism. Marxism concentrates its analysis on three areas: 1. on the way commodities are produced, 2. on the relations between classes, and 3. on the relations of property ownership and of surplus appropriation.

In Latin America, the emphasis put to challenge capitalism has been on Class Structure, understood as a capitalist society divided into two classes by their economic conditions and political positions: the exploiting class as the bourgeoisie who control the means of production and hire labour to work for them, and the exploited class, as the proletariat who do not own any means of production and sell their labour to the bourgeoisie; and

Class Struggle. Through its control over the means of production, the exploiting class extracts profit from the labour of the proletarians through surplus value by social norms or by force. This pushes the latter to absolute and relative poverty. However, when the exploited class becomes aware of the cause of its poverty, the conflict between classes emerges, as has been proved by the Salvadorean conflict.

In El Salvador, Marxist analysis was introduced for the first time in 1918, through the clandestine publication, the "Soviet Submarine" (White 1973). Since then, capitalism, was and still is, for many development analysts and the FMLN's popular base, the most appropriate explanation of socio-economic inequalities, class conflict, poverty, and environmental degradation, and socialism is the strategic goal. However, the ongoing events in the country and in the world suggest that it will take a while for socialism to come true because of the current class divisions and world balance of power.

In El Salvador classes had originated by 1539, soon after the Spaniards defeated the "Pipiles Tribe" who resisted them for over 15 years. The country's land was seized and the indigenous people put to work, including the women, who provided pleasure and children for the Spaniards. The Spaniards eliminated the communal property of the indigenous people and imposed private property (the hacienda). New occupations were created for the

indigenous, such as carpentry, and mining according to the Spaniards' needs, but in agriculture, the indigenous were transformed to peasants who have worked and lived ever since in the haciendas (Maiz, 1992). Since then, class structure in El Salvador has always been associated with exploitation and has had an historical impact on rural poverty.

Historically, class has been one of the biggest barriers to development and was the root of the recently ended Civil War. With respect to the military confrontation, there were two strategies: On the one hand, from the Left Wing, the strategy was to eliminate or minimize the impact of class division through an agenda for social change towards the proposed socialist revolution by taking away power from the dominant classes, its private means of production, and substituting social ownership for the private ownership. The vision of society for the rural people is that, under socialism, the people will be forever finished with agriculture based on private property, with the fragmented heritage of capitalism, and with exploitative processes and primitive and backwards means of production. The people, therefore, would structure their economy on the base of the collective socialist type of property. On the other hand, from the Right Wing, the strategy was to maintain the status quo of a dominant class.

Strong arguments against Marxism have been fabricated during

its existence. For instance, in El Salvador, one that has been successfully used by the local elites is the Marxist historical aversion to religion. Since many Marxist have correctly considered religion as often a strong defender of the interests of the dominant class and, therefore, an obstacle to development. However, a main lesson from the civil war is the efforts and important contributions that the church, through Liberation Theology (which makes use of Marxist and Dependency analysis), have made, sacrificing many priests and base community members to the struggle for social justice in El Salvador.

From an environmentalist point of view an argument against Marxism would be that Marxism does not treat the environment in its full dimension except as natural forces of production converted into commodities and leaves aside the issues of conservation and management of natural resources. Also, gender advocates express their complaint of the lack, if anything, of attention that Marxism has dedicated to this issue. However, the historically most wide spread contradictory argument against Marxism comes from the Neo-Marxists and the dependency theorists of the Left who argue against the Marxists that the roots of Latin America's problems are to be found in the economic relations between the centre (developed nations) and the periphery (developing nations) and not specifically within the internal affairs of the state as Marxists have sustained (in

Hunt, 1989). One last argument that is creating some confusion and resistance to accepting Marxism among the left in El Salvador is based on the Marxist proposition that, "the more developed country presents to the less developed the mirror of its own image in the future" which, apparently, is exactly what the USA's international development agency's programs for El Salvador is challenging to achieve, for the benefit of the USA's capitalist market.

The importance of the Marxist dimension in this framework, is that class analysis is essential throughout the historical and contemporary context of El Salvador, particularly how class has impacted on the rural poverty.

## **2.2 Dependency**

Dependency analysis emerged as an influential branch of development economics in the late 60s. Most of the work was carried out in Latin America. Prebisch defined it as follows:

By dependence I mean the relations between centres and the periphery whereby a country is subjected to decisions taken in the centres, not only in economic matters, but also in patterns of politics and strategy for domestic and foreign policies. The consequences are that due to exterior pressure the country cannot decide autonomously what it should do or cease doing (in Barryman 1985:89).



By the mid-60s, Latin American social scientists began to question the possibility of genuine development within the present world order. Conventional ideas of development diagnosed underdevelopment as "backwardness" and assumed that development could be achieved by following the path already traced out by the "advanced" countries. However, after examining their own history, dependencistas concluded that all their development, from conquest to the present, had been the result of events in Europe, and later in North America. Their whole history could be written around successive exports (gold and silver, dyes, hides, rubber, coffee, and so forth) exploited by the centers of world production and their local allies, the landholding classes. Their twentieth century industry was not their own but that of giant corporations and the most apt names were not "advanced" and "backward" but "dominant" and "dependent". Striving to "catch up" would be in vain; the only hope was to break the chains of dependence (Barryman, 1985:19).

The concluding remarks were that: "...Third World countries cannot develop autonomously in accordance with their own needs; they are dependent on decisions taken elsewhere, and implemented by their local dependent elites which essentially are the allies and intermediaries for the dominant countries of the center (in Hunt, 1989). Dependence is obvious in politics, where the center lays down the parameters of what is tolerable and reacts when the

boundaries are crossed. Also, in the cultural sphere dependence is manifested in the way the elites, middle classes, and lower class mimic fashions, fads, and ideas from the rich countries (in Hunt, 1989).

Gunder Frank identifies two branches of dependency theory: 1. the ECLA structuralists early work, and 2. the work introduced by himself in 1967 in *Capitalism and Underdevelopment in Latin America* (in Hunt, 1989). However, Frank ignores important differences within the work of the early structuralists and the dependency-focused, development thinking of some of its members, specially Sunkel and Furtado. He also fails to pinpoint another important category of dependency in the work of Cardoso and Faletto which Palma identifies within his three categories of dependency of: 1. those in the Latin American neo-Marxism begun with Frank, 2. the later thinking of some ECLA's members, and 3. studies reflecting the perspective referred to in Cardoso and Faletto's work (in Hunt 1994).

The main critical arguments against Dependency have come from Marxists or neo-Marxists; others have come from within the "dependency school" broadly defined (in Hunt 1994). Dependency has been oversimplified partly because it was written with a polemical intent by a group of structuralists, Marxists and dependencistas, and partly because they identified the theoretical positions of the dependency school by means of a one-

dimensional, economic analysis. Brenner (in Hunt, 1989) considers that the most important error in dependency theory is the presentation of external economic relations as the key factor in the analysis of capitalist accumulation in conditions of underdevelopment.

On the empirical level most Marxists have pointed out the NICs' experience as the main case for the refutation of Dependency which failed to account for the NICs' rapid growth and economic transformation during the 60s and 70s (in Hunt 1989). At the same time, experience has shown that countries trying to de-link and follow the strategy of self-reliance have been unsuccessful.

Moreover, Warren (in Hunt 1989) observes that important progress is happening in developing countries due to the progressive role played by capitalism. According to him De-linking not only leads to economic stagnation but also to the establishment of authoritarian regimes by civil or military bureaucracies. Cardoso and Faletto's perspectives and that of Warren's allow for the possibility that at some point some of the NICs may "catch up" with the capitalist economies of the centre (and become incorporated into the latter). Warren (in Hunt, 1989) comments that the theory tends to be economistic in the sense that social classes, the state, politics, and ideology get little attention, and that the ultimate causes of

underdevelopment are not identified apart from the thesis that they originate at a centre. Most Marxist critiques of dependency are under the categories of: Surplus Extraction, Unequal Exchange, and Dependent Capitalist Development (Weaver & Berger, no date).

Dependency has also been criticized for its failure to propose specific economic policies which would reduce the ties of dependence (see Paz, Seers, and Staniland in Hunt 1989). Reformist dependencistas do, however, specify some general policy measures for enhancing the degree of autonomy in Third World countries. These include economic integration between developing countries, measures to restrict the abuses of multinational corporations and to encourage the transfer of technology and re-investment, and the call for a new international economic order (see Sunkel in Hunt 1989).

Radical dependencistas, in contrast, have few policy recommendations beyond calling for the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of socialism, as if these were unproblematic. Radical dependencistas have increasingly recognized that even countries committed to reducing dependence have faced far greater difficulties in this task than what they originally expected. Warren (in Hunt 1989), who sometimes sounds like an imperialist Marxist, even favours the full integration of Third World countries into the world capitalist system as well as

supporting policies which remove pre-capitalist obstacles to development. In turn, Kitchin (in Hunt, 1989), argues that to see the eradication of poverty and achievement of development in nationalistic and autonomous terms is to invite simplistic, illusionary, and ultimately dangerous policy conclusions.

The most interesting conclusions in dependency analysis come from Cardoso and Faletto (in Hunt, 1989) who note that the most useful contribution that 'dependencistas' can make is to promote the study of different dependency situations and, through these, the more detailed characterization of different forms of dependency. Cardoso (1974) observes that 'the new forms of dependency will undoubtedly give rise to novel political and social adaptations and reactions inside the dependent countries.

Cardoso's model (1972) of "associated-dependent development" corrects the stagnationist tendency in much of the dependency writing of the mid- 1960s and presents an analysis of dependent capitalist development: "...it is necessary to understand that in specific situations it is possible to expect development and dependency" (in Hunt, 1989).

Hunt in her research (1989) notes that, the impact of dependency should not be underestimated because of the criticism. Its impact can be found in four areas: 1.) the decline of the modernization paradigm (though it has recently be resurged); 2.) the stimulation of dependency analysis in other areas of the

Third World; 3.) the emergence of new development strategies; and 4.) the catalyzing effect on development theory. Also, the popularity of the self-reliance approach must be considered a positive achievement of the dependency paradigm insofar as self-reliance is the antithesis of dependence. Moreover, the demands for a New International Economic Order (NIEO) articulated in the mid 1970s were partly related to the dependency paradigm. Many suggest that dependency was the Third World's first real contribution to development theory.

For El Salvador, dependency is certainly a reality and one which has much value for the country's underdevelopment and which should continue to be explored, but this time at the rural level with emphasis on cultural dependency, AID policies (local and national), and NGOs dependence among others. So must the analysis on the internal structures of domination and exploitation (e.g., Marxism) be deepened.

### **2.3 Christianity**

Historically, Christianity in Latin America has always been on the side of the oppressor, and seldom has it advocated the needs of the poor. It was until 1960, that Vatican Council II speak for a more just world for the poor, given the conditions of misery and injustice that Latin America was experiencing. Its

mandate at that time was to denounce "social sin". With this, a number of theologians began a social and political reflection on the reality of Latin America, with the help of dependency theory and Marxism. As a result, these theologians observed that:

Latin America suffers a chronic dependency, product of the exploitation, that it is victim from the capitalist developed world in conjunction with the local capitalist elites. This situation, would maintain oppressed the mass majority of the poor. It would be in fact a situation of **structural sin**, where capitalism = sin (Moses, 1986).

Ever since, Liberation Theology, both Catholic and Non-Catholic, has challenged the role of different religious options among Christianity. In El Salvador, it has been fundamental in the popular struggle and resistance since 1970. For instance, the "preferential option for the poor" was a daily message given by Monsignor Romero's homilies and by many other priests and members of Christian Base Communities of El Salvador (CEBES).

This theology, has provided hope and faith to the poor, particularly to the peasants in the building of a more just socio-economic system while enhancing their cultural and, more important, their spiritual life by introducing, among other things, essential sentiments of solidarity, cooperation, conviviality, ethnicity, and the development of critical thought.

These theologians went beyond their limits by considering that: "Authentic socialism is Christianity lived to the full, in basic equality and with a fair distribution of goods" (Vatican

II: 18, Third World Bishops's statement).

For Sharon Welch (in Welch, 1985), liberation theology is a response to the moral challenge to Christianity. The "underground church", the base Christian Communities, the involvement of Christians in liberation struggles, all are expressions of a Christian Faith that criticizes those aspects of the Christian tradition that are oppressive in the name of a particular God, a God of justice. Concerning Feminist Liberation Theology she, stated: "It is grounded in the liberation experience of sisterhood, in the process of liberation from sexism; Latin America theologies of liberation are grounded in the resistance and solidarity within base Christian Communities.

Welch stated that: "The terms used by liberation theologians often misrepresent the revolutionary significance of their knowledge. Their language is that of traditional theology - God, Christ, salvation, sin, grace but the meanings of these traditional terms are distinctly non traditional. Moreover, liberation theology uses the same symbols that are found in traditional theology, but they are interpreted by different criteria (Welch, 1985). This is a theology of and for the present; and the present needs of humanity are its primary focus. It recounts the history of the marginal, the vanquished and the oppressed. It does not address the problem of suffering and evil in the abstract but focuses on concrete memories of specific



histories of oppression and suffering. For instance, Feminist theologians denounce the history of women's degradation in established churches. They expose the history of women's exclusion from speaking in the church, their exclusion from participation in theology. They challenge traditional definitions of women as evil or weak, definitions that deny the full humanity of women (in Welch, 1985).

Welch also added (Welch, 1985) that: "Liberation theology is based on dangerous memories; it recounts the history of human suffering. First, the accounts of oppression criticize Western theology and established religion for their failure to address grave human problems, the problems of racism, sexism, and class struggle. Moreover, it criticize the universal pretensions of that religion and expose it as a religion of and for the middle class. To proclaim and celebrate in liturgy the reconciliation between God and humanity accomplished in the life of Jesus, while ignoring the lack of reconciliation between landowners and peasants, is to deny the ongoing power of the gospel to transform human life."

Welch criticize the patriarchal concept of God not because it falsifies the essence of deity but because of its effects on truth, the type of human subjectivity and society that it produces: the domination of women by men and the self-depreciation of women, by the fact that women are the primary

objects of patriarchal attack. For instance, the mythical paradigm of the trinity is the product of Christian Culture, but it is expressive of all patriarchal paternity of society. Feminist theology examines the oppressive aspects of the Christian tradition: its masculine language of God, its dualism, and its denigration of women as weak and responsible for sin in terms of their function within Christianity (Welch, 1985). For Welch, Liberation Theology is not a matter of will and thought, but of practice and power, a matter of the transformation of systems of language and behaviour that imprison us.

Barryman (Barryman, 1987) stated that, Liberation Theology neither represent the people's religiosity nor the orientation of an specific church. It represents the Gospel of Jesus which is present in several churches, many Christian and perhaps, non Christian. In his research, Liberation Theology is:

- 1.) An interpretation of Christian faith out of the suffering, struggle, and hope of the poor;
- 2.) A critique of society and the ideologies sustaining it and;
- 3.) A critique of the activity of the church and of Christians from the angle of the poor.

Gutierrez and other theologians states that:

It is a duty for the Christian to assume the struggle for the liberation of the people. To participate in the process of liberation means...to take the path of socialism (Moses, 1989:9).

Gutierrez insists that, as reflection, theology is "second act": the first act is commitment to the poor. The problem that liberation theology had in its struggle against capitalism was the lack of scientific analysis on the issues of class conflict, domination, exploitation, and of how liberation is conceived, thus, it borrowed from dependency and Marxism. Gutierrez's theology contains an extensive critique of the policy of economic development implemented by the USA in Latin America (in Welch, 1985). In the same degree, Archbishop Romero, and many other people of faith in El Salvador have been persecuted and killed, because of their determination to name the suffering around them, to be, in Romero's words, **the voice of the voiceless** (Welch, 1985).

Leonardo Boff stated that:

Liberation theology opts for a dialectical kind of analysis that analyzes conflicts and imbalances affecting the impoverished and calls for a reformulation of the social system itself...in order to secure...justice for all its members. Such analysis better answers to the objectives of faith and Christian practice (Barryman 1985: 88).

In other words, Latin American theologians opt for what would be called radical or even Marxist social science in the USA way of thinking. Their primary concern is to understand the

social structures they live under in order to change those structures. One of the major reasons why liberation theology is of more than academic interest is the fact that it has some contact with Marxism. Yet it would be irresponsible for liberation theologians not to deal with Marxism, since it is pervasive among Latin American who are concerned with social change (Barryman, 1987:9:139-143). Some Latin Americans Christians make some variety of Marxism their basic and unquestionable framework for understanding reality. However, according to Barryman liberation theologians are Marxist in that sense (in Barrymen, 1987).

These theologians, he explains, like many other Latin Americans, are convinced that future attempts to create a new kind of society need not copy existing models, such as Cuba, but can create something new. He observes that they argue a kind of "discernment" that will lead to a "more just...society" with the least degree of improbability. They devote considerable attention to the question of "convergences" and to tensions between Marxists and Christians. These theologians do not regard a future just society as a goal to be reached once and for all at a given point in time. Instead, they believe we should think of it as a utopia and limit-concept that can arouse the best individual and collective human energies toward reaching ever closer approximations to this utopia.

Those approximations, however, are fragile and ever threatened by corruption and regression. This striving toward utopia reveals another parallel or convergence between Marxists and Christians. On one side is an absolute humanism striving toward such a utopia through realizations that are always only relatively better than what exists and, on the other, there is a yearning for a God who is always beyond human achievements and hence demanding more.

The Marxist utopia of a classless society and the Christian conviction of a transcendent God beyond any given human achievement are therefore similar (Barrymen, 1987).

According to Jon Sobrino:

Liberation theology emerged during the late 1970s with the rise of the popular organizations in El Salvador which was not only a threat to the existing military-dominated government but a source of tension in the catholic church. To a great extent these organizations had arisen out of soil prepared by pastoral work. They became increasingly militant and expressed their critique of society in Marxist language. For landholders and the military, priest were the brains who had incited the peasants (Sobrino, 1992).

However, CEBES sates that; "The capitalist western world wrongly believes that liberation theology is made up by only the priests that denounce in organic and scientific language the oppression of the poor" (Menendez, 1995). For instance, a CEBES' leader quoted that:

"...in El Salvador, liberation theology has been like the iceberg, a large floating mass of ice displaced into turbulent waters, where only a tiny peak is shown,

this tiny peak are the priests, therefore, it is assumed by many that they are the liberation theology, however, they do not realize that underneath and like the iceberg, there is the foundation, which in El Salvador, happens to be within the church of the poor, more priests, lay-people, and within the solidarity and social movements that make possible the existence of the hope and struggle for the liberation of the rural people, as announced by the gospel of Jesus. The turbulent waters mean the complexity of the world we live in" (in Menendez, 1995b).

Finally, it is important to keep in mind for development analysis and policy recommendation that the Salvadorean people, especially the rural people, are full of religiosity, and that liberation theology has played an important role in the process of resistance and social formation of their society, within the framework of a preferential option for the poor. This theology has helped the peasants in their ideological analysis as a step into political practice and, then into social mobilization. According to the FMLN's commanders (in *Cartas a las Iglesias*, 1992:14); "Liberation theology has had the capability to generate important values for the present and the future of the country such as: reconciliation, dialogue, austerity, hope in the most difficult moments, and the action of remembering, to keep alive the presence of the martyrs and the ones that we lost before and during the war."

## **2.4 Environment**

The present state of environmental degradation is, to many, the result of neglected human attitudes and to a lack of vision and understanding of the role that nature plays within the living world and development. Frankfurt (in Bookchin, 1989) in his attempt to identify the origin of human possessiveness and destructive attitudes against the environment, says: "In the beginning, human beings were a part of nature, not distinct from it, speculative though based on myth, rather than the rational and scientific approach of modern times." On this, Wollin (in Bookchin, 1989) explains that it was with the development of a political sphere during the 5th and the 6th B.C. in Greece, which involved the basic step of separating human beings from nature, that "nature became an inanimate object to be understood, manipulated and controlled."

Since the industrial revolution and the conquest, nature has become a pool of natural resources ready for exploitation, particularly by the western world which has manipulated it and then converted it into common property or, even worse, into private property. On this, CEBES blames the traditional Christian theology which, to them, has been in complicity with the destruction of the (Eden that God left us to administer) environment. For instance, Genesis 1:26 to 30 of the bible

states that God said:

Let us make man in our image, to our likeness. Let them rule over the fish of the sea, over the birds of the air, over the cattle, over the wild animals, and over all creeping things that crawl along the ground." God blessed them and said to them, Be fruitful and increase the number, fill the earth and subdue it, rule over the fish of the sea and the birds of the sky, over every living creature that moves on the ground (Christian Community Bible, 1988).

CEBES argue that from the statement above, one can conclude that historically most Christians have been alienated by a poem that the traditional church has failed to interpret and explain according to the times and context which has definitely provoked a negative impact on the natural environment (Menendez, 1995). Defenders of nature such as Bookchin (1989:12) suggest that one should be promoting a less dominant attitude towards nature; the third world should teach itself, and the developed world learn from it, on the foundations of the relationship between indigenous people and nature, where they are submitted to nature and take from it what they just need. Bookchin's ideal, however, deflects from the reality that most developing nations have been put under immense pressure to follow the industrialization path of the developed world, while the struggles to sustain its status quo, puts enormous pressure on the carrying capacity of the earth's natural resources.

The dilemma is what to do to avert this impact and preserve the natural resources, how to agree on strategies of how to



manage the natural resources and who should be doing it. This dilemma initiated a tremendous debate since Garret Hardin in 1968 approached most of the concerns in his article "the Tragedy of the Commons" (McKay & Acheson, 1987). His thesis is that it is not capitalism, but the system of the commons, that fails to furnish adequate incentive to avert natural resources depletion; moreover, he argues that the commons property rights are the cause of the tragedy, concluding that "open or unrestricted access to the natural resources leads to its free exploitation, and therefore, to its deterioration". In principle, he is right; but let see why. McKay says that: "It is irrational for the actors who do not own the resources they exploit to limit their efforts, because the benefits of their restraints can't be reserved for them" (Mackay & Acheson, 1987:17:pg.389). This is a sad reality that becomes worse when people are not organized and conscientiously educated to apply wisdom and foresight to the management and conservation of the natural resources, and, more important, when land tenure has excluded the majority of the population.

A critical incorrect assumption is that territoriality or private property rights, combined with extensive environmental knowledge, are solutions to tragedies of the commons, because it attempts to regulate the behaviour of outsiders. In real terms, the debate indicates that environmental impacts can be prevented

by a "mixed system" of resource property rights, by specifying the commons in three ways: 1. Privatization; 2. Community control, territories, and controlled access; 3. Public control, at the most general level, normally by legal limits, bag limits, quotas, antipollution regulations, laws and the like (in McKay & Acheson, 1987:chapter 12). Unfortunately, for El Salvador, the ratio of human population to resources is worsening rapidly as population increases and resources are drawn down, putting pressure on their carrying capacity, and with greater impact on poverty.

Poverty is the result of the Tragedy precisely due to the privatization of the common resources, particularly for the peasants who live from the land. On this, Fernandez (in McKay & Acheson, 1987: Chapter 15) observes that; "... the tragedy of the commons, is not only one of destruction by self-interested exploitation, moreover, it is a tragedy of rural impoverishment and agrarian crisis caused by the lose of common rights." Fernandez argues that Hardin missed the point, while advocating entrepreneurial freedom and production efficiency through his pro-capitalist statements, that the result is unemployment, rural misery, and environmental degradetion. Anderson (in Mcay & Acheson, 1987:Chapter15:pg.339) also adds that;"...by allowing the tragedy to play itself out, the government automatically favoured the rich over the poor, because the rich can more

effectively meet the challenge, since they have and mobilize the capital, using also government infrastructure. The poor, are more vulnerable to any setback, it is almost inevitable that, in a conflict over a declining resource, the strong displace the weak. Allowing the tragedy can be seen as a policy of favouring the rich without appearing to do so. Within this, it would be folly to think that the peasants (in disadvantage) are going to control the resources based on their best interest without an effective resource management strategy and government subsidy."

Most alternatives and policy proposals to avert "the tragedy of the commons" recommend changes in institutional arrangements. Ostrom cites two fundamental arrangements: 1. Allocation of full private property rights to a set of participants; and 2. Allocation of full authority to regulate the commons to external authority, assumed to be necessary by others (in McKay & Acheson, 1987:Chapter 12). The possibility of the coexistence of contrasting communal (and group) and Private (and individual) rights to land, even within the same community, and the need to recognize economic and ecological, and legal and political determinants of land tenure would be a first step to avert the tragedy. For rural development in El Salvador, the concern would be whether private common property will deliver economic growth, justice and environmental protection (effective resource management), or whether communal common property would do it

better or worst as Hardin sustains. The question remains: what is best for the environment?. Three resource management approaches may be suggested:

1.) Resource Management Through Private Property Rights: Where, enclosure of the agricultural commons and the generation of new classes of landless or dependent poor is the tragic result. The assumption is that private property rights guarantee responsible and efficient management of resources. However, their incentives are extremely devastating for the environment, since tremendous pressure due its overuse is put on it. Unless, private property rights are held by community cooperatives, which have proved to be very efficient once their members are clear in their mandates, rules, and above all, have raised their class conscience and environmental sensibility.

2.) Resource Management Through Communal Property Rights: Where communal tenure "promotes both general access to/and optimum production from certain types of resources while enjoying on the entire community the conservation measures necessary to protect these resources from destruction" (in McKay & Acheson, 1987). In this sense, the commons play a symbolic role in promoting social actions, particularly when groups that hold land in common are generally the ones called upon to perform common social actions around their communities, for example, poverty

alleviation. Ostrom points out that; "...widespread understanding and acceptance of rules and their rationales; the values expressed in these rules, that is equitable treatment of all, and protection of the environment, and the backing of the values by socialization, standards, and strict enforcement, is the anthropological challenge to build interpretations of people's relationships to common resources, on the fact that actual communities act differently, not only from one another but internally with respect to various resources" (in McKay & Acheson, 1987). Moreover, analysts of common-pool problems assume that only a change in human value patterns or concepts of morality will lead to the type of behavioral change needed to avoid the Tragedy of the Commons (in McKay & Acheson, 1987).

3.) Natural Resource Management Through Public Property Rights. To avoid inefficiency and exhaust development of the commons, it is also necessary to establish a public property right (State Owned) which through government rules and regulations have control over the use of the resources, and even, if it is necessary as in the case of a potential for a greater environmental impact, over the resources held by communal and private property rights. Anderson notes that; "...the role of the government should be: simply to impose regulations; to serve as a facility for arbitration in disputes and; to leave other matters to the local levels either, community or private"

(Anderson, chapter 16/pg.338).

The lessons from the above analysis is that the various perspectives of Frankfurt, Wollin, Bookchin, CEBES and Genesis (Bib e), and of Hardin's Thesis, reflect the main contradictions and arguments of human conviviality with the earth's environmental resources, while most of the suffering from this attitude is put on the poorest of the poor, the rural people. Appropriate resource management strategies may be the answer to sustainable environmental development. Most of the arguments above mentioned are present in the Salvadorean context; therefore, this dimension will be reflected in the historical and contemporary analysis, and subsequently, important variables will be drawn from that reality to conform an assessment model.

## **2.5 Basic Needs**

In 1975 the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation Report urged that first priority in development policy and programmes should be assigned to meeting the basic needs of all and, hence, the elimination of absolute poverty. The report identifies four categories of basic needs and proposes the year 2000 as the target date for meeting these. The four categories are (in Hunt, 1992):

- 1.) The minimum requirements of a family for personal consumption food, shelter, clothing;

- 2.) Access to essential services, such as safe drinking water, sanitation, transport, health and education;
- 3.) Availability of an adequately remunerated job for each person able and willing to work.
- 4.) The satisfaction of needs for a more qualitative nature: a healthy, humane and satisfying environment, and popular participation in the making of much affected by what happens to the income of the remaining 60 per cent of the population.

Hicks and Streeten (in Hunt, 1992) specify six essential basic needs and then seek to identify optimal indicators of each, emphasising results (outputs) where possible:

| Need                    | Performance indicators(s).                                                                         |
|-------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1.) Health              | Life expectancy at birth.                                                                          |
| 2.) Education Literacy; | Primary school enrolment (as per cent of population aged 5-14).                                    |
| 3.) Food                | Calorie supply per head or calorie supply as a percent of requirements                             |
| 4.) Water supply        | Infant mortality per thousand births a per cent of population with access to potable water.        |
| 5.) Sanitation          | Infant mortality per thousand births, per cent of population with access to sanitation facilities. |
| 6.) Housing             | None                                                                                               |

Hunt states that in the literature on meeting basic needs a division of opinion has emerged. Some writers concur with that: "The main problem is one of focusing efforts on the absolutely

poor to increase their productivity and therewith their levels of living. The provision of minimal basic needs of social consumption through collective means is better seen as a useful supplement and incentive to the poorest to increase their efforts to help themselves to grow."

According to Hunt (in Hunt, 1989) the basic needs paradigm may be summarised as follows:

- 1.) Economic development consists not simply in growth, but in improving mass welfare with priority assigned to meeting the basic needs of all;
- 2.) To achieve the latter the masses must have the right to participate in policy debate concerning the provision of basic needs;
- 3.) A 'basic needs first' oriented development strategy will lay more effective foundations for sustained long-run growth than any other strategy;
- 4.) This is primarily because of its impact on the structure of domestic demand and the associated inducement to invest;
- 5.) Among the consequences that flow from the restructuring of domestic demand that is entailed in this strategy are an easing of both the domestic demand constraint and the balance of payments constraint to economic growth;
- 6.) Such a strategy also lays the foundations for sustained structural change, while helping to overcome the capital and foreign exchange constraints thereto;
- 7.) A basic needs oriented strategy also generates faster, and more appropriate, development of human capital.

Hunt added that the basic needs paradigm has two main types of macro-economic policy implication. The first concerns the need to remove many of the price distortions generated by



strategies of protected import-substitution. The second set of policy implications concerns the reform of economic structures-asset distribution, structures of demand and production, public services provision and institutional structures. Streeten (1981) and Stewart (1985) seek to justify in neo-classical terms the case for public sector intervention to modify the last two of these, basing their argument on the existence of externalities and market imperfections. The efficiency arguments for redistributive land reform which have been widely noted by proponents of meeting basic needs also command the support of some neo-classical economists.

Hunt (in Hunt, 1989) address some of the criticisms of the Basic Needs Paradigm:

- 1.) That the objective is operationally non-viable;
- 2.) That the theoretical justification is incoherent;
- 3.) That the public sector costs would be prohibitive;
- 4.) That basic needs strategies would lock economies permanently into use of primitive labour-intensive production technologies focused on primary production for export.

In her findings she concluded that: 1. institutional development is needed to ensure the success of land reform (new credit and marketing outlets will be needed, and revision of extension coverage and content.); 2. within the basic needs paradigm, popular participation is both an end in itself and a potentially important policy instrument for resource

mobilization; and, 3. basic needs paradigm adopts a distinctive interpretation of the immediate objectives of development, with a strong emphasis being assigned to elimination of absolute poverty (meeting basic needs) as well as economic growth.

Finally, the importance of this dimension for this framework is the inclusion of specific essential basic needs that have been neglected for the rural poor in El Salvador and have been often left out in the previous dimensions. My case study from field research, I used variables from the Integrated Rural Development Strategy which emphasises most of the basic needs. Moreover, Santoso (in Santoso, 1992) provides the Matrix of Needs and Satisfiers (from Max-Neef, Manfred and others, "Human Scale Development: An Option for the Future", in Development Dialogue, 1989 (1), p.33) that I have borrowed and included as an annex, since it has relevant variables to be used for the assessment model in chapter 5 of this study.

### **2.3 Conclusion**

The tendency in development, be it within the rural or urban context, is to search for development alternatives, put them in practice, and, if they are acceptable, then these become paradigms. This study, on the contrary, is searching for an assessment model that can be applied to current development

efforts, as an instrument to identify, modify, rectify, and at least, advise on the change of any particular aspect within and out the rural development programs. The study is oriented to making practical use of relevant variables of the whole analysis of Salvadorean development and underdevelopment.

## **CHAPTER 3**

### **HISTORICAL SETTING**

#### **3.0 Introduction**

This chapter is divided into two sections. Section I: Before the Peace Accords, provides a very brief overview of El Salvador since the Spanish invasion, including impact on the indigenous way of life, emergence of class conflicts the structures of domination and exploitation partly responsible for the Salvadorean underdevelopment and a series of limited development initiatives and finally, NGO and Grass Roots Organizations prior to and during the Civil War. Section II: After the Peace Accords, briefly describe the period of National Reconstruction and responses to rural poverty alleviation and development.

#### **3.1 Section I: Before the Peace Accords 1534-1992**

##### **1.1 Setting the Salvadorean context**

Prior to 1492 the name of this land was Cuscatlan which means "Land of Happiness". The first peoples were the Pipiles and Lencas, who descended from either the Mayas or the Aztecas.

Salvadorean indigenous social, economic and land structure was communitarian with laws to protect agriculture, social divisions, religion, and the Family. The society was structured into classes made of a cacique elected by the male warriors, and aristocrats, merchants, artisans, ordinary people and slaves (in Maiz, 1990).

By 1524, Pedro de Alvarado had invaded Cuscatlan. However, it was not until 1539 that the Spaniards achieved full control. Colonialism was characterized by the exploitation of the land and the indigenous in the name of "God, and Civilization" (in Maiz, 1990). The spaniards cultivated cacao, cotton, balsam, and indigo that they exported to other European countries. The indigenous worked as slaves, legislated by the Encomienda which stated that one Spaniard had rights over the labour of several indigenous. When indigo became the most important crop for export, the Spaniards destroyed communitarian land property, and converted it into haciendas (in White 1973). During colonization, four ethnic social groups were formed: Spaniards; Criollos (Spaniards' children born in El Salvador); Mestizos (offspring of Spaniards with Indigenous); and Indigenous people (in Maiz, 1990).

By 1800, the Criollos become upset with the fact that business was handled by the Spaniards. Their economic interest to negotiate directly with Europe became the main root for the Criollos to break dependent relationship from Spain (in Maiz,

1990). Also, many Criollos responded to the American War of Independence with thoughts of emulation and were receptive to the ideas of freedom (in White 1973). By 1808, the Cadiz parliament had acceded to colonies' demands for representation and to Criollo delegates from all Latin America including San Salvador. A decree in 1812, stated that all were equal before the law; with this, Mestizos were admitted into the Council of San Salvador and Indigenous tributes were abolished. By 1813, Criollos' opposition was backed by the Mestizos; however, advocacy for independence waited for a more hopeful situation to arise (in White 1973). Meanwhile, the Salvadorean Criollo elite, with its indigo estates, was much more receptive to liberal ideas; they wanted representation in government, even if they had to grant some of it to the Mestizos (in Maiz, 1990). Their commercial interest was to trade directly with foreign buyers, not through Spain, and, also, to pay the lowest price for imports.

In February 1821, General Iturbide led Mexico to its independence. And Central America faced three alternatives: 1.) incorporation into Mexico; 2.) continue as a unit or; 3.) break up into smaller units. Central America independence was signed on September 15th, 1821. But from January 5, 1822, Central America became part of Mexico until July 1823, when a new absolute independence was declared by the United Provinces of Central America (in White, 1973). In 1838 this Federation

adjourned its last federal congress, declaring the states free to govern themselves; El Salvador was the only state supporting the federation until 1840, when it became de-facto an Independent Republic (in White 1973). With full "independence", the country entered another historical phase which many call "Indio-Dependencia", including the beginnings of concerted internal class conflict, struggle and resistance, particularly by the indigenous people (in Maiz, 1990).

Perhaps most significant rebellion at that period was headed by the indio, Anastasio Aquino, in 1832, focus demanded the return of the Tribute they had paid, since it had been abolished by the crown in 1811, however, they were beaten back by a crowd of Mestizos led by market women (in White, 1973). The indigenous situation probably worse and because they no longer enjoyed special protection from the crown after the independencia (in White 1973). The government was in the hands of the Criollo landowners, among them "the fathers of the independencia", who had no external restraint from seizing those indigenous lands that had remained in the hands of the Indian Village Communities before the independencia (in Maiz, 1990).

The actions the rebels conducted in areas they controlled suggest that their struggle was motivated more by aspirations for social justice than by ethnic antagonism. The estates of the wealthy Mestizos and Criollos were attacked, sacked, and the

goods confiscated and distributed among the poor (in White 1973). However, on the 28th of July, 1833 the indigenous were defeated, and Aquino executed (Maiz, 1990). The following years consolidated the Criollos hegemony on the land and in trade, controlling power, marginalizing both the Mestizos and Indigenous, and selling the Mestizos against the indigenous (in White, 1973).

Between 1524 and 1833, four relations of class conflict and class divisiones had emerged:

- 1.) **Spaniards against Indigenous** - to dominate and to take advantage of indigenous land, natural resources, labour, and women to satisfy male Spaniards sexual and reproductive needs (Maiz, 1990). This situation presents an ethno class conflict, integrating an economic and cultural dispute, which began with the Pipiles resistance for over 15 years indigenous until their submission and slavery.
- 2.) **Criollo against Spaniards** - caused by strong economic and nationalist interests by the Criollo (aided by Mestizos) against the Spaniards control on trade (in Maiz, 1990). With a clear sentiment of delinking from Spanish dependence and to link their interest to liberal countries like England. The indigenous were not part of this conflict, nor would take part of its benefits.
- 3.) **Criollo against Mestizo** - due to a social, cultural, political and economic discrimination that the Mestizo suffered from the Criollo, who controlled the state and the local and international trade.
- 4.) **Criollo and Mestizo against Indigenous** - with injustices done to the latter, after the independencia in 1821, which many refer to, as the establishment of the "indio-dependencia" (in Maiz, 1990), that forced the indigenous to challenge the Criollo and Mestizo in the form of insurrection in 1832.



After 1832, the Criollo established total control of the country and the lives of the people, particularly over the indigenous and the poorest of the mestizos who, without success, resisted this domination (in Maiz, 1990). Freedom to organize unions and better living standards were promises finally made in the 1918 elections. The effects of the Russian Revolution had reached El Salvador with underground copies of the political newspaper, "Submarine Bolchevique" (White 1973), and with classical Marxism (White, 1973) which began to help the people to identify, define, and challenge their socio-economic calamity in a more systematic approach than in the past centuries.

Before 1927, dissatisfaction with poverty took the form of sporadic revolts lead by peasants and the working class. By 1930, an stimated 80,000 agricultural laborers, mainly coffee-peasants workers were organized into militant unions who struck and marched in San Salvador (White 1973). In 1931 these activities increased, while the goveznment began to repress them with bloodshed.

On December 2nd, young army officers overthrew the government, and installed as president Martinez (an Indigenous Army General nicknamed "El Brujo"- Wizard). By mid-1931, the Communist Party (made up of peasants, working class and few university students) was preparing a rebellion for which it had been organizing the peasants. However, a few days before it

happened, Farabundo Marti (known as "Negro Marti", educated at the Patricio Lumumba University in Moscow, and former Lieutenant and secretary to Sandino in Nicaragua), was captured and the revolt was called off without success.

The rebellion failed, and, seventy two hours after, the Matanza (Massacre) took the form of mass executions of 15,000 to 20,000 suspects which often meant anyone wearing indigenous dress (White, 1973). Martinez' dictatorship throughout the rest of his presidency (13 years) was to prevent any political activity that advocated structural reform. All political organizations and trade unions were banned. Martinez did make economic concessions such as a moratorium debts, and a law for partial liquidation of debts. He made social improvements to help further the standard of living of the poor. By 1936, his government authorized the buying of land and redistributed it to small farmers who would pay by instalments. In 1939, the idea of state intervention in the economy was included. The economy gradually improved, and the retrival of the 70% of the taxes which the USA was keeping from imports/exports for debt recovery was negotiated (White, 1973).

In May 1944, a Salvadorean elite member and US citizen, was shot to death by a policemen, on the following day the US Ambassador advised Martinez to resign, and he did (White, 1973). A new civil regime allowed some of the organizations banned by

Martinez to continue; however, no real economic or political concessions were made, except new job opportunities for a new salaried middle class, and the creation of a relatively privileged sector within the working class. These programs benefitted a very small percentage of the poor but were presented demagogically as a social revolution being carried out by the government (Maiz, 1990).

Important steps towards the encouragement of industry were taken and agriculture growth stimulated. By 1960, an increasingly militant left which included for the first time since 1932 an increasing influential Communist Party was opposing the government in protests for free elections. As a result, a coup substituted the civilian government with a military junta. The left was allowed to organize for elections again, but, when this became obvious the junta was overthrown in January 1961 (White, 1990).

More political freedom was allowed, with the left working in the proselytization of campesinos. The ruling class' strategy was to incorporate its opponents into the political system, without allowing them any effect in the outcomes. However, in my opinion the Cuban Revolution (1959); the influence of the Latinoamericanist Ernesto "Che" Guevara, and the Vietnam War in the 1960s and 1970s, all promoted a more active response to challenge their social tragedy.

The 1970s were initiated by a deep economic recession, characterized by growing unemployment, social marginalization and impoverishment of the popular urban and rural sectors. Its causes were, in part, due to corruption in the government and the ineptitude and incompetence of state functionaries in managing internal and external socio-economic matters and in realizing popular needs. Political freedom was no longer allowed. Thus elections were easily manipulated, while the repression of political parties, unions, and the left increased, with the peasants and working class facing a rougher reality (in Maiz 1990).

As a result, from 1970 to 1979, El Salvador experienced the birth of several political organizations advocating a popular agenda of demands. In 1979 the popular struggle for social demands increased, as well as the socio-economic and political crisis, while the government response, as in the past was to oppress the popular movements. A Popular Forum was formed to press the government for social reforms. The Forum confronted the attack from an invisible enemy, "the Death Squads", responsible for the killing and kidnapping of political figures, students, union members and peasants. In October 1979, a military coup removed the military government in an effort to save the country from the political crisis. As a strategy, coup leaders invited the Popular Forum, and private enterprise to join

them to form the first Democratic Junta. It disintegrated when all Popular Forum members (except-the PDC) left because of the opposition of a group of hard line military figures and the elite who to the social reforms proposed by the Forum. The second Junta was then formed with the Christian Democratic Party and the military, heavily supported by Reagan's USA administration.

In January 1980, "The Coordinadora Revolucionaria de Masas" CRM was formed, followed by the "Democratic Front" consolidating, in April, the "Democratic Revolutionary Front" (FDR) as a national and international political force {9}. In October 1980, the FMLN, Military Front "Farabundo Marti for National Liberation" was formed; and soon after, the alliance of the FMLN and FDR was constituted to find a negotiated political solution to the class conflicts between the social movements and the elite which was protected by the government and its armed forces, both backed by the USA (in MPSC, 1990). Twelve years of political and military confrontation (1979-1992).

Ignoring this situation and the roots of the conflict, the ARENA {10} government put in place in 1989, the first steps toward the implementation of the IMF and World Bank's Structural Adjustment Program. At that time, President Cristiani {11} introduced three major neo-liberal strategies (in La Prensa Grafica, January 23-27, 1995).

- 1.) Privatization: particularly of the banking system which was nationalized in the beginning of the 80s by the

Christian Democrat, as part of a US strategy within the framework of "low intensity war" to finance the war against the FMLN.

- 2.) Spending Cuts: by restructuring government and reducing its size which had grown without limits during the 80s. This strategy increased unemployment levels, already high due to the civil war.
- 3.) Industrial Reconversion: subsidies to modernize local industry were granted, thus new machinery, technology, and training of the working class were available to prepare the foundations for the "take off" meant to pave the way for reinsertion of El Salvador's industry into the world market "globalization".

These measures were carried out without considering the context of the Civil War. The elite, with little opposition, recovered what the previous government had nationalized, including the "write off" of their public debt by passing its debt {12} to the National Bank (Banco Central de Reservas) which paid it from state funds collected from taxpayers. Finally, in January 1992, after a series of dialogues and heavy military encounters, the Salvadorean Government (and army) joined the FMLN at the table for negotiations to sign the Peace Accords that ended twelve years of Civil War. However, as we should see the structural adjustment program (SAP) that was intended to make Salvadorean domestic industry more competitive is contradicting the hope in the Peace Accords which address a set of radical structural reforms.

## **1.2 Poverty**

According to the World Development Report (1989): "El Salvador is a developing country with GNP of \$850. However, 50% of the Population is poor with family (six members) income of \$110/month, while 10% are extremely poor. In the rural area 56% of the Population is poor with family income of \$98/month, while 14% are extremely poor. Moreover, FAO states (in Foy & Daly's World Bank Report, 1989) that "El Salvador is not feeding its current population as 75% of children under 5 suffer from Protein Calorie Malnutrition." Poverty in El Salvador is considered a historical heritage constantly reproduced due to a traditional pattern of wealth concentration, growth and intervention from local and external forces which has highlighted a state incapable of fulfilling its mission of compensating the socio-economic disequilibrium among the Salvadorean people.

## **1.3 Rural Poverty**

In 1963, Roque Dalton stated: "...being a country essentially agricultural where the majority of the fertile land is in the hands of a few landowners (4.10% of Population over 67.28% of land), has created an excessive latifundismo, as a result, a very low income per capita of the majority of the

population which does not allow them to consume more nutritional food such as meat, eggs, milk etc., reserved for a minority" (Dalton, 1963).

On the same issue Margarite Thibert (1960) stated: "the daily ration given by the agricultural enterprises to rural workers (headed household) is of five ordinary tortillas of corn, covered by a bunch of black beans-all cold, and a portion of salt..From a social point of view, it is almost impossible to imagine how this monotonous ration and/of difficult digestion can contribute to the diet of human beings". She finally states: "The quality of the campesino's diet has been fixed in such a monotony, well compared to fodder" (in Dalton, 1963).

Thibert added; "... Almost 90% of working peasants and their families live in unhealthy single rooms, crowded with hens and pigs, and owned by the landlord or built by themselves of mud and chaff without sanitary installations and far from drinkable water" (in Dalton, 1963). Similar observations were made by Public Health of El Salvador in 1961 (in Dalton, 1963), and in my field research (Menendez, 1995). Dalton and Thibert's analysis of rural poverty made during the healthiest economic growth of El Salvador (1960s). The structural problems (unequal distribution of wealth and opportunities) that had motivated the discontent and mobilization of the indigenous (1832) and labour and campesino sectors (1932 & 1944) were not resolved.



Moreover, in 1970, the Metropolitan Curia stated (in La Universidad, 1970) that:

"...the agrarian structure of our country shows a great concentration in the possession of land which is the result of the Liberal Agrarian Reform carried out at the end of the past century, based on the Law of Extinction of Ejidos, 1881, and the Law of Extinction of Indigenous Communities, 1882. "Such reforms created a great number of people without material means to fulfil their basic needs, who have becoming conscious of their situation of misery and injustice which motivated, in 1932, one of the most important campesino's uprising in the present century in Latin America."

The Curia added (in La Universidad, 1970) that:

"Agricultural property remains the same as 1932, in the power of a few, and as, a result, reduces the possibilities of the great mass of rural population not only to achieve a decorous life level but to be able to contribute to the building of the whole community. However, while the agrarian structure is not eliminated, and substituted by one more appropriate to the needs and essence of "man", the possibilities of tensions and frustrations of the Salvadorean campesino masses will continue to be a reality" (La Universidad, 1970).

By 1980, poverty had increased due to reductions in coffee and cotton prices, the oil crisis, and the elite's investments in industry without considering the socio-economic impact on the campesinos whose low salaries never met the living cost of basic supplies. Moreover, the food allowance was eliminated, and the manpower needed for permanent and seasonal rural workers reduced. This put both campesinos settlers and non-settlers into a period of crisis for survival. Increased poverty levels paved the way to a greater mobilization (Civil War, 1979-1992), which forced many

campesinos to flee their land and become refugees within the country's urban areas, in the Central American countries, USA, Canada, etc. During that period, rural poverty increased due to daily bombing and use of napalm that paralysed the country's agricultural production while devastating the natural environment and carrying capacity of the soil. By 1989 El Salvador was considered the most desertified country in Latin America after Haiti (Foy & Daly, 1989).

#### **1.4 Rural Development Initiatives**

Prior to 1970 there were no initiatives for rural development to increase agricultural economic growth and the welfare of the campesinos. In 1970 (in PDRSI, 1985a), the government of El Salvador (GOES) applied to the Organizacion de Estados Americanos (OEA) for assistance to conduct an exploratory study to determine areas with the highest potential for agricultural development. OEA's assistance was sent in 1971 through a mission of specialists to work on agricultural zoning and on the division of the country for land and cattle development. Boundaries for agricultural zones were set up; the data provided clear objectives to integrate the resources of different areas into one specific development project, and, for the first time, the basic guidelines of integrated rural

development were put forward. This was known as Phase I (1971 - 1972), with the participation of the GOES. The results were the compilation of economic and social data, and the integration and training of a national team.

In 1973 (in PDRSI, 1985a), Phase II began; its purpose was a detailed study of a pilot area representative of prevailing conditions in the majority of agricultural zones of El Salvador. Emphasis was on formulation of projects of Integrated Rural Development (IRD) in a defined area, using Phase I's data. The area of execution was 3255 km<sup>2</sup>, which covered 22 local municipalities within San Vicente, Cabanas, La Paz, and Usulután (See map # 1). The work began in Nov. 1973 and ended on Oct. 1974 with an inclusive integrated study of the natural, human and economic resources of the region, particularly of the rural sector. The covered factors such as: use of/and capability of soils; existing forest and water shield; patterns of land tenure; characteristics of health; education; and leadership and social organization of the population.

The first serious attempt to include the campesinos into the country's socio-economic development was announced in June 1976, with President Molina's proposed agrarian reform; however, the elite opposed it and the government of El Salvador stepped back.

After 1978 (in PDRSI, 1985b) the integrated rural social development (IRSD) conception, formulation, planning, and

evaluation began, and the objectives converted toward Phase I.II of Agricultural Zoning through the identification and formulation of projects of development within a region of 15 municipal areas (167,056 ha.) of Cabanas, La Union, San Miguel and Morazan (See map #2). The main objective was: "success in land and cattle sectors' productivity, through integrated rural development projects". Field work was difficult due to military actions. Finally, it was suspended on Oct.1979, after 16 months of limited and interrupted work. Prior its suspension, the staff had prepared the analysis of the natural, human, economic and social resources of the area, including agricultural production; also, levels of employment, family income and the identification and formulation of specific regional projects.

In the 1980s (in PDRSI, 1985a), integrated rural social development suffered a series of modifications in its conception, orientation outline, and execution; in the end, it was no longer a priority of government of El Salvador which in March 1980, embarked into rushed implementation of Agrarian Reform (many say, designed in a USA university classroom). The integrated rural social development project continued, but was re-oriented (with the Agrarian Reform) to other objectives; to many, both served to neutralize the rapid advancement of the FMLN. After eight months of inactivity (in PDRSI, 1985b), a new government (Oct.15, 1980), applied to OEA to proceed with a new formulation of an Integrated

Rural Development project, with five new objectives: 1) to promote productive activities - essential to the peasant's economy thus the rural economy can develop itself as an interdependent system; 2) to project and consolidate, at us local level macroeconomic policies that help the rural population to access the benefits of development privileges; 3) to give effective and continuous satisfaction to basic human necessities; 4) to improve life conditions of marginalized peasants; and; 5) to regulate and coordinate the execution of multi-sectorial actions within the integrated rural development policy, to be carried out in the most affected areas by the Agrarian Reform.

OEA approved it, Sept. 1984 (in DRSI, 1985b), with plans for execution of IRSD in Sonsonate and Ahuachapan (see map #3), as less conflictive areas in the war. In this new formulation, rural individuals and his/her family, was considered the actor in the process of land reform and the subject of activity as owner of a parcel not more than 7 hectares, and as landless campesino. The project intended to accelerate a process of simultaneous and strengthened changes that permit a social transformation with the creation of new dynamic roles, new hierarchy, new centres of power, a different system of values and attitudes toward the national problematic. In this sense, the IRSD's actions were oriented toward the cooperatives of the reformed sector, because of the highest profitability of former land estates,

where production and profit would benefit the population that was living in precarious conditions of life. Therefore, the IRSD considered the need of a solid participation of the population individually but also among the collective organizations.

Lack of consistency and support showed that the real priority the GOES gave to the project was in fact very low. The results obtained gave the GOES a broad scenario to challenge a national project that responded to the "real needs of the socio-political momentum" the country was experiencing (in PDSRI, 1985b). Thus, a new agreement with OEA, to execute a development project in the agrarian reform areas was achieved, and oriented to a zone of "Integrated Development" in one of the four regions of planning established by Phase I. In 1985 (in PDSRI, 1985c) the GOES strongly supported this development project by assigning a greater number of staff while the OEA increased technical assistance and staff, as a result, projects conceived in early stages and converted in feasibility studies become financeable. Also, it is considered that in this stage, popular participation increased through existing peasants organizations of the selected areas, assuring the institutional feasibility of finished projects.

It is within this political framework of GOES/OEA plus USAID intervention that rural development in fact commenced as a rushed strategy in order to confront the roots of popular insurrection.

However, it is fair to say that this rural development strategy, conceived by OEA & GOES, was/is well structured, particularly because it may be considered a classic "BLUEPRINT", which has been tested in various regions of Africa and South America (Crener, 1990). Moreover, the strategy of Integrated Rural (Social) Development is a valid one which in theory, finds the equilibrium between growth and development in all the productive activities of the campesinos, and appears to constitute a useful strategy for the struggle against rural poverty. However, in El Salvador, it ignores the fact that poverty can only be defeated by an integrated struggle against the factors that condition it, that is, the socio-economic structures, particularly of land tenure as the root of the Civil War.

The GOES and the OEA might have understood that the success of the IRSD depends on optimal socio-political conditions. However, they proceeded with their efforts to implement it, even though, the country was politically unstable and later on a Civil War.

### **1.5 Agrarian Reform**

In October 15, 1979 a decree to freeze the properties greater than 100 Ha., was put in place by the First **Junta de Gobierno** (in Maiz, 1990). Three months later Jan.10, 1980, a

second decree initiated among other things, two separate Agrarian Reform (by decree March 6, 1980) programmes called Phase I and Phase III (Phase II, to affect medium sized estates, was announced but never implemented). Phase I expropriated large agricultural estates of 500 or more Ha. and formed co-operatives. The landowners were allowed to reserve between 100 & 150 Ha., for their own management, reserving the best lands. Many of these farms also had installations for the processing of export crops (cotton gins, sugar mills, coffee processors, slaughter houses, etc.), not usually included in the expropriations. Thus, this stage of agricultural production has mostly remained largely in the hands of the landowners, except in the cases where the state acquired these productive facilities (in Lastarria, 1988).

By January 1983, according to Gore Strasma (in Lastarria, 1988) Phase I had expropriated 205,840 Ha., about 15% of the total agricultural land, benefiting some 30,000 peasant workers. Assuming six persons per household, the total number benefiting from Phase I was about 180,000 persons. While the intention of Phase I legislation was that these co-operatives be farmed as one unit, there has been pressure from co-operative members to parcel the common land into family farms. Garcia's field observation and studies show that in practice many Phase I beneficiaries have retained or acquired plots within the co-operative (in Lastarria, 1988). This is not surprising considering the conditions under



which these co-operatives are producing, since they were given the land with no capital and an agrarian debt to be paid off. Their debts have increased since they must take out loans to produce. In addition, the marketing boards through which they must market their export crops delay payments to co-operatives for up to a year, running up the interest owed on their loans (in Lastarria, 1988). Co-operatives also experienced delays in seeds, fertilizers and loans on time.

Phase III affected lands (up to a maximum of 7 ha.) that were rented or tilled by someone other than the owner. This land is purchased by the tenants, making them individual landowner after a lengthy expropriation process that, if the documentation process is successful, gives the tenant provisional land title and a thirty year mortgage. According to Gore Strasma (in Lastarria, 1988) By December 1982, 57,236 Ha., approximately a quarter of the land believed eligible under Phase III, had been claimed, benefiting 35,936 households.

Phase III is very significant because renting of land increased tremendously during the 60s and 70s, as a result of modernization and the more intensive agriculture practice by estate owners. As they increased the area of land under their direct cultivation and intensified capital investments, they rented out the more marginal areas. For instance, Simon & Stephens stated (in Lastarria, 1988) that it is estimated that by

1977 about half of all farms in El Salvador were rented and were less than 2 ha. in size. In addition, these were located mostly on hillsides and were of poor quality. Pearce (in Lastarria, 1988) comments that a more recent tendency among landowners is to charge rent in advance, excluding the poorest rural households.

A study done by PERA (in Lastarria, 1988) shows that the average Phase III beneficiary had access to very little land (1.6 Ha.) and is basically a subsistence-type cultivator. The household usually intercropped basic grains, with 65% of the area in maize and beans, and nearly half of them did not report any sale of their crops, confirming the subsistence nature of their production. While Phase III households might be expected individually to possess more capital than former hacienda workers, Phase I families have the advantage of belonging to a co-operative with access to goods and services through the co-operative structure (Lastarria, 1988).

It is important to mention that, according to Lastarria's research (1988), of 1172 households in Phase I surveyed, 137 (12%) female-headed households (FHH); while in Phase III survey, 105 (7%) of 1410 households are headed by women. The higher percentages of female-headed households in the production co-operatives may indicate both a greater willingness of the programme to include women, and that production co-operative structures are more supportive of female-headed households.

However, the very low representation of female-headed households in both the surveys may also indicate the difficulties that women have in receiving land from agrarian reform programmes. Since female-headed households are frequently the poorest of the poor, their under representation may be an indication that the poorest sector of the rural population has been excluded from Agrarian Reform (Lastarria, 1988).

Also, FHH in the production co-operatives (Phase I) have significantly less access to resources than the male-headed households; in the Phase III survey the two types of households have almost equal access. On the 137 FHHs in Phase I, only eighty-nine (65%) had access to land; while 851 (82%) of 1035 MHHs had access. This indicates a higher tendency among the male-headed households to have land for individual farming. The tendency to cultivate land is high across both types households: 91% of FHH and 93% of MHH with direct access to land cultivated that land during the 1983-4 agricultural cycle (in Lastarria, 1988).

The analysis of access to resources for the FHH & MHH in Phase I survey shows that the latter have significantly more land, capital goods such as draft animals, ploughs, wagons, fumigation pumps, and greater access to technical assistance than do the FHH. There are no significant differences between the two sub-samples with regard to credit access. The significantly

lower access to technical assistance for FHH in both surveys is not at variance with what many studies have shown, that technical assistance programmes and agencies neglect women farmers (in Lastarria, 1988).

There are no significant differences between FHH and MHH with regard to production value and costs per unit of land. These results are surprising if one recalls that these FHH have significantly less access to capital goods and technical assistance. These women's level of productivity, despite restricted access to resources, would suggest that they are more efficient farm managers. FHH can be expected to have lower incomes because of lower agricultural production (Phase I) and lower wages. Reasons why FHH in Phase I survey may work fewer months and have a lower labour intensity, are related to work opportunities and to land access. Women farmers have significantly less land to farm individually and fewer capital goods than men. In addition, wage labour opportunities in the rural sector for women are limited.

Moreover, female agricultural workers in El Salvador have traditionally been paid lower wages than men. While the gap narrowed in the 70s, in the 80s women still received almost 12% lower daily wages than men. According to Lastarria's findings, FHH receive a significantly higher proportion of their income from off-farm sources. While the results for Phase III survey

show no significant differences with regard to income levels between FHH and MHH, the percentage of off-parcel income for FHH is also significantly higher. Another result that had been anticipated is that FHH spend a significantly higher percentage of total family labour off the parcel.

The comparison of FHH and MHH with regard to agricultural production, income and family labour, has shown that women farm at least well as men, even in those cases where FHH have less access to resources. Lastarria states that FHH in the Phase I survey, despite significantly less access to land, capital goods and technical assistance vis-a-vis MHH were able to obtain as much production value per hectare as the MHH. Women farmers in the Phase III survey had equal access to most resources (except technical assistance) and, not surprisingly, had the same level of production as men farmers, both at the enterprise and hectare levels. Lastarria considers that while there are significant differences between the two types of households with regard to agricultural production, most of these disappear when one controls the amount of land held. According to Lastarria, it would appear that at the subsistence level at which these families work and live, the amount of land the household possesses is more important than whether the farmer is a man or woman in determining production, income and labour allocation (in Lastarria, 1988).

Finally, Lastarria concluded (in lastarria, 1988) that; it appears that, in contrast with other Latin American agrarian reforms, the El Salvador programmes did not specify that beneficiaries be male household heads. In Phase I law, the only specification is that co-operative members be landless or near-landless peasants who had worked on the hacienda as colonos, sharecroppers, tenants or salaried workers. Phase III law, specifies that the beneficiary must have been renting land not exceeding 10 hectares in size. Perhaps the failure to specify that the beneficiary be a household head has permitted women, be they de facto household heads or not, to be included in the production co-operatives and/or receive parcels.

#### **1.6 NGOs' Responses to Rural development**

According to Mario Padron (PRODEPAS, 1993), NGOs appeared for the first time in the UN's documents in the late 1940s they include a wide spectrum of institutions with one unique and common element: "independent from the state and governmental agencies". This definition includes co-operatives, research centres, universities, not-for-profit associations, community organizations, foundations, etc. Among others Padron provides a second conception: NGO for Development which he defines as "a form of NGO dedicated to design, study, and put in operation

programmes and projects of development in Third World nations, which in essence are directed to the popular sectors."

In El Salvador, the extreme conditions of poverty in rural communities provoked that, in an effort to minimize the impact of these conditions, different governmental entities and not-for-profit organizations emerged to provide short term assistance. Pedro Urrea's research on NGO in El Salvador, mentions the existence of NGO in the 1950s, most of them with benefit and charitable aims, through humanitarian and cultural assistance (PRODEPAS, 1993). According to Urbina (Menendez, 1995), a former NGO manager, NGO fulfilled a personal matter to alleviate social guilt, and also provided tax evasion. Victor Gonzalez (PRODEPAS, 1993) recalls that, in 1959, the episcopal conferences in Latin America created Caritas that, with the dioceses, initially administered AID food programs within the Alliance for Progress. Also, Catholic Relief Services initiated its joint activities with Caritas 1959.

Urrea states (PRODEPAS, 1993) that in the 1960s, and especially 1970s, Protestant and Catholic churches created eight (8) NGOs and programs. Such NGOs were inspired by Christian pastoral concerns, with special interest for the poor, marginal, and the political persecuted. These more committed NGO, began and strengthened projects in non-formal education, co-operatives, health clinics, training centres, agricultural projects, rural

promotion and communities. and, particularly, for the defence of human rights especially with Archbishop Romero-1978 (PRODEPAS, 1993).

Within this period, the Christian Base Communities conducted an essential work toward the achievement of social conscience and human dignity among the campesinos. In the 1980s, the Civil War and its impact on the rural population promoted the participation of a wide spectrum of international donors and NGOs, and the creation of more national NGOs.

Urbina considers (in Menendez, 1995) that in the 1970s, new NGOs appeared with concrete needs and agendas; ones to channel funds (from e.g., Europe) to promote the FMLN's political and military challenge, but also to assist the rural refugees. In the 1980s, NGOs with capitalist orientation emerged with a concrete need - to counter attack the process led by the FMLN. According to Gonzalez (PRODEPAS, 1993), 74 NGOs were created between 1950 and 1991, with 52 in the 80s, however, this time with various inspirations: ideological, political, social, religious, economic, managerial and business (Fusades, Fepade, etc.).

Between 1973-1992, 732 organizations have received legal status; however, only 186 are recognized by the PNUD (PRODEPAS, 1993). It is important to realize that prior to the Peace Accords, most NGOs were embarked in assistentialist projects, and only a few (particularly of Christian Catholic inspiration) have



shown a clear mandate for rural development, even though these were very active in emergency programs during the Civil War (i.e. see chapter 4).

### **1.7 Peasants Organizations' Responses to Rural Development**

Most grassroots organizations to advocate the needs of the campesino sector were created in the 70s and 80s, particularly with a socio-economic and political agenda oriented to the achievement of fair distribution of land, access to appropriate credit, and accessible markets for the campesinos' outputs. Many were created to provide popular support for the FMLN's struggle and channelling of financial to challenge the country's political & economic structures. Among the most relevant of these are the Alianza Democratica Campesina (ADC) and Asociacion Nacional de Trabajo Agrarios (ANTA).

ANTA was legally constituted in August 21, 1985. By 1992, its membership was about 10,000 families (medium & small producers, and landless campesinos) located in 12 provinces. ANTA's mission was/is: to raise the campesino organization; thus, together, they can find alternative solutions to the agrarian problematic in El Salvador. Its main struggles the conquest and defence of the land; credit; markets; fair salaries; the ecosystem; and general education. ANTA's organizational bases

are: pre-cooperative groups; cooperative associations; agricultural workers; and a women's program of 2,550 members. ANTA's main contribution towards rural development during its first 7 years was the organization of groups of peasants that subsequently seized and held the abandoned land, despite GOES's military pressure (ANTA, 1994 & Menendez, 1995b).

ADC was constituted in October 1989, by a wide group of co-operatives and campesino associations that visualized the end of the war and within the national reconstruction highlighted a process of land distribution. According to Eulogio Villalta (General Coordinator); "The ADC emerged as a response to the Anti-Rural Development Policy of former President Cristiani, and also to help the campesinos without benefits from Agrarian Reform Phases I and III, until July 1986" (Menendez, 1995b). About this, Ricardo Gomez (ADC's agricultural engineer and former FMLN commandant) states: "Between 1989-1991, the ADC took over (by force) 49 properties until the signing of the "Accord of July 3, 1991" between GOES, the Salvadorean Army, and the campesino sector represented by the ADC, achieved on the basis of; "NO MORE LAND TAKEOVER BY CAMPESINOS, BUT NO MORE FORCED MOVE OUT OF CAMPESINOS". From the 49 properties, the FMLN included within the peace accords 32, while the remaining 17 were negotiated between ADC and GOES. Finally, from the 17, the appropriation of 11 properties of land were granted, benefiting 1650 campesino's

families who received a loan of \$4,000, to pay the former landowners over \$6.3 million (in Menendez, 1995b & ADC, 1994).

### **3.2 Section II: After the Peace Accords 1992-1995**

#### **2.1 Setting the Salvadorean context**

The current political and socio economic life of El Salvador is defined by (Menendez, 1994 & 1995): 1) the impacts from the implementation of the neo-liberal economic strategies set up by the Structural Adjustment Program carried out by the ARENA government since 1989; 2) the implementation of the Peace Accords signed between the GOES (and the Army), FMLN, and the United Nations as witness in 1992; and 3) the announcement of the Economic Plan for Social Development in January 1995.

Most of ARENA's neo-liberal strategies have had a progressive but negative impact on the rural context, particularly on the cooperatives formed during the implementation of Phases I and III of the Agrarian Reform (1980-1988). Ricardo Gomez (in Menendez, 1995b) states that these impacts were geared to the elimination of cooperativism as strategy for development, a strategy which contradicts the individualistic spirit of the neo-liberal agenda. Gomez states: "The main argument was/is that the collective work in great extensions of land (latifundio) is less profitable than the work performed by the individual work of

the minifundistas". In this context, ARENA's neo-liberal agenda is particularly felt in one area: credit for inputs. Here, the privatized banking system plays its role by denying credit or approving it with high interest rates and after the crop season is already underway. The peasants have no choice but to spend the loans to fulfil (partially) their basic needs, and subsequently, due to credit delay, there are no crops, and no cash to pay the loan, nor to pay for the land the Agrarian Reform has granted the peasants.

Gomez affirms that ARENA's neo-liberal strategy with regard to the rural area is to eliminate traditional agriculture in El Salvador; thus, the rural country can be converted into agro-industry of non-traditional products. One could argue that this might be done in conjunction with the cooperatives, however, this would contradict ARENA's interest in the re-privatization of the properties taken from the elite, most of which have been converted into peasants cooperatives.

With the advent of the Peace Accords in 1992, the neo-Liberal agenda that ARENA has partially implemented has faced the most significant opposition. These Accords have become the official framework for the country's development and they contradict the neo-liberal strategy. For instance, according to the Accords, implementation of full agrarian reform must be achieved and, with it, the economic and political support for

existence and for future cooperatives (in FMLN, 1992).

Despite the Accords, ARENA's Economic Plan for Social Development was announced in January 1995, many consider this to be the main medulla of SAP; it proposes (in La Prensa Grafica, 1995) among other things:

- 1.) Dollarization of the economy or a fixed exchange of C8.75 per \$1 USA, and a system of convertibility;
- 2.) Tariff reduction which would gradually lower the tariff on all products until it is reduced to 0% (in two and a half years);
- 3.) Increase in the IVA (tax per aggregated value), and also incentives to taxation and improved collection;
- 4.) Modernization by privatization, modernization of public sector, improvement of infrastructure and/or complementary reforms.

The presentation of the Plan was accompanied by a series of Neo-Liberal arguments by its architects and advisors. For instance, a special report (in Prensa Grafica, 1995) states that the technocrats consider that it is the best political and economic time for the plan, since El Salvador is listed 23 among the more economically free countries of the world (Fundation Heritage), only 3 places behind Chile!.

According to Treasury Minister Hinds, an industrial engineer and economist, and former World Bank consultant (in La Prensa Grafica, 1995), the government has given to the private enterprise two and a half years to reconvert their industries while all their inputs of production and capital goods will

decrease to 1% of the tariff. Moreover, a protection of 15% to other imports will be left; thus they will have the "cash" from the savings of inputs to invest in modernization of their enterprises. Hinds, believes that perhaps there will not be a better moment to take the path of modernized development because of the country's stable economy, where coffee prices are high plus the large family remittances (\$) 1 billion/year.

The former president of ANEP (National Association of Private Enterprise), states (in La Prensa Grafica, 1995) that: "Because of territorial scarcity, El Salvador must not base its future on the agricultural sector", he says that our own territorial scarcity is projecting us as a country with a strong economy of services.

Dr. Pedro Arriagada (ARENA's Chilean economic advisor) considers (in La Prensa Grafica, 1995) that even without these measurements (1995), and only with the reforms since 1989, El Salvador has had a period of economic growth of 4%; and, with lows & highs, inflation has been reduced to 9.6% by 1994. He states that this 4% is a record in Latin America; however, he questions if this is sufficient for El Salvador's potential of 8% or 9%. For him, El Salvador can not continue living with an agriculture of the 1940s. This sector must be reconverted; but if the economy grows up to 8%, there will be many activities that could absorb this labour.

In response to ARENA's neo-liberal strategies (1995), the FMLN has been challenging the structural adjustment program, putting aside its Marxism, and adopting a more pragmatic neo-structuralism which, according to Albert Fishlow (in Esser, 1990), "...appears to be gaining influence through the region." A consensus in academic and political discussions in most countries of Latin America considers that a pragmatic neo-structural economic policy is better suited than other concepts to provide an impetus for actually possible processes of industrialization and development (Esser, 1990). The old socialist would is, after all, virtually non-existent, at least for now.

In fact, the FMLN's negotiation and acceptance of the Peace Accords meant a shift from a radical Marxist-Leninist approach to a softened neo-structural approach, interpreted by Esser "...as the emerging of a neo-structuralist policy, which is very aware of traditional structural interpretations of the development process, but is designed to fit today's problems and is also combined with some neo-liberal elements" (Esser, 1990). In the foreground, Esser suggests, are programmes to fight inflation, the re-organization of the state sector, the development and implementation of more efficient policies on technology, a cautious social policy, and new forms of co-operation with developing and industrial countries. Esser adds that these "new" neo-structuralists strongly advocate protection of the agrarian

sector and declining industry; their Neo-structuralism according to Esser, is only pragmatic to the extent to which it comes to terms with neo-liberalism (Esser, 1990).

As a response to ARENA's plan, the FMLN proposes (in La Prensa

Grafica, 1995) to:

- 1.) Set the premises for the implementation of a concerted economic plan based: productive growth, strengthening of the national and Central American market overcoming poverty, and ensuring an advantageous insertion in the world economy.
- 2.) Clean and strengthen public finances in the short term by incrementing the collection of exist taxes, with the purpose of increasing social investment and ensuring productive credit to small and medium enterprises through democratization of the banking system.
- 3.) Stimulate productive activity and exports to Central America and the world, with policy measurements that encourage land and cattle farm and the industry to generate employment.

However, the Committee for the National Debate (CPDN) added (in La Prensa Grafica, 1995) that:

- 1.) to increase taxes up to 12% or 15% is to decrease the basic basket of the working class. The end of the War and the Peace Accords is to guarantee better conditions of life and not the contrary;
- 2.) to reduce tariff up to 0 %, is to open totally to the exterior market and leave unprotected national industry, including agrarian and cattle production;
- 3.) fixed exchange of 8.75 per \$1 dollar is based on unstable situations such as remittances (\$), exports and perhaps laundered money from narcotraffic;
- 4.) State modernization must not be seen only as privatization of public utilities.



Moreover, the National University of El Salvador states (in La Prensa Grafica, 1995) that; "without denying the advances experienced in the socio- economic situation since 1989, it is convenient to keep in mind the back-stage, the magnitude of the Salvadorean underdevelopment". According to the Alianza Democratica Campesina (ADC), the campesino associations reject the neo-liberal plan since it does not represent their needs and interests. Moreover, they state that their struggle is the same as it was twenty years ago, and it will continue until their problems of poverty, land, credit, health, education, etc., are resolved (Menendez, 1995b). Eulogio Villalta (in Menendez, 1995b) truly believes that their struggle must be independent from the negotiations that the FMLN and ARENA may have. However, the ADC believes that the FMLN should work within the framework of the grassroots; but the ADC accepts the fact that once the FMLN became a political force, the rules of the game forced them to sacrifice part of its struggle, by, for instance, adopting a pragmatic neo-structural vision which the grassroots can not accept.

At the moment, the ADC and many other grassroots organizations have made clear to the GOES, that the ARENA's Economic Plan for Social Development (1995) must not interfere with the agrarian reform and, also, that if the plan attempts to promote agro-industry for export then it must include the

peasantry and its cooperatives, provide that these have appropriate credits, training, and the space to export; otherwise, the plan is considered a contradiction to the Peace Accords. Since the Plan was announced, the popular sectors have been organizing dozens of activities on the streets and in the factories to boycott the Plan and to concentrate on the Peace Accords as the framework for development.

As a result, ARENA's neo-liberal Economic Plan for Social Development (1995), has been softened to avoid a visible impact on the Peace Accords. Otherwise, the implementation of the Plan would be put in danger (as some elite members stated) by increased activities and boycotts from the social movements. In this context, the FMLN's role is like that of a mediator between the Neo-liberals and the Popular sectors, using a mask, perhaps, of pragmatic neo-structuralism which seems to be appropriate to the country's transition toward democracy and development.

## **2.2 National Reconstruction Plan (PRN)**

During the Salvadorean peace process, both GOES and the FMLN recognized the need for a National Reconstruction Plan (PRN). However, according to reports (in Hemisphere Initiatives Inc., 1994) the FMLN insisted that the PRN lay the foundation for economic development in the formerly conflictive zones through

the integral support and empowerment of economic agents who had traditionally been marginalized by the country's economic elites. For the GOES, reconstruction consisted of the physical reconstruction of the war-torn zones and compensatory programs designed to alleviate the conditions of poverty among the population of these areas. Development, in the GOES view, was to evolve through market driven accumulation which would eventually create employment opportunities for the population, thus opening the path out of poverty.

The PRN was successful in the sense of attracting significant financing; but the first two years of reconstruction were a time of often unproductive clashes of views rather than participatory, consensual experience. According to reports (in Hemisphere Initiatives Inc., 1994) three important factors stand out: 1. Absence, in the peace accords of specific mechanisms to assure beneficiary participation in program design and implementation; 2. international pressure for the PRN to adhere to the global effort structurally to readjust the Salvadorean economy; 3. The proximity of the 1994 elections which heightened sensitivity concerning the political impact of the PRN.

The PRN was launched in early 1992 with the government's establishment of the National Reconstruction Secretariat (SRN), with the United States. And for International Development's (USAID) immediate financial support. However, when both SRN and

non-SRN projects are taken into account, the PRN emerges as a plan oriented, in the first place, toward infrastructure improvements with a secondary emphasis toward alleviating poverty among its target population - the rural people, particularly of ex-conflictive areas.

Rather than seek concensus with opposition forces, the SRN, has taken a more exclusionary attitude. For example (in Hemisphere Initiatives inc., 1994), NGOs that have been traditionally more associated with the FMLN and the population of PRN target zones have been forced to struggle for even minimal participation in SRN projects. For their part, these "opposition" NGOs have been in a high speed attempt to convert themselves from implementors of emergency and subsistence projects in a highly political context to technically competent agents of communities seeking economic development transformation. Support for this effort has come from the same network of foreign development agencies that made war-time projects possible. These NGOs (in Hemisphere Initiatives inc., 1994) can also point to impressive results; but they too are confronting the difficulty of meeting expectations for post-war economic improvements. As a sector, they are conscious of the need to confront the limits posed by their institutional development in the post-war context. The revitalization of this NGO sector is critical to long-term development, not just in the formerly conflictive zones but in

the country as a whole.

The entire PRN has important achievements to its credit. It has created temporary employment opportunities, carried out impressive infrastructure repairs and reconstruction, and met some of the most immediate needs of the population of the formerly conflictive areas. At the same time, there are serious questions about how far the GOES' plan has advanced toward the productive insertion of ex-combatants and the overall economic reactivation of its target areas. It is much too early to speak of the failure of the PRN, but the process has been in serious trouble. The neo-Liberal ARENA's control of the government (1994-1999) may aggravate the situation by turning its back on the needs of the formerly conflictive zones and, by extension, the Peace Accords (in Hemisphere Initiatives inc., 1994)

### **2.3 Responses to Rural Poverty and Development**

The Planning Ministry (MIPLAN)'s new methodology (1992) to measure income, from which the existence of conditions of poverty are determined (in Proceso, 635), pointed a reduction in poverty of 2.2% in 1992 (from 59.7 to 57.5%). However, the main methodologic modification consisted in the inclusion of family's remittances (\$1 billion US) within the home income. At the same time, there has been a constant increase in unemployment, and a

high level of dependence from food in rural areas. All of this suggest that these new indicators of poverty are based on political motivations and unreal assumptions that things are getting better; in fact, poverty is increasing. Many would expect that the end of the Civil War, the Peace Accords, and the PRN are to benefit first of all, the most vulnerable of Salvadorean society formerly conflictive zones - the rural people, and secondly the remaining population. There is a historic opportunity to alleviate poverty by promoting integral rural development programs.

### **3.1 Government of El Salvador**

GOES contribution to rural development has always been questioned by the campesino sector due to the lack of benefits to its rural population, and as the periodic delays in agreed to (in the Peace Accords) land transference and credit. In my field research, an officer in Pro-Chalatenango stated:

"The government doesn't have any political will, nor a development plan - since we live a state of tremendous dependence - where programs and development policies are made in the North (induced development) without considering our context" (in Menendez, 1995b).

When I asked Ricardo Gomez (ADC) about GOES' rural development policy. He stated:

I haven't seen, within the ARENA's government plan nor within its main objectives, a concrete appendix on agriculture and its benefits for its population. Moreover, since 1989, ARENA has been dismantling the agricultural structures and a scheme put in place by

the Democrats in the 80s (as a strategy of pressure of low intensity supported by the Reagan administration).

For instance, he mentions the National School of Agriculture (ENA) has being privatized within FEPADE (Right wing NGO), and the Financial Institution for Agrarian Transformation (FINATA) has disappeared. Ricardo Gomez described his argument as follows:

...See, from the government plan, the productive strategy of the country begins; is conducted by the Cattle and Agriculture Ministry (MAG), that includes the Salvadorean Institute for Agrarian Transformation (ISTA), the Bank of Agrarian Promotion (BFA), and others. In conclusion, the Agricultural Development Plan is the state's responsibility, therefore ARENA', and the logic of this plan reflects the party's main objectives" (in Menendez, 1995b).

Finally, he concluded that:

"What is wrong with ARENAS' policy is that this is not representative of the campesino's interests and benefits; there was not a concertation process that consulted the ADC and/or other associations, nor are our concerns reflected in the GOES' policy for rural development" (in Menendez, 1995b).

Gomez recognizes the GOES' efforts for Agro-industry which he believes is the alternative to increase in the campesinos income; to him, ARENA's idea is the production and export of non-traditional crops without the participation of the campesinos, to whom ARENA is inducing dependence on the production of maize and beans, which he considers, increases rural poverty, when these can be bought from other countries. Gomez and others experts (in

Proceso-643), share that GOES biggest problem is its strong dependence on enterprising interests, particularly from ARENA's elite. As a result, most rural development policies neglect the poorest of the rural sector, while these policies are designed to meet the economic interest of the elite.

### **3.2 USAID and other foreign's AID**

When I asked Mr. Dryer (USAID's officer for the National Reconstruction Plan) about rural development, he stated: "We don't have a working definition of rural development for El Salvador." To him El Salvador has been divided according to North American criteria - mixing, in some way, the urban with the rural area. On this, the USAID economist divided the campesino into rural and semi rural (in Menendez, 1995b).

Dryer stated that the Peace Accords are their main framework. However, their financial and technical support for neo-liberalism prove the contrary. Of course, USAID may be committed to the Peace Accords, but not necessarily to the rural development as expected for instance, by the ADC. USAID support neo-liberal through programs of human capital formation and infrastructure (e.g., Fuertes Caminos- USA marine engineers working in construction of schools, housing, roads etc.) to prepare the country "for take off".



For Dryer (in Menendez, 1995b) the biggest problems is defining the strategy for rural development is the small size of the country, cultural changes experienced by the rural people as a result of the War, and the pragmatism and tremendous possibility the country has had in its population to become industrialized since 1970s.

Julio del Valle, program manager of Central American Peace Scholarships (CAPS), stated that; "education is the campesino's weakest area, the main barrier to assimilating instructions and achieving their full participation in development" (Menendez, 1995b). He highlighted the contribution of CAPS' programs (USAID) oriented to training of leading campesinos (including former FMLN ex-combatants), and, more importantly, the programs are oriented to strengthen community leadership and local government.

He acknowledged that without the GOES' political will and support, particularly in infrastructure, the issue of extreme rural poverty may continue (in Menendez, 1995b).

### **3.3 FMLN**

The FMLN's legacy and main contribution to rural development is within the Peace Accords which addressed the main root of rural poverty in the high concentration of land tenure as

follows:

- 1.) Land transference - through the Program for Land Transference (PTT), proposed for the ONU and accepted by GOES and FMLN. The transference is expected to affect 8.1% of the national agriculture territory (119,036 ha, from the original amount of 143,500 ha. reduced due to financial requirements). By Dec. 1994, only 38% of the total had been distributed (31,663 ha.) between FMLN's ex-combatants (25,783 ha. per 12,477 members) and FAS' ex-combatants (5880 ha. per 2,827 members).
- 2.) Implementation of Phase II of the agrarian reform (1980) that was never implemented and which should have affected properties between 150 ha. and 500 ha. representing 23% of the agricultural territory (Proceso, 640).
- 3.) According to a FMLN senator (who I interviewed), as official opposition in parliament, the FMLN has been able to advocate on behalf of the cooperatives that are constantly threatened by ARENA's neo-liberal administration that attempt to dismantle the whole process of cooperativism initiated by the Democrats (in Menendez, 1995b).

The main FMLN's difficulties (13) (besides internal conflicts during 1994, which were solved in its last Convention in April, 1995) is its lack of economic resources to face the heavy team of ARENA's development experts (supported by USAID) which according to Ricardo Gomez (FMLN's non-paid economic/agricultural advisor) makes it difficult to concentrate and plan for the present, since we are still dealing with problems that the Cristiani administration (1989) left; for instance, the foundations for the present neo-liberal package (1995) of structural adjustment programs were laid out in that period (in Menendez, 1995b). Finally, for Eulogio (ADC) the FMLN

has made a tremendous contribution to rural development, however, he considers that from now on, the FMLN (as a political force) must be prepared to work on and advocated for a strong campesinos' proposal that reverse the structural and historical conditions of poverty (in Menendez, 1995b).

### **3.4 Peasants' Organization**

ADC and ANTA are the most important Grass root campesino organizations. Their responses to rural development after the Peace Accords are as follow:

#### **Alianza Democratica Campesina - ADC**

The Peace Accords recognized the ADC as the official entity to negotiate for land. As a result, the ADC become the representative body of 28 (large, medium & small) campesino associations among them ANTA and FEDECOPADES. My field research (Menendez, 1995b) on rural development (conducted in 1994 & 1995) has shown that, at the present, the ADC is framed by nine (9) working commissions: 1. Land; 2. Credit; 3. Marketing; 4. Sustainable Development; 5. Women; 6. Privatization; 7. Salaries; 8. Ethnicity; and 9. Human Rights and Education. Findings from field research proves that ADC's responses to rural development have been outstanding as reflected by the work and enormous

achievements highlighted by some of its commissions as follow:

According to Eulogio Villalta (ADC's general coordinator) the ADC's main contributions and priorities with respect to land are:

- A.) to consolidate the accord of July 3, 1991. which provided land to 1650 campesino families. Credit, training, and general advice should be put in place; thus the campesinos are able to produce (individually) to fulfil their basic needs while (collectively) producing to pay the loan.
- B.) to initiate Phase II of the agrarian reform. The ADC has identified 361 landowners who have not delivered the 245 ha. surplus (stated by the Salvadorean constitution as the maximum of land tenure for one person); moreover Decree 895 tied up the landowners given that Dec.26, 1986 was the deadline to present the surplus. "Comision 245" was formed with ISTA (Salvadorean Institute of Agrarian Transformation), ADC, and right wing campesino associations. At the moment, the ADC has hired 12 lawyers to investigate and verify the surplus. in order to minimize problems in future negotiations. "This is, so far, the major achievement of the ADC for rural development which touch the medulla of the land tenure structure."
- C.) fair distribution of excess lands among the beneficiary campesinos. On this, the ADC has prepared a waiting list and also requested its campesino members to take a census of the potential beneficiaries which should include women.

The ADC leaders strongly affirms that without a fair solution to the issue of land tenure the chances for integral rural development are very minimum (in Menendez, 1995b). With respect of credit, Eulogio (in Menendez, 1995b) points out that:

"...to crop the land, the campesino needs credit, which normally is given by the financial system, prior to presentation of land certificates (to guarantee debt recovery) and also needs to be free of debt to the

national financial and/or private banking system. However once the credit is approved, then the campesino faces four barriers; 1. high loan interest similar to private banking system (e.g., 17% interest rate 1994), 2. high cost of production inputs, 3. the potential of loss by natural causes (e.g., low/high rainy season), and 4. the difficulty of selling the products due to market saturation of products that GOES gets through international food security. As a result, the campesino sells his/her crop at prices below costs of production and, then is unable to pay the loan (65% of campesinos have loan debts), with the risk of loss the land, and with not credit for the next season."

The ADC has been working on a medium and long term strategy that includes the creation of a campesinos' financial institution similar to Bancomo at the Comunidad Segundo Montes, Morazan.

With respect to marketing, the ADC has coordinated the formation of the association of producers that according to Eulogio (in Menendez, 1995b) should find initiatives toward the marketing of the production of rural communities and cooperatives at the national and international level.

According to Eulogio Villalta (in Menendez, 1995b), the term of sustainable development is very wide and undefined, and depends primarily on state policies. For instance, reductions in water level of lakes and rivers has an impact on deforestation. Thus, the question is, how can the campesinos understand that deforestation and poor resource management is unsustainable when they do not own the land. Also the GOES has shown irresponsibility in its lack of sustainability policies. To achieve sustainable development, the state must facilitate land

distribution and then provide fair subsidies, otherwise El Salvador will face serious environmental and economic problems.

Eulogio commented (in Menendez, 1995b) that the Costa Rican campesinos have some good reforestation projects; however, he considers that for the ADC to pay attention to environmental projects when we are still struggling to get a piece of land in El Salvador is like **putting the oxcart behind the bulls**. Carlos Rodriguez stated: "We can't talk about sustainability, if we don't have the land."

Estela Hernandez (Women Commission's coordinator) stated (in Menendez, 1995b) that:

"With regard to gender, the education of the campesinos is the priority; without it, not much can be done. For instance, illiteracy in women is higher than men, because at home the girls are too occupied in helping the mother to prepare food (tortillas, beans etc.) and in babysitting their brothers and sisters."

She added that:

"...both women and men must be part of the process of conscientization. Conscientization should not be directed in isolation to women, since this has the danger of creating confrontation, since most men have fears that women may challenge them power. Estela says that one must understand that all have been influenced by capitalism, which promotes selfishness and dominance."

Estela considers that the issue must be treated in integral form and including in its analysis that, traditionally, the men have been the head of household. He is seen as the provider while women have obeyed and tolerated him. The boys follow the father as a model while the girls follow the mother. There is no

real sharing of responsibilities in the care of the house, nor are the boys oriented to or made responsible for it. She stated that; "...the Machismo and our tradition of political and economic submission and dependence are the main roots of the problem. The lack of respect in our society, beginning with the GOES that never has respected our constitutional rights and responsibilities, is an added factor." She argued that the system has violated both women and men. At the ADC, Estela states (in Menendez, 1995b) that:

"We have just begun with this issue, there are many women that are not interested or don't have the resources time and/or money, or somebody to watch the children". She added that; "the ADC is avoiding feminism by orienting its struggle towards social justice for both. One must realize that the campesina woman is different from the urban one, and from the one at the North, therefore, the methodology must be different. Women's issues are fundamental; however, the ADC's women recognize as first prioritize - the land, then credit, marketing, and sustainability - which are conditioning the march of our work. We believe that our work is tied up to the advancement and consolidation of the socio-economic and political dimensions of the whole country."

With respect of salaries, ADC's General Assembly of Feb.21, 1995 (in Menendez, 1995b), mentioned the low agricultural salaries as an important concern, when compared to the real cost of life. Also, there was a complaint that some co-operatives are becoming too capitalist, without any interest to increase and improve salaries.

On this, the ADC response was a proposal (mid- March 1995) to increase the minimum agricultural salary for the campesino worker.

Eulogio commented (in Menendez, 1995b) that as a response to the European Community's interest in the rescue and respect of the ethnic culture, the ADC created in Oct.1994, with the participation of several indigenous groups (ANIS, ASID, ANITTS, MAIZE, UNISA, ADTAIS), the Indigenous Commission. By the end of 1995, the ADC is hoping to consolidate quantitative data indicating the existing indigenous population. Eulogio added that there is some division among these groups because of the opportunism and corruption shown by some of their leaders. On this, Carlos Rodriguez (Land commission's coordinator) stated (in Menendez, 1995b) that to have many commissions may exhaust the ADC; therefore he argued that for the moment the indigenous population should be treated as campesinos who share a common interest. Moreover, he stated (in Menendez, 1995b) that; "one may recall that since 1932, this sector has become both less visible and a part of the agrarian sector that has traditionally suffered the same structural problems."

The work of the indigenous people is in crisis due to lack of participation and internal conflict among the indigenous groups, but also due to lack of support from national (ADC), regional (ASOCODE), and local organizations which the ADC accepts



that can not attend appropriately. As a result, the ADC has created FUNSAGRO (Salvadorean Foundation for Agrarian Issues - 1995) to alleviate ADC's overload and weakness while strengthening essential issues such as credit, marketing, women, privatization and human rights and education. Therefore, the ADC can focus on the land issue which most commissions have considered to be the most demanding and critical of the peasants struggle.

Finally, Gomez, Villalta, Rodriguez, Estela and other ADC's members share (in Menendez, 1995b) a series of concerns that are conditioning the rural development process:

- 1.) The various tendencies of the Catholic church and other christian denominations are contradicting the process of integral the rural development, since these are creating confusion among rural population, minimizing their interest in social justice.
- 2.) Family remittances from the North have minimized the spirit of struggle within the campesinos who receive these, creating strong dependence and an ideology of consumption while enhancing a sense of class conflict among themselves.
- 3.) There are conflicts among campesino groups that struggle for the right to the same land; moreover, the government's bank of lands has been negotiating farms with the demobilized Army Forces, despite the fact that these farms have already been negotiated for the settlers by the ADC.
- 4.) The Peace Accords were expected to resolve our problems, however, ARENA's neo-liberal plans are contradicting the accords. At the moment, the popular sector is confused.
- 5.) The Peace Accords failed to establish regulations on land prices, assuming that the button price was to be

marked by the agrarian reform of 1980 - where landowners had reduced the land price to pay lower taxes. However, in 1991, these prices were increased based on post war market prices; as a result, the campesinos are facing a critical situation with regard to the excess and/or takeover lands since the prices are much above their economic capacity.

- 6.) The ongoing struggles for land, credit, and a place in the market determine the existence of a dominant class. From this reality, one can not deny the continuity of class conflict; perhaps it has been modified. Marxist analysis is still effective; however, the Marxist-Leninist alternative to resolve the conflict must be re-thought and defined under a necessarily more pluralistic approach.

#### **Asociacion Nacional de Trabajadores Agrarios - ANTA**

Tito Perez (ANTA's coordinator) stated (in Menendez, 1995b): "This is not an NGO, but an association of campesinos". After the Peace Accords, ANTA increased its membership to 12,000 families located in 250-300 bases (co-operatives and communities). At the moment, it is discussing with ADEFADES (Association of Crippled and de-mobilized of the Salvadorean Armed Forces) an agreement to incorporate their struggle for land within a three-party plan (ANTA + ADC + ADEFADES + PTT - Plan of Land Transference) to negotiate with the GOES the 245 ha. land surplus. ANTA's contribution to rural development is outstanding, even though Perez considers that the low economic compensation of ANTA's staff creates low morale.

ANTA's nine years of struggle has potentially benefited 5,672 families and indirectly 28,360 campesinos through the

negotiation of 11,868.5 ha. At the moment, 1,318 ha. with 751 families beneficiaries (and indirectly 5,506 beneficiaries) have been transferred (ANTA, 1994). In conversations with ANTA's coordinators, a series of concerns about rural development were shared (in Menendez, 1995b):

Remberto Nolasco (Agriculture) stated that after land transference, the state does not provide programmes of integral development within these productive units, this is critical, if one considers that the agricultural frontier in El Salvador is limited to guaranty loan payments on land and its productivity. Also, that the portion of land to household is very low (1 to 2 ha. per head household), which promotes minifundio, unemployment, and increased poverty levels, and consequently the loss of the land.

According to Palacios (Education coordinator), the state of the environment is in serious condition that may affect the whole population, since its exhaustion could be the root of future confrontations. He affirmed that with ARENA's economic plan (1995), agriculture has received a hit in the nape of the neck, simply because neo-liberal strategies are oriented to industry while neglecting agriculture.

Palacios affirmed (in Menendez, 1995b) that:

The campesino dream is to have a lot; it is not cooperativism. Its culture is individualist, selfish, monopolist, etc., induced, of course, by the capitalist system. To face this, ANTA has done demonstrative

projects to influence and resist the culture of private property while showing the benefits of collective efforts. Even though ANTA does not have a Christian orientation, it is important to highlight that some sectors of the Catholic and Protestant Lutheran churches have been very active in enhancing community principles; however, their contribution has been minimized with the loss of important Christian leaders.

For instance, he considers that CEBES has been wiped out from the rural sector by the charismatic movement, which is extremely alienating and supportive of the neo-liberal project. Finally, he considers that, however, the Christian dimension is essential, while not neglecting the economic, political and social perspective from the Gospel of Jesus.

### **3.5 NGOs**

According to Urbina (Menendez, 1995), at the end of the War the government and the FMLN wanted to implement the Peace Accords; however, both lacked the capability to deal with the issues nor had they the human resources. Their only option was the NGOs sector. As a result, a lot of NGOs were created, many of them without any understanding or identity with rural communities. Others were erected to fulfil a specific mission; for instance, F-16 de Enero (created by the FMLN) received a lot of money which they could not administer and gave it away by indemnifying FMLN's de-mobilized.

Victor Valle stated (in Menendez, 1995b) that: "The purpose of this NGO was to facilitate the process of reinsertion of ex-combatants. The work was structured in four stages: 1. emergency, to identify the areas for the reinsertion, 2. contingency, to mobilize the people in the communities, 3. stabilization, to provide them with housing, health, and a production unit, and 4. execution, with technical residents on site to assist the communities. Valle considers that: "the GOES has not helped in developing infrastructure which makes it difficult for the communities to produce and have integral development; moreover, a lot of pressure is put on these people to pay credits without considering that they don't pay because they don't have the money."

Valle added (in Menendez, 1995b) that without the support and political will of GOES, it has been difficult to plan and execute projects for rural development, particularly in the ex-conflictive zones. Other experts (in Hemisphere Initiatives Inc., 1994) agree with Valle when they considered that these NGOs will never be able to mobilize the resources necessary to carry out sustainable development programs, the land transfer program, or to repair the war damaged infrastructure. Ricardo Gomez (ADC agricultural engineer) said (in Menendez, 1995b) that most NGOs have a critical position since most of them respond first to the needs of their own existence. With respect to the campesino's

sector, he believes that a lot of them have spent time, money and human resources in writing and submitting applications that, in the end, are to their benefit - not including to NGOs ghosts which get money in the name of campesinos. Gomez agreed on the need to organize NGOs from the campesino bases, like ADC's FUNSAGRO.

Ernesto Campos (in Menendez, 1995b) a development officer from an international consultant office, reinforced Gomez concerns, adding that some NGOs that received funding have been converted into consulting enterprises and using all the obtained equipment. In 1994, a number of NGOs disappeared; in 1995, only the ones with lobbying capability, well organized and with potential for self sustainability may survive the more demanding AID agencies. Campos considered that the ones that can survive, may have to interpret the political, economic and social and cultural context of the country, and perhaps of the region, if not, these would fail or face difficulties in getting and implementing their programmes. On this, Eulogio and Gomez (ADC) consider (in Menendez, 1995b) that FUNSAGRO may have an enormous advantage, since ADC has developed a tremendous understanding of the past and present Salvadorean context, and of at the regional level since the ADC is founding member of ASOCODE (Association of Small Producers for the Cooperation and Development of Central America).

The arguments about effectiveness and accountability of NGOs take various forms, depending on the source of information. For instance, Mr. Dryer (USAID), highlighted the high contribution of NGO, mainly in facilitating the transition from war to peace. In this transition, reports from Hemisphere Initiatives Inc. and others see the difficulties that many NGOs are facing with regard to effectiveness and accountability, particularly since a great number of opposition NGOs have been discriminated against by the SRN, based on technical grounds and funds availability. According to this argument many Salvadorean NGOs, have been unable to make the transition from emergency relief to development work.

According to reports (in Hemisphere Initiatives inc., 1994) opposition NGOs trace their exclusion to political reasons. UN officials acknowledged the technical problems of the opposition NGOs, but insisted that if only technically capable institutions could receive PRN funds then most NGOs and government agencies would also be excluded, including the SRN. Reports in Hemisphere Initiatives Inc. 1994 stated that: "some observers agree that the results have not met the expectations of either the people served by the programs or the opposition NGOs."

Three obstacles stand out in Hemisphere Initiatives inc., 1994), specially for the opposition NGOs:

- 1.) Lack of infrastructure means development requires major investments like those contained in the PRN;

- 2.) The NGOs have not achieved sufficient levels of coordination to promote economic development initiatives, since lack of coordination is a problem, perhaps as a legacy of often irrational requirements of the war, many NGOs are carrying out programs uncoordinated with other NGOs. This often leads to unproductive competition, and can be complicated by different NGOs having different relations with the five FMLN fronts.
- 3.) The transformation of the NGOs from organizations designed to support emergency war time relief to capable development organizations, since during the war, opposition NGOs were charged with carrying out dangerous projects. These conditions determined, to a great extent, the organizational structure of NGOs and the profile of people that would be likely to occupy key posts in that structure. Therefore, the conversion of opposition NGOs has been a complex and painful process of change that has occurred unevenly across a diverse group of organizations.

In chapter 4, I provide a concrete analysis of the effectiveness and accountability of an opposition NGO that has suffered most of the difficulties of the transition process. In previous analyses, various people (in Menendez, 1995a/b) has addressed the human and social de-formations that Salvadoreans have experienced as a consequence of an induced capitalist culture, and how this has impacted on the campesino way of life and on the process for rural development. In this regard, it is important for this study, to see, to what extent NGOs have contributed to social formation of individuals and the collective.

On this, Rev. Aguilar stated (in Menendez, 1995): "the spiritual dimension which is very essential in human promotion



and in building healthy rural communities has not been addressed by the Corporacion Fe y Trabajo nor by others, simply because there is not economic nor human resources to do it; moreover, every single penny from the AID agencies is for production and/or technical development, nothing for human promotion". According to Rev. Aguilar, the only hope for rural communities is that CEBES can recover from the persecution and loss these base communities suffered during the war. I had the opportunity to experience the work that CEBES has been doing in rural communities, and observe its role and contribution to rural community development.

#### **Christian Base Communities of El Salvador (CEBES)**

According to Juan Rojas, a CEBES's coordinator (in Menendez, 1995b), CEBES' pastoral framework is Liberation Theology with two main issues; religion and campesino development that is to prepare the peasant for the life in community. There are three groups (CEBES, CB-Base Communities, and CC-Christian Communities) working under this framework. At the moment, CEBES attends 52 rural communities in the ex-conflictive zones of El Salvador.

Rojas stated (in Menendez, 1995b) that, CEBES has a low profile because of: 1.) the social changes after the Peace Accords have been done in a brusque form; 2.) the international community change of interest toward a model of economic

development and environment, impacting on the mission which is to form Christian communities and; 3.) the past persecution and the loss of members who were murdered, while others (who have received the good news) have gone to form communities within other fronts. Rojas added (in Menendez, 1995b) that: "CEBES main challenge is the neo-liberal policies that are creating strong divisions among rural communities and co-operatives" (Menendez, 1995); for instance, Rojas mentioned the cooperative La Trinchera where 60% of its members wanted to divide it into lots, subsequently CEBES was invited by some cooperative members to help them with the conflict. Therefore, Rojas stated that:

"...CEBES provided them popular Christian orientation by using some material from the bible i.e. the parable of distribution of the bread. With this, CEBES divided all coop-members into two groups and posed two main working questions: 1. on the pros and cons of cooperativism, and 2. on the pros and cons of the land division into lots. At the end, CEBES explained to the whole, that Jesus Christ sat the people in groups of 50 and 100, in community, and then Jesus alerted the people of the bad intentions of the Pharisees and their scribes. In the end, most members realized their conflict and decided to continue as cooperative" (in Menendez, 1995b).

The above experience is according to Rojas, an example of what CEBES has been doing since the Peace Accords. CEBES is also combining other experiences and methodologies to strengthen rural communities. For instance, I assisted at a three day CEBES' workshop for youth in La Estancia (Lenca Community located in Morazan), organized as follows: Day 1. National reality and

History of El Salvador; Day 2. Participation and community integration, Christianity and Ethnicity; Day 3. Principles of Permanent Agriculture with emphasis on sustainable development.

With regard to gender, Rojas affirms that the campesino women is the core of CEBES, particularly because most men tend to see religion as a sign of weaknesses, therefore, CEBES has put a lot of effort in addressing the issues of domestic and street violence against women to whom the Salvadorean society has always marginalized and clasified as a dependant human being. Rojas considers that one of CEBES challenges is the conversion of the rural man through the Gospel of Jesus. Rojas also commented (in Menendez, 1995b) that various religious orientations, including some within the Catholic church, are partly responsible for the environmental destruction, since their message has neglected the principles of environmental conservation; moreover, he believes that some religious movements; e.g., Charismatics, are creating tremendous confusion and divisions among rural communities, which limit the possibilities for integral rural community development. According to Rojas, these religious movements have good intentions, however, these are very often led by successful business people from middle and higher class who definitely don't understand the oppresion and marginalization of the rural people, and therefore interpret the Gospel according to their realities which are extremely different from the reality of the rural poor.

## **CHAPTER 4**

### **CASE STUDY**

#### **Introduction**

This Chapter identifies the most relevant findings of the case study research the assessment of CFT. It is divided into six parts: 1.) Performance, 2.) Strengths, 3.) Weaknesses, 4.) Limitations; 5.) Conclusions (effectiveness, accountability, and sustainability), and 6.) Recommendations. To make this part more concise, the assessment findings are presented through conceptual headings which are highlighted with the analysis and information provided by the interviews, document review and direct observation.

#### **1. CFT's ASSESSMENT OF PERFORMANCE**

To assess the performance of the NGO, I visited thirteen rural communities, most of them located in: San Salvador (Aguilares); La Libertad (Finca Buenos Aires-Coffee Plantation Farm); Cuscatlan (Suchitoto); Chalatenango (Comalapa); La Paz (Comalapa); Morazan (Perquin, Corinto, Cacaoopera).

Two groups were identified according to land tenure criteria:

Latifundio - Finca Buenos Aires (private ownership), **Hacienda San Alfonso (CFT' private ownership)**; Comunidad Segundo Montes (community ownership); and the **Cooperatives of San Carlos, Los Laureles, La Esperanza, Vainillas, and La Montanona**;

Minifundio - caserios such as: **San Rafael Varillo, Ropilla, Babilonia, Los Morenos, and Comunidad Lenca La Estancia.**

I did not visited the other 7 communities in Corinto, however, I met and interviewed their leaders at one community meeting.

Emphasis was placed on the CFT's clients (highlighted above) and on La Estancia (a future beneficiary of the CFT). The minifundio's group received more attention, since it is considered the more disadvantaged and the poorest of the CFT's beneficiaries. Also, it is important to notice that the CFT's clients are settled into the most conflictive zones of the civil war, where heavy bombing and the army Vietnam style strategy of burning (napalm) and massive tree cutting have left a costly cumulative environmental impact, with enormous damage productive capability of the soil. Most of the settlements I visited showed a dry, almost deserted scenario. Ironically, the little attention they receive is highly dependent on short term immediate projects which reflect a tradition of negligence by government institutions when dealing with poverty, basic needs, and management of natural environment.

In the last two years, the CFT has been very busy attending seven major projects. From these projects, two areas (that are

within the integrated rural development strategy) were identified: productivity and housing. Most of the attention has been on specific projects which may put some limitations on the CFT when working to achieve its main goal. These projects add a total of \$753,214 US, and are distributed as follow:

|    |                              |           |      |
|----|------------------------------|-----------|------|
| 1. | Agricultural Development     | \$336,878 | 45%  |
| 2. | Housing Development          | \$304,067 | 40%  |
| 3. | Micro enterprise Development | \$112,269 | 15%  |
|    |                              | -----     |      |
|    |                              | \$753,214 | 100% |

From the percentages above, it is clear that agricultural development and housing development are the main priorities; then Micro-enterprise development which is very low, especially if one considers that it is key element to improve the peasants economy. Also, the donors have paid very little attention to three others fundamental components such as: 1. Spatial organization and Physical habilitation; 2. Social equipment; and 3. Social human development and Peasant's participation. Without these components, the development process becomes incomplete and inconsistent. Of course, for Rev. Aguilar, these are responsibility of the government. The CFT argue that not much can be done. Most NGOs depend very much on the areas of interest of the donors; that is why there is a need for NGOs to gain their sustainability.

Rev. Aguilar strongly affirmed that: "If one takes into consideration the past (civil war) and present context of El

Salvador (post war), then one can conclude that the CFT's performance has been more than acceptable. Very often, it has been done putting in risk the lives of the field personnel, i.e., in Corinto/Paisnal etc. At the moment, the CFT is leading a consortium (of several NGOs) which is expected to take on the role of the Catholic Relief Service". He comments that after January 16, 1992, the CFT received many requests from peasants living in other formerly conflictive zones than Corinto, which has strong feeling of distrust towards any government institution. As a response to these peasants and to SERN, the CFT embarked in many "Emergency Projects", providing assistance to 59 rural communities.

By the end of 1992 and during 1993, the CFT had gained recognition and become involved with many rural communities in six of the fourteen departments of El Salvador, benefiting at least 20,000 people (directly), and 120,000 (indirectly). However, enormous pressure was put on the CFT, that left out the possibility of evaluating its performance in the context of the post war, and the CFT's medium and long term strategic plan for rural development.

### 1.1 Acceptable Job on Poverty Alleviation - Basic Needs

Most peasants I interviewed, blamed the government for their conditions of poverty and lack of basic needs. "We have not seen

any benefit from the Peace Accords, except that the war is over". Moreover, many of them consider that their life conditions are worse than before the war. They stated that:

"We are tired of listening to many promises. With the Peace Accords, we have gained peace - no more bombing, persecutions and killings; however, our life conditions are worse than before the war, because our houses were destroyed, the fruit trees were cut so as not to feed the guerillas and even worse, the productivity of the soil is in very bad condition. The damage to the environment is tremendous, and as a result to our population."

The CFT clearly states: "to improve the campesino's economy, it is crucial to attack the roots of underdevelopment in rural areas". One document mentions that the CFT is preparing plans to support the campesinos to improve their conditions of poverty and marginality. The CFT's first step, is to establish a net of associations of small enterprises among the CFT's campesino communities to strengthen their economic base. This plan will focus on activities of: sales/purchases; credit; and training. The associations would be under control of the communities; however, for legal and economic reasons the CFT would have veto power until these became economically strong. Some indicators to evaluate their success will be: measuring the number of small micro-enterprises that leave the state of economic marginality, and also the economic and social indices of development in the same communities.

The association would not be lucrative, most of the "profit" would be invested in its own "fund" to provide credits to small



and micro-enterprise community members. The end goal would be the establishment of a "Campesino Bank", to promote the well being and economic development of the poor and marginal. In this sense, the CFT states: "All human economy must judge it self by questioning: whom does this economy benefit? At a cost to whom? For what purposes ? and the answers to these must consider that such economy promotes the solidarity of all human beings and of the human communities."

#### 1.2 Acceptable Job on Integrated Rural Development Productive Component:

Most CFT's beneficiaries (except cooperatives), have a minifundio type of land tenure (two-six hectares), cropped with a little of everything (maize, beans, vegetables, etc.) and the fattening of chickens, pigs, and (much less often) one or two cows, that constitute their basic means of subsistence. The small size of the land is the major limitation for the peasants, if one considers that this barely serves to feed a family of six or eight members. Another limitation observed is the soil's exhaust and erosion of the land. The CFT has been active in this area for the last two years, assisting the communities with various resource management techniques through suggested crops (traditional but environmentally friendly, as well as non-traditional agriculture) which peasants cultivate with the support of Food for Work's programs with a great impact on their

land, since they work it while the productivity of the soil can be brought up to its highest capacity (as the first step of a long term plan for agricultural development). The danger of the program is the dependency that it has developed in some communities, and the impact on local producers and the market.

The CFT also provides technical advice to improve traditional agriculture since the transition to non-traditional may take some time. But agriculture is not only the area the peasants want to be involved in, as confirmed by some in Corinto; who have received training in other trades (tailoring, bakery, business, etc) and, after, credits for enterprise development.

One peasant said: "After a training program bakery was offered to a group of women, they organized a bakery facility which also serves to train other people." One of the most outstanding achievements of the CFT in helping the poor, is the Experimental Centre for Production of Organic Fertilizers project, sponsored by SEMA and under construction in El Paisnal (Aguilares) as joint venture between three cooperatives.

The effectiveness and impact of the CFT's programs on productivity has been significant; however, most of them have been lacking in funding support for their continuity. As a result, the role of the CFT has been limited and condition by policies and changes in the areas of interest by the funding agencies. Moreover, the productive scenario reflects the weak and

inefficient national agricultural policies. Therefore, if program continuity and fair policies are not put in place, then the peasants may continue their tradition of impoverishment and conditions will become even worse for those whose basic needs and subsistence depend on the production from their minifundio.

#### Spatial Organization and Physical Habitation Component:

Most beneficiaries of the CFT live in small settlements (15 to 30 families of 6-8 members each) within systems of minifundios divided by narrow roads (Max. 8 feet wide of deteriorated and rocky surface difficult to transit even with 4WD, particularly in rainy season), and a series of narrow paths that interconnect each minifundio. Within their lot, the peasant family has a house unit surrounded by a small productive area. Most settlements (except cooperatives), have no power; safe drinking water which is carried from common wells located at a walking distance (20 to 30 minutes). Sanitation and refuse collection is handled in the traditional way.

This component has received minimal attention by the CFT, and only when the resources are available, as in the case of Community Ropilla (through funding by the Canadian Hunger Foundation). The CFT's role in improving the spatial organization and physical habilitation of its beneficiaries is

limited to lobbying international agencies and, without much success, some government's ministries. Wherever possible, the CFT has made pragmatic use of project funding to provide essential services, e.g., water supply to several families in Cooperative Los Laureles-El Paisnal (by the Experimental Centre for Production of Organic Fertilizers).

#### Housing Component:

Housing in most CFTs' communities I visited, is a small unit, made of traditional and weak construction materials. It is a multi-use room for sleeping, eating, chatting, storage, etc., with cooking area outside. In most cases, the room (or rooms) is shared by adults and children, and very often by grandparents. Housing conditions are well below any standard of health and appropriate family development. The CFT has successfully participated in a few housing projects; the most relevant is Community Ropilla where 36 housing units were built and funded by the Canadian Hunger Foundation, on a piece of property owned by the CFT. Housing is not the expertise of the CFT nor its priority; however, it takes any opportunity to provide housing to the needy, e.g., as in the case of Miseror (German Bishops Council) which are interested in funding a housing project (100 units) in El Mozote, Morazan.

The CFT has an advantage in housing, since its executive director is a founding member and active director of FUNDASAL (a non-profit organization dedicated to building housing, infrastructure, and the social formation for the poor). However, Rev. Aguilar has not yet made use of this resource, saying that: "At the moment, there are more important priorities to fulfil, than to compromise the CFT's time and efforts for housing".

#### Social Equipment Component:

None of the rural settlements have installations or equipment related to education, health, and/or common use to serve the peasants in their social and human development. For fundamental equipment such as clinics, school, church and others for enjoyment, the peasants must walk (one/two hours) to semi urban towns which have installations and equipment well below any acceptable minimal standard. Only Community Ropilla has a deteriorated soccer field. According to the CFT, the NGO has no resources to address this; and the it can do is to lobby the government and other agencies, since this is a major infrastructure that requires local and regional governments' attention. The CFT supports peasant needs this component whenever possible by developing the necessary awareness on the issue; thus, the peasants get organize and can take community action.

### Human Development and Participation Component:

Most of the CFT's projects can be identified as "assistencialist" with some negative side effects, e.g., peasant parasitism. However, this NGO has put a lot of effort in taking a positive attitude and developing a responsible attitude in the beneficiaries toward the need to work and cooperate, and be in solidarity among themselves and their communities. Most of the programs the CFT gets do not address and provide the funding for social human development and participation which Rev. Aguilar insists, "is fundamental". In the settlements I visited, the presence and influence of the Rev. Aguilar has developed a great deal of understanding and mutual cooperation on projects that may improve the peasants' conditions of life. Of course, some settlements, particularly in Guazapa (with internal difficulties political tendencies) have impacted on the CFT's performance and force this NGO to leave; one cannot blame the CFT, but the circumstances of the post war and the historical marginalization that the peasants have suffered.

During the site visits, I confirmed that Corinto has been the best example of the work and success the CFT can achieve, once the NGO has the resources and full cooperation from the peasants. At a presentation of "Plan Corinto" to CFT communities (12) a few observations highlight the CFT's performance: 1.) the

level of peasants' participation and enthusiasm in dealing with common needs at their communities is very high; 2.) even though the number of women that participated in the meeting was low (6 of 24 members), it might be considered acceptable if one thinks that this is a society strongly dominated by males; 3.) it was evident that the CFT has the technical capability to promptly assist and advise the communities, but the end, leave to the peasants the final responsibility for decision-making to plan and conduct the actions for their own future.

Also, it was interesting to hear that the CFT has made clear that they are in Corinto on a temporary basis, and that they may leave in the future; therefore, the CFT sent a clear message that may speed the peasants' empowerment process. Also, the harmony and mutual respect between the CFT and the peasants was obvious which helps to get positive and productive results; 4. Corinto's communities show great independence and self-reliance which makes the CFT's performance more effective and accountable. More important, their willingness to achieve concrete results has helped the CFT's field personnel and the CFT as a whole by conducting a self assessment on its performance and institutional growth.

Most peasants consider that particularly it is difficult, but perhaps the only way they may solve many of their problems. They stated; "some members do not participate because they are

shy and do not know how to express their concerns". With regard to women's participation, a male stated: "Women have much work to do at home, and are very occupied preparing the food, raising the children, taking care of the house, and helping in the back yard's garden." On the other hand, a women said:

"The men do not let us to participate in anything but the duties of thehouse. They take the decisions; but anyway that's the way it has been and it will be. Moreover, we may be invited to participate in meetings, but at the end, the caring for the children hampered our participation in community matters."

Even though there are limited resources and a condition of dependence on project funding, the CFT has been doing a reasonable job in most of the settlements, particularly in Corinto, and El Paisnal, Aguilares. The social human development component is very weak, especailly in spiritual formation where most of the communities are not receiving appropriate attention leaving them to the mercy of confusing religious orientations that subsequently, may decrease their understanding of the fundamental problems and causes of their poverty and historical marginalization. In this sense, even though the CFT was created with a Christian commitment to social justice and development, and with a policy of non-religious, the CFT should be aware that their development efforts may face more barriers if spirituality is not attended.



Rev. Aguilar stated:

"The CFT has limited resources and not much for social human development nor for religious orientation." Also, he said: "At the mean time, the CFT's field personnel are doing the best they can to integrate social human development and participation within agricultural and/or productivity programs, until the CFT can get funding and assistance to hire social promoters."

## 1.2 Very Good Job Management of Natural Environment

According to the Environment Department Working Paper No.19 (George Foy & Herman Daly, 1989) of the World Bank, El Salvador's primary environmental problem is massive deforestation and soil erosion. Also, the UN's environmental department stated in 1992: "El Salvador shows the highest process of desertification in Latin America after Haiti." Most studies identify as the primary cause of deforestation and consequent soil erosion, the large and growing population in a land of limited resources. But, more than that, the main problem is the lack of an effective development policy and its implementation.

The CFT's rural settlements I visited, are among the most affected by environmental deterioration. Their livelihoods shows the cumulative impact of massive destruction and contamination left by 12 years of civil war, as shown by ongoing extinction of the flora and fauna, and contamination and drying out of the rivers which make it more difficult for these communities to cope with their daily survival. The response from the international

community, after the Peace Accords has been outstanding, with great amount of funding being pumped into environmental projects. In this sense, the CFT has taken advantage of the funding, and has participated in soil conservation, and reforestation which are sponsored by "Food for Work", and the provision of seeds, young trees, and others such as pineapple, gandul, itzote, etc. The natural environment also faces the structural adjustment programs that put tremendous pressure on natural resources. Efforts are oriented to the industry which has no room for the rural poor, as a result, the poor have no other choice but to use, reuse, and finally exhaust the land.

Most of the CFT's beneficiaries I interviewed had received CFT's environmental education and are aware of the fundamental need to enhance the natural environment. For instance, a peasant in Corinto has collected seed Conacaste (tree) which was given away free to other members. As a result, a peasant stated: "At the moment, there are dozens of conacastes trees of 2 meters tall from the friend's seeds." Most peasants are willing to try non-traditional/diversified crops such as pineapple, orange, ginger, marjoram (oregano), and others to process essential oils.

However, most peasants, strongly disagree with enhancing the environment on rented land. They stated that:

"...Once the owner sees and appreciates the good environmental work we have done to the land, he/she will kick us from the land and after will take advantage of the fruit of our work; and later on, if we want to rent his/her

land again, then he/she will ask us to pay more; then if we don't accept it. the land will be left alone or rented to somebody else at a higher price."

Corinto shows a great deal of success in taking advantage of these environmental programs. The CFT realizes this, and its only hope is that these programs have continuity. Other efforts are; the Experimental Centre in El Paisnal, and the reforestation project (by SEMA) in Hacienda San Alfonso, which may play an important role in improving the environment while increasing the CFT's expertise in natural resource management, environmental consciounses, and responsibility and leadership among the rural communities. The CFT is doing a very good job, considering that the problem is great and it is the CFT's newest expertise area.

## **2. CFT's ASSESSMENT OF STRENGTHS**

### **2.1. Outstanding NGO's development vision**

As quoted in various documents and expressed by the CFT's personnel its vision is:

**"To help the peasants to overcome, structurally, their historical conditions of poverty and marginalization."**

Rev. Aguilar said: "The CFT's main idea is to help the peasants to consolidate their economy, through access to the land, its various crops (traditional and non-traditional) for consumption, profit and sustainability. But to achieve these, the peasants must learn to hold, protect and sustain their land; thus, the traditional structures of power don't find any excuse to retake the land."

## 2.2 Excellent mission statement

The CFT's brochure stated that:

"The Corporacion Fe y Trabajo was founded by Salvadoreans in 1987 as non-profit, apolitical, non-religious humanitarian NGO. Its purpose is to promote economic and human development of the most impoverished and marginalized Salvadoreans, especially the peasants farmers, regardless of race, sex, religion or political views."

## 2.3 Remarkable aims statements and working premises

The CFT was established on July 1987, with sound fundamental AIMS (see Menendez, 1995a) that highlight the CFT's serious commitment towards the most underdeveloped sector of the Salvadorean Society the peasants. But anyone could argue that most of these aims and concepts are commonly used by other Salvadorean NGOs. A University Professor and Rural Development's expert stated: "the NGOs have clear objectives and good; but what they do is another matter, because many of them do what the government's National Reconstruction asked them to do; the money is already directed."

The main difference is that the CFT was born from the commitment of Rev. Aguilar and a group of Christians. The CFT's actions provide these theoretical concepts more validity than when used by others to access economic resources. The Corporacion Fe y Trabajo has worked in helping the rural needy since 1980, before its legal recognition in July 27, 1987. This

NGO was created by the Rev. Aguilar of the Company of Jesus who became very concerned and worried about the victims of the civil war in El Salvador, particularly the peasants. Rev. Aguilar was motivated to identify and mobilize a group of professionals (mostly Catholic Christians) that wanted to put their talents, expertise, and extra time towards the service of advantaged people. These group adopted four working premises as follow:

- 1.) Faith does not only mean belief in God or the acceptance of God's existence, but also the commitment of love for our neighbour;
- 2.) Man is administrator and transformer of God's world and he is qualified by the creator not only to solve his problems but to advance towards his perfection;
- 3.) There exist in El Salvador a population characterized by its tradition of poverty and structural marginality, especially in the rural sector, but with great values of honesty, hard work, solidarity and favourable attitudes toward the integration of collective work that must be stimulated, conserved and improved;
- 4.) The beneficiary population must be stimulated to work and to become self-reliant to correct the effects of **Assistencialism** and **Paternalism** that have created the habits of "only receive" and "not to give anything exchange";

Subsequently, after various meetings, a group of volunteers settled in Corinto (Morazan), and San Salvador, and at the end of 1991, the Canadian Hunger Foundation, Catholic Relief Service, ZOA (Holland), and the UN's World Food Program began to support the CFT. With these donors, the program-"Corinto's Agricultural Development" with seven projects (benefiting 927 families) was

implemented while helping to consolidate the CFT's institutional structure. However, the circumstances of the war obliged the CFT to become involved in Assistencialist projects; for instance, peasants that had left Corinto were returning from Honduras, and asked the CFT for its help and assistance. The CFT supported them and finally by settled in, the first and only national humanitarian organization in the middle of a conflict zone. This new role deflected from the CFT's initial set of ideas and clear mandate for development. But being an active NGO of the National Reconstruction Plan meant for the CFT, putting aside its original objectives and goal, and preparing a new (but compatible with the CFT's vision) set of objectives to meet current demands and funding requirements of the National Reconstruction Plan.

These working objectives (see appendices), suggest that:

1.) the CFT's initial commitment is a more concrete approach to problems and impacts of rural underdevelopment than the present activities in which the CFT is involved in; and 2.) that the move from its initial aims to softer objectives do not promote a long term commitment towards rural development. Moreover, this situation has exhausted the CFT, which, as many other NGOs, has to put it in a difficult situation. However, one can not condemn the CFT for the deflection. In my opinion, it is a pragmatic shift taken in a moment characterized by excessive channelling of international AID to a common pool that this had no other choices

than to take part in. Moreover, the CFT is honest in accepting that the necessities of the civil war forced them to accept a shift and a temporal compromise with government funded projects that, however, have provided the CFT with an excellent opportunity to gain expertise.

#### 2.4 Strong Commitment to Achieve its Development Vision

There is no doubt that the role and presence of Rev. Aguilar is essential to the CFT's performance, accountability, and development vision, because of the strong faith and hope, honesty, conviction, and commitment that he has influenced in the personnel and, sometimes, in the beneficiaries. Rev. Aguilar noted that:

"...to achieve rural development in El Salvador, one must be committed and aware that it is a difficult task since many wish to contribute, a lot in the short term, but a few in the long term. The CFT's commitment is for the long term which must take into consideration the need to understand peasants' poverty, their life, sorrow, and their expectations but, beyond that, to accept their mistakes and human ambitions which people like us may not tolerate, since we tend to be idealistic and judge their actions as wrong."

Moreover, he added that;

"...we want to dominate them and impose our development vision and ideas without considering that they also sin, as we do."

In my opinion, the CFT has demonstrated itself to be one of the most serious and promising Salvadorean NGOs to face the peasants needs. Although, its mandate is apolitical and

nonreligious, its past and current work in development suggests that the CFT's commitment has been inspired by the "preferential option for the poor" very well highlighted by Liberation Theology.

#### 2.5 High Integrity to Its Mission, Beneficiaries, and Donors

According to the Former General Manager, the CFT has achieved prestige for its efficiency, and accountability among the poor, but above all, for its integrity in finances. "Every penny has been audited". "The CFT has respected territoriality; our NGO always has gone where its services are required. The CFT doesn't step in without invitation". As a result, he said that; "the CFT has developed excellent relationships with local, international, and Government agencies."

#### 2.6 Acceptable Project Management Skills on Site & Office

According to Rev. Mahwinney (a planner for the CFT), field personnel (Central, Para-Central, and Oriente) are highly efficient, particularly in Oriente (Corinto), where they have been on site since 1987, this generating them access to rural settlements and to developing a good relationship with peasants who trust their technical advice Also, Unidad Tecnica Rutilio



**Grande** (CFT's branch) is the result of a pragmatic and efficient and disciplinary way of dealing with rural problems and their solutions. The Unidad has brought the participation of three rural cooperatives into a successfully joint venture project. The Unidad is considered by Rev. Aguilar as an appropriate model worthy support imitation in the CFT's decentralized strategy to consolidate its institutional growth, development & sustainability.

## 2.7 High Accountability With Its Beneficiaries

For the Active General Manager, the success and partial consolidation of the CFT is, in some degree, the result of its personnel's past experience in the communities of Corinto, who prior to the CFT's creation, were part of World Relief which played an important role of assistance during the war. As a result, the AGM believes that the CFT has had fewer difficulties getting the trust and cooperation of the peasants. One of the first peasant women to move back to Corinto prior the Peace Accords said: "Without the presence and support of the CFT, we would not have made it. We were here alone and without anything. The CFT came, helped us, and finally stayed here during the most difficult moments of the war. We are very thankful to the CFT."

A male campesino stated: "The only support we have had in

our problems is through the Corporacion. See, the CFT lent us money to crop the land. Prior to the war there were no banks; now there are some, but none of them want to give us credit because we are poor and have nothing to put up front. With the CFT it is different."

Mercedes, a social promoter with CEBES at La Estancia, has comments about the CFT and the benefits that this NGO has brought to her neighbour communities in Corinto. For instance, she stated: "With the help of the CFT, some women had training in tailoring, and bakery. Now they have their own occupation and business".

Victor, a campesino leader of "La Estancia" and former FMLN commander, has seen and commented on the work of the CFT in Corinto: "How beneficial it would be for La Estancia if the CFT would be introduced here". He realizes that the main problem may be the bad condition of the road, which gets worse in rainy season. However, he considers that the CFT could help to alleviate the conditions of poverty of his community. Rev. Rogelio Poncel (who has been in Morazan for the last fifteen years) has asked Rev. Aguilar to support La Estancia which in his opinion "is facing dramatic conditions of poverty and isolation."

In Caserio Los Morenos (Corinto), a young peasant expressed his gratitude to the CFT for providing his family with ongoing advice in preparing an experimental farm (with diversified non-

traditional crops). He also thanked the CFT for choosing him to participate in community training leadership (6 weeks) in the USA.

At the Cooperative Los Laureles, the peasant said: "The CFT has not given us just technical support, but many other benefits such as employment, water supply, and training in non-traditional agriculture and the process to get organic fertilizers. But most of all, the presence of the CFT is helping us to recover our confidence. Therefore, we are thinking of relocating the cooperative's centre of administration and meetings close to the Experimental Centre that the CFT is creating as part of a joint agreement between the CFT, and three cooperatives including Los Laureles (the poorest of the area).

## 2.8 High accountability to its Donors

Walter Blake of Catholic Relief Service, USA stated: "The CFT has been the biggest recipient of CRS funding among twenty six NGOs that we have sponsored." Blake emphasised the success the CFT was having in the its task, and credit recovery, he also acknowledged the efforts this NGO has been putting in leading and consolidating a consortium of 26 NGOs that in his words; "...may substitute in the near future the CRS' role in the channelling and managing of programs with external funding."

A couple of interviewed USAID's officers working on the National Reconstruction of El Salvador were of the opinion that NGOs have been doing a remarkable job in facilitating the transition from war to peace. Rev. Aguilar's CFT is one of the most stable and consolidated NGOs they have sponsored, it is considered by them "an efficient religious organization, well led by the priest Aguilar". According to them, this NGO has provided outstanding work in the transition from war to peace, and from peace to development, particularly by helping the most needy.

In conversation with officers of GTZ (Germany), during a site visit to Corinto, they praised the enormous effort, energy, and dedication the CFT has committed to the poor. After the visit, the GTZ offered support for agro-industry enterprise development project that the CFT may implement in Corinto's rural settlements.

Members from CEBES, who support the Lenca community of La Estancia (Cacaopera) have expressed that the CFT has been very active in the area of Corinto, and that the latest approach taken by the CFT through "Plan Pro-Corinto for Agricultural Development and Community Empowerment" sounds very positive. It is expected to assure an appropriate model of participatory development among the peasants and, subsequently, better the population's life.

## 2.9 Fair recognition from other Development NGOs

The Former General Manager (FGM), stated that: "The CFT has gained leadership among national NGOs; for instance, prior to my resignation on June 1994, I was acting president on behalf of the CFT of a Consortium of 26 NGOs". He had attended several conferences and seminars across Central America and the USA on behalf of the CFT, i.e., an interchange of NGO experiences in Costa Rica, funded by USAID.

## 2.10 Access to accountable sources of technical assistance

The CFT has technical support from the Catholic University (UCA), the Zamorano Agricultural School, and from several professionals, some of whom are part of the Board of Directors.

## 2.11 Ability to lobby, negotiate and collect resources to its mission.

The FGM stated that: "Only the ones with negotiation capability to understand and meet certain government and foreign AID requirements to get funding, and have more or less some form of sustainability will survive the present pressure on the NGOs." In this sense, he stated that: "the CFT is among the best."

## 2.12 Ability to work throughout the project cycle: Planning, implementation/monitoring/management & evaluation.

Based on data from the planning, proposals and evaluations one may conclude that the CFT has an acceptable understanding of the project cycle, which can be improved through training.

- 2.13 Demonstrated capacity to conduct self evaluation on its institutional growth and development, and to recognize the NGO's state of economic dependence and its negative impact to its vision, as well as, to prepare working strategies to alleviate its constraints and economic dependence, and to advance toward its sustainability by proving expertise to visualize stages of development, sustainability, and expansion.

According to the AGM, the CFT has been working on readjusting its development role to become a socio-economic enterprise without losing its solidarity character. To achieve this, the CFT is working on its economic sustainability, independence, and institutional strengthening to implement its vision. The CFT, therefore considers it necessary to break or alleviate its dependency from government and the USAID's funded projects, unless these projects are more in line with the CFT. The CFT is hoping to gain its sustainability and independence while helping to consolidate rural communities by pushing ahead on two strategies:

- 1.) to identify and gain the attention of local and international organizations with a long term commitment for development and;
- 2.) to develop a type of contract/agreement with cooperatives that are confronting high risk of bankruptcy and potential loss of their property and infrastructure which they gained from the land reform and the Peace Accords.

The Board of Directors has recognized that, if the CFT will continue advancing, then it needs more participation of its members, particularly in two areas: 1. their expertise and business knowledge in planning and organization, and 2. their enterprising spirit and initiative in financing and funding collection. Also, there is a need to collect non-conditional private funding.

The Board of Directors has proposed seven specific objectives that are geared to prepare and implement this set of tactics (see appendices). To achieve most of these, on Dec. 1992, the CFT signed an agreement with "Centro Mariano of San Salvador", which gave the CFT the exclusive and unconditional right to use the "Hacienda San Alfonso" for two years (that can be extended). The Hacienda is about 150 Hectares of good soil, with 15 to 20 Hectares of paprika, apples, mangoes, and cashews that provides some income that only serves to avoid its complete deterioration, as a result, the hacienda is receiving minimum care and some improvements may be required. Moreover, the CFT's plans for the Hacienda are in line with the Board of Directors' seven objectives, plus one that is: to develop and implement medium and long term programs of Cultural and Development Formation of Social Consciousness as integral part for the Training Centre.

Finally, the CFT has prepared for 1994-1995, a set of working strategy's guidelines, establishing seven points which reflect the CFT transition moment, and its preparation for a turning point to step into the path of truly rural development.

Rev. Aguilar stated: "From now on, it is time to concentrate on concrete development efforts, which begins with a strategy to identify rural communities, similar to those in Corinto, that indicate, first, a desire to work and cooperate, and second, an acceptable level of organization and consciousness. In this sense, the CFT's strategy is to select the most appropriate communities and help them to develop to become model rural communities which can generate multiple effect on others. Aguilares and Suchitoto are the ones, while the work in Corinto is consolidated. The CFT's role in rural development will be defined by its working strategy 1995-2000."

Since 1994 the CFT has been in a moment of significant transition and analysis of its role, partly motivated by in the international communit's reducing of budgets for overseas development. A document stated: "During the first months of 1993, Rev. Aguilar and staff initiated a major effort to make an evaluation and plan that could help to consolidate the CFT's organizational structures. While the exercise was well advanced, the demands to attend the immediate needs of the rural poor communities (in cooperation with the Secretariat of the National



Reconstruction-SERN) continue, but consume, as a result, much of the CFT's time."

Also, the CFT's Board of Directors and the Executive Council committed two years (June 1993-June 1995) to the CFT's implementation of a strategic plan geared to achieve the CFT's main goal. They stated that: "This goal can't be achieved in the short term; it is necessary to develop well step-by-step, through strategic plans with asserted tactics and with operational objectives and respective evaluation criteria." To achieve that, five major objectives are needed to be undertaken by the CFT as its main task (see Menendez, 1995a).

Also, on December 1993, in a diagnosis on the CFT's strengths, opportunities, weaknesses and treats that the NGO face in relation to: Vision; Capabilities; Resources; and Connections to the its level of development. The general objective was: to contribute in the institutional strengthening of the CFT, to improve its capabilities in the organization, administration and management, and to provide effective answer to the beneficiaries' needs. Five activities were conducted under the dynamic of **Looking Beyond**. The challenge for each activity was: 1) How should the CFT be, and how should the it function within three years?; 2) Where is the CFT now, and to where it wants to go?; 3) Institutional Development; 4) Technical del FODA; and 5) Proposal (see Menendez, 1995).

2.15 Appropriate infrastructure, transportation, and equipment for its present demands.

Both of CFT's offices (San Salvador & Corinto) are well located and have plenty of space to accommodate a great number of personnel (up to 20) and to storage material resources. The office equipment is appropriate to the present needs; however, if the NGO continue growing and expanding, then these would not suit the demand. I observed that, although the staff shows a high interest and sensitivity toward the needs of the rural poor, its level of satisfaction and skills in coping with the daily stress and frustrations that most NGOs tend to experience is very low. The ongoing political crisis of El Salvador, and twelve years of civil war, has put people under extreme psychic stress that may impact in their performance at the workplace.

2.16 Acceptable office administrative management skills

2.17 Integral and appropriate use of project's financial resources.

2.18 Highly critical of rural development theory, and NGO's role within the post war.

**3. CFT's ASSESSMENT OF WEAKNESSES**

3.1 Fragile administrative capability at the office level

Rev. Mawhinney stated: "According to a main CFTs donor (June

1994), this NGO is facing problems in its administrative capability which he could have been alleviated by the new administrative structure (June, 1993) suggested for its implementation at a staff workshop. Such a structure was oriented to create a horizontal model of administrative hierarchy, instead of a classical vertical model. According to CAPS the CFTs main detected weaknesses are in strengthening the area of projects, elaboration of formats for project consolidation, computation, and administration. He accepted that the CFT has difficulties in its administrative capability and structure. However "More important, the staff is responsible honest, and committed to the CFT's work, especially if one considers the stress and limitations of the post war." He added: "Most NGOs committed to development & social justice are always under a lot of pressure; therefore, one should not be too hard on their people."

### 3.2 Centralized dependent authority

Rev. Aguilar realizes that he has created dependency which would impact drastically on the CFT's performance if he would need to be absent for longer time; this dependency is even greater now, without general manager, and a non-consolidated administrative structure. Rev. Aguilar is aware of this reality

as a future problem for the CFT, keeping him worried and occupied looking to the best qualified assistant for him. The FGM mentioned two specific issues that may be affecting on the CFT's performance: 1. the style of administration lead by the executive who commits himself and the CFT too much, by offering and accepting responsibilities well beyond the available resources (human capability, equipment and money) of the CFT; and 2. the style of decision making; for instance, the executive presents ideas to the Board of Directors, who meet and analyze the pros and cons, but at the end, the executive (who is very overloaded) makes his own decisions which the CFT has to implement.

### 3.3 Inappropriate administrative model to meet the challenge

An internal document stated: "Changes in the country's socio-political and economic situation led the CFT into a time of reflection, and the need to concentrate on the urgency of consolidating its structure and the need to shift from projects of emergency and survival to medium and long term socio-economic projects, more in line with the CFT's initial objectives." A key informative stated: "These reflections loaded to propose a major administrative structure which was not going to affect salaries, but highlights; initiative, creativity, decision making and responsibility if each position. Moreover, that the present

administrative model served during the war and the beginning of the post war, a time when the role of the CFT was geared to emergency and survival projects and not to socio-economic rural development; therefore, a model of horizontal hierarchy was more appropriate to the future role of the CFT." At the time of this research, the CFT continued with a vertical, hierarchical model.

### 3.4 Inappropriate funding allocation

A large amount of AID is dedicated to salaries. In this regard, one key informant stated: "The CFT is an organization with strong commitment toward the rural poor to overcome their historical and structural poverty; as a result the CFT's salaries should not go up, as they are now, instead these should go down, unless the income of the CFT's beneficiaries is increased."

### 3.5 Inefficient communication among departments, and between Board of Directors, council and CFT's regions.

Rev. Aguilar also argues that there are always worries and concerns about the personnel's capabilities to do the job, and sometimes there would be complaints due to delays, and little cooperation among the office and field people or vice versa. However, he considers that the CFT is doing the job without been perfectionist, and that the consolidation is progressing. "The

CFT's staff is doing the best they can". With regard to the Board; they are contacted in person by myself. I see many of them on informal weekly meetings; see, most of them are very busy people who do a lot by volunteering time."

### 3.6 Lack of integration and trust among the personnel-office & field.

According to a key informant, the CFT has experienced internal limitations in achieving its objectives and goal because there has been little harmony, due to plenty work, low morale and lack of motivation among the personnel. Others argue that this has limited and delayed the planning of project funding applications, and the decision making processes which finally impact on the peasants.

### 3.7 Unstable employment conditions of its personnel

One staff considered that the CFT's personnel find without long term security and stability due to the delays and difficulties of getting project approval. As a result, sometimes the CFT faces, internal problems, particularly due a economic constrains. The main concern for most of the personnel was the instability of their positions which depend very much on project funding. It was my impression that the staff is well aware of the CFT's mission and struggle in the context of the post war.

3.8 Insufficient attention to personal needs and conflicts of field and office staff, as well as lack of incentives, particularly to field personnel.

According to field staff and key informants, there is a concern about the lack of attention and incentives that the field people have been receiving from the CFT. One of them stated: "The CFT does not recognize our work and key positions. We continue working here, just moved by our faith and the needs we see in the campesinos. If those two reasons did not exist, we would have packed and gone to work with other organizations in the city, where the pay is more, and the benefits and incentives for field workers are much better without risking our lives."

Most of them understand the CFT's limitations, struggle, and sincere commitment towards the poor; However, "The CFT should at least recognize that the field personnel is who truly implements the projects, and confronts the campesinos in their difficult times."

3.9 Strong dependence on Government and USAID's funding

The executive and most of the personnel I interviewed, are convinced that, if the CFTs can overcome its dependency from Government and International AID, then the CFT has more realistic alternative to achieve its goal, moreover, that it is important

for the organization to consolidate the CFT's sustainability through, e.g., the efficient operation of "Hacienda San Alfonso".

### 3.10 Absence of techniques on post war stress management

The staff shows a high interest and sensitivity toward the needs of the rural poor; however, its level of satisfaction and skills in coping with the daily stress and frustrations that most NGOs tend to experience is very low. The ongoing political crisis of El Salvador, and twelve years of civil war, has put people under extreme stress that may impact in their performance at the workplace, as well as, may impact on the peasants' responses and cooperation with the CFT's projects of development.

### 3.11 Insufficient attention to the spiritual dimension of its beneficiaries, and its personnel.

Social human development is very weak in the spiritual formation where most of the communities are not receiving the appropriate attention, and most are left to the mercy of confusing religious orientations that subsequently may decrease their understanding of the fundamental problems and causes of their poverty and historical discrimination.



Other weaknesses identified throughout the research were:

- 3.12 Lack of personnel's participation in decision making
- 3.13 Lack of promotion of specialization on the personnel's development.
- 3.14 Insufficient and non coordinated program of development
- 3.15 Expansion of/to areas of work without considering the CFT's existing resources and limitations.
- 3.16 Lacking of training for field and office personnel
- 3.17 Unable to reject offers to participate in rural.
- 3.18 Raising of false expectative among the peasants
- 3.19 Insufficient projects for rural integral development
- 3.20 Lack of objective patterns for field work evaluation
- 3.21 Absence of mechanism of project's impact evaluation
- 3.22 Lack of an appropriate system and channels of information to provide the rural communities the development progress.
- 3.23 Insufficient machinery and office equipment.
- 3.24 Insufficient attention to find development associates.

#### **4. CFT'S ASSESSMENT OF LIMITATIONS**

- 4.1 Lack of own financial resources, and dependency on short term immediatist projects.

The CFT as many other NGOs, has been conditioned to put patches on the ill (peasants) without much possibility of prescribing and giving the appropriate medicine to the

communities' socio-economic illness. On this, the AGM stated: "The CFT face four major barriers to achieve its vision: 1.) Dependence on external funding; 2.) Class conflicts, and political tendencies among communities; 3.) Assistencialist projects vs development projects; and 4.) Weak rural development policies at the national and international level. At the time of this research (January 1995) the CFT had tremendous difficulties in carrying on with its task. According to key informants, the main reason was the inability to get more projects to sustain its staff which was drastically reduced to 12, to meet the economic reality of the Corporation.

#### 4.2 Inefficient national development policies, and weak rural development strategies and institutional support.

According to the Alianza Democratica Campesina, the government's national policies for rural development are extremely weak and non-compromised to help the rural needy. Moreover, one key informant of the CFT stated:

"...when writing and submitting a proposal, we must be very careful not to upset ARENA (Presidential Party which controls all government institutions), by giving the impression that we are creating a project that may be developed into a sustainable and successful enterprise which may compete with their private enterprises and business interests. If we do that, then the project may not be approved."

According to the key informant, many government institutions that play a role in the National Reconstruction Plan are limiting

the rural development process by rejecting projects with greater possibilities of success, and approving the ones with limited possibilities to succeed.

#### 4.3 Inappropriate International development policies

It is very obvious that the agenda of the international community support developing countries has drastically changed. The new agenda is much more in line with the neo-liberal program which does not consider rural development in El Salvador a high priority. Therefore, international funding has in general been reduced, but particularly to projects which enhance rural development.

#### 4.4 Other more competitive NGOs

According to Rev. Aguilar, the competition from other NGOs is more because these NGOs are extremely selective when choosing communities and geared to more feasible economic development while marginalizing most of the really poor rural communities is the focus of the CFT. He considers that it is a very sad competition; that why the CFT needs to work on its sustainability to concentrate in helping the poorest of the poor.

#### 4.5 Assistencialist short term projects of immediate impact

The CFT's high dependence on programs of immediate impact sponsored by the GOES and/or the international community (CRS, CIDA, USAID, etc). Which barely provide the basic needs for subsistence and, moreover, develop parasitism. Rev. Aguilar stated that; "the state of parasitism generated by assistencialist projects had been promoted that, a lot of the peasants don't want to work". He noted that, this is more common in rural communities located in ex-conflictive zones (central and para-central).

#### 4.6 Decreases program funding and its ongoing re-allocation to other areas of development interest.

The AGM stated: "Minimal is the support received for sound development projects which most of the time are lacking continuity due to unexpected cuts in program funding and, also, weak development policies toward rural development." In the opinion of the AGM: "Project continuity is the Achilles heel of the institution, since short term immediatist projects leave and put the CFT and many other NGO's in a very difficult situation when confronting the enthusiasm and future expectations that the initial project implementation have brought to the rural communities." Rev. Mahwinney stated: "One of the major problems that most NGO are facing today, including the CFT, is the

difficulty of getting new projects that could guarantee more economic liquidity to the CFT."

#### 4.7 Land tenure - Minifundio, and slow process of agrarian reform.

Peasants without land and/or peasants with very limited land are facing a similar problem. Other problem is the mobility of the rural population due to land transference which does not guarantee program continuity; one could conclude that until the issue of land tenure is resolved, any attempt at rural development will face serious limitations. The minifundio provides the peasants just the minimum to meet their basic level of subsistence; they hardly get the money to pay for the inputs and/or the land they live in.

According to the peasants I interviewed:

"...one of the big mistakes of the Peace Accords is that it left open to the owner of the land the option to sell and set the price, which many of them are put according to the latest price in the market. This situation has conditioned many of us to rent land from somebody else, and then to pay at least 60% of our whole production, leaving us only 40% for our basic needs of consumption and other expenses; but, if the season is bad, then we worked just to pay the rent on the land."

#### 4.8 Limited credit and high interest for the rural poor

When addressing the credit issue, and the delays in the payments of it, most of the interviewed were honest in saying

that: "Most of the time, the credits come late, and when the crop season has already started, the CFT or whoever gives the money wants us to pay it back expecting that we have cropped the land and got the production; but no, we need to eat, therefore sometimes we don't have any choice than to buy food with the money we get as credit to crop the land. What else can we do? Of course, we don't blame the CFT because we know it is not its fault." Many of the peasants I interviewed listed water and road conditions as barriers to increase their production, but most, agree that size of the land, credit and commercialization are their main problems.

#### 4.9 Environmental deterioration, soil exhaustion, and lack of water.

The UN's environmental department stated (1992): "El Salvador shows the highest process of desertification in Latin America after Haiti". Moreover, an ANTA's officer stated: "That the environment could be the mayor cause for a dramatic confrontation in the future.

#### 4.10 Peasants resistance to change from traditional agriculture to non-traditional crops.

The FGM states: "Most of the CFT's deficiencies and problems are mainly due to the country's social re-composition."

He adds: "Most peasants resist change because they have lost identity with the land and an others are afraid to change traditional agricultural ways and crops (corn and beans).

- 4.11 Class conflicts: Within rural communities; among rural communities; between rural and the dominant urban context; and between the rich and the poor (existing tradition of exploitation, land ownership, and control of internal and external market).

Rev. Aguilar stated: "The rural communities are very unstable and highly dys functional due to a history of peasant discrimination, the civil war, and, now, the confusion of the post war. To bring them up to an acceptable level, appropriate socio-economic policies and funding is needed which ironically is not in the agenda of most donors nor of the Salvadorean government." The AGM stated: "Political and class conflicts that create divisions among members and communities are limiting their cooperation, and as a result, the performance of the CFT.

- 4.12 Rural dependence from the more "developed" urban area

Rev. Aguilar stated:

"peasants have been living a state of deep dependency from the influence and economic market of the urban areas which traditionally have always taken from the rural, seldom they provide the rural with the appropriate care, therefore, is urgent to overcome this situation as a fundamental step to build a path toward enhancing the rural society."

#### 4.13 Alienation from Salvadoreans living in the "North".

Another barrier mentioned by the FGM is: "the fact that most peasants have been urbanized and many don't want to go back to the woods which in many cases this is due to the influence from USA alienation transmitted by former refugees living in the North."

#### 4.14 FMLN's political tendencies among the rural communities and the transition from FMLN's combatants and army soldiers into a role of community development worker.

Rev. Aguilar stated:

"Many FMLN members of rural communities bring with them the historical divisions and conflicts among the five political and former military fronts that existed during the war. The root of the conflicts in most FMLN's rural communities can be found in their inability to recognize that the war is over, and that the structures and military hierarchy should be put aside, and concentrate on the post war which is oriented to reconstruction and building communities. They should understand that a former commander is not necessarily the best community leader in times of peace."

Moreover, he added that:

"The FMLN's conflicts have an impact in the leadership of the communities, and consequently on the development process. For instance, a leader that was born and has lived in a given area may be working well, but if he/she was/or is not part of the area's dominant FMLN's front, then he/she may be displaced from the leadership, weakening as a result any good development process, as it has occurred in several communities in Guazapa (Cuscatlan), Usulután and Morazan."



He concluded that these situations have contributed to exhausting and sometimes, put into question the effectiveness and accountability of the CFT's role in rural development.

#### 4.15 Rural Community and peasants' opportunism

A government development officer stated: "Some of the CFT's communities and its members, have taken advantage of the charitable and solidarity character of the CFT, particularly when they realize that this NGO is directed by a Priest". As a result, he continued: "This institution has experienced great difficulties when confronting local and international funding agencies during periodical evaluations of expected results which very often are out of control of the CFT". Rev. Aguilar agreed with this statement, and added that; "on the contrary, Corinto in Morazan, is an example of rural communities that are willing to work and cooperate", he also notes: "the communities in Corinto, don't have the conflicts and state of parasitism and/or conflict of tendencies highlighted by the other communities that may take advantage of the CFT." According to him: "The cooperation and integrity from the Corinto's communities have been outstanding; for instance, credit recuperation in these communities has been of 80%, while in the other zones (i.e. Guazapa), it has been of 16%. Rev. Aguilar said: assistencialism was not part of Corinto's rural communities while they were in Honduras, and nor it is now.

#### 4.16 Post war stress on the CFT's office and field staff

Rev. Aguilar states that:

"...with the Peace Accords, little attention was put on the fact that a change of life had already occurred, particularly for the most peasants. Moreover, with the post war, it was going to change again, much different from the one experienced during 12 years of civil war."

Rev. Aguilar commented:

"In the beginning, the CFT was taking any community that SERN asked them to attend. From 1992-1994, the CFT's role was very much like a fireman; as a result, we become extremely exhausted, particularly when dealing with conflictive communities. Moreover, even though the peace accords represents a very powerful and positive framework to achieve much of the CFT's goal, it is important to understand and to live in the present context-the post war."

In this sense, "The post war highlights a scenario of great confusion, distrust and opportunism from many rural community members. Of course, how would they trust in people (local and foreigners) that visit their communities for a couple of hours, and then, leave a few comments and some technical advice and/or food. However, they don't live the share the concerns and experiences of the peasants. To avert their natural distrust and some opportunism, it has been necessary to have the intervention of the Catholic church and the need to prepare and commit ourselves into a strategy to achieve the trust of the campesino sector, particularly ex-FMLN's combatants which means that our NGO's must have a more solid presence in the field; obviously, this requires time and resources."

#### 4.17 Bad road conditions within the rural context

Anaya stated that; "...it is more obvious, specially during rainy season when to visit rural communities (several times) is very difficult, even to travel between two rural neighbourhoods. As a result the CFT's personnel and the campesinos have great difficulties to attend meetings, therefore, these always commence and end late in the day."

Other limitations identified through the research are:

4.18 Machismo at the rural community level

4.19 Lack of participation of rural women

4.20 Insufficient machinery and office equipment at the CFT

### **5. CFT'S ASSESSMENT OF ITS CONTRIBUTION TO SOCIETY'S FORMATION**

Historical and structural marginalization of peasant society in El Salvador has neglected this, the right to fully develop into an appropriate society where its members can have a dignified life while satisfying their basic needs. Moreover, the roots of civil war can be related to the state of underdevelopment that the peasants have lived. The contribution of the CFT could be found in the tremendous effort that this NGO has dedicated to empower the peasants while recovering essential feelings such as trust, confidence, faith and hope that their struggle, cooperation and solidarity among themselves may provide a better future.

## **6. CONCLUSIONS**

The assessment covered a wide spectrum of variables and components related to rural development and to the role of the CFT within, however, the main task was to assess the CFT's performance and its programs, and therefore, to respond the following main concerns:

### **6.1 CFT's Effectiveness**

The CFT has been very effective into respond to the urgent needs of the rural poor who have been the victims of a tradition of political and economic exploitation, the civil war (1979-1991), and the present post war. Also, this NGO is very effective in dealing with internal and external pressures/conflicts, and with its own institutional needs that are gear to enhance its efficiency, growth, development, expansion, and sustainability as essentials to its visionary framework to face the challenge to achieve Sustainable Development in rural communities. It is important to mention that its high effectiveness level is due to the individual expertise and commitment of the personnel, but above all, due to the long experience, creativity, vision, intellectual capability, and energy that its executive director and founder-Rev.Aguilar

(Jesuit Priest) has dedicated. Also, one must be aware of the difficult context in which the CFT has operated.

## **6.2 CFT's Accountability**

Highly accountable - by the arguments above. Also the CFT is very accountable to its beneficiaries who find solidarity support, commitment, integrity and appropriate services from the NGO while raising the peasants' hope for a change in their life conditions. Moreover, most of the CFT's beneficiaries showed a great deal of respect, trust and thanks for the interest the CFT has shown in helping them in the most difficult moments of the war. Also, to its sponsors - national & international community who do not question the integrity, leadership, vision, planning strategies, and outstanding role that the CFT has played in helping the rural needy in the most difficult situations and scenarios of the civil war, and post war, as a result, the CFT has also gained the recognition of most rural development NGOs.

## **6.3 CFT's Sustainability**

Officially, the CFT is eight years old (as of 1995), born in the middle of a civil war to attend the desperate needs of the rural population (refugees) while gaining expertise to fulfil its

development vision. Therefore, it would not be fair to deny that despite the limitations from the conditions of the war and presently, the post war, the CFT has done a remarkable work in the process to achieve its sustainability. Moreover, if one takes into consideration that most NGOs are facing an ongoing struggle where the CFT has already won several battles. Among these battles, the most significant has been the one highlighted in document 3 (CFT's background, and administrative and budget structure - 1992-1994). Part III - "The Consolidation" which clearly refers to: The development of strategic plans in three areas with the purpose for consolidating the CFT's work and put it toward its main goal. Also, a set of working strategies has been prepared and in process of implementation (see Menendez, 1995).

The CFT is looking at an innovative strategy to embark on negotiated contract agreements with contract/agreement with cooperatives that are confronting with high risk of bankruptcy, and of potential loss of their common property and infrastructure which the peasants got as a significant achievement from the land reform and the peace accords. It is my impression and hope that by the end of 1997, the CFT will secure sustainability that is geared to provide continued support towards sustainable development of rural communities in El Salvador. Integrity, project management & financial skills of the NGO, has provided

economic funds that have served to sustain the organization while project approval is put on hold by donors. So, by the way, have increasingly reduced and conditioned their AID for rural development.

As a result, Rev.Aguilar stated: "The CFT is experiencing a serious transition to fully achieve its main and most transcendental goal: To help the peasants to overcome structurally their historical conditions of poverty and marginalization. To accomplish this vision, the CFT is aware that less external dependence and long term self-sustainability is needed. Therefore, strategic plans have been laid out, and put in process.

## **7. Recommendations**

It is important that the CFT pay attention to:

- 1.) adopting a horizontal administrative model similar to the one proposed in its workshops (June 1993);
- 2.) the personal needs and conflicts among its staff, of the necessity to provide them with incentives, and the need to constantly upgrade their skills and specializations;
- 3.) speeding the creation of three committees (Planning, Management, and AID Fund Collections);
- 4.) hiring an efficient and integral assistant to the executive director, thus the last dedicates more time to lobby key resource people (politicians, the wealthy, businessmen/women and development experts etc.);

- 5.) motivating the participation and commitment of the Board of Directors in the accomplishment of their seven strategies to gain the CFT's sustainability to achieve its goal;
- 6.) the Unidad "Rutilio Grande" to be considered as an appropriate model worthy to support and to be imitated as a decentralized strategy in the CFT's institutional planning and project management which may facilitate to consolidate the institutional growth and sustainability;
- 7.) an appropriate system of training for the personnel, thus the CFT can operate within a team approach strategy;
- 8.) generating projects as a priority. Therefore, the administrative area needs to increase its creativity and support to meet project requirements and funding applications. As a result, the personnel requires ongoing training in project management to meet the daily tasks and stress; also, most key information required to access project funding should be available and centralized and concentrated in a data bank. Thus, planning and project application for funding is not delayed;
- 9.) exploring the idea of working in cooperation with other NGO and Campesino's associations (ANTA, ADC, etc.);
- 10.) the exploratory assessment of potential partner rural communities, the CFT should avoid initial compromises that would commit the NGO too much without considering its limitations and resources, just remember: "With the feet on the ground but with the eyes towards heaven";
- 11.) take advantage of the multiple and excellent net of contacts the executive-Rev. Aguilar has achieved;
- 12.) being aware that their development efforts may face more barriers if the spiritual dimension is not attended. Therefore, if the NGO has a great advantage in the spiritual dimension, it should pay more attention to spirituality;
- 13.) the unstable situation of employment generated in the staff. Discomfort, distrust, and perhaps a decrease in commitment toward their assignments may create an attitude where they do not feel part of the long term social development project and vision of the CFT. Therefore, it is important to motivate and help the staff to ease their economic constraints.



## **CHAPTER 5**

### **Assessment Framework for an Integrated Approach to NGOs Rural Development Programs: The Case of El Salvador.**

#### **5.0 Introduction**

In this chapter, I propose an assessment model that by mean of a set of guiding concepts, incorporates the most relevant dimensions of the theoretical framework, the outcomes from the analysis of the historical and contemporary setting of El Salvador, and the findings from the field research I conducted on rural development in El Salvador in 1994 and 1995.

#### **5.1 Is there a need for an Integrated Assessment Model to NGOs Rural Development Programs ?**

ARENA's full control of the state and its open policy and commitment towards Neo-liberalism, neglects the state's role as administrator of national resources and as main provider of social and economic welfare. Since 1989, ARENA has been dismantling the country's institutional infrastructure needed to support the implementation of the Peace Accords which provide an opportunity for socio-economic development. Once again the future of the peasants is uncertain. The scenario for the campesinos can be compared to children abandoned by their parents (the state) who have always neglected them. As a response, their grassroots organizations appear to claim their parent's

responsibility, while local and international NGOs try to fill the gap left by the state.

Within this context, the role of the NGOs in El Salvador is more than ever extremely relevant, particularly the opposition NGOs. However, my field research has proved that even one of the most accountable and effective of the NGOs (Corporacion Fe y Trabajo) has neglected relevant development dimensions, partly because of the absence of an integrated assessment model. Therefore, the need of the proposed assessment framework for an Integrated Approach to NGO's Rural Development Programs in El Salvador is of enormous relevance to better the NGOs' (local and international) contribution to rural development.

## **5.2 Assembling an Integrated Assessment Model**

In chapter 2, I framed this study within an theoretical framework made up of five essential dimensions and, from these, proposed a series of concepts that may interpret the historical and contemporary rural context of El Salvador as follow:

Marxism: Class, class conflict, class divisions, ideological tendencies, ownership - private (minifundio and latifundio) and collective (cooperative), and exploiter and exploited.

Dependence: Rural economic and political dependence upon GOES, cultural dependence of the USA, NGOs economic and political dependence, urban and rural unequal trade relations;

Christianity: Genesis interpretation, spiritual life, Christian preferential option for the poor, liberation of the poorest and oppressed (i.e., women relations), liberation theology, truth and love of one's neighbour, justice, solidarity, cooperation, Vatican II-statement for a more just world for the poor, social sin (individual and collective), structural sin, Rural suffering and oppression, hope and faith, reconciliation, unity, land conflict (Cain and Abel), dialogue, and remembering:

Environment: humans domination over nature, alienation, environmental deterioration, natural resource management, mixed system of resource property rights - privatization and community control, privatization of common resources, cooperativism, land conflict, and sustainable development;

Basic Needs: productive, spatial organization and physical habitation, housing, social development (individual and collective) and participation (formal /informal education and spiritual), health, land tenure, credit, and marketing among others.

Most of the above dimensions and their relevant concepts have been identified and confirmed throughout the Salvadorean historical and contemporary context of underdevelopment as well as in the work and daily conflicts the NGOs and Grassroots organizations have been facing to challenge the structural poverty of the peasants as presented in the analysis of both chapter 3, and 4. To simplify the process, I have selected five Guiding Concepts to frame the assessment model while the remaining are developed into a series of assessment variables.

The Guiding Concepts are a reflection of the theoretical framework previously applied but are now, practically converted into an assessment framework for an integrated approach to NGO's rural development programs.

The framework for the integrated assessment model is made of:

- 1.) Basic Needs
- 2.) Dependence
- 3.) Christianity: Preferential Option for the Poor
- 4.) Class
- 5.) Environment

Finally, I include "Building Institution and Management" as extra Guiding Concept to the assessment model in order to assess the institutional growth and development as the first step to consolidate the NGOs.

### **5.3 Proposed Assessment Model**

The assessment model is practically the incorporation of the relevant Guiding Concepts and their variables into a series of assessment forms. No high academic training is required for their application. The main purpose is to develop a practical assessment tool that can assure wide participation of interested sectors and individuals rural communities, grassroots organizations (i.e., ANTA and ADC) and the local (i.e., CEBES) and international NGOs.

To measure the NGO's performance, each assessment form provides an appropriate code rating: 1= Excellent; 2= Very Good; 3= Good; 4= Fair; 5= Poor. Also, if category is not applicable to a guiding concept and/or variable it is indicated as: N/A = Not Applicable. Each variable has space for brief comments.

As well, at the end of each guiding concept, a brief conclusion can be made.

To begin with a logic order, I commence with the guiding concept Building Institution and Management, since this will provide us with the basic data on the NGO, as well as quickly indicate strengths and weaknesses.

**ASSESSMENT FRAMEWORK FOR AN INTEGRATED APPROACH TO NGO'S RURAL  
DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS**

**Roberto Nenendez - Copyright**

**Code rating:** 1=Excellent; 2=Very Good; 3=Good; 4=Fair; 5=Poor  
If category does not apply to a Guiding Concept  
and/or assessment variable it is indicated as:  
N/A = Not applicable.

NGO's name: \_\_\_\_\_

Address: \_\_\_\_\_

Phone: \_\_\_\_\_

Responsible: \_\_\_\_\_

Position: \_\_\_\_\_

NGO's type:

Developmentalist \_\_\_\_\_ Environmentalist \_\_\_\_\_ Pastoral \_\_\_\_\_

Agricultural development \_\_\_\_\_ Enterprise development \_\_\_\_\_

Integral development \_\_\_\_\_ Other \_\_\_\_\_

Appraiser: \_\_\_\_\_ Date: \_\_\_\_\_

Other (describe): \_\_\_\_\_

**BUILDING INSTITUTION AND MANAGEMENT**

1. NGO's development vision. N/A 1 2 3 4 5

2. Mission statement. N/A 1 2 3 4 5

3. Statement of objectives. N/A 1 2 3 4 5

4. Commitment to achieve development vision and objectives.  
N/A 1 2 3 4 5

5. Integrity to its mission, beneficiaries, personnel, and AID  
donors. N/A 1 2 3 4 5

6. Board of Directors' participation and commitment.  
N/A 1 2 3 4 5
- 
7. Capacity to conduct self evaluation (strengths, weaknesses and limitations) of its institutional growth, development, and sustainability.  
N/A 1 2 3 4 5
- 
8. Coordination within programs and/or integral rural development projects.  
N/A 1 2 3 4 5
- 
9. Consistency in rural development theory, the NGO's role in a rural society in transition, and policy recommendation.  
N/A 1 2 3 4 5
- 
10. Ability to lobby and collect resources for its mission (i.e. non-conditional private funding).  
N/A 1 2 3 4 5
- 
11. Access to freely accountable sources of technical and scientific assistance.  
N/A 1 2 3 4 5
- 
12. Willingness to share, to find, and coordinate with other development associates.  
N/A 1 2 3 4 5
- 
13. Ability to provide and share leadership among NGOs and the beneficiaries.  
N/A 1 2 3 4 5
- 
14. Ability to work throughout a project cycle: Planning, design implementation, monitoring, management, and evaluation.  
N/A 1 2 3 4 5
-

15. Ability to visualize stages of development, sustainability, and expansion. N/A 1 2 3 4 5
- 
16. Office infrastructure, transportation, and equipment to meet project continuity, and future demands. N/A 1 2 3 4 5
- 
17. Project management skills (site & office). N/A 1 2 3 4 5
- 
18. Administrative management skills (site & office). N/A 1 2 3 4 5
- 
19. Integrity and management of project resources, i.e. financial AID. N/A 1 2 3 4 5
- 
20. Integration and trust among the personnel, and with the beneficiaries. N/A 1 2 3 4 5
- 
21. Acknowledgement of NGO's role by its personnel (site & office), and by other NGOs (and development associates). N/A 1 2 3 4 5
- 
22. Systems and channels of information on development programs for the personnel and beneficiaries. N/A 1 2 3 4 5
- 
23. NGO's accountability with beneficiaries. N/A 1 2 3 4 5
- 
24. NGO's accountability with donors and NGOs. N/A 1 2 3 4 5
-



25. Administrative model and authority. N/A 1 2 3 4 5
- 
26. Staff's participation in decision making. N/A 1 2 3 4 5
- 
27. Coordination and cooperation within and among NGO's departments and regional sites. N/A 1 2 3 4 5
- 
28. Training and specialization of personnel. N/A 1 2 3 4 5
- 
29. Attention to needs and conflicts of personnel, i.e. employment conditions and security. N/A 1 2 3 4 5
- 
30. Incentives and promotions to NGO's personnel. N/A 1 2 3 4 5
- 
31. Strategies for management of post war mental stress for NGO's personnel and NGO's beneficiaries. N/A 1 2 3 4 5
- 
32. Ability to make use of short term projects and to attract medium, and long term (i.e. Food for Work). N/A 1 2 3 4 5
- 
33. Recognition of the danger of Neo-liberalism, and strategies to deal with it, without neglecting NGO's development mission. N/A 1 2 3 4 5
- 
34. Coordination with communities, local/regional and national governments, and grassroots organizations (i.e. water supply road construction and/or maintenance. N/A 1 2 3 4 5
-

35. Ability to propose and conduct enterprise management for cooperatives facing risk of bankruptcy, i.e. through joint agreements that put the NGO in charge of management while the cooperative members hold title on the land and the means of productions. N/A 1 2 3 4 5

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36. Ability to relate with potential beneficiaries without raising overly high expectations and commitments that are not according to the NGO's present resources. N/A 1 2 3 4 5

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Remarks:

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### BASIC NEEDS

1. Ability to facilitate access to land for the poorest of the beneficiaries. N/A 1 2 3 4 5

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2. Promotion of productive component (traditional and non traditional production activities, for consumption and/or commercialization). N/A 1 2 3 4 5

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3. Promotion of spatial organization and physical habitation (community's planning and functioning). N/A 1 2 3 4 5

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4. Ability to facilitate drinkable water. N/A 1 2 3 4 5

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5. Promotion of housing (by mutual cooperation and self help). N/A 1 2 3 4 5

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6. Promotion of social equipment (for personal and collective human development). N/A 1 2 3 4 5

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7. Development of confidence, national identity, and human dignity, self reliance, and cooperation. N/A 1 2 3 4 5

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8. Development of discipline, dedication, and respect for humans particularly for women and children. N/A 1 2 3 4 5

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9. Development of critical consciousness of friendship, brotherhood, sisterhood, and solidarity. N/A 1 2 3 4 5

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10. Promotion of beneficiaries' participation and social development (i.e. in education, health, community's enhancement and services). N/A 1 2 3 4 5
- 
- 
11. Strategies to reduce levels of protein calorie malnutrition by promoting a nutritional diet. N/A 1 2 3 4 5
- 
- 
12. Promotion of women's participation and empowerment in the planning and implementation of most development activities, as well as, seniors and the youth. N/A 1 2 3 4 5
- 
- 
13. Promotion of family unit, and integrity. N/A 1 2 3 4 5
- 
- 
14. Strategies to alleviate mental stress from civil war and post war impacts. N/A 1 2 3 4 5
- 
- 
15. Development of relationship with nature. N/A 1 2 3 4 5
- 
- 
16. Development of culture and sense of humour. N/A 1 2 3 4 5
- 
- 
17. Enhancement of civil rights, responsibilities, duties and privileges. N/A 1 2 3 4 5
- 
- 
18. Promotion of conflict settlement through meetings and workshops. N/A 1 2 3 4 5
- 
- 
19. Development of sensible relations (affection) with family, friends, community and the country. N/A 1 2 3 4 5
- 
-

20. Promotion of the search for identity by promoting indigenous  
cultural values and principles. N/A 1 2 3 4 5

Remarks:

## DEPENDENCY

1. Recognizing the NGO's state of economic dependence and its negative impact on its development mission. N/A 1 2 3 4 5

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2. Strategies to avert economic dependence. N/A 1 2 3 4 5

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3. Ability to neutralize and take advantage of dependent AID, particularly from USA and GOES. N/A 1 2 3 4 5

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4. Strategies to achieve self sustainability. N/A 1 2 3 4 5

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5. Ability to deal with urban culture, alienation and attractions for the peasants. N/A 1 2 3 4 5

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6. Ability to deal with cultural dependence (alienation) from rural immigrants in the north. N/A 1 2 3 4 5

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7. Preparedness to face decreases on AID's program funding and ongoing re-allocation to other areas. N/A 1 2 3 4 5

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8. Strategies to break dependence on NGO's decision making from individuals (insiders and/or outsiders). N/A 1 2 3 4 5

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9. Strategies to alleviate peasants dependence on traditional agricultural crops, i.e. corn, beans. N/A 1 2 3 4 5

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10. Ability to alleviate, and subsequently break women's traditional dependence from patriarchy, and convert it into interdependent relations of partnership and cooperation. N/A 1 2 3 4 5
- 

11. Strategies to alleviate, and subsequently break political dependence generated by various political tendencies (by promoting democracy and self-reliance). N/A 1 2 3 4 5
- 

12. Ability to create interdependent marketing strategies (in trade relations) to increase income and to neutralize "intermediary". N/A 1 2 3 4 5
- 

13. Strategies to alleviate dependence from high interest line of credit (i.e. by establishing a net of Banco Campesino and the collection of family remittances). N/A 1 2 3 4 5
- 

14. Strategies to alleviate dependence from (imported) high cost agricultural inputs, i.e. by promoting research and use of organic fertilizers made in cooperatives. N/A 1 2 3 4 5
- 

15. Strategies to deal with opportunist peasants generated by dependent developmentalist projects. N/A 1 2 3 4 5
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16. Promotion of interdependent relations among communities. N/A 1 2 3 4 5
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Remarks: \_\_\_\_\_

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## CLASS

1. Recognition of the existence of class conflicts and divisions among the roots of rural poverty. N/A 1 2 3 4 5

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2. Strategies to deal with class among and within rural communities (landless, minifundio, and cooperatives). N/A 1 2 3 4 5

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3. Ability to deal with divisions between rural and urban (from middle/upper class that neutralize rural development). N/A 1 2 3 4 5

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4. Ability to deal with a class controlling trade, and local and external market. N/A 1 2 3 4 5

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5. Promotion of a classless rural society throughout the work in community, and the cooperatives. N/A 1 2 3 4 5

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6. Ability to promote class consciousness to achieve unity and to overcome ideological tendencies. N/A 1 2 3 4 5

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7. Ability to deal with class conflicts among beneficiaries of agrarian reform, and landless peasants. N/A 1 2 3 4 5

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8. Promotion of fair wages and equal salaries among men & women N/A 1 2 3 4 5

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9. Promotion of equal participation of Female Head Household in land distribution, credit, market, capital goods and technical assistance. N/A 1 2 3 4 5
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- 

Remarks: \_\_\_\_\_

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**CHRISTIANITY: "Preferential Option for the Poor"**

1. Attention to the peasant's need for spiritual growth as essential to alleviate their ongoing sore and to enhance their community efforts and commitment. N/A 1 2 3 4 5

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2. Attention to the NGO's personnel spiritual growth as essential to their support and solidarity with the poor. N/A 1 2 3 4 5

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3. Recognition of the conflicts, pros and cons, and impacts of various theological options to the rural communities i.e. Charismatic and Liberation theolog. N/A 1 2 3 4 5

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4. Raising awareness on the pros and cons of a traditional theology (induced by the Western world), and the historical and contemporary impact on the Salvadoreans. N/A 1 2 3 4 5

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5. Interpretation of Jesus' Gospel according to the Salvadorean context of its past, present and future. N/A 1 2 3 4 5

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6. Promotions of pros and cons of a theology with preferential option for the poor based on the Gospel of Jesus Christ. N/A 1 2 3 4 5

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7. Promotion of equal conditions, rights and privileges, regardless of race, sex, religion or political views N/A 1 2 3 4 5

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8. Promotion of solidarity and cooperativism, as essential for Christian life instead of selfishness and individualism, particularly among consolidated cooperatives and the rural settlements living around their boundaries. N/A 1 2 3 4 5
- 
9. Promotion of Christian values and principles such as; love, solidarity, family, respect for life and particularly respect for the most oppressed, i.e., woman, indigenous. N/A 1 2 3 4 5
- 
11. Promotion of Christian condemnation of domestic and street violence (sexual harassment), particularly against women and children. N/A 1 2 3 4 5
- 
12. Promotion of Christianity' "Zero" tolerance of oppression and marginalization, particularly against women and children. N/A 1 2 3 4 5
- 
13. Theological condemnation on human exploitation, particularly of women's domestic labour. N/A 1 2 3 4 5
- 
14. Interpretation of the Christian concept "liberation" i.e. from oppression, poverty, sin. N/A 1 2 3 4 5
- 
15. Promotion of fair distribution of land and appropriate management based on the Gospel (i.e., Cain and Abel's land conflict). N/A 1 2 3 4 5
- 
16. Interpretation of Genesis according to the Salvadorean context, and the need to participate in the Divine preservation of Creation - "Eden". N/A 1 2 3 4 5
-

17. Promotion of Jesus Christ's program of development and its contradictions with the Neo-liberal model in El Salvador. N/A 1 2 3 4 5
- 
18. Promotion of Christian faith, commitment to God, to family, to the community and to the whole society. N/A 1 2 3 4 5
- 
19. Recognizing rural poverty as the result of collective and individual sin, and not as God's will. N/A 1 2 3 4 5
- 
20. Promotion of Christian sisterhood and brotherhood among members of the rural community, particularly between women and men. N/A 1 2 3 4 5
- 
21. Promotion of a universal God without gender, race, and political view, but one who acts justly. N/A 1 2 3 4 5
- 
22. Promotion of Christianity and enterprise relationships i.e. emphasis on human economy that questions: Whom does Neo-liberal economy benefits? At a cost of whom? For what purpose? N/A 1 2 3 4 5
- 
23. Promotion of Christianity and fair land distribution N/A 1 2 3 4 5
- 
24. Promotion of Christianity and fair allocation of salaries N/A 1 2 3 4 5
- 
25. Promotion of Christianity, land reform and cooperativism in El Salvador. N/A 1 2 3 4 5
-

26. Promotion of liberation from all forms of oppression, mainly  
for the most oppressed-the women. N/A 1 2 3 4 5

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27. Christian interpretation of the structures of oppression,  
race, class, national identity, and patriarchy and their  
oppression against women. N/A 1 2 3 4 5

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28. Promotion of a Christian framework to live in community i.e.  
women and men helping among themselves against rape, incest  
and marriage abuse; by identifying and challenging sexism and  
violence towards women. N/A 1 2 3 4 5

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Remarks: \_\_\_\_\_

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## ENVIRONMENT

1. Raising awareness of the process of desertification and environmental crisis within the rural area. N/A 1 2 3 4 5

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2. Interpretation and promotion of Sustainable Development and its contradictions with Neo-liberalism. N/A 1 2 3 4 5

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3. Ability to handle and promote environmental education, and to attract Sustainable Development projects. N/A 1 2 3 4 5

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4. Promotion of strategies of natural resource management as main strategy to achieve Sustainable Development. N/A 1 2 3 4 5

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5. Promotion of non-agricultural crops of high rentability and low environmental impact. N/A 1 2 3 4 5

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6. Interpretation and promotion of environmental impact assessment. N/A 1 2 3 4 5

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7. Promotion of communal property rights as an strategy to better natural resource management. N/A 1 2 3 4 5

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8. Promotion of a less dominant attitude towards nature and the application of indigenous knowledge to land management. N/A 1 2 3 4 5

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9. Promotion of "mixed systems" of resource property rights (i.e. individual parcel within the cooperative) and agricultural production to avert environmental impacts and rural poverty. N/A 1 2 3 4 5

---

10. Promotion of strategies to reduce rural population growth as a strategy to reduce pressure on the carrying capacity of the land. N/A 1 2 3 4 5

---

11. Ability to mobilize government and/or international subsidies to support the peasants' efforts to better natural resource management. N/A 1 2 3 4 5

---

12. Promotion of standards, rules regulations, and strict enforcement to better peasants' relationship to natural resources. N/A 1 2 3 4 5

---

13. Promotion of an strategy of environmental stewardship among the rural communities, particularly within the cooperatives, by putting aside reserved areas controlled by the community. N/A 1 2 3 4 5

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14. Promotion of reforestation with the planting of appropriate trees to prevent soil erosion, and that facilitate water conservation while serve as future income generation. N/A 1 2 3 4 5

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Remarks:

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#### **5.4 Feasibility and Limitations of the Assessment Model**

One can't expect to find a single NGO capable of fulfilling the whole assessment form, particularly since most NGO's have specific areas of expertise. The model indicates relevant areas that should be considered in the planning and funding of rural development programs. Therefore, the results from the assessment (which are not to criticize, but to assess) will enhance the NGO's performance and contribution in rural development. The main limitation of the model's implementation is the disturbing neglect of reality (as interpreted through the Guiding Concepts and variables), particularly by the donors. It is up to the conscience of development workers and their understanding of rural development to make the best practical use of the proposed assessment model.

Finally, the assessment model will be of not much use for non-opposition NGOs that endorse and operate within the Neo-liberal framework model of development, since that model contradicts the fundamental dimensions of an integral rural development.



## **5.5 Implementation of the Assessment Model**

It is my impression, that the assessment model can be implemented (on site) in three full weeks (21 days) by a development worker that is reasonably aware of the historical and contemporary context of El Salvador. The appraiser (she/he) must realize that the assistance of local people, the participation of the NGO's personnel, and of the beneficiaries should be mandatory.

## CHAPTER 6

### CONCLUSIONS

With the signing of the Peace Accords in January 1992, many of the Salvadorean rural community, particularly the poorest of its people, saw the best opportunity they have ever had to overcome their structural conditions of poverty and marginalization from El Salvador's socio-economic development. However, many rural people, particularly from the most ex-conflictive areas of the civil war, shared with myself the view that the only benefit they have received from the Accords has been the end of the war and, subsequently, the end of the persecution and killing of their people (Menendez, 1995).

The framework of the Accords attempts to enforce the most radical reform ever in the social, economic, political, and justice system of El Salvador. However, with the advent of the Neo-liberal Economic Plan for Social Development, proposed by the ARENA government in January 1995, the implementation of the Accords is confronting a more difficult scenario, since there are fundamental contradictions between the Accords and this Plan. On this point, Eulogio Villalta (Democratic Peasant Alliance's coordinator) stated that "the speech of the Salvadorean government may very well coincide with ours, but there is a big distance regarding the facts" (Menendez, 1995).

Villalta's concern is supported by Ricardo Gomez (ADC's engineer), who stated that; "Since 1989, ARENA has been dismantling the country's institutional infrastructure needed to implement the Peace Accords. For instance, most agricultural structures and schemes to implement the agrarian reform in the 80s, such as the National School of Agriculture (ENA), the Financial Institution for Agrarian Transformation (FINATA), and the Bank for the Promotion of Cattle and Agriculture (BFA) among others, have been privatized" (Menendez, 1995). Moreover, Gomez observed (in Menendez, 1995b) that "one of ARENA's main objectives is to break the process of cooperative development, so that the former landowners can recover the farms that have already been converted into rural people's cooperatives" (Menendez, 1995).

With ARENA's full control of the state since 1989, and its open policy and commitment towards Neo-liberalism, once again the future of the rural people is uncertain. On the basis of field research, I had the impression that the scenario for the rural people, particularly after the Accords, presents a mix of confusion, distrust, and desperation. Within this context, local and international non-profit agencies, particularly the opposition NGOs, have been working prior to and after the Accords to fill the gap historically neglected by the Salvadorean government. The role of these NGOs, and subsequently their

effectiveness and accountability, have become more critical since the Social Development Summit in Copenhagen (March, 1995) which highlighted the positive impacts that the NGOs can produce in development.

However, many people have argued that most NGOs lack the theoretical frameworks to understand appropriately the rural context, and subsequently, design and/or assess their own development programs.

The present study, an Assessment Framework for an Integrated Approach to NGO's Rural Development Programs, began with the challenge to make use of important dimensions that most development analysts have neglected regarding the Salvadorean situation. For instance, religion is one of the dimensions that has earned its place within the theoretical framework of this study, particularly when it is framed by a theology of liberation, which has proved with its practice in the rural communities of El Salvador that Christian Theology is about the preferential option for the poor.

This study addresses three principal research questions through the analysis of the historical and contemporary Salvadorean rural context (Chapter 3), field research (Chapter 4), and the proposed assessment model for NGO rural development programs (Chapter 5).

We may summarize our inquiry as follows:

1. **How effective and accountable are the NGOs that operate in the context of El Salvador's rural development ?**

The Peace Accords were very successful in attracting attention from the international community, the World Bank, the Inter-American Bank, the USAID and others that embarked on a common effort towards the national reconstruction of El Salvador. However, even though the GOES and the FMLN wanted to implement the Accords, the country was not prepared to manage the issues nor had it the infrastructure or human resources to carry out such a huge task. Their only option was to turn to the NGOs, born local and international. As a result, a lot of NGOs were suddenly created, many of them without any understanding or identity with the rural communities. Ricardo Gomez observed that, "most NGOs have a critical position since most of these respond first to the needs of their own existence, and as a result a lot of them have spent time, money and human resources in writing and submitting funding applications that, in the end, are to their benefit, including to NGOs ghosts who get money in the name of a social cause" (Menendez, 1995b). To this, Ernesto Campos added that, "some NGOs that received funding have been converted into consulting enterprises, continuing to use all the non-profit obtained equipment" (Menendez, 1995b).

This study shows that there are a few NGOs (opposition

NGOs), with a great concern for the rural people, and with a clear preferential option for the poor. Even some of their field personnel have put their lives at risk, particularly during the civil war.

However, the conditions in which these were created, trained and operated to support emergency wartime relief, determined, to a great extent, the organizational structure of these NGOs, and the profile of people that would be likely occupy key posts in that structure. The conversion of opposition NGOs, has been a complex and painful process of change and apprenticeship (Hemisphere Initiatives Inc.).

Therefore, the question of NGOs' effectiveness in El Salvador can't be addressed in general terms, but must take into consideration the vision, diversity and quality of the NGOs. Moreover, NGOs in El Salvador have been pressured by the overwhelming pool of economic resources that the international community has continuously channelled into El Salvador since the signing of the Peace Accords. Also, the lack of coordination on the framework for development and implementation of the Peace Accords between the GOES and the FMLN, and the contradictions between the Structural Adjustment Program (SAP) and the Accords are, among others, some of the critical variables that have had an impact on the NGOs' performance.

Nevertheless, the opposition NGOs have been doing a reasonable job, particularly in their transition from emergency relief NGOs to development NGOs. For instance, an assessment of the Corporacion Fe y Trabajo (see Chapter 4), has shown that, this NGO has been very effective in responding to the urgent needs of the rural people. Also, it is very effective in dealing with pressures and conflicts, and with its own institutional needs that are geared to enhance its efficiency, growth, development, expansion, and sustainability of its development vision, "...To help the peasants to overcome structurally, their historical conditions of poverty and marginalization" (Menendez, 1995).

This study shows that because of the historical marginalization and neglect that the Salvadorean rural people have suffered, the NGOs must submit to an appropriate degree of accountability. However, Rev. Aguilar noted that "most rural people distrust local NGOs and foreigners that visit their communities for a couple of hours, then share a few comments, technical advice, and some food, and then go away" (Menendez, 1995). He considers that this is the case of most government agencies, and local and international NGOs, which have created a scenario of confusion, distrust, and opportunism for some rural people. To avert this, Rev. Aguilar observed that "the NGOs must

have a solid and continuous presence in the rural field" (Menendez, 1995).

Accountability has various dimensions. For instance, the USAID praises without question the role and effectiveness of the NGOs, even though, the majority of these lack accountability (in Menendez, 1995). On the other hand, the grassroots organizations have enormous concerns about most NGOs, including some of the opposition NGOs which they considered to be opportunistic and lacking a popular base that would enable them to understand, design and conduct appropriate development programs for the rural communities (in Menendez, 1995).

For instance, Tito Perez (ANTA's coordinator) noted that "...for an NGO to be successful in rural development, it must have a popular peasant base; moreover, these NGOs must come from the peasants' grassroots organizations" (Menendez, 1995). Also, Perez's argument is supported by Eulogio Villalta, who stated that, "...the ADC has created the Salvadorean Foundation for Agrarian Issues (FUNSAGRO), an NGO that is geared to alleviate the ADC's overload and weaknesses while strengthening essential issues such as credit, marketing, women, privatization, and human rights and education among others, that most opposition NGOs may not appropriately address" (Menendez, 1995).

Nevertheless, this study has shown that accountability is an issue that only a few NGOs really submit a regular regimen of



accountability. For instance, according to the field research in chapter 4, the Corporacion Fe y Trabajo and CEBES are considered highly accountable to their beneficiaries who, as they told me, have found solidarity support, commitment, integrity, and appropriate services, while raising their hope for a possibility of change in their living conditions. It is important to realize that NGOs which succeed in establishing a relationship with the beneficiaries in their struggle towards rural development, do so because of their integrity, leadership, and development vision framed within a preferential option for the poor.

**2. Is there a need for an assessment model for NGO rural development programs ?**

The study has shown that NGOs, as well as grassroots organizations, are capable of conducting evaluations on their performance and their rural development programs. However, effective, accountable, and concerned with the rural people's needs these may be then often neglect important dimensions, e.g. class, dependence, gender, spirituality, environment, basic needs etc. Therefore, the absence of an appropriate assessment model for an integrated approach is often obvious within their development repertoire.

**3. What would an adequate assessment model look like, and what must the NGO be like to carry it out ?**

The first challenge for this study, was to assemble a theoretical framework that met the requirements for an integrated analysis on the Salvadorean underdevelopment. As a result, five dimensions were seen as necessary for the historical and contemporary analysis of the Salvadorean context. The same dimensions were later on confirmed through the field research in Chapter 4. As a result, these dimensions provided the foundations for the guiding concepts and critical variables that subsequently made up a suitable assessment model for an integrated approach to NGO's rural development programs.

With regard to the type of NGO to carry the model out, in Chapters 3 and 4, I provide evidence concerning the nature and performance of the NGOs, particularly opposition NGOs, the Corporacion Fe y Trabajo, and CEBES, as well as on the grassroots organizations such as ANTA and the ADC. It is my suggestion that the proposed assessment model is appropriate to opposition NGOs, which are more accountable to the rural people, and are less dependent on a Neo-liberal ideology. However, the most appropriate NGOs to make the best use of the model are within the framework of ANTA and the ADC, both of which are made up of rural people.

Finally, our study provides enough facts to suggest that the neo-liberal agenda introduced by the World Bank, and fully endorsed by the ARENA government of El Salvador, has put a lot of pressure on NGOs, particularly the opposition NGOs, since most programs financed by the international community for national reconstruction have been directed towards supporting infrastructure and facilitating the implementation of the Structural Adjustment Program. As a result, grassroots organizations like ANTA and the ADC claim that the presence of NGOs interferes with the ongoing process of negotiations between the GOES and the rural organizations representing the rural people, in order to fully implement the Peace Accords thus, the NGOs have no choice but to accept conditional aid, whether this be within the framework of the Peace Accords or the neo-liberal project for El Salvador.

#### **POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS**

This study has described the poverty of the Salvadorean rural people and the role of relevant actors in development, particularly NGOs and grassroots organizations that operate within this most critical moment - the post civil war, the implementation of the Peace Accords and the Structural Adjustment Program.

A set of policy recommendations directed at this current Salvadorean situation are as follow:

1.) Most local and perhaps international NGOs are not aware of the roots and conflicts of Salvadorean rural underdevelopment; therefore, most of their development programs do not respond to the specific needs of the rural people. As a result, I suggest the use of a theoretical framework that improves the NGOs' understanding and analysis. However, this should identify dimensions that include the analysis of class, dependence, traditional Western theology vis theology with preferential option for the poor, natural resource management and sustainable development, basic needs, and building institution and management among others.

2.) Most local and International NGOs, grassroots organizations, and the political left have neglected the need for spiritual growth among the Salvadorean rural people who during the civil war, who have demonstrated a strong background of religiosity framed into a theology of liberation. This neglect is reflected in the lack of understanding and of programs to enhance this dimension. Therefore, it is recommended that a religious orientation be promoted through rural development efforts with preferential option for the poor.

3.) During my field research, with regard to gender, the message was clear: gender is a highly sensitive and volatile issue within the rural communities, particularly because of a tradition of machismo, and the absence of an appropriate methodology to address the gender issue. Therefore, I suggest that an NGO like CEBES (Christian Base Communities of El Salvador) develop a specific Feminist Christian Framework that can be implemented among the rural communities in cooperation with ANTA, ADC, and other interested NGOs.

4.) Through field research, I witnessed the lack of coordination among NGOs, local and regional government, and the grassroots organizations, while most rural people received little explanation about their visits and intentions. Moreover, it was obvious that the "top down" and non participative approach to development persists. This situation promotes duplication of services, NGO exhaustion, and opportunism. The main reason for this appears to be the heavy competition in which NGOs have become involved since the signing of the Peace Accords. Therefore I recommend the design and implementation of a model of coordination for the various actors of development which should be in line with the Integrated Rural and Social Development strategy designed for El Salvador in the 1970s.

5.) Our study has shown that local and international NGOs and local grassroots organizations require a more appropriate assessment framework to measure performance and the rural development programs. Therefore, I recommend wherever possible, the use of the proposed Assessment Model for an Integrated Approach to NGOs Rural Development Programs.

6.) Finally, during field research, I observed the systematic domination and influence of Western society that is also transmitted by the international NGOs. This is particularly the case in funding negotiations that demand the imposition of a Western Development vision in exchange for project funding. Therefore, international NGOs should be aware of this dominating attitude, and should support unconditionally a popular agenda that is more in accord with the real needs of the country's national development.

## **Notes: Chapter 1**

{1} The FMLN. It was the Military Front for National Liberation, after the peace accords, it became a political party. By 1994, the FMLN won 21 seats in the parliament, becoming the leading opposition against 39 seats of the ruling party. Since 1995, it is made up only by three of the factions that conformed its Military front. However, most campesino organizations are belong to the FMLN.

{2} NGOs in El Salvador, have existed since the 50s, many as charitable, benefic, and humanitarian assistencialist. According to CAPS (Central American Program Scholarships), in 1959, Caritas and Catholic Relief Services were introduced; and between 1960 and 1972, the catholic church and protestant sects assumed a solid initiative in the creation of 8 new organizations. In the 70s, the presence of the NGOs increased, but within 1980-1991, 52 NGOs were created to minimize the consequences of the civil war. By the end of 1992, 186 NGOs were working on programs and development projects.

{3} ANTA is the National Association of Agrarian Workers with a membership of at least 10,000 head households = 60,000 people.

{4} Fundacion 16 de Enero is the FMLN's NGO created during the Peace Accords final negotiations, to attend the needs of the ex-combatants.

{5} ADC is the Alianza Democratica Campesina, a national grass roots organization with a political agenda, its main role is to negotiate with the government the issue of land, particularly the agrarian reform.

{6} CEBES is the Chistian Base Communities of El Salvador, heavily developed in the rural areas of the most conflictive zones during the civil war.

## **Notes: Chapter 2**

{7} Sin and redemption are understood in liberation theology to be practical, historical, and collective. Liberation theologians emphasize the collective manifestations of sin. They address ways of life, institutions, and cultures that cause oppression and they denounce these as sinful. They denounce structures of injustice rather than individual acts of injustice. Soelle, (Welch, 1985) for example, analyses the sinfulness of capitalism, a system in which human beings are alienated from themselves,

from nature and from other people. She stated: "That within industrialized society, sin takes the "structural alienation from nature; from ourselves, from our being part of the human family and from our fellows". This type of sinfulness is directly related to capitalism.

(9) Months after its president (a former elite member who distributed his land among the rural settlers, including a successful dairy farm "El Jobo", and promoted the first intend of agrarian reform when he was Ministry of Agriculture in 1976), was kidnapped from a meeting with other labour and peasant leaders and brutally tortured and executed by the dead squads.

(10) ARENA is the Alianza Republicana Nacionalista, funded by the Salvadorean elite to protect their economic interest and historical' privileges from the system they have controlled.

(11) To many, the banking system is now controlled by "The Golden Ring" (a powerful group of the richest orchestrated by the former president Cristiani). With neo-liberalism, the salvadorean financial institutions have gained tremendous economic power locally and at the Central American level which in 1994, cited them among the most successful financial institutions.

(12) The country's debt in 1993, according to the BCR was of \$1.9 US billion. From that amount, \$1.0 is public debt which was forgiven by the Cristiany government prior to his departure.

(13) Moreover, ADC realizes the economic and technical difficulties the FMLN is having to carry on with the task, which means facing a powerful (economic and technical) group of policy makers (ARENA) who also have complete support from USA. As a result, the ADC considers that they can't rely on the FMLN because, at the present time (1995), there is a gap between their policies and activities and the grass roots struggle, of course, the ADC understands the FMLN's real limitations such as; 1. dealing with the past, which means, trying to fix the justice system and its historical abuses, 2. dealing with the problems left by the ARENA's neo-liberal strategies (1988), and 3. with the implementation of the Peace Accord.

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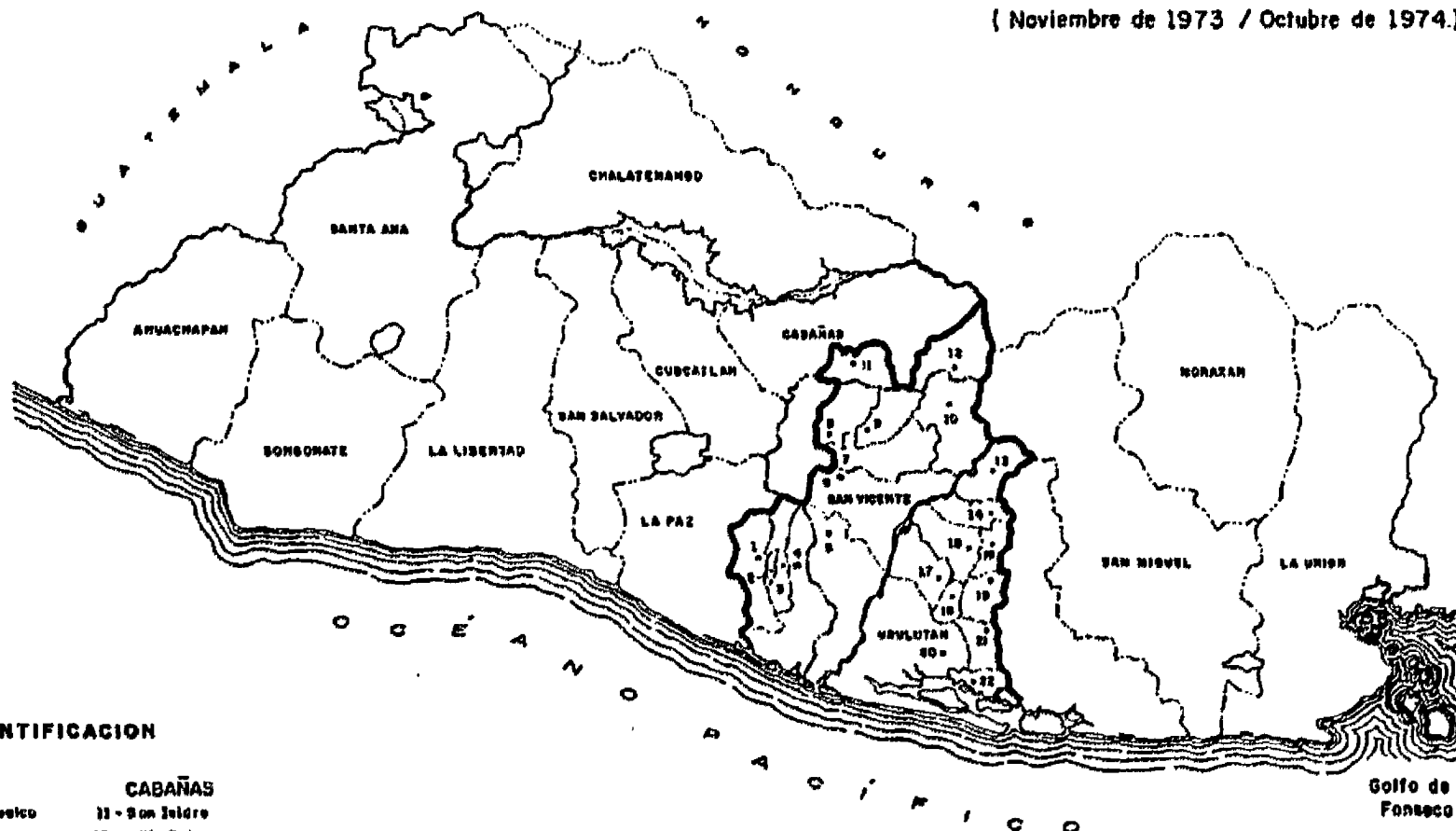
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## **ANNEXES IV**



# AREA SELECCIONADA PARA EJECUCION DE LA FASE I DE ZONIFICACION AGRICOLA

( Noviembre de 1973 / Octubre de 1974.)



## IDENTIFICACION

### LA PAZ

- 1 - Santiago Nonualco
- 2 - San Rafael Obrajuela
- 3 - San Juan Nonualco
- 4 - Tecolotepec

### SAN VICENTE

- 5 - Tecolotepec
- 6 - San Vicente
- 7 - Apetopague
- 8 - San Esteban Colorina
- 9 - Santa Clara
- 0 - San Francisco

### CABAÑAS

- 11 - San Isidro
- 12 - Villa Dolores

### USULUTAN

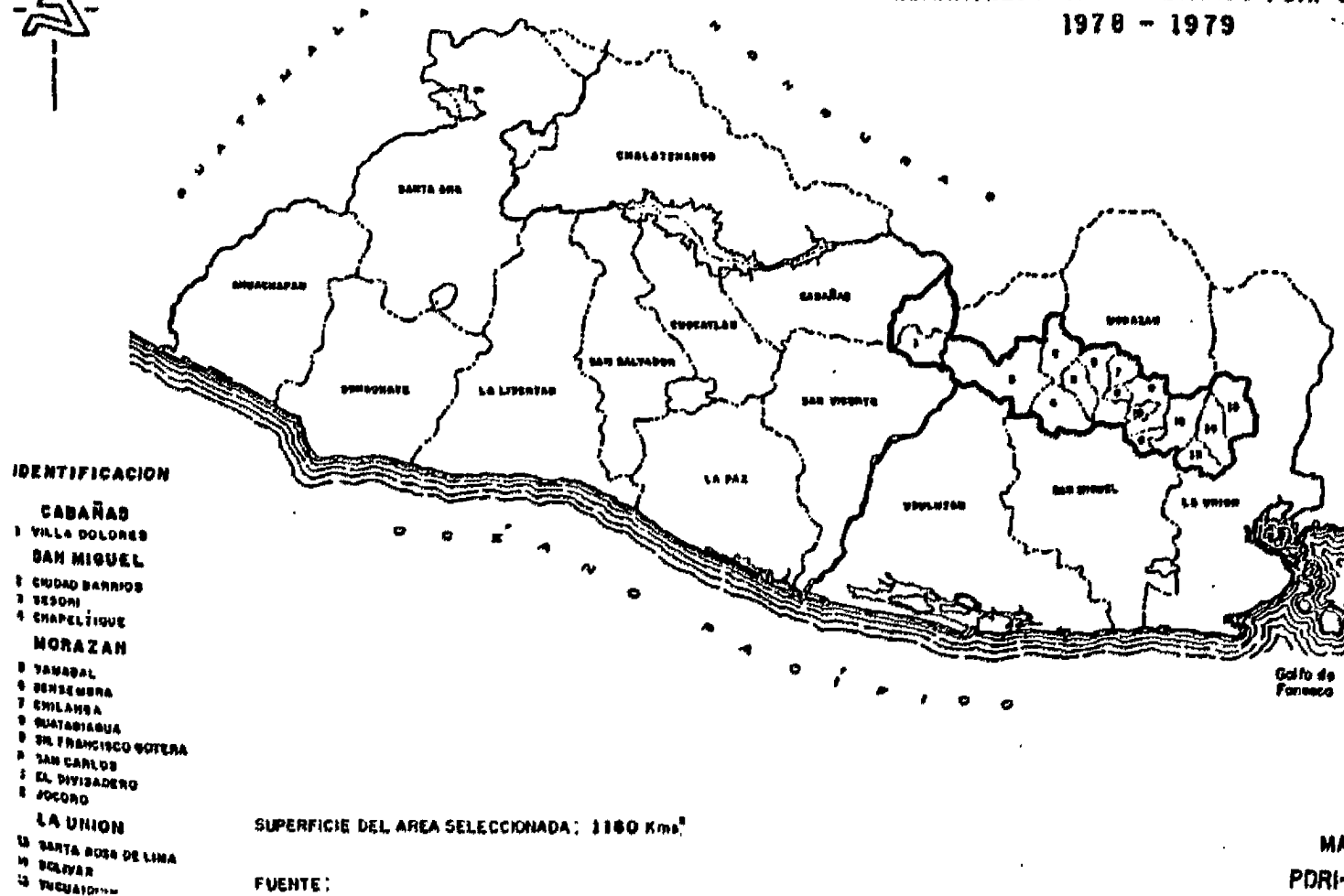
- 13 - Estanzuelas
- 14 - Mercedes Umaña
- 15 - Berlin
- 16 - Alegria
- 17 - San Agustín
- 18 - San Francisco Javier
- 19 - Tecapan
- 20 - Jiquilisco
- 21 - Otzón
- 22 - Puerto El Triunfo

MAPA Nº1  
GOES-OEA

DIBUJO: E. Guido Romo



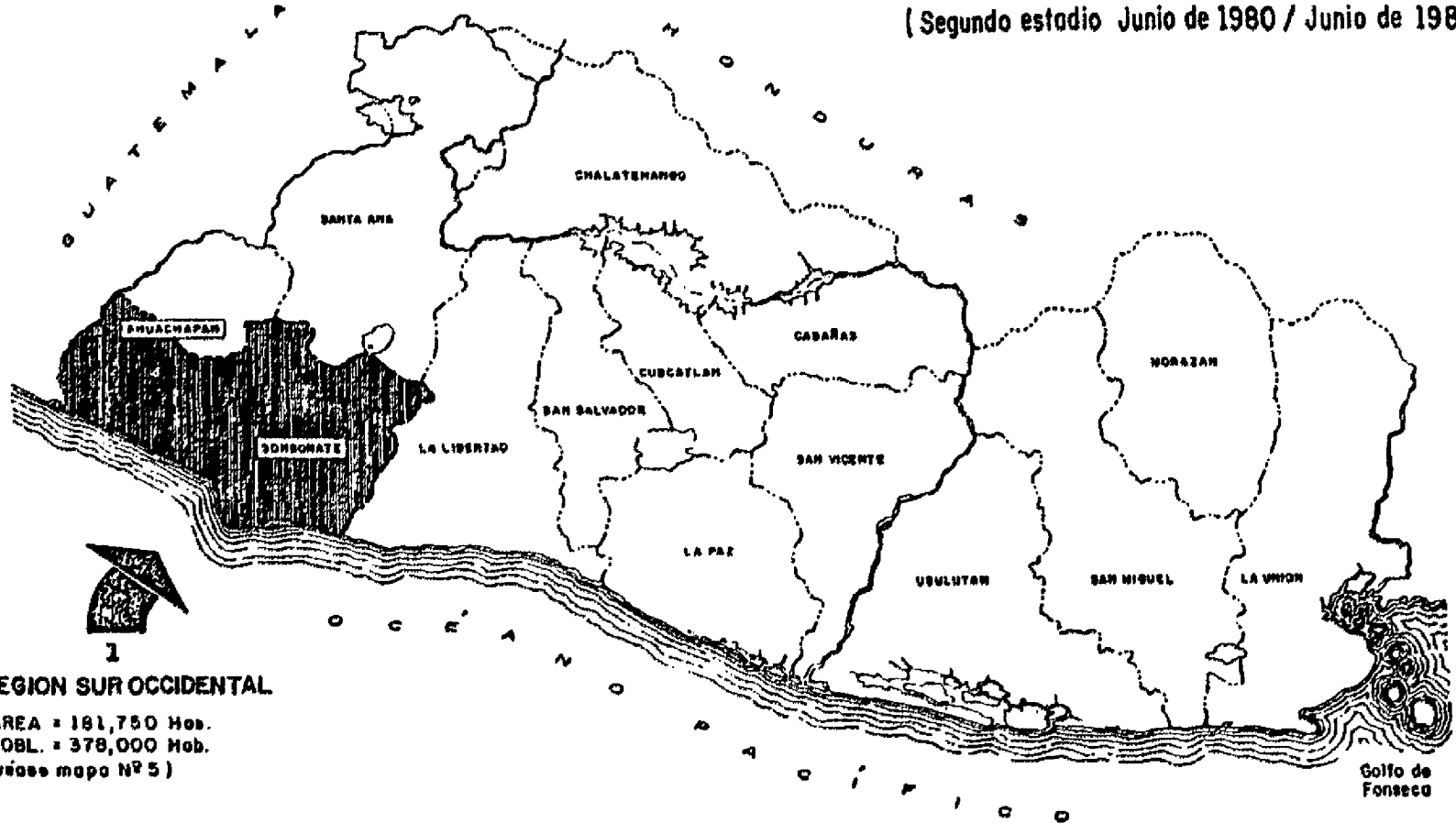
**AREA SELECCIONADA PARA EJECUCION DEL PROYECTO  
DE DESARROLLO RURAL INTEGRADO PDRI-GOES-OEA  
1978 - 1979**





# AREA SELECCIONADA PARA EJECUCION DEL PROYECTO DE DESARROLLO RURAL INTEGRADO PDRI-GOES-OEA

( Segundo estadio Junio de 1980 / Junio de 1983 )



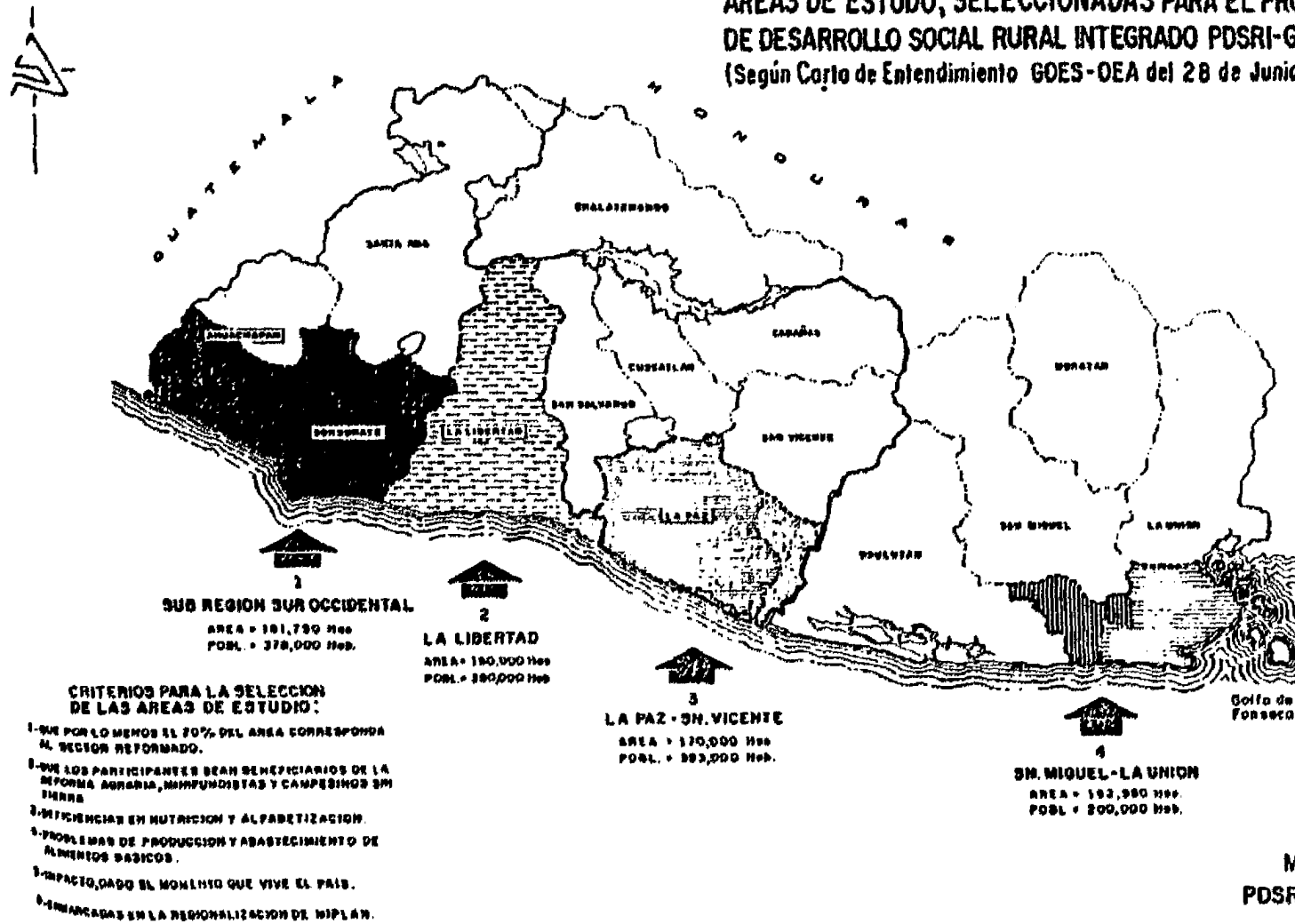
## 1 SUB REGION SUR OCCIDENTAL

AREA = 181,750 Hec.  
POBL. = 378,000 Hab.  
(véase mapa Nº 5)

MAPA Nº 3  
PDRI-GOES-OEA  
DIBUJO: E. Ovidio Ramírez



**AREAS DE ESTUDIO, SELECCIONADAS PARA EL PROYECTO  
DE DESARROLLO SOCIAL RURAL INTEGRADO PDSRI-GOES-OEA.**  
(Según Carta de Entendimiento GOES-OEA del 28 de Junio de 1983)



**MAPA N° 5  
PDSRI-GOES-OEA**

# ANNEX 1.

Table 1 Matrix of Needs and Satisfiers.

| Needs according to axiological category | Needs according to existential categories                                       |                                                                                      |                                                          |                                                  |
|-----------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------|
|                                         | Being                                                                           | Having                                                                               | Doing                                                    | Inter-acting                                     |
| Subsistence                             | 1/<br>Physical health, mental health, equilibrium, sense of humor, adaptability | 2/<br>Food, shelter, work                                                            | 3/<br>Feed, procreate, rest, work                        | 4/<br>Living environment, social setting         |
| Protection                              | 5/<br>Care, adaptability, autonomy, equilibrium, solidarity                     | 6/<br>Insurance system, saving, social security, health system, rights, family, work | 7/<br>Cooperate, prevent, plan, take care of, cure, help | 8/<br>Living space, social environment, dwelling |

Continued

\* The column of BEING registers attributes, personal or collective, that are expressed as nouns. The column of HAVING registers institutions, norms, mechanisms, tools (not in material sense), laws, etc. that can be expressed in one or more words. The column of DOING registers actions, personal or collective, that can be expressed as verbs. The columns of INTERACTING registers locations and milieus (as times and spaces). It stands for the Spanish ESTAR or German BEFINDEN, in the sense of time and space. Since there is no corresponding word in English, INTERACTING was chosen 'a faut de mieux'.

Table 1 Continued

|                    |                                                                                                                                                                               |                                                                                                                            |                                                                                                                                                    |                                                                                                                                                                     |
|--------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Affec-<br>tion     | 9/<br>Self-<br>esteem,<br>solidarity                                                                                                                                          | 10/<br>Friend-<br>ship,<br>family<br>partner-<br>ship,<br>relation-<br>ship with<br>nature                                 | 11/<br>Make<br>love, ca-<br>ress,<br>expres-<br>sion emo-<br>tions,<br>share,<br>take care<br>of culti-<br>vate, ap-<br>preciate                   | 12/<br>Privacy,<br>intimacy,<br>home,<br>space of<br>togeth-<br>erness                                                                                              |
| Under-<br>standing | 13/<br>Critical<br>conscien-<br>ce, recep-<br>tiveness,<br>curiosity,<br>astonish-<br>ment, dis-<br>cipline,<br>intuition,<br>rational-<br>ity                                | 14/<br>Litera-<br>ture,<br>teachers,<br>methods,<br>edu-<br>cational<br>policies,<br>com-<br>munica-<br>tion pol-<br>icies | 15/<br>Investi-<br>gate,<br>study,<br>expe-<br>riment,<br>educate,<br>analyze,<br>mediate                                                          | 16/<br>Setting<br>of forma-<br>tive in-<br>teract-<br>ion,<br>schools,<br>universi-<br>ties,<br>acade-<br>mies,<br>groups,<br>communi-<br>ties                      |
| Partici-<br>pation | 17/<br>Adaptabil-<br>ity,<br>receptive-<br>ness, sol-<br>idarity,<br>willing-<br>ness, de-<br>terminat-<br>ion, dedi-<br>cation,<br>respect,<br>passion,<br>sense of<br>humor | 18/<br>Rights,<br>res-<br>ponsib-<br>ilities,<br>duties,<br>privileg-<br>es, work                                          | 19/<br>Become<br>affi-<br>liated,<br>coo-<br>perate,<br>propose,<br>share,<br>dissent,<br>obey, in-<br>teract,<br>agree on,<br>express<br>opinions | 20/<br>Setting<br>of par-<br>ticipate<br>interact-<br>ion, par-<br>ties,<br>associa-<br>tions,<br>churches,<br>communi-<br>ties, ne-<br>ighbor-<br>hoods,<br>family |

Continued

Table 1 Continued

|          |                                                                                                                                                                       |                                                                                     |                                                                                                                                                   |                                                                                                                                                                            |
|----------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Idleness | 21/<br>Curiosity,<br>percep-<br>tive-ness,<br>solidari-<br>ty, wil-<br>lingness,<br>determina-<br>tion, ded-<br>ication,<br>respect,<br>passion,<br>sense of<br>humor | 18/<br>Right,<br>respon-<br>sibili-<br>ties,<br>duties,<br>privi-<br>leges,<br>work | 19/<br>Become<br>affili-<br>ated,<br>cooper-<br>ate, pro-<br>pose,<br>share,<br>dissent,<br>obey,<br>interact,<br>agree on,<br>express<br>opinion | 20/<br>Setting<br>of par-<br>ticipate<br>interac-<br>tion,<br>parties,<br>associa-<br>tions,<br>church-<br>es, com-<br>muniti-<br>es, nei-<br>ghbor-<br>hoods<br>family    |
| Creation | 25/<br>Passion,<br>determin-<br>ation,<br>intuition,<br>imagina-<br>tion, bol-<br>dness,<br>rationali-<br>ty, auton-<br>omy, in-<br>ventive-<br>ness, cu-<br>riosity  | 26/<br>abili-<br>ties,<br>skill,<br>method,<br>work                                 | 27/<br>Work,<br>invent,<br>build,<br>design,<br>compose,<br>interpret                                                                             | 28/<br>Produc-<br>tive and<br>feedback<br>setting,<br>work-<br>shops,<br>cultural<br>groups,<br>audienc-<br>es, spa-<br>ces for<br>expres-<br>sion,<br>temporal<br>freedom |

Continued

|         |                                                                                                                                                                                    |                        |                                                                                                                                      |                                                      |
|---------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------|
| Freedom | 33/<br>Autonomy,<br>self-<br>esteem,<br>determina-<br>tion,<br>passion,<br>asser-<br>tiveness,<br>open-<br>minded-<br>ness,<br>boldness,<br>rebel-<br>liousn-<br>ess,<br>tolerance | 34/<br>Equal<br>rights | 35/<br>Dissent,<br>choose,<br>be<br>different<br>from, run<br>risk, de-<br>velop<br>awa-<br>reness,<br>commit<br>oneself,<br>disobey | 36/<br>Tempo-<br>ral/sp-<br>atial<br>plastici-<br>ty |
|---------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------|

Source: Max-Neef, Manfred; Elizalde, Antonio and Hopenhayn, "Human Scale Development: An Option for the Future", in Development Dialogue, 1989 (1), p. 33.

## **OUTLINE OF RESEARCH IN RURAL DEVELOPMENT**

### **Assessment of the Corporacion Fe y Trabajo for the Sustainable Development of Rural settlements in El Salvador**

#### **Table of Content**

- Summary
- 1.1 Introduction
- 1.2 Development Need
- 1.3 Research Questions
- 1.4 Outline of Research
  - 1.4.1 Objectives
  - 1.4.2 Scope and Limitations
  - 1.4.3 Research Contributions
- 1.5 Methodology of Research

#### **Summary**

The research project **Assessment of the Corporacion de Desarrollo Fe y Trabajo (CFT) for the Sustainable Development of Rural Settlements in El Salvador**, has identified the strengths, weaknesses, and limitations of CFT performance through an **Action Research Model** where I was actively involved in gathering information, analyzing it, and acting on it. Within this model I helped the CFT's staff to improve their tools for gathering data, assisted in its interpretation, and facilitated problem solving.

\* **The methods** I used were; Document review, Qualitative interviews, and Direct participatory observation with particular attention to: the role and effectiveness of NGOs in national development; the developing of an assessment framework for evaluating NGO's performance; and to provide the CFT with a useful evaluation for present and future policies of rural development in El Salvador. Thirteen were the rural settlements I visited during the field research. In most of them I was first introduced by the CFT's executive director, the CFT's Unidad Tecnica "Rutilio Grande, the CFT's field staff, members of CEBES, and government officers. From these settlements, two groups (Latifundio and Minifundio) were identified according to a land tenure criteria.

\* **The impact** of the programs were assessed using variables such as; Poverty alleviation, productivity, spatial organization and physical habitation, housing, social equipment, social development and women's participation, and environment. \* **The results** of the project will increase the effectiveness of the CFT's strategies, as well as to other rural development projects



led by NGOs throughout Central and South America; it has increased my professional skills; increased the expertise of the International Development Studies (IDS) at Saint Mary's University (SMU) in its international linkages; provided Canadians with a better understanding of international development; and will facilitate further linkages Canada-El Salvador.

**\* General Objectives:** 1. To assess the CFT programs for Sustainable Development in Rural communities in El Salvador; 2. To gain practical experience carrying out research on rural development by working in the assessing and planning stages of integrated rural development programs sponsored by a large national NGO; 3. To complete research for my Master's Thesis by accumulating case study data.

**\* Specific Objectives:** 1. To assess the performance of the CFT in meeting its specific objectives within the framework of sustainable development; 2. To design a research protocol of assessment for NGOs within the national development policies; 3. To provide the CFT with an evaluation report, assessing the programs and policies used to implement its development program, and the assessment protocol.

**\* The Work Schedule** to achieve the program, the objectives were designed based on the curriculum of the IDS (Master Program at SMU) as part of the academic requirements.

**\* Research Findings**-these are structured in five areas: 1. performance; 2. strengths; 3. weaknesses; 4. limitations; and 5. contribution to rural society formation. With a summary of the most relevant.

**\* Statement of conclusions:** The assessment findings have provided an analytical scenario where the CFT's performance can be defined as:

**1. Effective**-to respond to the urgent needs of the rural poor who have been the victims of; a tradition of political and economic exploitation, the civil war (1979-1991), and the post war. Also, it has been very effective in dealing with internal and external pressures/conflicts, and its own institutional needs to enhance its efficiency, growth, development, expansion, and sustainability as essentials to its visionary framework to face the challenge.

**2. Accountable**-to its beneficiaries who find solidarity support, commitment, integrity and appropriate services from the NGO while raising the peasants' hope for a change in their life conditions. Also, to its sponsors - national & international community who do not question the integrity, leadership, vision,

planning strategies, and outstanding role that the CFT has played in helping the rural needy in the most difficult situations and scenarios of the civil war, and post war, as a result, the CFT has also gained the recognition of most rural development's NGOs.

**3. Sustainable** - integrity, project management & financial skills of the NGO, has provided economic funds that have served to sustain the organization while project approval is put on hold by donors who, by the way, have increasingly reduced and conditioned their AID for rural development. As a result, Rev. Aguilar states: "the CFT is experiencing a serious transition to fully achieve its main and most transcendental goal: To help the peasants to overcome structurally, their historical conditions of poverty and marginalization". To accomplish this vision, the CFT is aware that less external dependency & long term self-sustainability is needed, therefore, strategic plans have been laid out, and put in process.

**\* the research question:** "How effective and accountable is the CFT as non-profit NGO for engaging in Sustainable Development and Human Development in rural settlements of El Salvador", has been appropriately answered, as well as: 1. How effective and accountable are the NGOs that operate in El Salvador's rural development ?; 2. How are they engaged in the process for sustainable development ?; 3. What could be an assessment model for NGO rural development programs ?

**\* the Goal:** to produce an assessment on an NGO that has the capacity and integrity to significantly impact on the life of the poorest of El Salvador-The peasants, while creating an assessment protocol that may be used in El Salvador, and the rest of Latin America, was achieved.

**\*Report recommendations:** the CFT should pay attention to: 1. adoption of a horizontal administrative model (as per June 1993-workshop); 2. more attention to the staff's personal needs and, of the need to provide incentives, and the need to upgrade the skills and specializations of the staff; 3. to speed the creation of three committees (Planning, Management & AID Fund Collections); 4. to hire an efficient & integral executive assistant to help Rev. Aguilar, thus more time is dedicated by him to lobby key people-the wealthy, politicians, business people and development experts etc.; finally, to motivate more participation and commitment from the Board.

**\* Personal Impressions:** It is my impression that I have accomplished more than I expected and planned to achieve, and the reason was that, I prepared daily plans (using the newspapers, and people I met, as key resources for information) which helped me to identify; the right place, the right moment, and the right source related to the issues of the research. Also, I consider

that my best asset was to be good listener and make the appropriate questions in the right time. The major impact I experienced was when I reflected on the big gap between two worlds (El Salvador and Canada), particularly on the opposite of their socio-economic conditions. Even though, I am well aware about the scenario of depth poverty highlighted by the obvious socio-economic inequalities, it made me think about my role in development, particularly with regard to the needs of the rural poor in El Salvador. At the moment, the pressures from the post war, and the structural adjustment program have both generated a culture of selfishness and individualism. That in my opinion, it shows a typical scenario of a dysfunctional society which is confused and desperate to shake off the post war crisis, and its historical state of underdevelopment.

## **Research Proposal**

### **1.1 Introduction**

This research was stimulated by the need and interest of the "Corporacion Fe y Trabajo" (CFT) in implementing an assessment of its performance, as a means of evaluating the impacts of programs carried out in the last five years within the framework of Sustainable Development in rural communities in El Salvador. Also, it was stimulated by my personal interest in supporting rural development in the developing world. The research also explored the CFT's contribution to the formation of the rural society, taking in consideration the past, present socio-economic and political context of El Salvador.

At the time this research was initiated, the social economic and political situation of El Salvador was in its highest climax with the debate (among government, parliament and opposition-FMLN), on whether or not the Peace Accords have been properly implemented, or these are facing strategic delays, due that these compete with the implementation of the Neo Liberal Agenda which contradicts many fundamental reforms to be done within the Peace Accords. The debate impact on land tenure, credit, commercialization, cooperatives vs individual lots, traditional agriculture vs Aggro-industry, NGO's opportunism vs Campesino Associations commitment to put rural people first, and in many other economic and political issues.

Also, NGOs' effectiveness and accountability (as questioned by March and Olsen, and E.A.Brett), have been of great concern in El Salvador, particularly due to their proliferation, large amount of economic AID spent with little results, and to ongoing budget cuts from the International community who is seeking more effective allocation of their AID funding. In this sense, an assessment on the CFT has helped to clarify among other things; the role, effectiveness, and accountability of NGOs working in rural development. To conduct the task, the CFT has been the most appropriate NGO which is defined by its mission statement as:

**The Corporacion Fe y Trabajo was founded by Salvadoreans in 1987 as non-profit, apolitical, non-religious humanitarian NGO, Its purpose is to promote economic and human development of the most impoverished and marginalized Salvadoreans, especially the peasants farmers, regardless of race, sex, religion or political views (CFT's Brochure,1993)**

In my opinion, I identified one the most promising Salvadorean NGO. Although, its mandate is apolitical and non religious, however, its current work and commitment in

development suggest that the CFT has been inspired by the "preferential option for the poor" highlighted by Liberation Theology.

## **1.2 Development Need**

Since 1987, the CFT has implemented several programs to promote economic and human resource development within 59 rural communities in El Salvador. These programs have already had an impact on the rural population, who are facing a desperate situation because of the re-integration of refugees/displaced populations to rural areas. The CFT has gained experience in developing human potential, promoting economic initiative, assisting in the re-integration of displaced and demobilized peasants, introducing agricultural techniques to increase productivity and prevent and/or overcome ecological problems, and delivered programs in management, bookkeeping and finance, and offered workshops in managing small scale farm related businesses. While the CFT has extended its services as a response to an overwhelming demand by rural communities, an assessment of its performance and potential has become important in order to improve its effectiveness and accountability, while helping to clarify current debates on doubts about the NGO's role, as questioned by March and Olsen below.

## **1.3 Research Questions**

According to March and Olsen (1989:133), "there are legitimate doubts about the ability of individuals to sustain their capabilities for selflessness in the face of overwhelming temptations introduced by positions of power, and it is the capacity of power to corrupt that challenges the design of instruments of political integration". On this point, E.A. Brett (1993:269-303, in his article Voluntary Agencies as Development Organizations: Theorizing the problem of Efficiency and Accountability), notes that: "Co-operatives, NGOs and community groups are being increasingly used as development agencies by policy-makers, because they are thought to provide more accountable, effective and equitable services in many areas than public or private agencies." In fact, both arguments deserve critical analysis for the benefit of the development efforts. To help to clarify the above, the research question was:

**How effective and accountable is the CFT as non-profit NGO for engaging in Sustainable Development and Human Development in rural settlements of El Salvador.**

## **1.4 Outline of Research**

An Assessment of the Corporacion de Desarrollo Fe y Trabajo did, among other things, assess the implementation and performance of the CFT's programs, using variables such as: poverty alleviation, productivity, environment, women's participation, and project/and resource management skills. Also, attention was paid to land use planning, housing and infrastructure. However, land tenure, credit, marketing, sustainability, and dependence were found a priority.

### **1.4.1 General Objectives**

1. To assess the CFT's programs for Sustainable Development and its contribution to rural society's formation in El Salvador; 2. To gain practical experience in carrying out research on rural development by working in the assessment of integrated rural development programs sponsored by a large national NGO (CFT); 3. To complete research for my Master's Thesis by accumulating case study data and developing a framework for future assessments.

### **1.4.2 Specific Objectives**

1. To assess the performance of the CFT in meeting its specific objectives; 2. To design a research protocol of assessment for NGOs within national development; 3. To provide the CFT with an evaluation report.

### **1.4.3 Scope and Limitations**

Although the scope of the proposed program is presented in the **objectives** and the **research's outline**, it should be highlighted that the political changes in El Salvador were an important variable for the success of the research.

### **1.4.4 Research's Contributions**

1. the CFT's being able to take advantage of the results to evaluate and adjust its own performance, while increasing its effectiveness and accountability with regard to development strategies it may devise to achieve its specific objectives for sustainable development; 2. my professional skills as development analyst have increased, and of the expertise of the international Development Studies (IDS) at Saint Mary's University; also, Canadians may have an opportunity to better their understanding on the role that NGOs play within the economic and social development in third world countries; 3. diffusing the results will contribute to the efforts of other NGOs, while suggesting

their role in the national rural development throughout Central and South America.

### **1.5 Methodology of Research**

I used an "Action Research Model" which allowed me to be involved in gathering information, analyzing it, and acting on it. Here, two assessment strategies were selected: 1. to identify sources of information and 2. to choose the research methods for information's gathering. As a result, triangulation was applied throughout: **Direct participatory observation; Qualitative interviews** (Informal-conversational and Topic focused); and **Document review**.

#### **1.5.1 Assessment Strategies and Sources of Information**

A. Identify the required information. It was done based on: 1. systematic analysis of questions and pertinent results of previous studies, and 2. through brainstorming a series of relevant questions (see annexes). Both techniques were to measure the effectiveness and accountability of the CFT in carrying out the development programs, against the CFT's objectives.

B. Identify the sources of information. Once the required information and the sources to gather it were determined, then several sources were approached, among them; the CFT's executive director, the former and acting manager, the administrative and the field staff, the Unidad Tecnica "Rutilio Grande", key informants and rural settlements' leaders. Also, some funding agencies, AID, ANTA, (National Association of Agrarian Workers), ADC (Alianza Democratica Campesina), CEBES (Christian Base Communities of El Salvador), CAPS (Central America Peace Scholarships), and the Ministry of Cattle and Agriculture.

C. I selected three methods for information gathering: 1. Direct observation; 2. Qualitative interviews; 3. Document review. Also, it was important to keep in mind the time I had available, the country's socio-political instability, the resources at my disposal (i.e. language, money, local culture, rural knowledge etc.), my own skills and experience in evaluation, and the need for flexibility.

### **1.5.2 Research Strategies**

To conduct the research, each rural settlement was analyzed as a system which according to the Integrated Rural Development Strategy, it is made up of six fundamental components as follow:

1.) Productive: This relates to all productive activities that can be associated with other central components, such as; production of vegetables, flowers, corn, beans, fruits, and the establishment of small farms to growth hens (eggs). Also, important is to produce materials for construction, small industry and/or craft production etc. Within this component, special attention was paid to the participation of women in productivity.

2.) Spatial organization and physical habitation: This component deals with the spatial organization (physical) of the rural settlement and its progressive consolidation, in terms of; housing, land (lots), provision of basic infrastructure of services, productive organization, and of social equipment. This assures the appropriate functioning of the settlement within, and with the exterior (roads, transportation, power, etc).

3.) Housing: This constitutes a fundamental piece for the peasants, parallel to the productive component, close attention was paid to it, since it should not be considered a simple activity of construction, but a step to improve the peasant's levels of life.

4.) Social equipment: The purpose of a community's equipment should not be the buildings. It is important to understand that the buildings are instruments for the promotion of social and human development, therefore, the provision of social equipment should comprise from the design and construction of buildings to the consideration of the values, the beneficiaries' attitudes, and their integration in the construction and use of the equipment.

5.) Natural Environment: like soil, water, forest, etc., are essential to life, therefore, the above components should be approached with the understanding that the natural environment must be considered in any process of rural planning.

6.) Social Human Development and Peasant' Participation: One of its main goals is to achieve the peasants' participation in improvement of their own social conditions and forms of life. Thus, the dynamics of organization and administration to motivate participation were analyzed, as well as their level of interest in concrete development actions that the peasants were putting on the consolidation of their rural settlement.



## **QUESTIONS FOR INFORMATION GATHERING**

### **Qualitative Interviews (Informal-Conversational and Topic Focused)**

#### **Introduction:**

- Q: What do you think of your rural settlement?
- Q: How was your life in the settlement before the CFT arrival?
- Q: How has your life changed after the CFT arrival?
- Q: What do women in the settlement do daily?
- Q: What do children in the settlement do?
- Q: What are your main worries in the settlement?
- Q: Are you satisfied with what the community has achieved?

#### **Productive**

- Q: Are you satisfied with the production of: i.e. a) coffee b) corn c) beans d) vegetables etc. And what else do you think that the settlement should produce?
- Q: Is the present production enough for the community in terms of i.e.; a) food b) money etc?
- Q: Are there other areas of production that the settlement thinks should be doing? i.e. a) small industry b) craft c) d) others.
- Q: How women participate in the production of crops?
- Q: What are the problems that the settlement face in terms of production in general i.e.; a) money for inputs b) technical assistance c) lack of participation etc?

#### **Spatial Organization and Physical Habilitation:**

- Q: What the people think about the physical organization of the settlement?
- Q: What changes and/or improvements would people like in terms of: a) housing location, b) settlement distribution, c) social equipment etc?

#### **Housing:**

- Q: Is housing a problem for the settlement?
- Q: What ideas the people have in terms of solving the problem of housing?

#### **Social Equipment:**

- Q: What kind of activities does the settlement to get together and where it happens? i.e. a) parties, b) meetings, c) others.

#### **Natural Environment:**

- Q: How important are the forest for the settlement?
- Q: What does the settlement do to protect the environment?

**Social Development and Participation:**

- Q: Is the settlement organized under a group of leaders? i.e.; a) president b) secretary c) treasure d) other.
- Q: What do this group of leaders do to achieve the well functioning of the settlement? i.e.; a) meetings b) parties c) community work d) others.
- Q: Does the whole community participate in the settlement? and Does it matter?

A set of questions were designed for focused interviews, to get the beneficiaries' point of views on the CFT's performance as follow:

- Q: What is the relationship of the CFT within the community?
- Q: What the community thinks about the CFT?

**Method of Qualitative Interview: At the CFT's Offices****Productive:**

- Q: How self sustainable is agriculture in the settlements, but particularly in the A, B, C, D, E, and F settlements?
- Q: What are the main problems in agricultural production?
- Q: What is the level of participation of women in production?
- Q: How do they work and administer production?
- Q: How has financing been achieved?
- Q: How are productive activities chosen?
- Q: How is the market detected and measured?
- Q: How is commercialization done, and how effective is it?
- Q: How effective has the CFT been in achieving the goals?

**Spatial Organization and Physical Organization:**

- Q: How does the global planning of the settlement respond to the needs of the community?
- Q: What are the problems of the site in terms of a) localization b) distribution of the housing, the productive unities and the social equipment?
- Q: What about the lots, and the road system?
- Q: What about water, electricity and drainage?

**Housing:**

- Q: Is housing a priority for the community?
- Q: How successful has the community been in improving or providing an appropriate housing for their members?
- Q: How supportive and effective has the CFT been in dealing with the housing issue?

**Social Equipment:**

- Q: Are there sufficient social equipment to promote the social and human development of the settlement's members? i.e. buildings/space for school, clinic, recreation etc.

- Q: How is the social equipment organized and managed, and in what way does the CFT assist the community?
- Q: How effective the CFT has been in attending this area?

**Natural Environment:**

- Q: How is the ecological equilibrium achieved within the rural settlements?
- Q: To what extent, does the ecological equilibrium interfere with the economic development of the settlements?
- Q: How effective has the CFT been in achieving ecological equilibrium within the rural settlements?

**Social Human Development and Participation:**

- Q: With regard to training and education as essential to social and economic development, what is the CFT doing to achieve this goal?
- Q: How successful has the CFT been in this area?
- Q: In terms of participation, what has the CFT been doing to achieve full participation of the community toward their own development?
- Q: Who participates in: 1) production, 2) spatial organization and physical habilitation, 3) housing, 4) social equipment 5) natural environment and 6) social development?

**RESEARCH PROTOCOL OF ASSESSEMENT**  
**TO**  
**ASSESS LATIN AMERICAN NGOS IN RURAL DEVELOPMENT**

According to the research's specific objective #2, there would be the design of a **research protocol of assessment for NGOs within national development**. I have fulfilled this objective, by consolidating an assessment document which, as a result, has produced a detailed research assessment protocol's structure that guided me toward the achievement of this outcome. I hope, it may be used by development workers that face the challenge to assess NGOs working in rural development in El Salvador, Central America, and perhaps in Latin America.

**Assessment Protocol's Structure**

- 1. Introduction**
- 2. Development Need**
- 3. Research Question:**

"How effective and accountable is the NGO as a not-for-profit organization for engaging in sustainable development, and human development".

**4. Outline of Research**

**4.1 Objectives:**

General objective - To assess the NGO's programs for sustainable development and contribution to rural society's formation.

Specific objective - 1. To assess the performance of the NGO in meeting its specific objectives; 2. To provide the NGO with an evaluation report.

**4.2 Scope and Limitations**

**4.3 Research Contributions**

**5. Methodology of Research: Action Research Model**

**5.1 Assessment strategies and sources of information:**

- A. Identify the required information;**
- B. Identify the sources of information;**

- C. Identify and choose the methods for information gathering (Triangulation - 1. Direct participatory observation; 2. Qualitative interviews; 3. Document review).

## 5.2 Research strategies:

Integrated rural development strategy's components -

1.Productive; 2.Spatial organization and physical habitation; 3.Housing; 4.Social equipment; 5. Social human development and peasants' participation.

## 6. Research Findings' Guide

- 6.1. NGO's assessment of performance
  - 6.1.1 Poverty Alleviation-Basic Needs
  - 6.1.2 Rural Development-Integrated Rural Development
    - Productive
    - Spatial Organization and Physical Habitation
    - Housing
    - Social Equipment
    - Social Development and Participation
  - 6.1.3 Management of Natural Environment
- 6.2. NGO's assessment of strengths
- 6.3. NGO's assessment of weaknesses
- 6.4. NGO's assessment of limitations
- 6.5. NGO's assessment of its contribution to the formation of rural society.
- 6.6. NGO's overall assessment for the sustainable development of rural settlements.

## 7. Conclusions

- 7.1 CFT's Effectiveness
- 7.2 CFT's Accountability
- 7.3 CFT's Sustainability

## 8. Recommendations

## 9. Annexes

- 9.1 Questions for information gathering
- 9.2 List of interviewers
- 9.3 Bibliography
- 9.4 Map and pictures

**LIST OF PERSONS AND ORGANIZATIONS INTERVIEWED,  
MEETINGS AND VISITS**

| Name                                             | Position and Meetings ( )         |
|--------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1.) Rev. Fco.Xavier Aguilar                      | CFT's Executive Director (11)     |
| 2.) Ernesto Urbina                               | CFT's Former General Manager (1)  |
| 3.) Ernesto Anaya                                | CFT's General Manager (4)         |
| 4.) David Torres                                 | CFT's Account (1)                 |
| 5.) Elizabeth Moran                              | CFT's Secretary (2)               |
| 6.) Hernan Mayen                                 | CFT's Field Central Zone (1)      |
| 7.) Abel Benitez                                 | CFT's Field Orient Zone (2)       |
| 8.) Benjamin Fuentes                             | CFT's Field Orient Zone (2)       |
| 9.) Pedro Hernandez                              | CFT's Field Orient Zone (1)       |
| 10.) Edison Marcony                              | CFT's Field Eng.-Central Zone (3) |
| 11.) Rev.John Mawhinney Ph.D.                    | CFT's Planning & Econ.Analyst (5) |
| 12.) Peasants' Leaders                           | Rural Communities' Leader (12)    |
| 13.) Lic. Sonia Zorrer                           | CFT's Marketing (2)               |
| 14.) Walter Blake                                | Catholic Relief Serv. (1)         |
| 15.) Julio del Valle                             | CAPS Program Manager (4)          |
| 16.) Lopez & Letona                              | CAPS' Evaluations (1)             |
| 17.) George Roland Mull                          | GTZ Latin American Manager (1)    |
| 18.) Lic. Dagoberto Torres                       | PRODERE's Development Office (2)  |
| 19.) Lic. Henry Quezada                          | Pro-Chalate/PRODERE Director (1)  |
| 20.) UCA's Team of Research                      | Agrarian Policy (2)               |
| 21.) Ing. Jose Menendez                          | Former FMLN's Major candidate (2) |
| 22.) Ing. Ricardo Gomez                          | Econ./Agricultral Advisor ADC (4) |
| 23.) Eulogio Villalta                            | ADC's President/Coordinator (3)   |
| 24.) Carlos Rodriguez                            | ADC's Land Comission (1)          |
| 25.) Estela Hernandez                            | ADC's Women's Coordinator (1)     |
| 26.) Obdulio Palacios                            | ANTA's Education Coordinator (2)  |
| 27.) Remberto Nolasco                            | ANTA's Tech/Assist. (1)           |
| 28.) Tito Perez                                  | ANTA's General Secretary (1)      |
| 29.) Nelson Rojas                                | CEBES' Member (4)                 |
| 30.) Juan Jose Rodriguez                         | Fundacion Segundo Montes (1)      |
| 31.) Ing.Alfredo Rodriguez                       | Development Expert (1)            |
| 32.) ADEL - Morazan                              | Coordinator (1)                   |
| 33.) Members of La Estancia, Cacaopera, Morazan. | (10)                              |