A Social Methodology for Community Participation in Local Investments

The Experience of Mexico's PIDER Program

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A Social Methodology for Community Participation in Local Investments: The Experience of Mexico's PIDER Program

ABSTRACT

The PIDER rural development program in Mexico has carried out a large-scale effort for the social engineering of beneficiary participation. This paper outlines the history and experiences involved in building up, within the implementing agency, a coherent social methodology for eliciting farmers' participation in identifying priority local investments and implementing them. The methodology to promote peasant participation was articulated only gradually, with help from sociologists and other social scientists, through a long process of designing-testing-learning-revising; action research and social experiments at the community and microregional level were carried out to test and reformulate the participatory approach.

The methodology refers to various stages of the project cycle: identification of local investments, planning, implementation, monitoring. Constraints on the application of the participatory program include the rigidity of the bureaucratic structure, cultural constraints, opposition to peasant participation for political reasons, interagency conflicts over policy and procedural issues, and the absence or weakness of village-based peasant organizations.

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OVERVIEW AND SUMMARY

The PIDER 1/ program was initiated in 1973 as a large investment program for the implementation of small-scale, local projects in some of the poorest areas of Mexico. The community orientation of the investments necessitated a new approach which would involve members of the community themselves in planning and implementation. The importance given to encouraging and organizing beneficiary participation has become a defining characteristic of the PIDER program. Through a long-term social engineering effort, based on experimenting and learning, a coherent methodology for eliciting beneficiary participation was developed. This paper will (a) analyze how the participatory methodology has been produced; (b) outline the methodology for participatory planning in community development and point out its innovative features; (c) review PIDER's actual experiences with peasant participation; and (d) discuss the constraints and limitations of this methodology.

The social engineering and learning process which produced the methodology for participation was based on the premise that the farmers' perspective is a critical input for successful development planning. Experiences in implementation of PIDER repeatedly showed that traditional, top-down bureaucratic planning procedures had serious drawbacks and that conventional planners very often failed. Farmers typically had specific, locally significant information about their social and economic environment which, when ignored by planners, led to difficulties or failures in project implementation. Participation was the necessary avenue to pursue -- not just for political or ideological motives, but primarily for increased efficiency and reasons of an economic and technical nature.

The process of designing-testing-learning-revising the participatory procedures is one of the most interesting experiences of PIDER. Each idea was put through field tests at the community level, and its results were analyzed, revised according to experience, and retested. Only after this lengthy back-and-forth cycle could the results be codified into a coherent set of procedures.

Elaborating such a methodology required the multidisciplinary skills of professional social researchers and development practitioners, who jointly could design for "software" and build up the capacity of development agencies.

PIDER's social engineering involved real-life social experiments, as opposed to ivory-tower concoction of schemes; it required patient observation of these experiments, learning from errors, and repeated returns to the drawing board. Training was critical, since the results had to be communicated to, and learned by, the client audience. Sustained political

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1/ Originally, "Programa de Inversiones para el Desarrollo Rural" (Investment Program for Rural Development); subsequently changed to "Programa Integral para el Desarrollo Rural" (Integrated Program for Rural Development).

commitment in support of the social engineering approach proved essential for fighting off the bureaucratic and vested-interest obstacles, and the shift from experimentation to normative institutionalization had to be made at the right time. Adequate staffing and organizational rearrangements also proved to be indispensable for carrying out the social engineering effectively.

The conceptual framework of the methodology is based upon: (a) self-definition of interests by the community, (b) community diagnosis, (c) regional integration, and (d) iterative planning. Adhering to these principles permits information about the community to be properly organized; it develops a sense of commitment to the project among beneficiaries; it allows for a conscious priority ranking of investment needs; and it ensures that sufficient time is given to reflect upon and prepare the investment program while avoiding an authoritarian approach.

Information dissemination is recognized as an essential component of the participatory methodology. PIDER's guidelines for information and motivation address two publics: the rural inhabitants and agency personnel. They specify how rural communities may best be informed about PIDER's objectives, strategies, and actions; they recommend methods to ensure that the peasants can make informed decisions about their own participation; and they also emphasize compliance of agency staff with timetables. The guidelines further instruct agency staff about the aims and objectives of increasing participation. The methodology tends to rely on the political empowerment effects of information dissemination as a means "to increase the beneficiary population's bargaining position with the agencies and entities taking part in the Program."

The programming procedures are divided into three phases: (a) field assessment, (b) preliminary programming, and (c) final programming. In each phase the roles of both agencies and community groups are carefully defined. The procedures for each stage cover both the sociological and technical elements of investment planning, prescribing what has to be done at the community level and also what technical-economic feasibility analyses should be undertaken by the specialized agencies.

During the field assessment, data are collected on existing population, infrastructure, and resources in the region; past programs are assessed; communities are selected for the program; each selected locality is studied through field visits, a diagnosis is made, and an assessment report is prepared. It is in this first stage that repeated consultations with beneficiary communities to determine priorities and to identify the development potential are arranged as the beginning of community participation.

In the second phase, preliminary programming, integrated investment plans are prepared by the sectoral on-line agencies. These plans check for the internal cohesion of the project; they estimate project benefits, and they determine the unit-investment parameters of PIDER.

The last stage, final programming, finalizes the specific project plans from the microregional perspective, ensuring that technical and economic feasibility has been achieved. The final program is then communicated to the community, and any changes are clearly spelled out and explained.

Participation in project implementation is the next stage addressed by PIDER's methodology, after programming. Beneficiaries are expected to contribute their share as a fraction of the total costs of the state-funded investments. Specific coefficients were introduced for different types of investments. Participation becomes, in this stage, a strategy for local resource mobilization, ideally pursuing at the same time behavioral, attitudinal, and motivational changes among beneficiaries.

Participation in monitoring the execution of local investments is another area in which PIDER considered that direct involvement of beneficiaries might be an efficient, though nonconventional, solution. Innovative attempts to build the representatives of project communities into the monitoring mechanism were made with excellent results. Yet, the overall methodology for participatory implementation and monitoring has not been sufficiently worked out and generalized; the great potential for participatory monitoring has remained by and large unused and it is now being still explored.

The application of the participatory model in PIDER over time has made gradual progress and has been extended to many microregions, but in a rather uneven manner both territorially and in terms of the various stages of the project cycle. Available evidence points to both success and serious constraints and weaknesses. The decentralization process launched under PIDER III has yielded substantial institutional changes and has created a more propitious framework for participation; yet reforming the bureaucratic procedures at the lower levels of the state administration has run into many obstacles endogenous and exogenous to the bureaucracy itself. The review of recent physical achievements under the PIDER program confirms, however, the necessity and soundness of the participatory orientation.

The constraints on the application of the social methodology for participation, as suggested by PIDER's own experiences, are further analyzed in detail. They are of both an organizational-bureaucratic and societal-structural nature. The problems in achieving optimum levels of participation include the rigidity of the bureaucratic structure, which, because of its internal patterns and priorities, creates time and staffing obstacles to genuine field work; cultural constraints, in the form of the established value systems of technicians and planners who are called upon to adopt new planning strategies; interagency conflicts over policy or programs; and structural-societal constraints, resulting from the position of certain vested-interest groups who are opposed to peasants' increased local participation in investment decision-making and who attempt to maintain their political grip over resources and local affairs.

A particularly vulnerable aspect of the participatory program methodology is the continued lack of guidelines for building stable forms of farmer organizations or for using the existing ones and strengthening them. Little work has been done to develop the peasant organizations which can best interact with technical agencies and which can provide the most effective structure for maintaining infrastructural assets built through projects.

Finally, further expansion of the participatory methodology should be oriented toward other phases of the project cycle. This can be achieved through improving the methodology for participation in implementation, monitoring, operation, and maintenance.

PRESENTACION GENERAL Y RESUMEN

El PIDER 1/ se inició en 1973 como un programa de inversiones de gran envergadura para la ejecución de proyectos locales de pequeña escala en algunas de las zonas más pobres de México. La orientación de las inversiones en beneficio de la comunidad hizo necesario un nuevo enfoque que involucrase a los propios habitantes de las localidades en las actividades de planificación y ejecución. La importancia conferida al fomento y organización de la participación de los beneficiarios se ha convertido en una característica peculiar del PIDER. Mediante una actividad de largo plazo en el campo de la ingeniería social, basada en la experimentación y el aprendizaje, se ha desarrollado una metodología coherente para obtener esa participación de los beneficiarios. Este documento tiene por finalidad: a) analizar la forma en que se ha producido la metodología participatoria; b) reseñar la metodología para la planificación participatoria del desarrollo de la comunidad y señalar sus rasgos innovadores; c) pasar revista a las experiencias reales del PIDER en cuanto a la participación de los campesinos, y d) examinar los factores limitativos de esta metodología.

La ingeniería social y el proceso de aprendizaje que produjeron la metodología para la participación comunitaria tuvieron como base la premisa de que el punto de vista de los agricultores es un elemento esencial para el éxito de la planificación del desarrollo. La experiencia en la ejecución del PIDER demostró repetidamente que los procedimientos tradicionales de planificación de arriba abajo en la estructura burocrática presentaban graves inconvenientes y que a menudo fracasaban los planificadores tradicionales. Eran frecuentes los casos en que los agricultores poseían informaciones específicas y localmente significativas acerca de su medio social y económico que, al ser ignoradas por los planificadores, conducían a dificultades o fracasos en la ejecución de los proyectos. El derrotero que se precisaba seguir era el de la participación, no solamente por motivos políticos o ideológicos, sino principalmente con miras a lograr una mayor eficiencia, y por razones de carácter económico y técnico.

Una de las experiencias más interesantes del PIDER es el proceso de diseño, prueba, aprendizaje y revisión de los sistemas de participación. Cada idea se puso a prueba en el terreno a nivel comunitario y los resultados obtenidos fueron analizados, modificados en función de la experiencia y sometidos a nuevas pruebas. Tan sólo después de este prolongado ciclo de iteración pudieron codificarse los resultados en un conjunto coherente de procedimientos.

1/ El nombre original "Programa de Inversiones para el Desarrollo Rural" fue reemplazado posteriormente por el de "Programa Integral para el Desarrollo Rural."

La elaboración de esa metodología exigía los conocimientos multidisciplinarios de investigadores sociales profesionales y de especialistas dedicados a las cuestiones del desarrollo que pudieran diseñar conjuntamente los componentes lógicos necesarios y fortalecer la capacidad de los organismos en el campo del desarrollo.

La ingeniería social del PIDER involucró experimentos sociales de la vida real, a diferencia de la elaboración de planes artificiosos desde una torre de marfil; exigió la observación paciente de dichos experimentos, el aprendizaje derivado de los errores cometidos, y repetidos retornos al tablero de diseño. La capacitación fue elemento crítico, puesto que debieron comunicarse los resultados a los beneficiarios para que éstos los aprendiesen. Un compromiso político sostenido en apoyo de la ingeniería social resultó esencial para repeler los obstáculos burocráticos y los intereses creados, y el movimiento de la experimentación hacia la institucionalización normativa tuvo que hacerse en el momento oportuno. La dotación adecuada de personal y la reorganización institucional fueron también indispensables a fin de aplicar la ingeniería social de manera efectiva.

El marco conceptual de la metodología se basa en lo siguiente: a) definición de intereses por la propia comunidad, b) diagnóstico comunitario, c) integración regional y d) planificación sobre una base iterativa. La observancia de estos principios permite que la información acerca de la comunidad se organice adecuadamente; crea entre los beneficiarios un espíritu de compromiso para con el proyecto; hace posible una consciente ordenación de prioridades de las necesidades de inversión y asegura que se conceda tiempo suficiente para reflexionar sobre el programa de inversiones y para prepararlo, en tanto que se evita un sistema autoritario.

Se reconoce que la divulgación de la información es un componente esencial de la metodología participatoria. Las pautas del PIDER con respecto a información y motivación están dirigidas a dos clases de público: los habitantes de las zonas rurales y el personal de las instituciones. Dichas pautas especifican cómo se puede informar de la mejor manera a las comunidades rurales acerca de los objetivos, estrategias y actividades del PIDER; recomiendan los métodos para asegurar que los campesinos puedan tomar decisiones fundamentadas acerca de su propia participación, y también controlan la observancia de los calendarios de actividades por el personal de las instituciones. Además, en ellas se instruye al personal de las instituciones acerca de las metas y objetivos de una participación creciente. La metodología se basa en los efectos de la divulgación de la información en cuanto hace a otorgar poder político como medio de "acrecentar la posición de la población beneficiaria en sus negociaciones con las instituciones y los organismos que participan en el Programa".

Los procedimientos de la programación comprenden tres etapas: a) evaluación en el terreno, b) programación preliminar y c) programación definitiva. En cada etapa se definen cuidadosamente las funciones tanto de las instituciones como de los grupos comunitarios. Los procedimientos correspondientes a cada etapa comprenden los elementos tanto sociológicos como técnicos de la planificación de las inversiones, al prescribir lo que tiene que hacerse a nivel comunitario y los análisis de viabilidad técnica y económica que deben efectuar los organismos especializados.

Durante la evaluación en el terreno se recolectan datos sobre la población, infraestructura y recursos existentes en la región; se evalúan los programas pasados; se seleccionan las comunidades para el programa; se estudia, mediante visitas en el terreno, cada una de las localidades seleccionadas, se formula un diagnóstico, y se prepara un informe de evaluación. Es en esta primera etapa cuando, como iniciación de la participación comunitaria, se organizan repetidas consultas con las comunidades beneficiarias a fin de determinar las prioridades e identificar las posibilidades de desarrollo.

En la segunda etapa, de programación preliminar, los organismos del sector correspondiente preparan planes integrados de inversión. Estos planes verifican la cohesión interna del proyecto respectivo; en ellos se estiman los beneficios del proyecto y se determinan los parámetros de las inversiones unitarias del PIDER.

La última etapa, la programación definitiva, pone fin a los planes específicos del proyecto desde el punto de vista microrregional, asegurando que se haya alcanzado la viabilidad técnica y económica. Se da a conocer entonces a la comunidad el programa definitivo, describiendo y explicando claramente cualesquiera cambios introducidos.

La siguiente etapa dentro de la metodología del PIDER, después de la programación, es la participación en la ejecución del proyecto. Se espera que los beneficiarios contribuyan la parte que les corresponde en los costos totales de las inversiones hechas con fondos aportados por el Estado. Se introdujeron coeficientes específicos para los diferentes tipos de inversiones. En esta etapa la participación se convierte en una estrategia para la movilización de recursos locales, buscando al mismo tiempo la introducción de cambios en el comportamiento, las actitudes y las motivaciones de los beneficiarios.

El seguimiento de la ejecución de las inversiones locales es otro campo en el que el PIDER consideró que la participación directa de los beneficiarios podía ser una solución eficiente, aunque no convencional. Se han hecho, con resultados excelentes, intentos innovadores por incorporar en el mecanismo de seguimiento a los representantes de las comunidades comprendidas en los proyectos. Sin embargo, la metodología general en cuanto a la participación en la ejecución y en el seguimiento no se ha perfeccionado ni generalizado en grado suficiente y virtualmente no se han puesto en juego las posibilidades en lo que respecta a la participación en el seguimiento.

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La aplicación del método participatorio en el PIDER ha progresado gradualmente y se ha extendido a numerosas microrregiones, pero de una manera más bien desigual tanto desde el punto de vista territorial como en cuanto hace a las diversas etapas del ciclo de los proyectos. Los hechos indican éxitos y al mismo tiempo graves factores limitativos. El proceso de descentralización iniciado en virtud del PIDER III ha producido apreciables cambios institucionales y creado un marco más propicio para la participación; pero la reforma de los procedimientos burocráticos en los niveles más bajos de la administración estatal ha tropezado con muchos obstáculos tanto endógenos como exógenos a la propia burocracia. El examen de las realizaciones físicas alcanzadas recientemente en virtud del PIDER confirma, sin embargo, la necesidad y la bondad de la orientación participatoria.

Se analizan además en detalle los factores limitativos que existen para la aplicación de la metodología social en cuanto a la participación, según lo indican las propias experiencias del PIDER. Tales factores son de carácter tanto orgánico-burocrático como socioestructural. Entre los problemas que impiden alcanzar niveles óptimos de participación figuran la rigidez de la estructura burocrática que, en razón de la programación y fijación de prioridades en su orden interno, crea obstáculos de tiempo y de personal a la realización de un auténtico trabajo de campo; los factores limitativos culturales, representados por los sistemas de valores establecidos de los técnicos y planificadores encargados de adoptar nuevas estrategias de planificación; los conflictos interinstitucionales acerca de políticas o programas, y los factores limitativos socioestructurales, que se derivan de la posición de ciertos grupos con intereses creados que se oponen a la creciente participación local de los campesinos en la formulación de decisiones sobre inversiones e intentan mantener el control político sobre los recursos y los asuntos locales.

Un aspecto especialmente vulnerable de la metodología de los programas participatorios es la constante falta de pautas para la creación de formas estables de organizaciones de agricultores. Muy poco es lo que se ha hecho para desarrollar las organizaciones de campesinos que puedan colaborar de la mejor manera con los organismos de ejecución y proporcionar el marco más efectivo para el mantenimiento de las obras de infraestructura construidas a través de los proyectos.

Finalmente, la expansión adicional de la metodología participatoria deberá orientarse hacia otras etapas del ciclo de los proyectos. Esto puede alcanzarse mediante el mejoramiento de esa metodología en lo que respecta a la participación en las actividades de ejecución, seguimiento, funcionamiento y mantenimiento.

Glossary

CIDER	Centro de Investigacion para el Desarrollo Rural (Center for Research on Rural Development)
ejidatorio	Member of an ejido
ejido	Under Mexican law, a kind of cooperative of farm families with joint rights of usufruct to land
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations
Grupos de Apoyo	Support groups
IDB	Inter-American Development Bank
IFAD	International Fund for Agriculture
INI	Instituto Nacional Indigenista (National Institute for the Indigenous Populations)
PAPCO	Programa de Apoyo a la Participacion de la Comunidad Rural (Support Program for Rural Community Participation of PIDER)
PIDER	Initially, Programa de Inversiones para el Desarrollo Rural (Investment Program for Rural Development); subsequently changed to Programa Integral para el Desarrollo Rural (Integrated Program for Rural Development)
SAG	Secretaria de Agricultura y Ganaderia (Secretariat of Agriculture and Livestock)
SPP	Secretaria de Programacion y Presupuesto (Secretariat of Programming and Budgeting)

I. PIDER: A LARGE-SCALE PROGRAM OF SMALL INVESTMENTS

From its inception, the PIDER 1/ program was established in Mexico to channel substantial resources into low-income, underdeveloped rural areas. It was designed as a giant nationwide program for financing a broad range of small investments at community level, in order to enhance the productive capacity and the social infrastructure of these communities. Under this program, Mexico will have spent by the end of 1983, over about ten years, some US$2 billion in 139 PIDER microregions, including more than 9,000 communities with roughly 12 million inhabitants.

1. Investments for Poverty Alleviation

During the last five to six decades, a pattern of uneven development has characterized Mexico's overall growth, investment patterns, productivity levels, and income distribution between the urban and rural sectors. Within the rural sector itself, a dualistic growth pattern has left the bulk of the rural poor deprived of the benefits of development. 2/ One-third of the agricultural labor force is landless. Increased under- and unemployment in rural areas has led to a dramatic rise in rural-urban migration. Despite the

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1/ Initially, PIDER meant "Programa de Inversiones para el Desarrollo Rural (Investment Program for Rural Development). Subsequently, the name of the program was changed to "Programa Integral para el Desarrollo Rural" (Integrated Program for Rural Development), as it is called today.

2/ For an in-depth analysis of the socioeconomic and cultural structures of Mexico's underdevelopment, and its current agrarian constraints and contradictions in particular, the interested reader may consult the studies of Rodolfo Stavenhagen and Pablo Gonzales Casanova, referred to in the bibliography.

gains of the "green revolution," agricultural development has been slow and significantly below the population growth rate; this has brought Mexico among the world's four largest importers of grain. Thus, as a program to alleviate rural poverty and increase agricultural production, productivity, and employment through accelerated investments of public funds into the most depressed areas of Mexico, PIDER was badly needed.

Early in PIDER's beginnings, the Mexican government requested World Bank support for the PIDER program. A loan for US$110 million was approved in 1975 under the Bank-assisted PIDER I project, to support development in thirty microregions; this project was completed in 1980. A second loan of US$120 million for the PIDER II project (additional twenty microregions) was approved in 1977 and completed by end-1982. (Key components and figures for PIDER I and PIDER II projects are described in Annex I.) A third loan for US$175 million for the PIDER III project (seventeen microregions) was approved in 1981 and arrangements have been made in 1983 to adjust the disbursement of this loan to the difficulties resulting from Mexico's economic crisis. 1/ (See Annex II for detailed figures on the ongoing PIDER III project.) The territorial spread of the PIDER microregions over the thirty-one states of Mexico can be seen on the two maps at the end of this paper.

PIDER's objectives have expanded during its existence. Its strategy has undergone changes, and the administrative-institutional mechanisms through which it has been implemented have been strengthened, made more flexible, and decentralized. PIDER as such has operated as a coordinating program and not as a self-sufficient and self-contained agency. Located within the Federal Secretariat of Programming and Budgeting (Secretaria de Programacion y

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1/ PIDER is also internationally supported through loans from the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB) and the International Fund for Agriculture (IFAD).

Presupuesto, SPP) PIDER does not execute investments itself but operates as a program that involves multiple technical line agencies in a coordinated administrative-financial mechanism for channeling investment funds for specific small rural projects. The PIDER program has therefore a relatively limited special staff within the SPP at federal and state levels, but the program has been backstopped by other SPP departments and has absorbed full-time numerous staff of various other agencies and state governments in PIDER-financed activities.

2. Why Participation?

Given the very nature of PIDER, a policy and implementation issue of cardinal importance has been, and is, the participation of its beneficiaries in investment identification, execution, and use. In a way, PIDER is unique in that the enormous financial resources it controls are not invested in a handful of huge and extremely costly projects, but in thousands and thousands of small projects, tailored to the needs and size of small villages or of subgroups within these communities. Such investments are made, for example, for small-scale irrigation, soil conservation projects, fruit tree plantations, rural roads, fishponds, livestock units, rural health points, schools, potable water systems, village electrification, etc. This has made it of paramount importance to ensure the actual involvement of the intended beneficiaries in identifying -- among the infinite number of possible local investments -- which are the priority ones, which ones will make better use of the local resources, and which ones will address the most burning local needs.

The PIDER program is daily confronted with the complex task of "achieving the fit" not just between one "project package" and its environment, but between thousands of distinct small projects and thousands of different socioeconomic, cultural, and natural environments. That task could

not be entrusted to the planners alone, since very early it became obvious that they had failed at it, not having the requisite local knowledge. Participation of beneficiaries was the only avenue to pursue -- not for just political or ideological reasons, but primarily for mere efficiency and for reasons of an economic and technical nature. Therefore, against many odds, the course was taken in PIDER toward calling for, promoting, postulating, and organizing participation.

Overstatements have often been made in the past about the role played by farmers' participation in the first two Bank-assisted PIDER projects. But a more down-to-earth approach was taken at the design and appraisal of the PIDER III project. There is no doubt that over the last eight years, since the PIDER I project started, the promotion and even the institutionalization of participation has made certain progress. This is largely because participation in PIDER did not remain simply a topic for trendy exhortations but became a genuine concern for carefully elaborating a social technology to ensure peasants' actual involvement in the planning and implementation of state-financed development activities. Year after year, this emerging social technology has been gradually introduced by the SPP into the planning process in new PIDER-covered microregions. During this process, SPP has guided not only its own staff but also the staff of other administrative agencies contributing to PIDER in reorienting their planning and investment programming procedures in a participatory manner.

As a result, the traditional bureaucratic style of these numerous technical agencies 1/ has started to undergo some changes. These agencies were prompted by PIDER to send their staff into the grass-roots, rural communities to prepare investment proposals out in the field rather than in a desk-bound manner, as in the old bureaucratic routine.

Since these changes in the style and substance of the process of local development investments have to continue, it is important to ascertain the experience accumulated from, the potential of, and the likely constraints upon, popular participation within the PIDER program. The present paper, therefore, will:

- o Analyze the very process through which the participatory methodology was produced, since this kind of social engineering experiment is still very scarce--yet imperiously necessary -- in many ongoing development programs
- o Outline the participatory methodology itself -- its components, procedures, and prescriptions for activating the participation of communities in investment definition, implementation, and monitoring

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1/ A large number of agencies (technical and administrative, at federal and state levels) receive partial financing through PIDER. These agencies construct infrastructural assets funded by PIDER or provide services and staff for PIDER-financed activities. Among the agencies contributing in various degrees to PIDER are: The Secretariat of Agriculture and Water Resources and its subagencies; the Secretariat of Human Settlements and Public Works; the Mexican Coffee Institute; the Coconut Promotion Agency of Guerrero; the Secretariat of Agrarian Reform; the Department of Fisheries; the National Bank for Rural Credit; Bank of Mexico; National Fruit Development Commission; Administrative Committee for the Federal School Construction Program; Federal Electricity Commission; Secretariat of Public Health and Assistance; the National Company for Popular Subsistence; and other various agencies at the state level.

- o Review PIDER's actual experience in introducing and practicing the new methodology and in readjusting its bureaucratic structures accordingly
- o Discuss the constraints and limitations, organizational or societal, of community participation in light of the Mexican experience.

By pointing out the innovativeness of the participatory experience in PIDER and by revealing its difficulties, this analysis aims to contribute to a consistent application, as well as to the improvement, of the participatory approach in the ongoing PIDER programs. At the same time, it will call attention to the transfer value for other developing countries of some of the experience accumulated in this area in Mexico. The experience reflects Mexican conditions and institutional settings and is not to be extrapolated in detail, but mutatis mutandis it does offer relevant suggestions with respect to the main approaches, principles, and basic processes. Flexible and creative learning from this experience would imply adjustments for different national contexts and changes, innovations, and adaptations for the local customs, institutional structures, and values if genuine participation is to be achieved.

II. THE PRODUCTION OF A PARTICIPATORY METHODOLOGY

It is sometimes said that the way to the truth is as important as the truth itself. Paraphrasing this old adage, we may say that the process through which one arrives at a methodology for participation is no less important than the methodology itself. In the case of PIDER, the very way in which the methodology for participation has been worked out is indeed of great interest in itself. It suggests valuable lessons, with potential for transfer, about the "ingredients" necessary for carrying out a social experiment and institutionalizing its products.

1. A Social Engineering Approach to Participation

Little knowledge was available at the outset for achieving the "organized participation of the local population" in investment planning, which was PIDER's aim. The very setting of such a goal was a courageous social and political development. It was bound to confront not only the lack of prior experience but also the opposition of some vested-interest groups or the stifling routines of entrenched bureaucratic institutions. Translating this goal into practical action was to require a social engineering effort of rather long duration, political will and commitment, and sociological experimentation, evaluation, and self-correction.

PIDER embarked on solving this task. In an initial stage, it had enlisted the help of CIDER (Centro de Investigacion para el Desarrollo Rural, Center for Research on Rural Development), which, besides its evaluation functions, was asked to design and test out a "social technology" for eliciting sustained popular participation in PIDER.

A sociological approach was adopted for producing the methodology of participatory planning. It was "sociological" in the sense that it was based on an analysis of the social forces or groups involved in, or left out from, the process of investment planning and of the political, economic, and cultural characteristics of these forces or groups; on a critical social analysis of prior experiences with community planning; and on an evaluation of the institutions and bureaucratic agencies involved and of the changes they would need to go through. It also comprised a sequence of social experiments in village communities, under varied but comparable real-life conditions, with the proposed methodology: supervised testing and pilot applications of the methodology on limited administrative areas of the country; feedback of findings into revised procedures; a learning-and-training program for educating staff regarding the prerequisites of the new approach; and gradual formalization of the evolving methodology into guidelines mandatory for the agencies involved in the PIDER program.

This sociological approach, details of which will follow, is thus in itself an experience which has transfer potential to other contexts for which a participatory methodology is to be elaborated. Even though the circumstances in such other contexts will be different, and the approach would have to be modified to fit these circumstances, it is clear that the social technology for participation needs to be designed carefully and to be based on previous social analysis and social experimentation, rather than to be improvised hastily with more enthusiasm than meticulous social design. This sociological approach has required not just "applied social research"--understood as "taking the problems as defined by policy makers and translating

those problems into research designs" 1/--it has required rather "social engineering", which could be defined distinctly as using the body of sociological knowledge and of investigation techniques for designing policies, organization structures, and action methodologies to accomplish a definite social purpose.

No decree can introduce farmers' participation in the design of investment programs overnight. No participatory approach can evolve simply in a sanitized executive office, away from the communities for which it is destined, and then be imposed top-down. No design of a participatory procedure can be perfect and workable from the first attempt. Although this would seem self-evident, many rural development projects and programs testify to the contrary. They simply proclaim participation as a goal, assume that once proclaimed it will happen, but lamentably fail to make the processual steps for translating this goal into practice.

The same happened in more than one agricultural development program in Mexico before PIDER, and then in the initial stage of the PIDER program as well. As Jorge Echenique, who was involved from the outset in designing PIDER's participatory approach, observed correctly,

> There is a tendency for rural development programs, PIDER included, to emphasize farmer participation, organization, and self-management . . . . But these goals are never actually defined or explained in detail ... As a result, this approach often goes no further than the pronouncement stage, and is not reflected or put into practice during the course of the program. The official agencies, whose inertia is evident, mostly act along their old hidebound traditional lines, defining what is to be done, how it is to be done, and who is to benefit, without having any specific knowledge of the real social and cultural context in which they are operating. Limited to a superficial

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1/ Peter H. Rossi and William F. Whyte, "The Applied Side of Sociology." In H.E. Freeman et al. (eds.), Applied Sociology: Roles and Activities of Sociologists in Diverse Settings (San Francisco, Ca.: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1983), p. 10.

> view of the natural environment and resources, they entertain the naive conviction that the aspirations and needs of the rural population match their own institutional priorities, and continue to dwell in the blissful certainty that the peasants know nothing of technology, projects, and serious things of that kind. 1/

The type of participation contemplated by PIDER was intrinsically linked to its nature as a rural development program geared to alleviate poverty in selected areas of Mexico. Participation was to be promoted in determining the priorities for supporting these communities and in enabling the poorer strata to share the benefits of development. It was less clear which social sub-groups within the target communities (which obviously were not homogeneous) had to be motivated to participate. However, given the program's overall orientation, the more deprived groups were regarded to be those whose active involvement in, and benefit from, development had to be stimulated, primarily through increasing their productive capability and their productivity.

Early in PIDER's history it was realized that major problems were caused by the inadequacy of the public investment programs. This shortcoming was the result of an improper determination of which investments were most needed by the local communities. Therefore, PIDER and CIDER set out to make a critical analysis of the traditional way in which investment programming for rural communities was being done in Mexico.

A question frequently asked today, in retrospect, about PIDER's participatory effort is: "why was there such a great (almost exclusive) emphasis on the initial stage of investing for development -- the programming stage?"

1/ Jorge Echenique, "Notes on Peasant Participation in Rural Development Planning," paper prepared for the Sociological Workshop on Participation, August 8, 1979 (Washington, D.C: The World Bank; mimeo), p. 1.

Although it was recognized that farmer participation was needed in all stages (planning, execution, supervision, etc.), PIDER considered that the overall success of the development program depended primarily on ensuring participation in the initial stage, namely in programming the investments over which PIDER had influence. 1/ The programming work to be done included establishing the priorities; identifying the project beneficiaries, location, and technology; and determining the possible community contributions in labor and resources. Therefore, the procedures for programming investments had to be reformed first.

The traditional investment and programming system for rural communities in Mexico was unambiguously top-down: certain authorities or agencies first decided to carry out a project and notified the community later. This bureaucratic manner had been gradually amended, even before PIDER's start, by incorporating into the annual budgets applications submitted by communities (either to the Governor or to politicians, during their political campaigns and visiting tours) and judged by the authorities to be viable technically and economically. Nonetheless, budget items originating in local applications were outnumbered by those introduced by the technical experts on the staff of the offical agencies.

PIDER concluded that the traditional procedures had serious drawbacks. First, the true origin of the application was never known: it was

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1/ This consideration can, of course, be debated. One can argue that other stages are at least as important as the initial programming stage, or more important, in building up a genuine participatory approach. PIDER, however, considered this approach to be best at the time. Subsequently, as lessons of experience started to come in, certain efforts were undertaken regarding promoting participation beyond the programming phase. These will be discussed later in this paper. In hindsight, however, it appears to us that the exclusive concentration on the programming stage, while providing the benefits of focus, was a self-imposed limitation that adversely affected the overall participation drive more than it helped it.

not known whether the original application expressed the interests of community or ejido leaders only, of a less powerful group in the community, or of most campesinos or ejidatarios. 1/ Second, the usual application was never backed up by technical data on which agencies could decide approval or rejections and often did not convey the perspective that the farmers themselves had on the project or activity concerned (location, specific beneficiaries, size, etc.).

In addition, early in the program CIDER and PIDER management realized that the technical experts of various sectoral agencies tended automatically to adopt (even for PIDER-financed projects) technological models taken out of other economic and social contexts, models unsuited to agricultural development in the given project areas. It also became apparent that the peasants felt that PIDER works were often badly located and that no attention had been paid to the peasants' arguments. These and other similar findings reflected a lack of dialogue between the technicians and the farmers during the investment planning and selection stage.

Based on these conclusions, it was decided in 1974 that a new set of procedures for identifying priority needs and optimal investments at the community level was necessary; this decision was arrived at through a process of seeking increased effectiveness and rationality, rather than out of ideological or political expediency. PIDER mandated that CIDER

1/ The term ejido is derived from the Spanish equivalent of the village "common." In present Mexican law, the ejido is basically a kind of cooperative, consisting of a group of families with joint--and inalienable--rights of usufruct to land. The head of such a family is called an ejidatario. Ejidos accounted in 1979 for 43%, or 60 million hectares, of Mexican farmland. There is sharp socioeconomic stratification within the membership of many ejidos; most productive activities are carried out by members individually, but for some others, including marketing, there are various forms and degrees of cooperation between members.

start preparing such a methodology. The preparation process was expected to be not just a desk-bound exercise but an effort in action-research 1/, including social experiments in vivo that would entail going out into the villages, activating community initiatives for optimal resource allocation and resource maximization, and experimenting with new procedures for planning.

Thus, the course taken was toward elaborating and empirically testing new approaches and procedures, which would be articulated in an overall methodology that would replace the top-down imposition of development decisions with a system of planning from the bottom up. The articulation of this methodology was conceived as a deliberate and sophisticated effort to produce a simple operational approach, applicable by managers and farmers in a regular manner.

The recognition that a social methodology is necessary for building the "software" of PIDER's development interventions has a significance that transcends the case of PIDER itself. It is worth dwelling on this significance. While many technologies are available for the "hardware" components of development projects, this is not the case for the institutional components and the sociocultural parts of these projects, which in no way are less important for the projects' ultimate success. Yet methodologies for software development are generally not available in a conceptualized and operationalized form; development assistance agencies have not joined efforts with the social science communities for elaborating them. As it was observed, "rarely is the social scientist called on to help an organization build a

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1/ This initiative can probably be also related to the overall emergence and expansion of participatory research and action-oriented research in Latin America, as G. Falabella described it: "a new encounter between analysis and practice".

capacity to actually use social science knowledge and data in ways that would contribute directly to improving performance." 1/

The scarcity of such social methodologies for developing the software -- in this case, for organizing participation -- leaves the pragmatic and operational questions unanswered.2/ This scarcity also leaves plenty of room for amateurism, incompetence, and improvisation to creep in; it is frequently used as an excuse for neglecting the software, and it accounts for the failures of many development interventions.

1/ David C. Korten, "Community Organization and Rural Development: A Learning Process Approach," Public Administration Review (September-October 1980), p. 501.

2/ It is precisely these kinds of pragmatic questions, not the philosophical ones, that are usually asked by development organizers and agencies. Gloria Davis summarized concisely these questions in a symposium that discussed farmers' participation in World Bank-assisted projects, including PIDER:

> The questions, then, are: How do we increase participation? What are the costs? . . . What are the contextual factors which make success more or less probable? How do we address problems such as class stratification and different class interests within villages? How do we link village demands with vertically integrated implementing agencies with a divergence of budgets and policies? And how do we deal with the development objectives, ideologies, and vested interests of borrower Governments? These questions are not an argument against a participatory approach, but suggest that what is needed is not only the willingness to do participatory projects, but a tool kit of concepts and examples on how to proceed . . . This is precisely what social scientists, not to mention laymen, must know to determine whether participatory projects are feasible; and how they should be accomplished. (Promoting Increased Food Production in the 1980s, Proceedings of the Second Annual Agricultural Sector Symposium, January 5-9, 1981; Washington, D.C.: The World Bank, p. 284).

PIDER's decision to produce such a methodology was therefore a significant departure. It is also part of a recent trend,1/ still timid but visibly growing, to recognize the need of and to devote resources for preparing social methodologies for tackling the organizational, institutional, and cultural dimensions of development.

2. The Dance Hall, the Dam, and the Farmers' Perspective

The intention that guided the elaboration of the participatory methodology was to introduce the farmers' perspective into the process of planning local investments. The difficulty -- and novelty -- was to make the planners see development needs and opportunities with "farmers' eyes," rather than to let them limit themselves to routine and aloof technical and financial assessments.

In speaking about "the farmers' perspective" on a given investment or activity, the promoters of the participatory approach mean the evaluation that the farmers themselves make of a proposed project, having in mind their past experiences, their resources, and their current needs. This evaluation often differs from the experts' image. The sociological concept underlying the recognition of farmers' perspective is the principle of self-definition of needs. Officials and development planners are not regarded by PIDER as

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1/ Another significant example of this trend is the preparation of social methodologies for establishing and strengthening Water Users Associations. This is a change from the conventional approach in developing irrigation systems, which concerned itself only with the physical infrastructure of irrigation, and it is visible in irrigation projects in several countries. The most interesting experience to date seems to come from the Philippines and was described in detail in Frances Korten's study, Building National Capacity to Develop Water Users' Associations, World Bank Staff Working Paper No. 528 (Washington, D.C., 1982). A similar experience with systematic social engineering efforts is reported by Norman Uphoff from the Gal Oya Water Planagenent Project in Sri Lanka. Interesting efforts for working out such methodologies were also undertaken in Nepal (within the Small Farmer Development Program of FAO), in Malawi, and in other countries.

necessarily the appointed interpreters or exponents of the farmers' interests. The crux of the desired methodology was to get the farmers' "angle" on a proposed item of investment and to bring the peasants and the experts together for a joint discussion.

PIDER and CIDER had identified a lack of dialogue and consultation between the technicians and the peasants during the programming stage regarding their respective images of each project. This absence deprived the planner and technician of both information about and identification with the interests of the beneficiary peasants. As one of the contributors to the participatory methodology put it,

> The peasant knows the land and water situation in his locality, a knowledge that is passed on from generation to generation. He knows the extent of his own technology and the means of production available to him. He knows the physical and economic results of his past activities. He identifies many of the causes of his failures and of his lack of progress and has his own special view of his development needs and plans. This is the basic raw material for the programming expert and the cement holding the development projects together. To work without this kind of information is like programming in a vacuum. 1/

The sad story of a village diversion dam in Baja California Norte is a telling example in this respect. Several days of torrential rains completely destroyed the "El Chocolate" dam, and the floodwaters swept away the structures of many irrigation wells. A large area of fruit tree plantations, some of which were PIDER investments, was also destroyed. The experts who had been responsible for constructing the dam told the CIDER team preparing the new methodology that the dam's collapse was an act of fate, that they had consulted the only hydrometric series available for rainfall and surface run-offs (for the last fifteen years), and that they had designed the project based on existing information -- without allowing for the possibility

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1/ Echenique, "Notes on Peasant Participation," p. 6.

that rains heavier than the maximum recorded in the series might fall. The same CIDER team asked the rural inhabitants as well. Their opinion about the dam's collapse was different--namely, that the experts had not paid any attention to the villagers' experience. The oldest among them clearly remembered that thirty years earlier it had rained solidly for two days in the region, and that the stream on which the dam had been built had risen to a level of 5 meters (the experts had calculated a maximum of 3 meters). 1/

The farmers' perspective "sees" aspects which the experts might not perceive, as suggested by another example. During a conventional investment programming exercise, technical planning staff mockingly rejected a "crazy" written request from a village where the farmers proposed that a dance hall be constructed. Out of curiosity, a CIDER team decided to visit the ejido that had proposed that unsuitable expenditure. It found that many of the farmers in that village were musicians, and that their reputation was so good that on Sundays and holidays rural inhabitants from the surrounding area came to dance on improvised, open-air grounds. Most of the ejido members felt that a dance hall would be the best means of attracting more visitors, of selling local products, and thus of bringing in money and generating employment. In terms of rural development, as the team commented afterwards, "we wondered whether the application for a dance hall was not more justifiable than many of the 'white elephants' included by the experts in PIDER programming."

Thus, striving for "the farmers' perspective" was the engine powering the entire design and testing of the participatory methodology.

1/ Similar cases of "peasant engineering wisdom" have been reported from the Philippines (the dam at Laur) and Nepal. Both dams collapsed; the circumstances of engineers' ignoring farmers' knowledge, and the outcomes, were almost identical. (See papers by F. Korten and N. Uphoff, referred to in the bibliography.)

3. The Experiment: Designing-Testing-Learning-Revising

In designing the set of participatory programming procedures, the working group of researchers, planners, and administrators set up by CIDER and PIDER was given the opportunity to do what more recently has been called "action research" -- namely, to try out the devised procedures during actual planning operations in several microregions.

The preparation of the participatory methodology was carried out as a major social experiment. Since the same individuals did both the design and the implementing of the new procedures, they were able to avoid the trappings of a purist academic or utopian social experiment, to learn from real field difficulties, and to increase the practicality of the proposed methodology. The central CIDER-PIDER working group 1/ helped establish several local multidisciplinary teams (consisting of sociologists, economists, planners, and technical experts) that embarked on performing this genuine "social engineering" task in various microregions. The researchers were thus put in the propitious position of reaching a multiplier effect by providing the personnel of the action agencies with tools for their own profession--planning.

The multidisciplinary teams went out to villages in different regions, studied past and current forms of (and constraints on) village involvement, assessed local needs and potential, and considered various options for the new approach. The experiment was informed by a sociological understanding of the political and cultural factors at work in the Mexican peasant society, of the social and economic analysis of the peasant

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1/ This "working group" included a mix of professional skills: social anthropology, economics, sociology, agronomy. The core members of the team were: J. Echenique, Marcos Arellanos, Victor Chagoya, Antonio Monzon, Alfonso Cano.

population, of the power systems operating in the society at large, and of the institutional context within which planning and participation had to be carried out.

This experimental approach to designing a social technology for participation has provided an enormous comparative advantage over other attempts previously undertaken in Mexico, attempts which had drowned in noisy but impractical rhetoric. Political scientists and sociologists who have studied participation approaches in different countries correctly observed that "participation is often endorsed unambiguously on normative grounds even if the empirical basis is not clear. A real danger is that with growing faddishness and a lot of lip service, participation could become drained of substance and its relevance to development programs disputable." 1/ In contrast with this observation, Mexico's PIDER was not drained of "substance and relevance" precisely because of a pragmatic, nuts-and-bolts type of approach. Participation was regarded as a matter of social engineering for establishing a modified set of social and power relationships between the "actors" of the planning process: professional planners and technicians, the beneficiary population, and the concerned agencies and institutions.

Table 1 summarizes the main moments and stages of the lengthy social learning process through which the elaboration of the participatory methodology has gone, from the beginning to what the methodology is now.

Decoding this table, one grasps the image of an incessant "dialogue" between: (a) work at the drawing board; (b) field testing; and (c) actual application. In fact, the back-and-forth cycle was even longer than the table suggests: from design to field testing, from testing back to the drawing

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1/ Norman T. Uphoff, John M. Cohen, and Arthur A. Goldsmith, Feasibility and Application of Rural Development Participation: A State-of-the-Art Paper, (Ithaca: Cornell University, 1979), p. 3.

Table 1

Chronology of the Preparation, Testing, Application, Revision, and Retesting of the Guidelines for Participatory Programming

Period	Stage of work	Who did the work	Areas of testing or application
1975 Aug-Sept	Design (preparation of first methodology)	- CIDER/PIDER staff	
1975 Oct-Dec	Field-testing	- CIDER/PIDER staff	- Mazahua (Edo. de Mexico).
1976 Jan-March	Field-testing	- CIDER staff	- Tejupilco (Edo. de Mexico); Ensenada (Baja California Norte) and other micro-regions (for annual reprogramming)
1976 April	Revision & Training Seminars (for PIDER's technicians) on Programming	- CIDER staff - CIDER, PIDER, and State Staff	- Headquarters - Baja California Sur; Sur de Yucatan; Hecelchacan (Camp); Sur de Nuevo Leon
1976 Oct-Dec	Revision & Document Preparation (PIDER's programming methodology)	- CIDER/PIDER	- Headquarters
1977 Feb-Jun	Application & Training Seminars (in different regions for PIDER and agency technicians)	- CIDER/PIDER and State Staff	- Oriente de Morelos - Poniente de Morelos
1977 Jul-Oct	Revision and Document Preparation (new document on programming)	- CIDER/PIDER	- Headquarters
1978 Feb-April	Application	- CIDER/PIDER	- Sur de Yucatan
1978 Jun-Oct	Partial Application (of CIDER's Methodology on PRODERITH/ S.A.R.H. Regions)	- CIDER	- Ostuta (Oaxaca) - Huixtla (Chiapas) - Tixcancal (Yucatan)
1979 Feb-Dec	Application (including the entire plan for Zacatecas)	- CIDER/PIDER and State Staff	- Chatina (Oaxaca); Valparaiso, Norte, Sombrerete, Pinos, Fresnillo, Jalpa, (Zacatecas)
1980 Jan-Feb	Revision & Document Preparation (new Manual) a/	- CIDER/PIDER & Coordinadora	- Headquarters

Period	Stage of work	Who did work	Areas of testing or application
1980 Mar-Apr	Application (for full-scale programming)	- SPP and agencies' staff--Fed. + State	- Full-scale programming in 8 microregions as basis for appraisal of PIDER III project: Norte and Mocorito (Sinaloa), Atoyac and Costa Chica (Guerrero), Tlaltenango and Valparaiso (Zacatecas), Sur and Litoral Norte (Yucatan)
1981	Application (for full-scale programming)	- SPP and agencies' staff	- Additional 9 microregions financed under the PIDER III project.
1981 Apr	National Seminar on PIDER	- SPP Fed. and State staff	- Reviewed national experience with PIDER, including participatory methodology, for transfer of certain responsibilities to state level
1982 Mar	Issuance of Methodological Guidelines of the Support Program for Rural Community Participation (PAPCO) (focused on information and motivation)	- SPP/PIDER	- Application in several microregions
1982 May	Issuance of 2 Manuals (on the socioeconomic analysis of rural communities and on the formulation of productive project)	- SPP/PIDER	
1982 June	Issuance of Manual on PAPCO (revision of March '82 guidelines)	- SPP/PIDER	
1982 July	Issuance of Manual (on procedures for programming-budgeting in PIDER)	- SPP/PIDER	
1982 Aug-Sept	Issuance of 2 Manuals (on project implementation monitoring and evaluation)	- SPP/PIDER	

a/ "Manual de procedimientos para la programacion de inversiones publicas para el desarrollo rural" (Mexico, D.F.: SSP and CIDER, January 1980).

board, then again to testing in the field and redesigning, then on to training of staff to apply the new design on a larger scale. And so the back-and-forth process continued creatively.

The social experiment was difficult and complex. Different lessons were derived from microregions with different social settings and different institutions. Messages from the field tests were often contradictory and unclear. New tests were necessary. The successfully tested principles had to be solidified in clear prescriptions, while the areas of uncertainty had to be narrowed down gradually. Also, together with firm normative prescriptions, overall flexibility had to be built in, to allow room for local differences in applying the guidelines. The entire sequence was a social learning process 1/ for developing an approach out of lessons from experience. Training took on an increasing importance as the emerging methodology had to be explained and disseminated to larger numbers of staff for application in new geographical areas.

As it is visible from Table 1, the design of the participatory methodology started 2/ in August 1975, and its practical testing began in the

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1/ See extended discussion of the significance for development of a "learning process approach" in Korten, "Community Organization."

2/ Table 1 reflects in its chronology both the continuities and discontinuities of the social engineering and learning process described. To understand the table better, one should know that the period of 1980 (second half) and 1981 was a time of important administrative changes in SPP/PIDER that also affected the institutional arrangements for promoting participation. Major decisions to decentralize PIDER were made in 1981, and they entailed strengthening of SPP/PIDER staff at state level, including more specific responsibilities for organizing participation and creation of several new "support" departments in SPP headquarters to assist the participation promotion programs carried out at state level. Also in 1981, CIDER ceased to be involved in the further refinement or application of the participatory methodology. Thus, while the pre-1981 experience was further carried out in the new organizational setting with a good degree of continuity, there were also obvious interruptions that caused losses of momentum and of accumulated lessons (see further Chapter II, sections 4 and 5, and Chapter VII, Section 2).

Mazahua microregion (Mexico State) in fall 1975. The process involved meetings at the community level, village diagnostic assessments, and other procedures that will be explained later in this paper (see Chapter IV). With some corrections, the initial programming design continued to be tested during the first quarter of 1976 in a larger area consisting of eight micro-regions. 1/ These tests were carried out either as the original programming of investments for a given microregion or as part of the annual exercise for reprogramming allocations made previously.

Based on the experiments, the first guidelines were drastically modified, and a more down-to-earth document was prepared. 2/ At that point, and at PIDER's request, CIDER also organized a training program to start educating PIDER personnel at large about the principles and procedures of the emerging participatory methodology.

Following two more rounds of testing and refinement of the participation-eliciting methodology -- in 1976 in South Yucatan, Hecelchacan, and other microregions, and in 1977 in the Western and Eastern Morelos microregions -- new recommendations were readied and applied in early 1978 through actual planning exercises on limited areas. The difference between simply "testing" and "application" was that the latter was done as part of the

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1/ Tejupilco (Mexico State), East Morelos (Morelos State), Ensenada (Northern Baja California), and Chol, Cintapala, Zoque, Lacandona, and Bellavista (Chiapas).

2/ It is not the purpose of the present chapter to reconstruct and describe each one of these initial or intermediate methodologies, which were provisional when they were drafted and therefore needed a succession of revisions. Rather, the intent is to emphasize the processuality of working out a methodology through trial and error, through iterative approximations and sequences of refinements. Of course, the paper will further describe in detail (Chapters III, IV, and V) the content of what was arrived at as (more or less) the "final" methodology for participation (although such a methodology, in our view, should never be "frozen" and regarded as unchangeable and nonperfectable).

regular annual programming exercise, and its results were incorporated into the investment plan. Not only CIDER/PIDER staff, but virtually all the other relevant line and technical agencies were involved. The participatory methodology emerging from these repeated rounds thus was not just the output of a few imaginative minds, but the result of confronting the issues in practice and of repeated fine tunings at the drawing board.

During the designing, testing, and refining of these procedures, PIDER and CIDER continuously stressed the linkage between the two sides of the planning process: the sociological and the technical sides of planning. Participatory planning was intended to mean more than collecting a "shopping bag" of community proposals and accepting them without sound review. Understanding the sociology of the given community, its power and economic structures, was important but not enough. The "social engineers" of the participatory approach soon learned that a careful technical-economic scrutiny and justification of each proposal was also required. "Social engineering" had to go hand in hand with, and not substitute for, the "technical engineering" and financial soundness analysis.

This awareness led to a significant correction: part of the efforts for producing a methodology were redirected toward the production of several new analytical instruments -- which were, in a way, "by-products" of the participatory methodology -- for stringently assessing the technical and economic soundness of local investment proposals. 1/ These were necessary

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1/ The simultaneity in preparing both types of "instruments" -- social and technicoeconomic--was in fact an adequate response to two fallacies often present in the arguments in favor or against participation--the "populist" fallacy and the "paternalistic" fallacy. As has been correctly argued, the populist fallacy that the rural majority always "knows better" than the technical personnel and has sufficient skills to bring about development by itself is as erroneous as the paternalistic fallacy that the bureaucracy knows best and can do alone all that is needed for development (see Norman Uphoff and Milton Esman, Local Organization for

because often the proposals emerging from communities contained nothing more than an attractive idea, without back-up technical information and economic justification. Therefore, PIDER has gradually developed instruments and standard forms for the technical formulation and economic justification of grass-roots proposed projects, standard checklists for investment analysis, identification guidelines for assessing the engineering requirements of projects, etc. The use of these instruments helped enhance the quality and soundness of microproject preparation, particularly the economic and technical preparation, and standardized the investment feasibility assessments across microregions.

Another "correction" of the overall approach was the increasing recognition given to the need for promoting participation in the implementation and monitoring of the community works financed by PIDER, as well as in the operation of completed community projects. This correction was triggered by the 1978 mid-term evaluation of the PIDER I project, which uncovered, inter alia, many disastrous cases of waste of resources. These, it was felt, could have been prevented or mitigated through consistent involvement of beneficiaries in the execution of the local projects and in the monitoring and control of the quality of works performed by private contractors and technical agencies financed by PIDER. 1/ Unfortunately, a full-fledged effort to prepare a methodology for participation in project

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1/ (Continued)
Rural Development: Analysis of Asian Experience; Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University, 1974,
pp. 3-6.)

1/ Some findings of this mid-term evaluation are discussed in the paper Measuring Project Impact: Monitoring and Evaluation in the PIDER Rural Development Program in Mexico, by Michael M. Cernea. World Bank Staff Working Paper No. 332 (Washington, D.C., June 1979), pp. 44-74.

execution and monitoring (as had been done earlier for programming) was not initiated immediately after the mid-term evaluation. However, the new understanding did stimulate some attempts to work out solutions for these stages, too, which produced some results three to four years later.

A further stage in elaborating the participatory programming methodology was the decision to apply it, for the first time in 1979, to an entire state -- Zacatecas -- for preparing the overall state investment plan. The challenges involved in this effort (compared with applying the new procedures only in selected microregions) as well as the staff resources required were of a different magnitude than any prior testing (more details are given in Chapter V). Altogether, diagnostic work at the grass-roots level was carried out in over 1,050 village communities in Zacatecas, and about 200 staff of different agencies were involved. The state plan was thus a result of using the participatory methodology across the board. Subsequently, when the PIDER III project was appraised in 1980, it incorporated financing of the investment plans for two of the Zacatecas microregions, as designed through this first full-scale participatory planning exercise.

Thus, by the start of the PIDER III project the process of designing-testing-learning-revising was virtually completed, in the sense that essential lessons were already accumulated and that the participatory programming methodology had already become an instrument reliable enough for widespread application.

4. Formalizing Organizational Norms for Participation

The time had thus come, by the beginning of 1980, to move ahead from experimenting to institutionalizing, from testing approaches to prescribing procedures. In other words, the experience accumulated and the several generations of draft guidelines had to be synthesized into a formal methodology with normative authority for mandatory application in PIDER.

This happened with the issuance, early in 1980, of a SPP Manual for Programming 1/ containing the strategy and the detailed procedures that had emerged from the previous several years of testing. This Manual was made "the norm" for immediately programming PIDER III areas. Numerous training seminars were organized for staff at various levels and in different regions to familiarize them with the Manual. The four states (Sinaloa, Guerrero, Zacatecas, and Yucatan), with seventeen microregions to be covered under the PIDER III project, were required to use the methodology prescribed by the Manual. They did so for the first eight microregions later in 1980 and in early 1981. In a sense, this was to be the "final" methodology for participatory programming: not in that it was seen as "frozen" and closed to further improvements, but in that it was regarded as an instrument perfected enough to be introduced as the formal norm throughout the entire PIDER.

The path toward this "final" methodology was not a smooth one. Besides the difficulties inherent in the mechanics of testing, there were institutional obstacles to overcome as well. At various levels in one or another agency, the bureaucracy reacted with a mix of support and reluctance, sometimes opposing the new approach openly, other times paying it lip service while in practice sidestepping it.

Even within PIDER, the acceptance by staff and managers evolved only gradually. In fact, at every stage that a new, revised methodology was readied, it had to be cleared formally before further application. While those responsible for testing and fine-tuning the methodology were basically a group of social researchers, those who had to approve and enforce its implementation were managers and administrators. The views of these two

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1/ "Manual de procedimientos para la programacion de inversiones publicas para el desarrollo rural" (Mexico, D.F.: SPP, Direccion General de Programacion Regional, and CIDER, January 1980).

groups did clash sometimes. The managers often felt pressed by time and execution deadlines; they were concerned that the application of the participatory model might lengthen the planning process or might entail excessive costs and staff resources. Various management teams that succeeded each other at the helm of PIDER over the years were not equally convinced that the improvements resulting from the participatory procedure would justify the greater efforts involved in planning. In turn, various line agencies at the local level did indeed recognize in principle that a participatory methodology was needed, but this did not necessarily mean they received the proposed procedures with open arms.

The sociologists and economists involved in changing the new methodology derived strength during this process from their increasing immersion in the technical and social-change practicalities of investment identification and planning, as well as from the ultimate support given by SPP/PIDER's senior management. This support and commitment was instrumental in keeping the social experiment going and in triggering some reorientation within the line agencies as well.

5. Staff for Implementing the New Methodology

The production process of a social methodology is not complete without a mechanism and the resources able to implement it. It is generally difficult to assume that a new approach can simply be superimposed over the existing administrative-bureaucratic organization to make the latter function differently. Reorganization is required in one degree or another, implying: (a) reallocation of staff resources; (b) redefinition of functions and responsibilities; (c) rearrangements of linkages between different units of the administration, thus to establish the mechanism and the apparatus

necessary for carrying out the methodology. Otherwise, a new methodology would remain a simple utopian notion, while business as usual would continue.

Such major reorganizations have happened in SPP and PIDER during the period from end-1980 to the beginning of 1983. Only some of them were related to the implementation of the participatory methodology; political reasons contributed to triggering others. 1/ We will discuss here only those relevant to setting up the mechanism for participation. These refer to organizational decentralization and rearrangement at both federal and state levels and to methodological developments in the community-involvement techniques.

Organizationally, the decentralization process launched when the PIDER III project was about to begin in 1981 was propitious for strengthening the participatory orientation. This decentralization was a necessary complement to promoting participation at the lowest level, since maintaining tight central management control upon each microregion in PIDER was no longer consonant with progress in vesting expanded rights in the local communities. Increased authority was assigned to state governments. A devolution of federal authority for the planning, implementation, and monitoring of centrally funded rural development programs was effected to the state level. In February 1981, an Agreement was signed between SPP and State Governors for transferring a set of central PIDER responsibilities to state governments. This process of decentralization of authority is specially significant in the

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1/ There were, in fact, two "waves" of changes: one in 1981, consisting of a substantial decentralization of PIDER, which was related to clear political reasons, as well as to the nature of the program itself and to the need to bring its management closer to the investment and development process at the community-microregional level; the second, by end-1982/beginning-1983, was the reorganization of the SPP itself in the aftermath of Mexico's presidential elections. The ways in which the 1983 changes will affect participation will have to be assessed over the next few years.

Mexican context, in which the federal government is extremely strong and in which federal funding has until recently been synonymous with central planning. 1/

The mechanism instituted through decentralization for carrying out PIDER with increasing involvement of beneficiaries called for: (a) the establishment in each state of a State Committee for Rural Development; (b) the establishment of Subregional Rural Development Committees for each one of the PIDER microregions (with both subregional and state committees to include representatives of the implementing agencies and of the beneficiaries' communities); (c) the assignment of additional staff resources to act as "support groups" (Grupos de Apoyo) for informing communities on PIDER, for making socioeconomic analyses and diagnostic assessments on project communities through direct work with the population of these communities, and for assisting in the formulation and technical-economic preparation of

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1/ In the 1970s, during the PIDER I and II projects, SPP staff assigned to PIDER used to have the responsibility for planning the investment package for each microregion; each executing agency was then requested to construct those works which fell under its purview and was provided with PIDER investment funds. The state governments in Mexico's thirty-one states exercised a rather symbolic function. Starting with 1981, however, the situation was reversed, and state governments were given authority and responsibility for the programming, budgeting, and coordination of the microregional PIDER investment programs. Central SPP staff retained only guiding, support, and broad monitoring functions. This decentralization was also intended to enhance the states' capability for multiyear investment programming to improve the technical quality of project preparation; to give funds and rights to the states for executing works themselves with local agencies, and not only through the central technical agencies; and to shoulder the strategy of involving beneficiaries in planning. According to the new system, state governments prepare (and coordinate) medium-term investment plans for three- or four-year periods, based on priority needs which have to be identified at the community level. Revisions and detailed specifications of actual investments are to be done each year.

identified projects at community level. 1/ This represented a significant step in institution building for participatory development and a substantial beefing-up of staff resources mandated to interact directly with the local communities.

At the same time, another interesting development happened in SPP itself. While essential functions were devolved from the center to the periphery, SPP considered it necessary to set up a more elaborate structure for providing methodological support and assistance to the states in implementing their new responsibilities. Four such support programs were established and staffed in SPP headquarters:

- o The program for supporting participation of rural communities (PAPCO)
- o The program for socioeconomic analysis of the rural community
- o The program for supporting the formulation of productive projects
- o The program for monitoring, execution control, and evaluation of project implementation.

These four central programs were mandated to carry on the effort for developing methodologies, guidelines, and manuals for their specific areas, to be used in all states. At the same time (1981), CIDER was phased out from working on the participation methodology for PIDER (in hindsight, this appears to have been a premature decision).

1/ The average staff ratios assigned to these Grupos de Apoyo for work with rural communities are: two staff per microregion for the socioeconomic analysis of communities; two staff for three microregions for information and motivation activities among beneficiary communities; two staff per microregion for monitoring and evaluation, in conjunction with community representatives, of investment implementation; and ten technical staff per state for the technical preparation of projects, in conjunction with technicians belonging to the line agencies.

These four programs were reconfirmed during the recent (1983) reorganization of SPP following the presidential election in Mexico.1/ The intention is, in fact, to expand their methodological support to other development programs besides PIDER. (Organizational charts of the 1983 structure of SPP and PIDER Directorate in which these programs are located are given in Annexes III-IV.)

The institutionalization of these methodological concerns in SPP/PIDER headquarters has provided additional structure and focus. In short time, a flurry of "Lineamentos Metodologicos" (methodological guidelines) and "Manuales" were prepared and issued, elaborating further on the "how-to" aspects of the social technology for community participation.

Particularly interesting is the "Manual for the Support Program for Rural Community Participation" ("Manual del programa de apoyo a la participacion de la comunidad rural"; the program is abbreviated as PAPCO). 2/ This Manual sets forth the strategy for "information and motivation" -- in other words, the approach to explaining to communities and agency staff the objectives and investment means of PIDER.

At almost the same time, two other Manuals were prepared and published on the socioeconomic analysis of communities 3/ and on the

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1/ See "Reglamento interior de la secretaria de programacion y presupuesto (SPP)," in Diario Official Mexico, D.F.: March 25, 1983).

2/ PAPCO, "Lineamentos metodologicos para el programa de apoyo a la participacion de la comunidad rural" (SPP, Direccion General de Desarrollo Rural Integral, January 1982) and "Manual del programa de apoyo a la participacion de la communidad rural" (SPP/PIDER, June 1982).

3/ "Manual del programa de analysis socioeconomico de la comunidad rural" (SPP/PIDER, Direccion General de Desarrollo Rural Integral, May 1982).

formulation of productive projects for local communities. 1/ Also, a revised manual on procedures for programming and budgeting 2/ in PIDER was issued in July 1982, summarizing both the justification of the participatory approach and the procedures for carrying it out.

Before the 1982 year was over, two other manuals on monitoring project execution control were also put out; 3/ each one, in varying degree, specified ways in which the communities could and should be involved not just in identifying programming investments, but also in project implementation and monitoring.

In summary, the process of producing a methodology for community participation in investment programming has continued in PIDER from 1975 up to date. The years 1981-83, building upon previous efforts and experiences, have seen an extension of the previous concerns from programming to other forms of participation, and have established organizational and staffing instruments in support of the social methodology that has evolved. In the process, prior errors are being corrected. The institutional memory of PIDER has been crystalized in guidelines and manuals, although a significant part of this experience has been lost with the frequent changes in staff and managers. The recent proliferation of manuals may be something of an exaggeration, but in essence it is a positive development. The content of this methodology will be examined in substance in Chapters III to V.

1/ "Manual del programa de apoyo a la formulacion de proyectos productivos" (SPP/PIDER, May 1982).

2/ "Manual de procedimientos para la programacion-presupuestacion" (SPP/PIDER, August 1982).

3/ "Manual de procedimiento para el seguimento de operaciones" (SPP/PIDER, August 1982); "Manual de procedimientos para el control de la ejecucion (SPP/PIDER, September 1982); "Lineamientos para el evaluacion en el PIDER" (SPP/PIDER, September 1982).

6. Lessons of Social Engineering

Some lessons can be derived, summarizing the examination made so far, about why the social engineering approach for participators was embraced and about how the laborious learning processes through which PIDER went have progressed and resulted in a tangible, structural, pragmatic methodology for participation. These lessons are instructive for any efforts to build up propitious circumstances for favorable social engineering elsewhere and to replicate an effective path of social engineering.

First, there was a set of facilitating circumstances that proved crucial for setting the climate and taking the organizational road toward working out a participatory methodology. Among such circumstances, we count: (a) awareness of failure, meaning the unmitigated recognition of the ineffectiveness of prior programming procedures; (b) consensus on need for change; (c) setting up of a multidisciplinary working group, with a shared value system, favoring participation; (d) support from the top echelons of the government agency (SPP); (e) willingness to experiment out in the field, to make mistakes, and to learn from them; (f) recognition that innovative social engineering needs time, needs a patient "laboratory" (field time) before being ready for generalization on a large scale.

Second, the lessons derivable from the social engineering process through which the new model has been produced point to the following gains in know-how:

- Elaborating such a social methodology requires the multidisciplinary skills of professional social researchers and development practitioners; only jointly can they design for "software" and build up the capacity of development agencies.

- Social engineering involves real-life social experiments, as opposed to ivory-tower concoction of schemes; the model for participation of project beneficiaries is not simply a brainchild, it is a pattern of social organization for development action. Establishing such a pattern requires patient set-up and observation of these experiments, learning from errors, and repeated returns to the drawing board.
- Training is critical in social engineering because even partial, mid-way results have to be communicated to, and learned by, the client audience; not least, ongoing training builds up the constituency and receptivity for the products of the social engineering effort.
- Sustained political commitment in support of the social engineering approach is necessary for going the distance and fighting off the entrenched bureaucratic and vested-interest obstacles.
- Transition from experiments with, to normative institutionalization of, participation has to be made at the right time.
- New staffing and organizational rearrangements follow necessarily from social engineering; no new methodology can be effective, viable, and sustainable without them.

III. THE CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK FOR PARTICIPATION IN PIDER

This is the first of three chapters describing and analyzing what the participatory methodology -- produced through the social engineering and learning efforts described before -- consists of. This chapter summarizes the conceptual framework of PIDER'S participatory approach; 1/ Chapter IV will present the participation methodology in programming; and Chapter V will examine participation procedures in project implementation and in monitoring.

1. A Means, Not an End

While some overpragmatic planners tend to dismiss the conceptual framework as simple rhetoric or unnecessary theory, it is a fact that without the clarifying role of some concepts no participatory mechanism could have been articulated or can be implemented.

The conceptual framework, or the "philosophy" which guides and expresses PIDER's orientation toward participatory investment planning, formulates what is popular participation and why it is necessary at the local level. These concepts have evolved during the years, and they articulate the reasons for which PIDER pursues participation.

The function of involving beneficiaries'participation in PIDER was defined as

> getting members of rural communities covered by PIDER to participate actively and responsibly in analyzing their problems, identifying solutions based on their knowledge and available natural, human and capital resources, and taking decisions on accomplishing their development. 1/

1/ PAPCO (Programa de Apoyo a la Participacion de la Comunidad Rural) Manual, 1982 (see bibliography).

Community development is regarded in PIDER as resulting from combining the efforts of the community itself with the work of government agencies at all levels: municipal, state, and federal. The participatory methodology is designed to mobilize latent local resources more successfully than is done (if at all) by bureaucratic planning and to avoid unilateral decisions (and entailed errors) made by the agencies' technical staff without consulting community members or local authorities. Thus, PIDER points out that promoting community involvement is not an end in itself: it is essentially a means, along with other components of the program, for mobilizing local resources to achieve development. With local involvement, program activities cease to be external initiatives and become projects that are undertaken by the community and are incorporated into the life of the community as part of its own achievements. In addition, community cooperation in building infrastructure is important because it enables public funds to go a longer way and to benefit a larger number of people.

The sociological understanding of participation which underlies the operational planning procedures was conceptualized by CIDER/PIDER as a set of basic principles: self-definition of interests; community diagnosis; phased approach; regional integration; interagency cooperation, and consistency of objectives. Each of these will be explained briefly below.

2. Self-definition of Interests

The basic interests of the peasants should be reflected in the development plan. Recognizing the peasants' own definition of their interests is crucial for securing their participation. Therefore, the individual activities to be incorporated in each regional program must develop from proposals put forward by the local peasant populations themselves. The

particular development strategy for a given region must stem from the perception the peasants have of their felt needs 1/ and of their development possibilities.

Expert knowledge for identifying development potential is indispensable, but development cannot be planned exclusively on the basis of studies or ideas put forward by technical or economic agencies or by PIDER's own staff. To do so would be to impose a perspective on the communities that would conflict with the way community members see their own future.

PIDER programming guidelines take the position that officials do not automatically have a better perspective of peasants' problems and best interests than peasants have themselves. The development plan should reflect what the subgroups of each community perceive and request as support from the appropriate agencies. When the peasant groups do not have a clear perspective of their interests or possibilities, the experts and officials fulfill their role as agents of change by assisting the peasant population in becoming more aware and informed of what the technical options for development are. But participation implies that peasants themselves develop a definition of their interests and wants, without which they would not act.

3. Community Diagnosis

The rural community is regarded as the basic unit for programming investments. Therefore, an assessment (or diagnosis) of each community needs to be undertaken. Peasant communites, however, are not homogeneous entities.

1/ The concept of "felt needs" is, of course, crucial for a priority ranking of local investments. The key question is "who" feels these needs. An interesting sociological discussion of this concept is contained in Gelia T. Castillo, "How Participatory is Participatory Development: Some Lessons from the Philippine Experience" (1981), mimeo.

They do not have only one set of interests. It would be a mistake to believe that such an assessment can be made simply by listening to a few community leaders, or by regarding the investment proposals that come up first as necessarily representing the interests of the entire community.

Fostering participation requires that a sociological assessment of village stratification and socioeconomic structure be made. Not all of the village subgroups express their concerns with equal forcefulness, and relatively few express them distinctly. Fear of speaking up -- and the social inhibitions of women and young people and of groups traditionally neglected by investment policies (such as landless laborers, ethnic minorities, or the smallest farmers) -- are serious constraints. Cultural traditions often tend to prevent women from expressing their views on general community issues, despite their multiple roles in the household and village economy.

Community diagnoses should therefore be carried out with the understanding that participation calls for information and organization, for a commitment by the whole of the peasant population. It calls for reflection, a knowledge of available resources and of development possibilities, a conscious priority ranking of needs, and a sequential ordering of the works and services that will be required of the program. It calls for time--time to promote, develop, and harvest this collective thinking, and it calls for technicians capable of participating in this exercise without imposing their own ideas, without believing they know everything, and without having any ax to grind.

4. Regional Integration

The developing communities are not isolated entities. The microregional plan should not be a mechanical aggregate of programs for

individual communities but rather the expression of the development strategy for a set of communities. In other words, participatory programming should reconcile local priorities with the overall strategy.

There are several sociological and economic reasons for this integrative approach. Communities in the PIDER microregions may be linked to the same development center and may have similar ecology, natural resources, and socioeconomic production structures. They may share a common road network and may have common cultural roots. It is essential in these cases to formulate an integrated strategy for the development of the entire set of communities. Furthermore, certain works and services will necessarily have to cover a number of neighboring localities. For example, the Uniones de Ejidos conduct integrated activities at the regional level in connection with marketing, credit, agricultural machinery, and so on. Integrated planning should therefore be adapted to the existing social and ecological systems and organizations.

5. Iterative Planning for the Ultimate Objectives

The selection of the target localities and the identification of potential beneficiaries of the program within each locality should be consistent with the ultimate objectives of the program: that is, to ensure that the recipients of the benefits are those peasant groups that are most backward in resources and development possibilities.

The planning decisions about what to do, where to do it and who the beneficiaries should be must be geared to increasing the production capability, the employment opportunities, and the incomes of the most deprived peasant groups. This planning may require more than one attempt to arrive at the optimal mix of investments, and iterative approximations should therefore

be made and various alternatives pondered. Farmers' expressed needs should be a criterion in working out these iterative approximations, while planning of investments should be made so as to facilitate the poorer peasants' ability to share in the main benefits of development.

IV. THE METHODOLOGY FOR PARTICIPATION IN INVESTMENT PROGRAMMING

This chapter summarizes the organizational procedures arrived at in PIDER for replacing the old routine of allocating government funds for specific local investment needs. The actual adherence to, and the performance of, these procedures in the real world may, of course, differ from the planned model. It is therefore useful to consider first the "model" in its ideal form, as it has been recommended by PIDER for implementation.

1. Information: To Whom and on What?

Promoting responsible and intense community involvement requires, according to PAPCO (Programa de Apoyo a la Participacion de la Comunidad Rural, PIDER's Support Program for Rural Community Participation), three elements:

- o Information-motivation
- o Organization
- o Training.

Of the three elements, the first is the direct responsibility of PAPCO, although all compartments of PIDER are expected to contribute their share in it. It appears, at this writing, that the guidance for information dissemination is worked out in PIDER much more clearly than the other two elements (organization and training).

In brief, PAPCO first has the general objective of informing and motivating rural communities to play an active and responsible part in their own development. Second, PAPCO must make the technical staff of agencies taking part in PIDER realize the important social function they perform, because it is largely through their work that public resources are used to trigger development.

Accordingly, PAPCO decided to address two kinds of public distinctly: rural inhabitants and agency personnel. Each required custom-tailored activities, defined as follows: 1/

As regards the rural communities:

- To transmit to beneficiary rural communities information on PIDER's objectives, strategies, actions, and methods of operation, thus to motivate and stimulate responsible and active participation
- To increase the beneficiary population's bargaining position with the agencies and entities taking part in the program, by providing the communities with information on the rights and obligations they acquire when they participate in PIDER and on the relation they establish with government agencies, lending institutions, and other community organizations
- To help create a favorable attitude in the communities toward PIDER in order to facilitate the actions of the implementing agencies and entities, especially those responsible for organizing and training the beneficiaries.

In our view, the second point above is particularly significant, since it clearly spells out the political importance of information in empowering the communities and strengthening their leverage over implementing agencies, executing contractors, etc. Participation appears as not just a generous "invitation" addressed to rural communities, but first a transfer of power from the bureaucracy to the program beneficiaries, enabling the latter to "bargain" better, to know their rights and obligations, and to exercise decision-making and control over the agencies' work.

1/ See PAPCO Manual, 1982, pp. 15-16 (see bibliography.)

As regards the technical and administrative staff of the agencies and entities participating in PIDER:

- To provide them with more information on PIDER's guidelines, objectives, strategies, and methods of operation, thus to encourage them to take into consideration, in promoting their specific projects or actions, that such projects and actions are part of an integral strategy for community development
- To get the technical and administrative staff of all agencies taking part in PIDER to cooperate actively with PAPCO and, to that end, to give them information about the objectives, goals, and actions of PAPCO.

The latter set of activities goes hand in hand with the training given to the technical staff in PIDER headquarters and regional offices, educating them about the technical aspects of communication and dissemination so that they can themselves generate focused information in accordance with the guidelines. Overall, the information strategy favored by SPP emphasizes the productive investments as the main vehicle through which communities can develop.

As stated previously, PAPCO is directed at two types of audience: the peasant beneficiaries and the technical-administrative staff of the agencies contributing to PIDER, with a view to facilitating communication between the two. While the topics to be covered are virtually the same for both audiences, there are, however, differences in treatment and complexity and in the type of media to be used.

The topics recommended by PAPCO for the beneficiaries are the following:

- What PIDER is and what it does
- The importance of rural community involvement in PIDER

- o PIDER's annual program and budget
- o Importance of PIDER's productive investments for community development
- o Rural economic organization
- o The methods of operation of lending institutions.

The following topics must be covered for the second group, technical-administrative staff:

- o What PIDER is and what it does
- o The principles of participation
- o PIDER in the context of other development programs going on in Mexico
- o The importance of productive investments in PIDER (including general standards for project formulation and evaluation)
- o PIDER's annual program and budget.

2. Three Phases of Participatory Programming

The time horizon of planning in PIDER is twofold: the medium-term programming, which results in a three- to four-year program for investing in infrastructure and services, and the short-term programming -- the annual programming and budgeting exercise (colloquially called "reprogramming"), which reassesses and specifies the objectives at the beginning of every year of the medium-term program. The major effort for fostering community initiatives takes place during the preparation of the medium-term program.

A sequence of three phases is recommended in PIDER's methodology:

(a) Phase One: field assessment

(b) Phase Two: preliminary programming

(c) Phase Three: final programming.

In each phase, the roles of both agencies and peasant groups are carefully defined. The procedures for each stage cover both the sociological and the technical elements of investment planning, prescribing what has to be done at the grass-roots community level and also what technical-economic feasibility analysis should be undertaken by the specialized agencies.

The norms incorporated in PIDER'S programming methodology are binding for the technical agencies which execute PIDER investments. Nevertheless, since the norms entail additional efforts and time costs for these agencies, whose staff have to do a considerably larger amount of field work in remote communities than for other programs, there is pressure for "simplifying" the phases of the participatory methodology.

Flexibility in adapting the programming procedures to local circumstances is, of course, encouraged. But PIDER staff have primary responsibility for enforcing the participatory procedures and for avoiding too soft an interpretation of their flexibility. Flexibility is used sometimes as a legitimizing excuse for unwarranted sidestepping of participatory procedures. The risk involved in an excessively "flexible" interpretation at local levels is precisely that it might circumvent some of the innovative, albeit more difficult, steps of the new methodology (see further, p. 88).

A summary outline of the three phases follows. 1/

(a) Phase One: Making Field Assessments

"Field assessment" is rather a comprehensive term, under which several activities have to be carried out: data collection regarding existing

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1/ Based on PIDER Guidelines and Manuals listed and annotated in the bibliography.

population, infrastructure, and resources in the microregion; assessment of past programs; selection of communities eligible for the program; study and diagnosis of each selected locality; meetings with local groups; selection of investment proposals; preparation of an assessment report and of the proposed strategy. This sequence of activities is graphically represented in Chart 1.

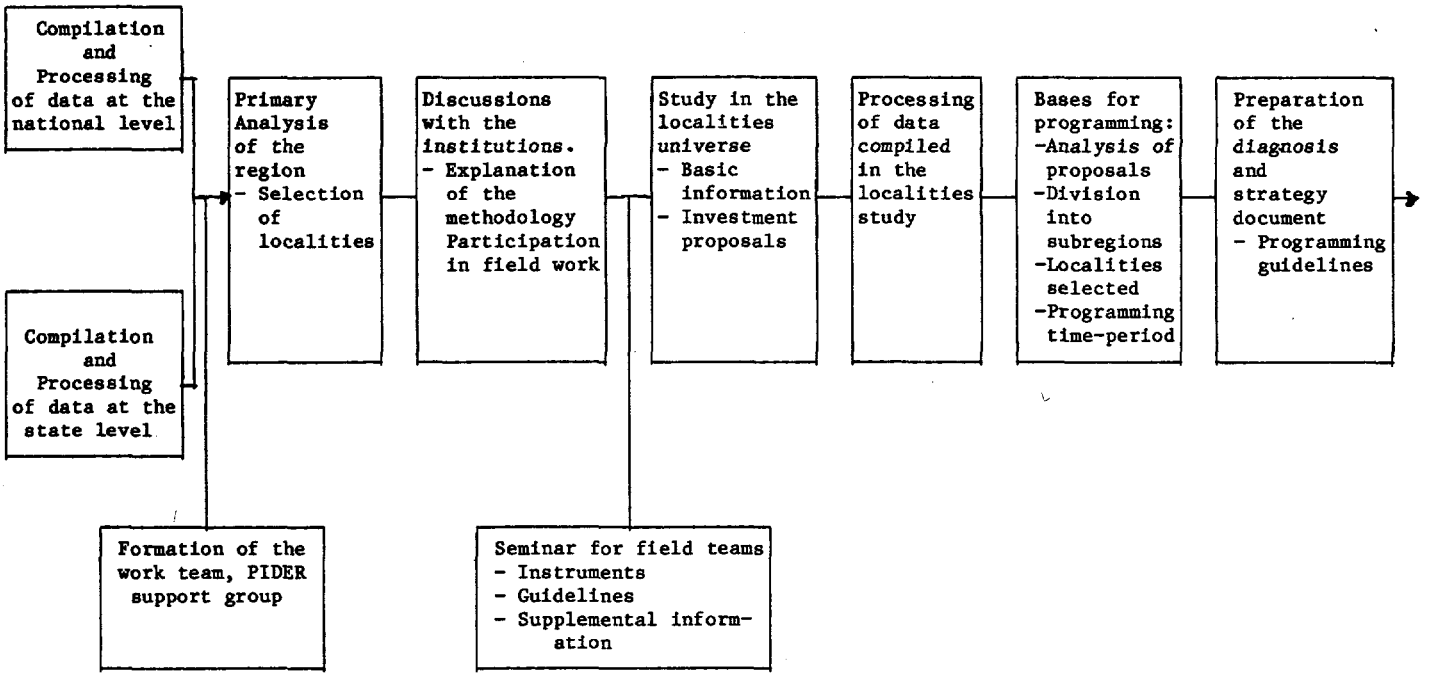
The most innovative -- and essential -- element of Phase One is the work at community level, and this will be detailed in particulars below.

Prior to actual work in the field, though, the first step is to collect all available background information on the microregion and its municipalities (with respect to population, ecology, natural resources, land tenure, productive activities, employment, etc.) to identify the region's overall development potential and constraints. Then, a number of field teams (two to three members) are created, consisting of staff from PIDER and from technical agencies. Each team is assigned a number of localities in which to carry out the village diagnosis. Before going out to the villages, a two- to three-day seminar is to be held with the teams, at which the objectives, procedures, and methods of work are explained and analyzed, routes are assigned, and material support organized. The time frame for the field diagnosis of each village is on average two days, divided into four main activities.

The team starts with a trip through the village, to get to know firsthand the social groups and the physical environment in which activities are to be carried out, and to inform the residents of the objectives of the study. A survey is then conducted orally, using selected informants who always include the authorities (ejido leaders; security committee, consejo de vigilancia; municipal delegate; etc.), the local school teacher, medical personnel (if any), and the leaders of other local organizations (parents' association, credit groups, etc.).

PIDER: Activities Flow Chart for Programming Methodology--

Phase One, Diagnosis



The data collected 1/ through this kind of inquiry are recorded and systematized in a survey form which, although the content remains similar, has to be adapted to the specific conditions in each region. This form also helps the team to manage the discussions and to pursue the information gathering. It was observed that, when the field team is more proficient and experienced, the team is able to use the survey form only for recording answers, while giving free rein to the discussions to cover any subject of interest to the group.

Meetings with the community are the next step, and there are two ways of holding them: selected issues are discussed with certain groups separately, or the meeting is held in a large, integrated group in which all the information of community interest is discussed. The second method is preferable, except where irreconcilable internal community differences exist, since it allows for a comparison of views and provides more reliable background information. The composition of these meetings will also vary according to the time available, the social characteristics of the village, and the span of competence of the experts. In some cases, a combined meeting of men, women, and young persons is recommended; in others, separate meetings should take place with each group. In certain cases of sharply polarized communities, positive results were achieved by holding meetings with different strata (rural dwellers with more land, with less land, and without land; with cattle and without cattle; etc.).

1/ The kind of data gathered in this part of the field work for community diagnosis should illuminate: land tenure system and agrarian problems; total and active population and seasonal migration; the land resources, land quality and distribution; production activities, their relative importance, farming methods; agricultural output, productivity and markets; ownership of cattle; production technology; other production resources and the degree to which they are used; infrastructure (water supply, roads, marketing, telecommunications and postal services, electrification, health education and drinking water) and how it operates; credit and technical assistance and how they are rated; internal social organization of the village; institutional activities and works undertaken; investment needs and priorities.

In Oriente de Morelos, for instance, three different groups were established for a regular programming exercise: peasants with irrigated land, those with rainfed land, and those with wage earnings. As might be expected, investment priorities were different for the three strata. Those with irrigated land emphasized the need for technical assistance and marketing; those with rainfed land gave priority to irrigation, and those without any land proposed investments that did not involve landownership, such as agroindustry and hog farms.

In some cases, when the field teams -- and particularly CIDER researchers -- had more time and resources to work for programming, surveys with individual questionnaires were carried out among a sample of farmers at different socioeconomic levels. However, widespread application of this procedure has proven impossible due to unaffordable costs in time and human resources. Therefore, this detailed information gathering was not included in the final methodology.

There is no formal recipe in the participatory methodology for organizing the joint discussions between the expert team and rural dwellers at these meetings, but possible procedures are recommended for reaching agreement on investment proposals and on assigning priorities to them. 1/ The

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1/ The recommended procedure for conducting such meetings was described by Jorge Echenique as follows:

> The data obtained by the field team from various informants should be summarized and presented to the village meeting (especially with regards to potential resources and their use, agricultural production and related problems, employment and migration). A review of the production support services (credit and technical assistance) and social services (education, health, drinking water, electricity, communications, etc.) should be part of this presentation. In making this presentation, the field team members should instigate the meeting to express views on proposals collected during the village survey by asking direct questions about them. For example, if the team is told that in one ejido a large part of the irrigated land is sown once each year, the question can be asked: Why not twice? This

methodology insists, though, that the diagnostic team should strive to get the "farmers' perspective" (see Chapter II, Section 2) on each individual investment proposed and should record it on the report form.

In this way, both through individual discussions and group/village meetings, the diagnostic stage brings together the planners and the communities to share information, to identify existing potential and needs, and to cooperate in defining the development priorities and approaches. For the planners, this is an action-oriented "study." The planners are explicitly expected to both learn from the local population and inform the population about their technically based assessments on the local opportunities for development investments. Informing and educating the local population is considered essential for triggering genuine participation in programming, since it is only when the affected communities possess information on the span of available development options that they can exercise an informed choice.

(Footnote 1 to preceeding page, Cont'd)

question starts off the discussion, which must not be allowed to end until the opinions of all present have been made known, however contradictory these may be.

Subsequently, possible solutions to the problems can be discussed, as well as the extent to which PIDER can provide the answer. In the preceding case, for instance, the main reason for a single sowing may have been the lack of water due to weaknesses in the irrigation infrastructure, the possible solution being to expand the storage reservoir and to build canals. In such a situation, the meeting would probably tend to apply for such a PIDER investment.

Finally, what is called the "peasants' perspective" on each proposal should be defined. This means to (a) assess which location is regarded as optimal for the project, (b) who is perceived to be the beneficiaries, (c) what are the expectations regarding the technical characteristics of the project, (d) what will be the community's contributions, and (e) which should be the organization required to execute and then operate the project. The peasants' perspective should be carefully recorded by the expert on the individual forms for each project investment. ("Notes on Peasant Participation in Rural Development Planning," paper prepared for the Sociological Workshop in Participation, August 1979; Washington, D.C., World Bank, mimeo.)

Thus, the willingness and preparedness of the community to contribute to the investments for various projects (for instance, through labor, cash, or other contributions) is assessed during the village diagnosis.

It is not surprising that, on many occasions substantiated investment requests, put forward by the peasants during such public analysis, are different from the solutions proposed by the experts. "Farmers' perspective" often proves more adequate.

A significant example can be mentioned from an investment programming exercise in the microregion Baja California Sur. The experts from the Secretariat of Agriculture and Livestock (Secretaria de Agricultura y Ganaderia, SAG) responded to the farmers' requests for breeding cattle by recommending the purchase of Swiss cattle. The farmers, however, had proposed Zebu cattle. The PIDER experts argued that a cross of Swiss and the local "Chinampo" cattle would be an excellent solution for meat and dairy yields. The villagers nevertheless insisted on Zebu, and during the meeting an interminable discussion ensued, ending only after one determined farmer described his past experience. He had purchased two Swiss breeders out of his own funds following the recommendation of the experts. However, one cow died during the first dry season; the other he had to keep in his home due to its poor physical condition. Looking into the causes, the farmer observed that during the dry season the animals had to eat the topmost leaves off the bushes, had to walk enormous distances to find water, and even drank seawater at times. The Swiss cattle, with their short legs, could not get food and water in this way, but the Zebu, with their long legs, were able to reach the highest branches, even helped the other cattle to get food, and could also travel to the most distant watering points. This ended the discussion.

The types and sequence of activities to be performed by a team in the field in carrying out the community diagnosis are summarized in Table 2.

Table 2

Pattern for Field Teamwork

Activity	Purposes	Carried out by
1. General informational meeting	a. To announce the purposes of program preparation to the village population at large b. To talk with small groups and/or individuals and to identify informants c. To identify natural leaders in the different community strata d. To ask the authorities for census data (on 2.c. below)	Field team in cooperation with village population
2. Locality study	To ascertain, in general terms: a. The status of the existing general infrastructure and technologies (technical packages being used) b. The available potential resources and those to be rehabilitated c. The social groups present, and their salient features (first approximation) d. The village power structure	Part of the field team (division of work)
3. General programming meeting	To ascertain: a. The estimated production targets b. The approximate credit, input, and other needs c. The investment proposal(s) and the social group making it (them) d. The ranking of the investment proposals	Part of the field team
4. Follow-up of the locality study	a. To check the technical feasibility of the proposals in the field b. To check the social acceptability and feasibility of the proposals through talks with individuals and/or groups	Part of the field team

Next, the investment proposals derived from each of the communities must be analyzed and priority-ranked, using as main criteria:

- o The degree to which implementation of the investment proposal is likely to solve the locality's development constraints (the criterion is the ranking performed by the concerned community itself)
- o The economic benefits that implementation of the proposal will yield (particularly in employment, income distribution, and surplus production) compared with the cost-benefit analysis of possible alternative investment proposals.

The appraisal of investment proposals put forward by local communities requires economic, technical, and social analysis. The attention given to social criteria should not obscure the need for sound economic criteria and for using formalized techniques for measuring costs and benefits or distributional consequences. A sound economic analysis is in the best interest of the communities themselves and is an integral part of the professional planners' contribution to the process of participatory programming.

The final step of the diagnostic stage is the preparation of a strategy report to provide the overall frame for the activities of all agencies involved. The content of this strategy report will be as follows:

Diagnosis:

- o Evaluation of the strategy applied in the region with respect to:
  - Characteristics of the main productive projects in progress
  - Complementarity between productive, support, and social projects
  - Consistency between productive resources, needs of the region and application of the budget

- o Identification of principal resources and problems of the region:
  - Division into subregions and component localities
  - Productive resources, infrastructure, and services (by subregion)
  - Principal problems (by subregion)

Development Objectives and Strategy:

- o Objectives
- o Strategy for the specific region:
  - Programming stages and criteria for priority ranking of subregions and localities
  - Main investment projects, their justification, and their execution sequence

Investment Proposals:

- o Names of the localities proposed for each stage
- o Investment proposals derived from the study of all the localities
- o Request for preliminary projects for the localities included in the programming for next year.

This report is the instrument for further decision-making on the projects; therefore, the information under the above headings must be very precise.

The investment proposals put forward by the peasant population have to be examined in detail by the technical agencies. The agencies will assess the technical feasibility and socioeconomic implications of each proposal in light of the justifying data supplied by the field team. This assessment may result in eliminating some of the least feasible or least beneficial proposals. Information on this technical assessment and selection process should be communicated to, explained, and discussed with members of grass-roots communities to reach a broad

agreement within the communities on how their needs and aspirations should be otherwise satisfied by the program.

(b) Phase Two: Preliminary Programming

The second stage of iterative approximation in the feasibility assessment process consists of the preparation of preliminary but integrated investment plans. This phase of the work is the direct responsibility of the agencies and would take one to two months. The analysis of the investment proposals put forward during Phase One will be carried out jointly by the agencies and PIDER for each of the preliminary projects contemplated, using the following criteria:

- o Internal cohesion of the project (e.g., consistency of installed capacity with raw materials availability and with potential market)
- o Estimated benefits of the preliminary projects: direct benefits estimated in terms of the number of peasant families that will benefit from the preliminary project, the production employment, and the income increase it is expected to generate; estimates will attempt to specify the social groups that will benefit within each locality and the position they occupy in the local system of social stratification
- o Unit-investment parameters of PIDER: maximum investment coefficients (per-family, per-hectare, etc.) which have to be adhered to for each project category covered by PIDER.

Where necessary, the data furnished for the proposed projects will be rechecked in the field.

The next step consists of the preparation of integrated investment programs for the microregions by the technical agencies, through grouping together the proposed projects. The main criteria for inclusion of projects in the preliminary investment program are: (a) good quality of the detailed preparation studies; (b) complementarity between projects; (c) relatively low investment per beneficiary; (d) comparatively lower investment per man employed; (e) relatively greater impact on production per unit of investment. In consolidating the preliminary investment program, it is of course necessary to bear in mind the probable budgetary constraints.

The preliminary investment program has to establish which ones of the proposed local projects can be considered as final for purposes of preparation of the final program, which ones will be included in the next annual program for their study phase but not yet for their execution phase, and which ones will not be included in the final phase of the program at all. (See Chart 2)

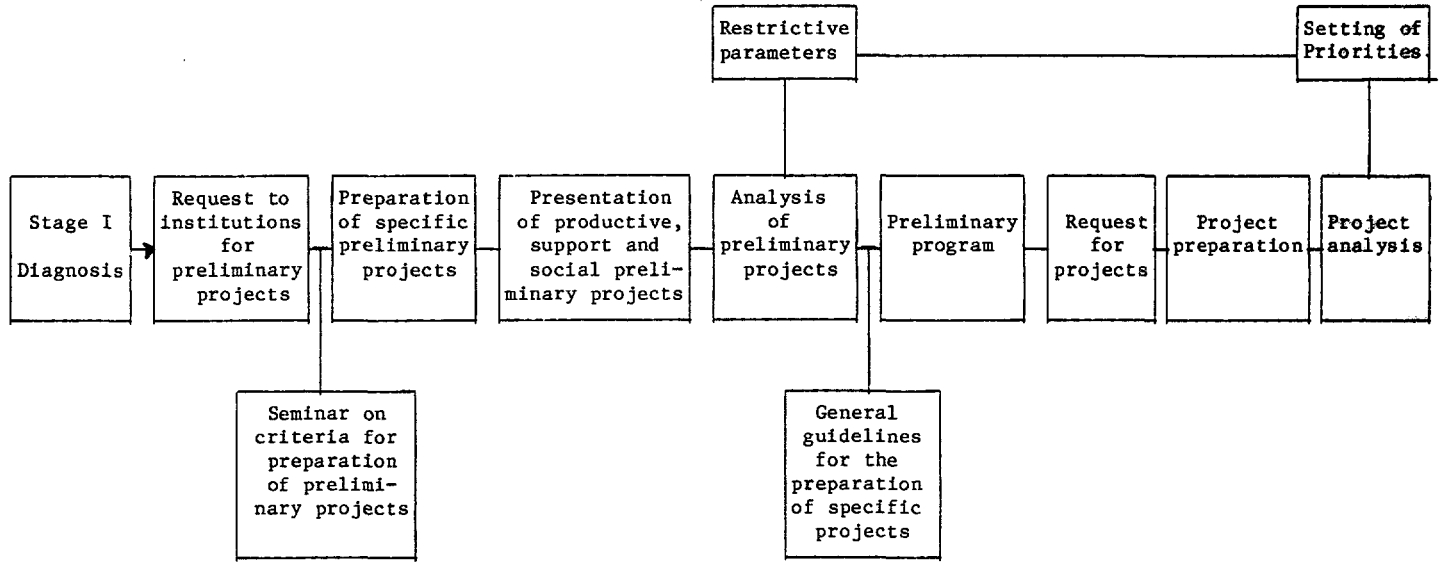
(c) Phase Three: Final Programming

The main purpose of this phase is to move to a higher level of consolidation of the microregional PIDER program through the formulation and analysis of specific investment projects. The technical agencies would finalize the specific projects on the basis of the comments made in each preliminary project. SPP would review the individual projects together with the persons who prepared the studies. The project-analysis criteria are similar to those used in Phase Two.

Some productive projects (fruit growing, agroindustries, etc.) which require working-capital financing need to be presented in a way that facilitates their technical appraisal by the banks. The object is

PIDER: Activities Flow Chart for Programming Methodology--

Phase Two, Preliminary Programming



to tie in the proposed fixed investment with the analysis criteria used by the most suitable sources of financing supplemental to PIDER.

The final investment program for the microregion must be coherent, in the sense that its component parts fit together internally, and must be consistent as a whole with the strategy adopted to accomplish the development objectives for the region. It must be sequential, since it extends over a time period of four years. And it must be technically and economically feasible.

The final microregional PIDER investment program will have the following sequence: (a) strategy and objectives; (b) programs (productive programs, support programs, social programs); (c) consolidated program budgets; (d) appraisal.

During the PIDER III project, a stronger emphasis than before is being put on the economic and financial appraisal of each proposed investment. The appraisal criteria are derived from the general objectives of PIDER and the particular objectives of the specific program. They take into consideration, in particular, the increases generated in levels of production, income, and employment. A financial appraisal is carried out as well, applying the cash-flow discounting method and using the basic indicators of cost-benefit ratio and internal rate of return. 1/

The integrated investment program for each microregion is submitted for financing approval to the management of the PIDER program. After PIDER's final review of the program, the appropriate adjustments are made in light of the available budget.

1/ The cost-benefit flows are calculated for a twenty-five-year period.

The participatory methodology recommends that, at the end of this three-phase process, the final investment program be made known to the beneficiaries, who initially contributed their proposals during the first phases. Local meetings have a particular importance before implementation begins.

The community's thorough knowledge of what investments have been finally approved, of the implementation schedule, and of the resources provided by the government or to be contributed by the beneficiaries is an essential prerequisite for subsequent effective implementation and monitoring of the entire program.

SPP recommends that the final program be communicated to community meetings with a clear explanation of the general background of the program -- specifically, of the changes introduced during the preliminary and final programming stages as they compare with the initial proposals put forward by the peasants.

The extension agents, SPP staff, and personnel from different agencies should develop an educational effort around the final development programs for the benefit of the villagers as a means of mobilizing community awareness and support for the implementation and monitoring of the program.

V. PARTICIPATION IN IMPLEMENTATION AND MONITORING

As noted previously, toward the late 1970s the shortcomings in the effectiveness of implementation and in the usefulness of completed investments made PIDER's top management painfully aware of the need to expand its efforts to extend beneficiaries' participation in the programming stage to other stages of the project cycle -- particularly to implementation and monitoring. Some procedures have been devised and institutional arrangements introduced in this respect. These have not, however, gone through the cycle of testing, experimentation, and revision that participatory programming methodology underwent.

1. Resource Mobilization through Participation in Implementation

PAPCO has formulated strong recommendations about participation in implementation:

> To get a community truly committed to a Program, its members must not only participate in defining goals and programming infrastructure and services; they must take part in implementation, ... in making choices from among the options that continually arise as a work is being constructed or a services program is being carried out. The community must be shown how program resources are to be used and, above all, how their own contributions are to be used. Community information on works constructed and services provided in its territory will be more complete when community members participate in the work, instead of merely being passive spectators on the sidelines. It is even more valuable if communities are asked to keep a record of the progress made, analyze that information with the follow-up and evaluation resident officer and propose required corrective action when possible. 1/

1/ PAPCO Manual, 1982, p. 10 (see bibliography).

Precise norms have been introduced regarding the specific contributions PIDER beneficiaries are expected to make as their own share in the state-funded investments in their communities. Participation is thus conceived, inter alia, as a way to mobilize local resources for development.

Beneficaries' physical or financial contribution to projects in their own communities is pursued by PIDER also as an expression of commitment to their projects by those who are supposed to take over the newly constructed infrastructural assets to operate and maintain them.

The inhabitants of the localities in which PIDER investments are made contribute a fraction of the total cost of the state-funded projects -- in cash, in materials available locally, or in contribution of labor. 1/ The amount of contribution varies with the specific type of project, and PIDER has instituted differential coefficients:

- o For productive projects, 10% of the value of the public investment
- o For potable water systems and the construction of public buildings, 15% of total investment
- o For village electrification projects, according to a quota system instituted, between 5-15% of total investment 2/
- o For housing improvement projects, at least 50% of the total cost of the work through labor, cash, or local materials (PIDER's contribution can not exceed 2,500 pesos per capita, covering the cost of technical assistance and of materials that are not locally available).

1/ "Manual de procedimientos para la programacion-presupuestacion" (Mexico, D.F.: SSP/PIDER, 1982), p. 34.

2/ This quota system has been established by the Federal Commission for Electricity and is based on the economic level of the area: the poorer the area, the smaller the quota of local contribution.

To formalize the commitment for such contributions, a standard agreement form has been devised ("Acta de Acceptacion de la Comunidad") to be signed by PIDER and intended beneficiaries before the project begins, which includes a certification of the contribution the beneficiaries have agreed to make. Although this standard agreement often is not refined enough to reflect differential needs and differential contribution ability within nonhomogeneous communities, the formulation of the set of mutual (agencies and communities) obligations is a step forward in institutionalizing the participatory approach.

An example may help clarify the mechanism of resource utilization. "La Marina", a fishery cooperative in the state of Tamaulipas with a membership of 54 fishermen, has been assisted by PIDER to develop a shrimp farm. The total investment required was about 39.1 million pesos. The agreement signed by the cooperative (Acta de Acceptation) with PIDER provided for a PIDER investment grant of about 13.2 million pesos (33.7%) while the membership was to contribute directly 2 million pesos through cash, labor and materials, (representing 5.1% of total costs, or 15% of the public investment; this is above the coefficient set by PIDER for contributions to productive projects. Additional funds totaling 23.9 million pesos (61.1%) are provided to the cooperative through credit (6.3 million short term and 17.6 million long term). The credit is also facilitated through PIDER funds, but is to be gradually repaid, thus increasing resource utilization and building up the fishermen's equity. The beneficiaries contribution through borrowed resources to this project is remarkably high. Without PIDER's financial and technical assistance, however, this productive development could not have taken place: PIDER has provided the working capital for nets, engines, pond construction, and made possible the credit as well. Benefits accruing to the fishermen are estimated to be seven times the local minimum wages; however, only about 50%

will be distributed to the membership, while the rest will be used by the cooperative for reinvestment and credit repayment.

However, the coefficients for community resource mobilization for various projects, while useful in their overall orientation, raise certain problems in implementation. These coefficients, if not properly explained to and understood by the project's ultimate beneficiaries, may come across as rather rigid and coercive. They could see it as "exploitation" or just another form of taxation. Unless it is clear from the outcome that the area population really wants a specific investment and will benefit from it, a contribution "quota" will not achieve their purpose. In that respect, PAPCO has a role to play in enhancing peasants' awareness about the mechanics of participatory investments: the point is in explaining to the farmers that, no matter how large the public resources allocated by the state to the area, the needs are exponentially larger. Therefore, only with sharing in the costs could beneficiary communities magnify the amount and the impact of local investments.

The mobilization local resources elevates the consultation process carried out in the programming stage to a more substantive level of participation: the actual execution of projects. In addition, the developmental benefits from this kind of participation extend further than the amount of resources locally mobilized. Participation in execution sets the stage for handing over the completed projects to beneficiaries for subsequent operation and maintenance.

The strategy for promoting participation has to contend with sociopsychological and behavioral objectives of no less importance than the economic ones: it attempts to trigger more initiative and development activism; to establish patterns of group action; to develop the sociopsychological perception of collective interests, of enhanced power

through joint power, and of a sense of proprietorship and commitment for the finished products. Such subtler (but consequential in the long run) objectives might easily be overlooked if the emphasis is put one-sidedly just on the administrative (sometimes coercive) collection of the 10-15% local contribution.

In fact, the official requirement that local communities contribute a fraction of investment costs turns out to affect not only communities, but the technicians' behavior as well: it makes the planners and engineers more concerned with consulting the peasants than before, with getting the peasants' assent and contribution, and with actually involving them in the works. But the weakness (if not the sheer absence) of peasants' village-level organizations, which could act also as linkage systems between technical staff/agencies and individual peasants (or lack of understanding of already existing peasant organizations), significantly diminishes participation in implementation. It appears that certain technical agencies and small contractors preferred the simpler approach of using paid skilled laborer rather than bothering with mobilizing beneficiaries' labor or with training beneficiaries for these jobs. Some dishonest contractors used the provisions for labor contribution to mobilize such free labor but then tried to charge PIDER for the free labor the beneficiaries contributed.

It is precisely at this juncture that PIDER's methodology for participatory implementation, in our view, has not been sufficiently worked out and refined. The methodology is insufficiently tailored toward making use of the potential available in Mexican villages for eliciting resource mobilization, promoting grass-root farmer organizations and triggering the related cultural and attitudinal changes. Comparatively less social engineering effort and fewer skills have gone into preparing, testing, and perfecting this segment of the methodology. Since the phasing out in 1981 of

CIDER's methodological contributions, PIDER'S current structure has lacked a special interdisciplinary group of social researchers (sociologists, anthropologists, public administrators, economists, etc.) to put their time and minds together to work on such issues, and the methodological progress has slowed down. The absence of such a "think tank", consisting of operationally oriented professional researchers, within the General Directorate which oversees PIDER, has slowed down the methodological work and the conceptualization and codification of the new experiences.

However, the new PIDER administration appointed after the last presidential election seems to pay increased attention to these participatory implementation issues; further and later evaluations will be able to show whether the changes now intended will be sustained indeed and will result in better participation in project execution.

2. The Best Monitoring System: The Beneficiaries

Monitoring the physical execution of PIDER investment is another area of crucial importance for participation. The power given local communities to contribute in the shape of the investment programs for local development should be logically complemented by empowering them to monitor effectively the execution of the projects.

The main lesson to be extracted from the experience with implementing previous PIDER activities is that the immediacy and quality of field checking by beneficiary groups of the work of various agencies is the key for timely use of investments.

PIDER's investments at community level go for a wide range of nonstandard works to be performed by countless local contractors hired by agencies cooperating with PIDER. Therefore, only if the field staff of PIDER would cooperate with project beneficiaries could they together make certain that contractors' performance is timely and qualitatively adequate and that

agency follow-up reporting conforms with actual accomplishments and is watchful of initial project planning.

SPP does not have enough paid staff at state and microregional levels to monitor systematically all its numerous work sites. Unless the participation of interested communities is secured, it has no chance for an effective monitoring process. Therefore, during the implementation of PIDER III, SPP is strengthening its monitoring system by establishing in PIDER microregions working groups consisting of representatives of the main executing agencies and of the benefiting municipalities. These working groups, chaired by the PIDER microregional coordinator, meet to review jointly the progress of PIDER investments.

Our review of experience in the state of Guerrero for this study suggests that the participation of community representatives in more or less informal monitoring parties has been effective. The beneficiaries are most interested in having the investments completed and delivered to them in time; they are well placed to verify whether the actual execution performance is as reported by technical agencies. Various examples in Guerrero indicated that community representatives became local exponents of the grievances of their villages regarding the procrastination of completion schedules, dishonest contractors, or negligent state-agency staff.

There is wide agreement that there has been much waste in PIDER's community projects -- in cost overruns, incompleted projects, or "completed" but unusable projects. 1/ The most efficient way to curb this waste is to

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1/ The dismal state of routine administrative monitoring, without beneficiary participation, was revealed during the mid-term analysis of PIDER I, when it appeared that central PIDER management had lost track of the correct numbers and sitings of PIDER local projects, and a full-scale inventory had to be undertaken (see Michael M. Cernea, Measuring Project Impact, World Bank Staff Working Paper No. 332; Washington, D.C., June 1979.)

assure the participation of beneficiary communities in monitoring the real progress and quality of local works, hand in hand with state officials (but not by officials alone).

In addition, participation of beneficiaries is the only solution to the recurrent cost problem, which is a long-term issue. It entails involvement of beneficiaries in building and monitoring projects as a preliminary step to taking over and operating the new infrastructural assets, with community maintenance and cost responsibility.

For efficient participation in monitoring, the village communities should be better informed, through regular communication mechanisms, about the content, objectives, and deadlines of the investment programs affecting them. Hardly does the political significance of information appear clearer than in the context of the beneficiaries' ability to control and monitor construction and delivery. By summer 1983, SPP was considering the enactment of agreements with state governments and with the National Accounting Office which would formalize the obligation of all agencies to provide information to beneficiaries on the schedule, costs, characteristics and completion dates of projects. Thus would be accompanied by formal arrangements for monitoring through beneficiaries and by-monthly reports from municipal authorities on PIDER projects progress. The knowledge of what they should expect (and when) from the various local projects and from the contractors in charge of executing them would enable the target groups to feed back to PIDER staff their own monitoring signals on the progress and adequacy of these works. More <u>information</u> to the peasants would facilitate more involvement and better monitoring of project implementation. At the same time, it would be necessary to establish a clear and independent grievance procedure for the beneficiaries who are unsatisfied with agency performance.

The monitoring of implementation is prone to generate conflicts. To a certain extent, this may be constructive in accelerating solution-seeking efforts. The overall interest of program and beneficiaries alike requires that, when investments are wasted, construction is delayed, or quality sacrificed, those responsible be brought to task. Giving communities formal rights to monitor PIDER-financed projects--and the information needed to do so, as well as access to political leaders to communicate their findings and to voice complaints--is a tangible form of empowerment. An independent -- i.e., other then PIDER -- grievance procedure for complaints about PIDER subprojects would certainly encourage participation in monitoring. Inasmuch as this is regarded as part of the participatory methodology, it is bound, in our view, to make participation more meaningful and consequential.

Significantly, one of the main current difficulties for PAPCO, as indicated by a SPP official in March 1983, 1/ has been to persuade technical agencies at local level to inform beneficiary communities in advance about the timetable of their works and about the technical specifications of expected projects. The reluctance of many technical staff to release this information is an attempt to circumvent meaningful monitoring by the beneficiaries and to hamper the mechanism for grievances.

The political problems faced by programs with redistributive goals reveal themselves in PIDER at implementation time more conspicuously than in the planning stage. The caciques or other narrow interests groups often attempt to coopt agency staff and to divert works and investments toward personal gains. This makes the administration of policy and investments as important an area as the formulation of policy. In Mexico, as in some other developing countries, because of the characteristics of the political systems,

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1/ Personal communication from Ms. Martha Mora.

the influence of political participation and of group demand-making is exercised at the enforcement stage of programs more effectively than at the policy-making stage. 1/ This points even more to the need for SPP to formalize the participatory monitoring methods and to watch for their consistent implementation.

The orientation toward continuous involvement of beneficiaries dovetails with the decentralization of management authority under PIDER III, which will work only if accompanied with tenacious enforcement of reporting and monitoring procedures. In this way, the feedback information from PIDER beneficiaries and local staff will rapidly move up the chain of command and prompt corrective action to rectify delays or shortfalls.

Despite the positive results obtained through involving beneficiaries in monitoring, the three Manuals on project execution, monitoring, and evaluation issued by SPP during 1982 2/ put disappointingly little emphasis on participation. They reiterate the conventional approach to monitoring, reporting or surveying and do not give guidance for setting up a social mechanism for monitoring implementation through organized beneficiary involvement. This is an obvious weakness of PIDER's methodology, in fact a step backward from what had been successfully experimented and could have been conceptualized and generalized.

A closer review of the Manuals on execution control and monitoring reveals that they go a little more beyond a compilation of reporting forms for

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1/ See, in detail, Merilee S. Grindle (ed.), Politics and Policy Implementation in the Third World (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1980), p. 15.

2/ "Manual de procedimientos para el control de la ejecucion," August 1982; "Manual de procedimientos para el seguimiento de la operacion," August 1982; "Lineamientos para el evaluacion en el PIDER," September 1982. (See bibliography.)

the control of physical and financial project inputs. Several goals are meant to be attained through this effort, among which are preventing, detecting, and correcting deviations from budgetary planning; locating and resolving problems encountered in execution of works and services; carrying out the means recommended for correcting deviations between planned and actual courses of activity; improving short- and mid-term planning efforts through efficient reporting progress; etc. While these are valid (and well-known) goals to which nobody can object, the Manuals at best offer some suggestions on how to identify and diagnose problems, but they do not provide in-depth guidance about how to solve them, how to seek alternative solutions and how to socially engineer steps to carry out these solutions. The formulae given have no real methodological or pragmatic bases on which to take corrective actions. The suggested reporting formats epitomize the top-down approach familiar since the first phases of the PIDER program. While the second Manual, on monitoring, somehow improves on the first one, it remains rather declarative about the need to consult with beneficiaries about the works' progress and problems. No "tools" are provided to set up committees or other means to make sure the solutions are implemented by the responsible agencies and beneficiaries. The Manual points to preoperational and operational stages to gauge how the works are shaping up, but it does not tie these to setting up preoperational and operational social mechanisms for building, operating, and maintaining the works.

Important as they are for crystallizing a methodology, manuals alone are not enough: they need to reflect and feed back the social experience accumulated with the given methodology and need to be absorbed and applied in a manner true to their spirit.

The effectiveness of monitoring and evaluation, particularly in a poverty-oriented program like PIDER, depends also on the values, attitudes, and commitment of the monitors themselves. In this case, it depends on the work style of PIDER staff, on their motivation to give full support to the interests and needs of the poverty groups who are the intended target of the program.

The state-level and microregional PIDER staff have, of course, to perform their monitoring duties over other agencies not just as simple technical supervisors, but as genuine development agents. This is part and parcel of the reorientation of the bureaucratic agencies toward a participatory approach. In practical terms, it means that this staff, in addition to paying attention to physical and financial progress, would have to shift the emphasis toward monitoring whether the completed investments are indeed put to use by their expected beneficiaries. It would encourage the involvement of the rural community and, especially, of the program's intended beneficiaries into the monitoring and evaluation process. This would also enable the monitoring staff to alert management about malfunctioning of some PIDER-completed works, as signaled by the beneficiaries themselves.

VI. PROGRESS IN ACTUAL PARTICIPATION

The transition from model to practice is both immediate and long term. Immediate only in the sense that it merely takes a decision (albeit, at high level) to institute the new model formally as a set of norms; the real transition is actually a long-term one because it takes a long learning process until a huge bureaucracy slowly turns around to do things in a different way.

The application of the participatory model described in the previous chapters has been gradually extended to a majority of PIDER microregions. However, while the formulation of this model has been a major progress, it does not mean that all local investments are currently planned this way. Nor does it mean that the application of the model advances smoothly and unhampered by bureaucratic routines or is fully consistent with the intentions of the methodology.

Limited as it is, the available evidence points out both genuine progress in participatory planning and serious constraints. SPP/PIDER has not yet undertaken a full-scale, soul-searching assessment of the extent to which (and consistency with which) the participatory model is actually applied in various states; a study carried out in 1982 was aborted, and another one is being planned for the second half of 1983. Therefore, while we do not claim to make a comprehensive evaluation of the scale and effectiveness of the participatory approach in PIDER, we will point out several significant aspects of the progress achieved and of the physical results of PIDER I and II. The structural and organizational constraints on actual participation, as we see them, will be further discussed in some detail in Chapter VII.

1. Gradual Expansion

The significant progress made in operationalizing the dialogue between communities and planners became visible on a large scale in 1979, during the preparation of the Zacatecas State Development Plan. This effort was the first instance when the plan of an entire state was prepared through the new methodology; it exemplified both the attention paid to local conditions and the increased confidence in beneficiaries' participation in planning.

The programming exercise included diagnostic studies in all communities with populations of between 250 and 3,000; in addition, communities of more than 3,000 inhabitants were contacted through their authorities. The survey work itself had two foci--locality studies and sectoral studies. For the former, sixty field teams using a total of 120 technical experts carried out the diagnostic work; in the sectoral studies, eight groups including over 100 technicians were responsible for the analysis. The survey results were impressive: it was estimated that about 80% of the total population of Zacatecas state was contacted by the field teams. A total of 4,029 investment proposals were received as a result of direct consultations with communities, and an additional 2,209 projects were proposed by government departments. After analysis of the survey data, work proceeded on the definition of priority objectives, strategies, specific investments for various communities, and sector plans. Interaction between local communities and government representatives was achieved in each of the three phases (see Chapter IV) outlined by the participatory guidelines: field assessment, preliminary programming, and final programming.

The formal institutionalization of the participatory approach made further progress with the advent of the PIDER III project. During 1980, eight microregions in four different states were programmed with the new procedures; it was also decided that all other PIDER III microregions would gradually introduce the participatory approach in determining community investments.

During late 1982, a field review of the experience with the participation methodology was made in the states of Nayarit and Chihuahua. 1/ In Nayarit, the assessment confirmed the key role played by the information and motivation program developed by PAPCO to explain the purpose and resources of PIDER to local communities. In the state of Chihuahua, similar evidence showed the increased effort by PIDER staff to involve themselves in project planning at the community level. PIDER technicians in Chihuahua reside in the microregions for which they are responsible. Extension agents are assigned to specific communities and are responsible for supervising investment works in progress and beneficiary organizations there. 2/ The review ascertained a clear

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1/ See Richard L.J. Lacroix and Deborah Caro, "Integrated Rural Development in Latin America -- An Assessment," draft report of consultant study for the World Bank by AMEC, Inc. (1983), Appendix 4, mimeo.

2/ The review cited here described the process as follows:
"First a team (the director, PIDER extension agent, and other extension agents from line agencies who work in the community under study) examine all written and statistical materials available on the community in the central office. Second, they collect and summarize the knowledge that the field technicians have about the community. Third, they convoke a meeting in the community to explain what the nature of the study is and for what purpose . . . At this stage, the participation of the community consists of: (1) assembling all members into a general meeting in order to allow knowledgeable people from the community to give the PIDER officials more detailed information...(2) collecting pertinent documents such as land titles and previous loan agreements. The socio-economic study team asks questions about the population, social behavior of the community,

qualitative difference in PIDER's approach to communication with, and involvement in, local communities for investment planning from that in the earlier phases of the project. The institutional commitment to implementing the PAPCO guidelines on participation has evidently broadened the avenues for communication between ejidatarios and the agency representatives.

Given the vastness of the PIDER program, spread over more than 100 microregions in all the states of Mexico, it is difficult to make generalizations about the extent and quality of implementation of the new approach without empirical evaluations in every area. Certainly, the levels and quality of application are not uniform; major flaws are probably still present, and such an ongoing evaluation should now become a concern in PIDER's follow-up of the participatory methodology.

2. Decentralization

A parallel and interrelated development, propitious for the strengthening of the participatory orientation, has been the substantial decentralization process launched under PIDER III. This decentralization was a necessary complement to promoting participation at the lowest level, since maintaining tight central mangement control upon each microregion in PIDER was no longer consonant with the process of vesting expanded rights in the local communities. In 1980 it was decided to effect institutional changes at the higher levels of the bureaucracy; the

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(Footnote 2/ from preceding page, (cont'd)
economic organization, agricultural practices, employment in and outside of the community, and about land tenure. They inquire into the form and composition of social groups within the ejido. Finally, the team tries to elicit the community's response to previous development experiences and to the line agencies responsible for earlier projects. (Lacroix and Caro, "Integrated Rural Development," Appendix 4, pp. 29-30.)

role of the federal and state administration were reexamined, and increased authority was assigned to state governments.

Indeed, during the PIDER I and II projects in the 1970s, SPP staff assigned to PIDER used to have the responsibility for planning the investment package for each microregion; each executing agency was then requested to construct those works which fell under its purview and was provided with PIDER investment funds. The state government exercised a rather symbolic function in this respect. For PIDER III, however, the situation was reversed, and in 1980 state governments were given authority and responsibility for the programming, budgeting, and coordination of the microregional PIDER investment programs. Central SPP staff retained only guiding and broad monitoring functions. This decentralization was also intended to enhance the states' capability for multiyear investment programming, to improve the technical quality of project preparation, and to shoulder the strategy of involving beneficiaries in planning. According to the new system, state governments prepare (and coordinate) investment plans for three-four year periods, based on priority needs identified by the rural communities. Revisions and detailed specifications of actual investments are done annually.

These institutional changes are currently being implemented under PIDER III, and several World Bank supervision and technical assistance teams have assessed the progress. A November 1982 project supervision team concluded that the way the new, decentralized organization operates "represents a significant transfer of power in the formulation and control of rural development programs from SPP-PIDER to the State Governors' offices." The extent of this transfer, however, is not yet uniform in all states, and the decentralization process is still

to continue and gain genuine grounds. Significant political support to both the decentralization trend, and to institutionalizing participation, was given recently by the newly elected administration. One of its first, politically symbolic acts was to introduce a modification in Mexico's Constitution which requires the executive powers to establish clear procedures for popular consultation and participation in the national planning systems. 1/ The National Development Plan for 1983-1988, issued in May 1983, reiterates this commitments and devotes a special section to the modalities for "society participation in plan implementation" 2/

The current organization of SPP has the potential to meet these objectives if its principles and operational guidelines are effectively applied. This is likely to depend largely on the ability and willingness of the individual state governors and SPP state delegations to insist on the implementation of these policies. Of particular interest in the future development of this process will be the extent to which wishes of beneficiaries are taken into account.

3. PIDER's Physical Impact

While implementation of PIDER III continues, aggregate data on the investments made under PIDER I and PIDER II are gradually becoming available. These data depict a mixed image of successes and failures, an image of achievements that, for some sectors, are substantial but that generally fall below the level projected at appraisal time.

1/ See Diario Official (Mexico D.F., 3 de Febrero, 1983), p. 4.

2/ Plan Nacional de Desarollo 1983-1988. Poder Ejecutor Federal, Mayo 1983, Mexico.

As various evaluations have concluded 1/, one of the main causes of the shortcomings can be traced to the top-down way in which investments were planned in the early years of PIDER, before the participatory methodology was elaborated and tested. Nevertheless, a brief, albeit incomplete, overview of these results is relevant for the present discussion.

The vast majority of completed PIDER I investments were made at the community level. These included 687 small-scale irrigation schemes (averaging 70 hectares each), 372 fruit tree planting projects (averaging 22 hectares), 276 livestock development projects (averaging 228 cattle head), 277 soil and water conservation projects (averaging 822 hectares), 658 rural roads projects (averaging 7.3 kilometers), 583 rural electrification projects (averaging 2 kilometers), 303 health centers, 1,005 primary school classrooms, and 793 drinking water systems.

The financial participation of beneficiaries in such projects was still relatively limited. According to overall PIDER statistics 2/ for the five year period 1977-1981 (which overlaps partly with both PIDER I and PIDER II projects) about 83.3 percent of the investment costs of local productive projects was funded through PIDER from public funds, while beneficiaries directly contributed 5.6 percent of the costs and assumed credits for an additional 11.1 percent. The same statistics indicate that for production support projects the beneficiaries directly contributed 3.8 percent of the costs, while for social infrastructural projects they contributed 11.6 percent.

1/ In 1978, a mid-term evaluation of PIDER I was carried out jointly by CIDER/PIDER and the World Bank; in 1982, the Project Completion Report on PIDER I was concluded; in early 1983, the performance audit report for the project was drafted. The information in this section draws largely on these sources.

2/ Programa Integral para el Desarollo Rural, Memoria 1977-1981, SPP, n.d.

Overall, PIDER I was more successful in completing the physical construction of investments than in ensuring their subsequent operation and in reaching their expected productivity. Unit costs appear to have frequently exceeded appraisal forecasts. Due to poor planning or inadequate technical supervision, as well as to contractor inefficiency, works were sometimes of substandard quality or were incomplete in some fundamental aspect, and many were initiated or redone several times. A good number of the completed productive investments are not operating, largely because the prior organizing of intended beneficiaries for taking over and operating the new assets was not done. Thus, despite some outstanding project successes, overall economic benefits from PIDER I and II direct investments in productive activities appear to be below those anticipated.

Comparatively better results were achieved with the social and productive support investments than with the productive investments. Rural roads, rural electrification, and school classroom investments were successfully implemented, and nearly all such investments are operating. Most drinking water systems were also successfully completed, although operation and maintenance is a serious problem in about one-fourth of the communities.

From among the wide spectrum of productive investments, irrigation provided the highest returns and greatest permanent employment. Many successful small-scale irrigation systems have dramatically increased beneficiary incomes. Water resources have been identified in rainfed cultivation areas. Nonetheless, the successes were checkered by other failures. Investments were frequently left incomplete for several years due to poor investment coordination; wells were drilled which produced insufficient water to justify economically the distribution works constructed; water pumps failed from poor quality or improper use; and

beneficiaries often lacked the experience and training in both irrigation and cropping techniques to achieve their investment's potential.

A significant proportion of livestock investments (beef, dairy, pigs, and poultry) were unsuccessful due to faulty technical design, producer inexperience, inadequate technical assistance, social conflicts, and marketing difficulties. Fruit crop investments suffered from poor assessment of technical packages, including improper choice of species. A significant proportion of planted trees have been lost from lack of producer skills or care during the dry season. Many of the soil and water conservation projects were poorly designed, having little or no production impact, while others were badly damaged after completion when beneficiaries, failing to understand the economic importance of the projects, did not provide maintenance. The worst results were achieved with terrace and border construction, gully dams, and catchment basins. The technical design errors commited by technical agencies on PIDER in preparing, assessing or executing such projects have a strong adverse effect on people's willingness and confidence to participate in further projects.

Great variability thus exists in the impact achieved, both by type of investment and by geographical region. Where investments were successful, the socioeconomic impact of these projects, particularly when combined with social and productive support investments, is encouraging. Permanent employment and income for many beneficiary groups rose significantly and became more stable. Poor farmers did benefit from project investments even when the economic returns were then low, because investments were heavily subsidized from public funds. Beneficiary and ejido organizations were often strengthened and frequently became more democratic. The availability of good drinking water, electricity (lights, TV, and refrigerators), small home

improvements, provision of grade-school education, improved roads, establishment of new stores, and access to health facilities -- all much improved the quality of life. There are indications that many beneficiaries from successful PIDER enterprises invest a high proportion of their income gains in other, frequently collective undertakings. Nonetheless, the costs of achievements are too high, and this is among PIDER's main failings.

The evaluations carried out to date also signal that, besides its physical impact, PIDER I generated a series of intangible (or tangible but unquantifiable) benefits of an institutional, distributional, learning, and attitudinal nature. 1/ Although not reflected in the rather low economic rates of return of various individual investments, these benefits significantly raise the project's overall contribution. For instance, Mexico had little or no experience with broad-scale rural development interventions in rainfed areas with small farmers. PIDER provided a large scale, varied (and costly) working experiment. Much has been learned, both about what to do and not to do. PIDER I and II have resulted in substantial staff training; in major improvements in planning, budgeting, and evaluation mechanisms within Mexican public administration; in the identification of many technical problems (rainfed agricultural technology, delivery of technical assistance, ejidatario organization) and the solution of a few. An increased appreciation of the importance of investing in human resources as opposed to mere physical investment emerged as well. The weaknesses of many federal agency procedures and practices also became clearer.

PIDER activities also induced substantial attitudinal changes related to the development lessons learned. The project encouraged positive

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1/ Lowell Jarvis, an economist who in 1982 researched the impact of PIDER I, strongly emphasized such noneconomic benefits among his field findings, some of which are reflected here (personal communication).

attitudes and reorientation among government officials and staff (both federal and state) regarding the goals of rural development. Ejidatarios have been encouraged to assume positive expectations regard- ing their entitlements and the government activities which affect them, regarding their own productive potential, and regarding their capacity to affect ejido organization and leadership. Stronger ejido organization has been gradually encouraged. At the institutional level, PIDER increased coordination and cooperation among federal agencies in planning and implementing. Although there has been substantial bureaucratic resistance, cooperation is now improved. The decentralization of decision-making to the state and local level, including a strengthening of state and local government administrative capacity, has been considerably advanced. Such effects are difficult to measure, but they are important.

All these changes notwithstanding, it should be recognized that, besides technical and management problems, there were also many social or organizational shortfalls which have contributed to the ineffectiveness, or outright failure, of some local (productive and social) investments. Preoccupation with achieving rapid production increases led PIDER and the implementing agencies to initiate construction of productive works in many communities where only partial support and understanding of the project had previously been obtained from the ejido. Beneficiaries in these cases often took a passive, skeptical view of investments, and the technical agencies had to continue to control the productive works after completion. Such failures pointed out again that economic effectiveness of local investments can hardly be achieved in the absence of active participation of beneficiaries.

A recurrent weakness in PIDER's work at the microregional level was its lack of concern with creating the "software" for the new physical assets (be they small irrigation schemes or cattle units) funded through the

program, -- in other words, with establishing and encouraging the social organization necessary for the peasants to take over and operate successfully the productive assets. Absorption of new technologies, or new production means, requires new and adequate social organization of the farmers, 1/ but PIDER I did not provide the required social engineering assistance for this part of the development process. 2/

Also, usually only a small fraction of the ejido members were beneficiaries of specific projects because the investment provided too little permanent employment or income to permit participation by all, while no distributory mechanism for the ejido as a whole was put in place. Small groups were often the only viable organizational means to proceed, but these occasionally led to monopolization of the benefits by a few (using collective resources) or to serious internal conflicts in the ejido.

In hindsight, the problems mentioned above, which occurred repeatedly during the early PIDER years before the participatory approach was evolved, are just one more factual confirmation that insufficient farmer participation in selecting or operating local investments can only diminish or annihilate their development impact. They reconfirm the correctness of the orientation toward changing the programming systems. And they are a strong reminder of the kind of consequences that can be expected in the future, if participation of local beneficiaries will not be consistently

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1/ Particularly when these production means are to be used collectively by groups, not individually.

2/ For a larger analysis of these socio-organizational aspects, see Michael M. Cernea, Measuring Project Impact: Monitoring and Evaluation in the PIDER Rural Development Project -- Mexico, World Bank Staff Working Paper No. 332 (Washington, D.C., 1979), pp. 38-44.

expanded. This conclusion, and its validity for the future of PIDER, was probably best formulated in the PAPCO methodological study:

> PIDER experience shows that, without active participation of beneficiaries, projects in the communities do not achieve planned objectives and targets and, in the best of cases, operate poorly. In addition to being a waste of available resources, such poor results cause the communities to become discouraged and to lose interest and confidence in the efforts of government agencies to benefit them. Community passivity also compromises the objectives of PIDER: if beneficiaries are not involved in projects, the Program will do no more than build works and will make no contribution to promoting the self-sustaining development required to ensure that community members attain a more decent standard of living. 1/

1/ "Lineamientos metodologicos para el programa de apoyo a la participacion de la comunidad rural" (Mexico, D.F.: SPP, Direccion General de Desarrollo Rural Integral, January 1982).

VII. CONSTRAINTS ON FARMERS' PARTICIPATION

The attractiveness of PIDER's social methodology for promoting community participation may easily lead to overstatements about either the degree of participation already achieved in this program or about the very feasibility of community participation in investment planning in general. More caution is certainly required. More empirical evidence has yet to come in, and more time has to pass, for the new approaches to settle in and prove themselves as sustainable beyond the initial momentum. However, the experience already accumulated in Mexico in both the production of a participatory methodology and in its introduction allows some of the more difficult questions regarding participation to be raised and some of the structural and practical constraints on promoting participation to be pointed out.

1. The Bureaucratic Leviathan*)

Among rural development projects assisted by the World Bank, PIDER stands out as one of the most systematically concerned with participation. Within Mexico itself, compared to other large scale development programs, PIDER has achieved by and large a much higher degree of participation than the "regular" or "normal" programs, and this is quite significant. Nevertheless, despite the large-scale efforts and the undeniable achievements obtained, past and recent participation experience in PIDER itself teaches some sober lessons in realism.

The availability of a model, or of many manuals, for participation should not be confused with the reality of participatory

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*) "Leviathan' is the name of a mythical, giant marine animal, that was used by the political philosopher Thomas Hobbes as a metaphor for the sovereign state and the state machinery.

programming. The implementation of participatory programming confronts multiple sociopolitical and bureaucratic constraints and technical and cultural difficulties. To expand further, it will require continuous effort, firm political and managerial endorsement of adopted guidelines, and constant supervision and reinforcement.

By definition, the methodology for participation describes and prescribes the way toward the ideally desired model. For giving reality to the ideal, however, a lucid understanding of the potential and actual obstacles is required. Only in this way can these obstacles be confronted pragmatically and systematically, in the very process of translating the methodology into practice.

To begin with, constraints are inherent in the very body and routines of the huge bureaucratic-technical apparatus. The bureaucratic leviathan is not easy to turn around. Not only in Mexico, but in any country, this apparatus is reluctant to effect a major change for internalizing and practicing new models. Obstacles against participation abound; they range from institutional to sociocultural, to technical, to logistical, and so on and are spread over a seemingly endless spectrum. They are to be confronted in every agency; they are likely to be recurrent, not to disappear just after one successful "first round." Therefore, while it is essential to press for and to encourage the reorientation of the bureaucracy, the realistic social analyst should not overestimate what can be achieved along this approach at the "opportunity cost" of other efforts. As was correctly observed, "finding ways of inculcating the spirit of experimentation and creativity into

hierarchical and control-oriented bureaucracies has eluded most administrative reformers." 1/

In any social program -- and PIDER confirms this generalization -- the innovative elements are among its most vulnerable parts. Not unexpectedly, therefore, the constraints faced by PIDER's drive for more participation made themselves felt primarily in connection with the most innovative (but vulnerable) parts of the new social methodology for investment selection.

Let us examine, for instance, the novel element of involving the planners and technicians themselves in action research at the community level, in diagnostics of needs and field assessments of the fit between perceived needs and available resources. As was explained in Chapter III, the participatory methodology asks the technical personnel to start program design by going out within the target communities. This is fundamentally different from other participation-eliciting strategies (in Mexico or other countries), in which activating the community is the distinct responsibility of some social extension agents, while the planners and technicians do "business as usual" in their city offices and are supplied with "proposals from below" to which they personally have little commitment. But this also means that participatory programming is not an operation free of incremental costs. It requires more staff time for the diagnosis phase than conventional top-down planning and clearly costlier logistical means. If participation is to be expanded, such costs should be assumed; so far, PIDER has been prepared financially to

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1/ Dennis A. Rondinelli, "The Dilemma of Development Administration: Complexity and Uncertainty in Control-Oriented Bureaucracies," World Politics. vol. 35, no. 1 (1982).

support its participatory drive, but not all agencies took the same position. Therefore, this particular segment of the methodology -- the field diagnosis -- appears vulnerable to real or claimed staff constraints, to short-sighted cost-benefit arguments, or to time and expediency counterreasoning.

The technical agencies were often reluctant, despite SPP's insistence, to dispatch their planners and technicians to the target villages for weeks. This was visible, for instance, during the appraisal process of the PIDER III project, when the first eight microregions 1/ in four different states covered by the project had to be entirely programmed based on the new methodology. It became then obvious how lack of sufficient technical staff during the diagnostic phase limits the possibility of in-depth exploration of the population's social structure, needs, and potential.

Insufficient staff, or delays in the start of programming, may make the schedule of field work so tight as to squeeze out from the sequence of programming activities precisely these steps which involve detailed work with people but are time consuming. 2/ Compromises in applying the participatory methodology and departures from it are often rationalized as reflecting planners' "maturity," their "appreciation" of

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1/ The eight that were appraised: Mocorito-Badiraguato and Norte in the State of Sinaloa; Valparaiso and Tlaltenango in the State of Zacatecas; Costa Chica and Atoyac in the State of Guerrero; and Litoral Norte and Sur in the State of Yucatan. The plans for the remaining nine microregions covered by PIDER III have been appraised subsequently in a gradual manner. They are: Cosala-Elota and Sur in the State of Sinaloa; Rio Grande, Fresnillo-Calera, and Pinos in the State of Zacatecas; Oriente in the State of Yucatan; and Costa Grande, Ometepac, and Cuauhtemoc in the State of Guerrero.

2/ Other programs compete for agency staff's time and pose less requirements for planning.

practical and political realities, or their more "realistic" assessment of the nature of the problem. But these rationalizations often only cover the reluctance to go off the beaten path in planning and are not justified.

The concerns of line agencies with expediency and short-term efficiency are often dealt with at the expense of participation, rather than through other ways for expediting and streamlining. Sometimes, agencies or civil work contractors for PIDER local projects have rejected direct work participation of peasants under the "justification" that work with outside crews goes faster. Thus, participatory programming is pitted against many entrenched routines of the technical or planning agencies.

The reorientation of the bureaucracy also runs into difficulties stemming from old bureaucratic habits. Not rarely, planners going into villages to identify investment opportunities tend to meet only with the community leaders and/or to present, rather than discuss, PIDER proposals. It was basically to this kind of distortion that PIDER reacted by preparing in 1982 the additional PAPCO Manual for supporting community participation through systematic information and motivation, 1/ intended to give specific guidance for carrying out the interaction and dialogue between the communities and various technicians or planners.

Vested interests that feel threatened by loss of control over resource allocation use either "philosophical" or economic (cost-benefit) arguments in an attempt to undermine the credibility of, and support for, the participatory approach. While occasionally there are indeed

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1/ "Manual del programa de apoyo a la participation de la comunidad rural" (Mexico, D.F.: SPP, 1982).

incremental costs for organizing participation, the cost-benefit argument against assuming the extra efforts is in no way valid. True, the economic benefits of popular participation in local investment selection and execution do not often lend themselves to easy measurement. Many benefits will remain "invisible": we will never know the number of unsuitable projects which have not been included due to the peasants' participation, and the amount of money thus saved. The projects proposed by grass-roots communities may not always be highly successful, but many inadequate investments are definitely screened out by the farmers' sense of workability and priority. The opportunity cost of not involving the peasants is unaffordable, since the alternative is likely to be repeated failure and underutilization of the financial resources committed.

Cultural constraints to promoting participation are often overlooked, but they are nonetheless a major slowing factor. A specific expression of such cultural constraints is the value systems of the army of technicians, planners, bureaucrats, and others who, in the case of PIDER, are called upon to embrace a new style of planning and interact with new (for them) clients. There is an implicit, yet not necessarily correct, assumption that underlies PIDER's participatory methodology: namely, that the individual technicians and planners involved in community diagnosis would voluntarily behave as change agents in the context of PIDER. To what extent is that assumption warranted? Do all the technicians and planners have the adequate motivation and dedication to promote social change? While a set of more democratic procedures can be instituted by administrative decision, the conceptual underpinnings for such procedures are not automatically assimilated by the civil servants or technicians who have to apply the new procedures. The values

and loyalties of civil servants and technicians are often of a different order than those required by participatory decision-making.

PIDER is addressing this inherent limitation by providing training for participatory programming to staff of executing agencies. Realism and actual experience, however, suggest that this limitation cannot be removed by training alone. To be sure, staff training is important in reorienting the bureaucracy and in learning the lessons of experience. But agency leadership and the firmness with which the new approach is being enforced and monitored by PIDER management are critical variables as well. 1/ Over the last six to eight years PIDER had several top management teams, and this rapid succession has affected the continuity and consistency of the drive for fostering the implementation of the new methodology.

Constraints arise sometimes also out of conflicts between PIDER and the other agencies who are at work in the same communities. In Quintana Roo, for instance, problems developed over the type of compensation given to labor on community projects. 2/ PIDER found that

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1/ Referring to PIDER directly, and to PIDER-like situations in general, Norman Uphoff wrote:

> Orienting the technical staff toward fruitful collaboration with rural communities is not easy, but it is absolutely necessary. The education and status of the staff create a distance which manifests itself in aloofness and sometimes contempt. Understandably, rural people reciprocate with evasion and even antipathy. Experience .... shows that cooperative relations can be fostered, given a task which will benefit rural people and a leadership within the agency intent upon achieving that benefit by participatory means. ("Farmers' Participation in Project Formulation, Design, and Operation," in Promoting Increased Food Production in the 1980s, Proceedings of the Second Annual Agricultural Sector Symposium, January 5-9, 1981; Washington, D.C.: The World Bank, p. 274.)

2/ Maritta Koch-Weser, "Beneficiary Participation in PIDER Microregions in Yucatan, Quintana Roo, and Campeche," consultant study (Washington, D.C.: The World Bank, Rural Development Division, 1979), mimeo.

offering wage labor benefited the community economically and increased work efficiency. INI (Instituto Nacional Indigenista), the National Institute for the Indigenous Populations), however, required voluntary communal labor in its projects because this generated a greater sense of commitment to the project among the community and saved on labor costs. 1/ The existence of conflicting strategies within a single community is, however, counterproductive.

2. The Contextual Limitations

Participation in investment decision-making and execution is most often politically sensitive. The allocation of investments does not occur in Mexico within a political vacuum -- on the contrary, it takes place within a highly politicized environment. Openly or surreptitiously, groups with vested interests are likely to oppose the involvement of the poor, marginal, and small peasants in the decision-making and priority-setting processes at community levels. While introducing participatory programming is, in substance, an attempt to empower the local communities and to transfer some authority over resource allocation to groups formerly deprived of such authority, the overall power structures and authority systems in the Mexican countryside remain the same. They are beyond PIDER's reach and objectives for change. Therefore, popular participation in investment selection and execution will operate under the constraints of existing rural political structures.

One can hardly see how a certain development program could accomplish systematic participation of the contextual factors, local and macrosocial, if the national government is not willing to pursue and to

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1/ Michael M. Cernea, "Evaluation of INI's Contribution to PIDER Implementation among Indigenous Groups," 1978, mimeo.

support this orientation. The implementation of the methodology in the future will remain context-sensitive vis-a-vis the changes in the overall political climate of the Mexican society.

Participation of peasants in investment decision-making is also limited by the low level of group awareness that many peasants have of their own situation. This level varies in Mexico from one area to another, from one ethnic group to another. The village elites tend to control the contacts between the poorest village groups and the PIDER planners. Often, the weaker segments of the peasant population are either not willing, or not able, to engage in some confrontation with the rural elites over priorities in investment selection. Thus, the preparedness of PIDER target groups to respond to the participatory development process is by far not identical in all microregions.

3. The Need for Farmer Organizations

One of the vulnerabilities of the participatory methodology results, in our view, from the fact that it is not in a position to rely on stable forms of peasant self-organization, which would mobilize and sustain the active involvement of peasant groups in development activities. The community meetings organized by PIDER programming teams with various segments of the village population are a useful but short-lived, transitory form of group action. Between the meetings that take part in the diagnostic stage and those in the final programming stage, there is no permanent structure of group action generated by PIDER in the target communities. The social structure that emerges in the process of interaction between the planners and the local community is not maintained and sustained after the field team departs.

Little work has been done to identify the pattern of peasant organization which could best interact with implementing agencies and which would provide an effective structure for operating and maintaining projects. Existing indigenous organization or village subgroup structures tend to be more effective in carrying out projects than dynamic, but usually isolated, individuals (if the individuals' efforts are not coordinated and structured). 1/ Sometimes the presence of well-trained and sensitive extension agents, who respect the experiences and knowledge of the community members, may be the catalyst for group action, as opposed to "atomized participation" of individuals from the given community.

Community participation must be self-perpetuating, not dependent on visits by outsiders. Where ejido-based groups do exist and act collectively, this may be less of a problem. But, to sustain participation in the long run, PIDER should explore ways to help build more stable social-organizational structures within the peasant communities. Such structures would be a powerful means both for fostering peasants' parti- cipation in government-sponsored actions and for supporting peasant group organization for more assertive productive and marketing activities.

1/ Michael M. Cernea, "Modernization and Development Potential of Traditional Grass-Roots Peasant Organizations," in M.O. Attir, B. Holzner, Z. Suda (eds.), Directions of Change: Modernization Theory, Research and Realities, (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1981).

VIII. FURTHER EXPANSION OF PARTICIPATION IN PIDER

Further expansion of the participatory approach from the programming phase to other PIDER activities should follow the logical sequence of the project cycle, with special emphasis on implementation. Such expansion, however, would depend primarily on whether the provisions for participation in programming are indeed carried out consistently.

1. Training and Staffing for Participation

PIDER management at federal and state levels should combine the firm stand in enforcing the participatory methodology with additional efforts for staff training. Overall, PIDER's emphasis on staff training has weakened in the last two to three years compared with previous years. Supplementary programs of seminars and short-term training courses should be set up for all levels of PIDER and agency staff, to help modify long-established routines of thought and behavior and to motivate for participation.

Under the PIDER III project, significant financing is provided for a continuous staff training program on participation issues. Several types of training programs are envisaged: short seminars for PIDER and line agency staff, including managers, on the programming methodology; and longer-duration training courses (from two weeks to three months) for personnel directly involved in the preparation and analysis of productive projects, of feasibility reports, etc. As provided for in the project, "these seminars would combine the discussion of normative conceptual elements (e.g., theoretical foundation of the programming methodology) with the analysis or evaluation of micro-regional cases based

on staff's experience with the PIDER program." 1/ Developing case studies from PIDER's own experience to be used in training -- to make training less didactic and more oriented to problem-solving and to building needed organizational capacity--might help. Material and social incentives for staff promoting participation should complement training.

The staffing of the programming field teams should reach a better balance between technical experts and staff with skills in community organization. Currently, technical experts are sometimes left alone in the field without adequate advice for addressing the sociocultural aspects of field work. Including sociologists and anthropologists in field teams may help reveal felt needs at the local level. The kind of social engineering skills used in the initial stages of designing and testing the particular methodology are even more necessary in the process of implementing it on a larger social scale.

2. Participation beyond Programming

Promoting participation is a process, not a finite, time limited, task. To strengthen, accelerate, and broaden this process during the mid and late 1980s, PIDER has to pursue two main lines tenaciously: (a) constant implementation of the participation procedures, enacted so far, at the state and microregional levels and (b) further refinement and elaboration of the methodology itself through learning from, and self critical assessment of, ongoing development activities.

It is encouraging that the new, post election management team of PIDER plans to pursue strongly the participatory approach and that the official concern and responsibility for beneficiaries participation has

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1/ World Bank appraisal materials for the PIDER III Integrated Rural Development Project, 1981.

been strengthened through the recent modifications of the country's Constitution. PIDER's case is typical for the situation in which the international agency supporting the project can only strongly encourage participatory approaches in various ways, but can do little more, given that the country's political and social structures, and the project's organizational set-up, ultimately have the determining role. It is up to SPP and PIDER management and staff to identify and address the cultural and political difficulties hampering participation and to design and implement solutions which can be effective within the Mexican social structures.

Following the last elections, the staff turnover in SPP and PIDER was very substantial. Many key managers have moved to other positions. The new staff is visibly younger and has less direct knowledge of PIDER history and past implementation issues. PIDER's institutional memory has suffered as a result of the high staff turnover. The "personal memory" of the current staff cannot function as a repository of PIDER's institutional experience, and this makes the study of the participatory methodology and manuals by the new staff an immediate and paramount task.

The fate of the participatory approach will depend to a significant extent on SPP's firmness and ability to exercise leadership in enforcing the methodology as the routine, daily work-manner, and in guiding the state governments and agencies to systematically implement procedures that could increase beneficiaries' role in every stage of the project cycle. SPP may also carry out focused evaluation exercises and studies on the degree of participation achieved in various PIDER operations, to detect and address the shortcomings and distortions in the application of the participatory approach.

The guidelines for beneficiary participation in PIDER are now scattered in several manuals, each one describing a different aspect. There is unevenness between the good quality of guidelines for involving beneficiaries in investment identification at community level and the quality of the guidelines for organizing participation in implementation and monitoring. The new Directorate of PIDER is considering preparing a synthesis document with the essential recommendations for organizing participation along each of the stages of the project cycle. 1/ This will offer a handy and operational piece to all PIDER staff, now overwhelmed with many manuals.

The methodology itself should be continuously improved and made more operational in both its social and technical aspects. More guidance is necessary on how to proceed from identified problems and development constraints in target communities toward solutions based on the proposed investments. At various levels of the PIDER administrative apparatus, as well as in many cooperating agencies, there is a growing awareness of the need for the patient working out and field testing of methodologies for beneficiaries' involvement in the implementation and execution of specific types of projects. Alternative forms of participation should be considered, experimented with, and evaluated.

There is wide agreement that PIDER's community projects have been wasteful in terms of cost overruns, uncompleted projects, or "completed" but unusable projects. The most efficient way to curb this waste is to assure the participation of beneficiary communities in monitoring the real progress and quality of local works, hand in hand with state officials but

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1/ Personal communication from Lic. Jose-Luis Genel.

not leaving the officials to do monitoring alone. In addition, participation of beneficiaries is the only solution to the recurrent costs problems, which is a long-term issue; it entails involving beneficiaries in executing and monitoring projects as a preliminary step to taking over and operating the new infrastructural assets, with community maintenance and cost responsibility. These segments of PIDER's participation methodology have been among the least worked out, despite the big number of recent manuals.

Another area for which participation is of vital importance is the operation and maintenance of completed PIDER investments. Many village projects have shown that the development impact of the completed investments is often curtailed because of the absence or non-involvement of local organizational and social structures ready to take responsibility for operating the new assets and for mobilizing communities in maintaining them in operating condition.

Within the internal logic of PIDER's own expansion, the time has certainly arrived to address these tasks in much more systematic manner.

ANNEX I

PIDER I AND PIDER II PROJECTS: BRIEF DESCRIPTIONS

PIDER was developed as a program to coordinate and focus the rural development efforts in the most needy areas of Mexico with a high concentration of rural poor.

In May 1975, a loan for US$110 million was approved by the World Bank to assist activities in thirty microregions under the PIDER I Rural Development Project, of which the total cost was US$295 million.

After the first two years of implementing the PIDER I project, a new World Bank credit of US$120 million was granted to Mexico for the PIDER program, under the PIDER II Rural Development Project. This extended World Bank financial assistance to fifty PIDER microregions.

PIDER's strategy guidelines for implementing these investments and for achieving its poverty alleviation objectives can be summarized as follows:

- The program should operate as a new, institutionalized mechanism (but not as yet another agency) which brings the various public sector agencies that function in the rural sector together in coordinated action.

- It should be implemented within a regional framework, so as to concentrate its activities within a well-defined radius, thereby promoting the development of regionally integrated groups of communities, rather than the isolated development of each individual community.

- Preference ought to be given to the poorest regions and localities that possess potential resources but lack productive and support services and social infrastructures.

- The investments under the program should be assembled into a medium-term regional development (which would apply to both PIDER and non-PIDER activities) and into annual plans for each region.

- The programs would comprise directly productive and support works and services, and social infrastructure projects, with the directly productive category receiving the largest share of total financial resources.

- Village and ejido participation in the planning and execution process should be promoted.

- Planning and especially execution should be gradually decentralized to the state and local levels, integrating locally the activities of existing line departments; specific allocations would be made to state levels from central government funds, in order to finance approved programs.

Within these broad strategic guidelines, investments in PIDER I were allocated to the major three types of project-supported activities, in the following manner:

- o Directly Productive Investments (66%), through the provision of farm develoment credit (29.6%) for beef, dairy cattle and other livestock purchases, rainfed grain farming, and beekeeping, fruit production development (4.9%), improved livestock production (10% for land clearing, fencing and stock handling yards), irrigation development and rehabilitation (17%) and soil and water conservation (4.9%)

- o Productive Support Investments (22%), through financing improved extension services, market and store construction, electrification and improved training; the project is also assisting in speeding up clearance of land titles to newly established ejidos and support technical services including agricultural research at federal, state, and village levels

- o Social Infrastructure (12%), by the provision of improved drinking water supplies, materials for self-help village improvement projects, construction of primary schools and limited rural health facilities.

The scope of the PIDER II project generally followed the pattern of support given by PIDER I, with the addition of a rural industry component (7% of productive investments):

- o Out of the total PIDER II cost of US$255 million, about 70% finances directly productive investments including farm development credit (24%), irrigation (16%), livestock development (8%), soil and water conservation (5%), and fruit, forestry, and fishery production (4%). The irrigation component would develop about 34,000 ha of irrigated land and is expected to benefit some 14,000 families, while the livestock investment would support livestock development on some 500 ejidos.

- o Productive support activities, totaling about 20% of the PIDER II project cost, have been included to reinforce improvements in agrarian reform and farmer organization (3%); extension services, including field demonstrations (about 5%); feeder roads (7%); rural electrification (3%); marketing and store construction.

- o Another 10% of project investments have been provided for social infrastructure, including improved drinking water supplies, materials for self-help village improvement projects, and primary schools construction. In addition, PIDER II has financed CIDER evaluation activities, as well as the staff training carried out under CIDER auspices.

ANNEX II

SUMMARY OF THE PIDER III INTEGRATED RURAL DEVELOPMENT PROJECT

In 1981, The World Bank approved a third loan (US$175 million) for a new "slice" of the PIDER program, which was conventionally called the PIDER III project. It consists of various rural development investments planned for seventeen microregions located in four states of Mexico: Sinaloa, Zacateas, Yucatan, and Guerrero.

Based on the experiences gained from PIDER I and II, the main objective of the new project is to increase the development impact of the ongoing PIDER rural development program through actions designed to: (a) improve microregional investment planing; (b) increase beneficiary participation in the program planning, execution, and evaluation stages and in the operation and maintenance of infrastructure; (c) increase effectiveness of extension, credit, and farmer organization; (d) conduct feasibility studies for productive investments and for applied research; (e) provide training and specialized technical assistance; and (f) improve the monitoring and evaluation system.

The project seeks to increase the productivity, incomes, and living standards of poor rural families. Approximately US$22.5 million of the proposed loan would be on-lent to small farmers for on-farm investments and rural industries development.

On the whole, PIDER III finances the same types of activities as did PIDER I and II. However, two new components have been added (Productive Programs for Women and Nutrition) and two important ongoing components (Livestock and Agricultural Development) have been significantly strengthened.

PIDER III investments are being distributed among the following activities:

- o Directly Productive Components (61% of project cost), like: small-scale irrigation; soil and water conservation; crop, livestock, and beekeeping development programs; reforestation and afforestation; fisheries; rural industries; and medium-term development credit

- o Productive Support Components (26% of project cost), like: extension services; applied research in support of the extension program; rural marketing facilities; organization of farmer groups and support of land-titling programs; construction, rehabilitation, and maintenance of rural roads; rural electrification; a program to generate productive employment opportunities for rural women; and feasibility studies for productive investments

- o Social Infrastructure (10% of project cost), like: Primary schools and boarding facilities; rural health clinics; a pilot nutrition program; village water supply systems; and village self-help programs for community improvement

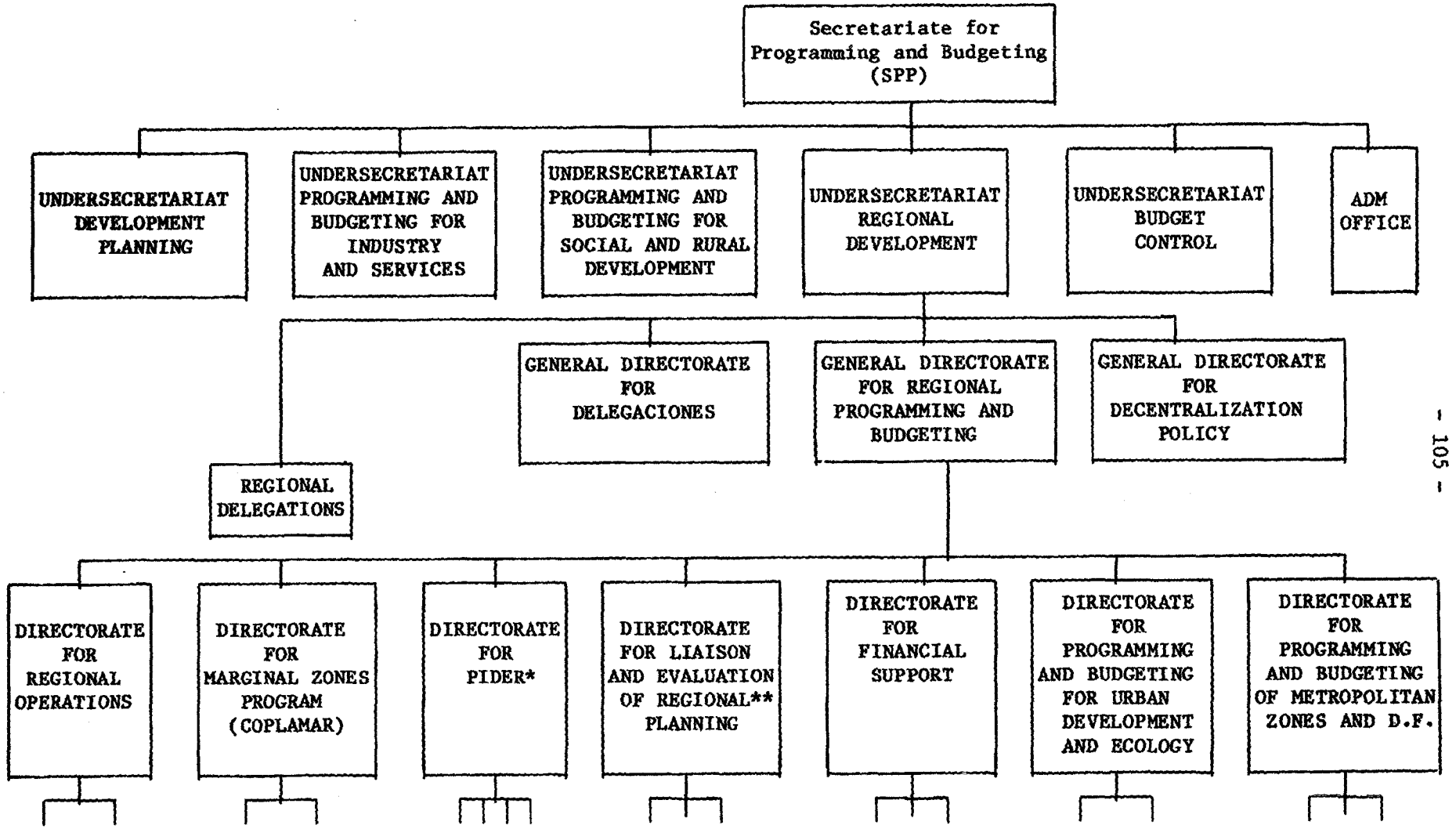
- o Management (3% of project cost), including: monitoring, evaluation, staff training.

The PIDER III Project is targeted to benefit some 250,000 families in the seventeen microregions. About 46,000 families are expected to benefit from the directly productive investments under the projects.

The difficult economic situation confronting the country, and the budgetary restrictions instituted by the Government, have affected the implementation of PIDER III. The loan signed in November 1981 was for a total of US$175 million, to be disbursed over three years. However, because of country difficulties, only US$15 million (8.6%) have been utilized until March 1983; therfore, a set of changes have been envisaged to facilitate the use of project funds, including an extension of the overall implementation period for PIDER III beyond 1984.

ORGANIZATIONAL CHART OF SPP/PIDER
Part A: SPP

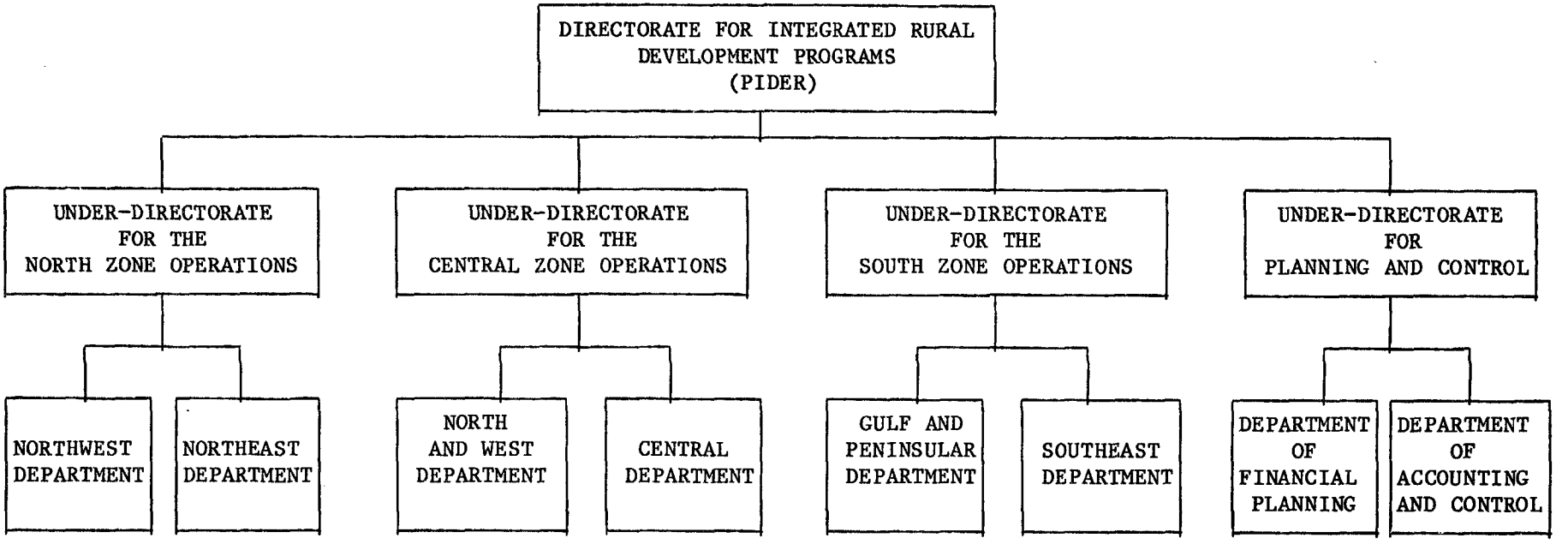
Annex III



Note: This Organizational Chart reflects only those main subdivisions of SPP which are directly relevant, or closely related to, the PIDER program activities. It was extracted from a much larger organizational diagram of SPP, officially issued on March 10, 1983.

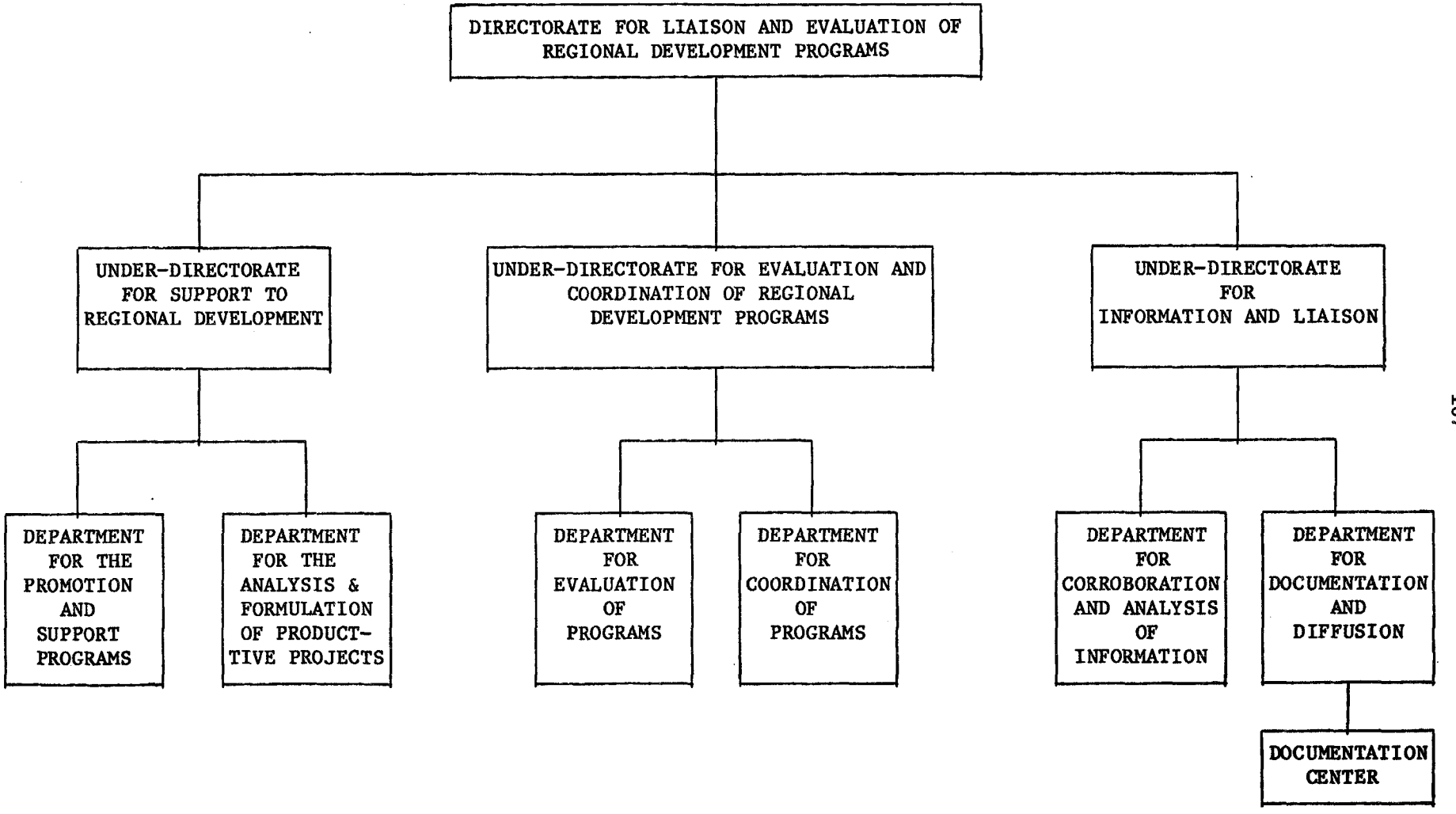
* See Part B of annex.
** See Annex IV.

PART B: PIDER DIRECTORATE



Annex IV

SPP SUPPORT DEPARTMENTS FOR PARTICIPATION PROGRAMS ORGANIZATIONAL CHART



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Manuals and Guidelines on Participation in PIDER (Annotated)

The procedural Manuals and Guidelines developed by PIDER as part of the methodology for community participation, which were discussed in the main body of this paper, are listed and annotated below.

While created specifically for the PIDER projects under Mexico's circumstances, these Manuals crystallize social experience that, in certain respects, may have important transfer value for other national contexts. By standardizing the critical indices which need to be identified for community diagnosis, information, and involvement, the Manuals may be useful for planners, middle-level managers, and social scientists who design and implement rural development programs in various countries -- obviously, with appropriate adaptations to the different contexts.

The annotations explain briefly the content of recent manuals. The Manuals are available (in Spanish) from: S.P.P., Direccion de Enlace y Evaluacion de Programas de Desarrollo Regional; and S.P.P., Direccion del Programa Integral para el Desarrollo Rural -- PIDER (address: Jose Maria Izazaga 38, Mexico D.F., Mexico).

1. "Manual del programa de apoyo a la participacion de la comunidad rural" (Guidelines for the Support Program for Rural Community Participation) (1982).

   The guidelines define the types of information to be communicated to farmers during each of the three programming phases -- (1) informing and motivating the beneficiaries (2) organizing the work groups, and (3) training the participants. Procedures are given for establishing a dialogue between communities and project staff: using audio-visual materials, humor, tact; how to approach different social groups in the same village; how to solicit questions and response.

2. "Manual del programa de analisis socioeconomico de la comunidad rural," vols. I and II
   (Manual for the Program of Socioeconomic Analysis of the Rural Community) (1982).

   The manual outlines a methodology and its theoretical underpinnings for conducting a socioeconomic diagnosis of rural communities for the purpose of designing development activities which are based on a rational utilization of local resources. The survey forms for community assessment are reproduced, as well as instructions for their use. The diagnosis requires that data be collected on such aspects as population, economic activities, standard of living, available infrastructure and public services, and previous community experiences with and attitudes towards government development programs. The results of the study are used to reformulate state plans for rural development. In

addition, the manual discusses briefly the procedures for training the researchers who will carry out the diagnostic surveys.

3. "Manual del programa de apoyo a la formulacion de proyectos productivos," vols. I and II
(Manual for the Support Program for Formulating Productive Projects) (1982).

This manual identifies the steps to be followed and the information required (such as socioeconomic studies, resource assessments, marketing surveys, as well as budgeting and financing data) to design appropriate productive projects. Included are sample survey forms (with instructions for completion) for assessing potential investments in fruit growing, livestock, agroindustry, small industry, wildlife, fish farming, and tourism.

4. "Indicadores y criterios para la toma de decisiones en materia de inversiones productivas -- PIDER"
(Indicators and Criteria for Decision Making in Regard to Productive Investments -- PIDER) (October 1982).

This manual contains additions and refinements to the format described in document no. 3. It reproduces a survey form (with instructions) for identifying community pilot projects. The form covers all the important topics to be covered for community diagnosis: attitudes of the community, population, local organization existing infrastructure and support services, need for training an technical assistance, employment, and probable project benefits.

5. "Manual de procedimientos para la programacion de inversiones publicas para desarrollo rural"
(Manual of Procedures for the Programming of Public Investments for Rural Development) (January 1980).

This is a general methodological manual written to assist state government teams in developing microregional development programs. It describes the purpose of community and microregional data collection (locality studies) which are the basis of diagnosing investment possibilities. Survey forms (with instructions) are reproduced for the locality study, assessing population, infrastructure, production activities, employment, social services (health, water, education), and credit availability.

6. "Manual de procedimientos para la programacion - presupuestacion"
(Manual of Procedures for PIDER Programming and Budgeting) (August 1982)

This manual outlines the general regulations for the programming and budgeting of PIDER investments at the state level.

7. "Manual de procedimientos para el control de la ejecucion" (Manual of Procedures for Monitoring Project Execution) (August 1982)

This is the first in a series of three documents on project monitoring and evaluation. It outlines the basic elements of the monitoring system in both preoperation and operation stages.

8. "Manual de procedimientos para el seguimiento de la operacion" (Manual of Procedures for Monitoring Project Operations) (August 1982)

The second of three documents on monitoring and evaluation, this manual includes forms and instructions for collecting data on implementation of subprojects, both during their pre-operational stage and after they become operational: inventories, finances, activities complementary to the main project, and accomplishments.

9. "Lineamientos para la evaluacion en el PIDER" (Guidelines for PIDER Evaluation) (September 1982)

The last of three instruction manuals on monitoring and evaluation, this document provides the analytical instruments for measuring project impact. It includes forms for identifying patterns of land use, available equipment, and inventories of warehouses, animals, consumer durables, as well as data on population, employment, cropping mixes, and availability of livestock and poultry products. It also contains evaluation sheets for projects on drinking water supply, electrification, education, housing, and health. There are pertinent chapters with instructions for sample selection and data processing.

World Bank Publications of Related Interest

Adoption of Agricultural Innovations in Developing Countries: A Survey
Gershon Feder, Richard Just, and David Silberman

Reviews various studies that have provided a description of and possible explanation for patterns of innovation adoption in the agricultural sector.

World Bank Staff Working Paper No. 542. 1982. 65 pages.

ISBN 0-8213-0103-9. $3.00.

Agrarian Reform as Unfinished Business—the Selected Papers of Wolf Ladejinsky
Louis J. Walinsky, editor

Studies in agrarian policy and land reform spanning four decades, grouped chronologically according to Ladejinsky's years in Washington, Tokyo, and Vietnam and while at the Ford Foundation and the World Bank.

Oxford University Press, 1977. 614 pages (including appendixes, index).

LC 77-24254. ISBN 0-19-920095-5, $32.50 (£14.95) hardcover; ISBN 0-19-920098-X, $14.95 (£5.25) paperback.

Agrarian Reforms in Developing Rural Economies Characterized by Interlinked Credit and Tenancy Markets
Avishay Braverman and T. N. Srinivasan

World Bank Staff Working Paper No. 433. October 1980. 32 pages (including references).

Stock No. WP-0433. $3.00.

Agricultural Credit
Outlines agricultural credit practices and problems, programs, and policies in developing countries and discusses their implications for World Bank operations.

A World Bank Paper. May 1975. 85 pages (including 14 annex tables). English, French, and Spanish.

Stock Nos. PP-7502-E, PP-7502-F, PP-7502-S. $5.00 paperback.

The Agricultural Economy of Northeast Brazil
Gary P. Kutcher and Pasquale L. Scandizzo

This study, based on an agricultural survey of 8,000 farms, assesses the extent and root causes of pervasive rural poverty in northeast Brazil. The authors review a number of policy and project options; they conclude that courageous land reform is the only effective means of dealing with the problem.

The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1982. 288 pages.

LC 81-47615. ISBN 0-8018-2581-4, $25.00 (£17.50) hardcover.

Agricultural Extension: The Training and Visit System
Daniel Benor and James Q. Harrison

Describes the Training and Visit System of extension developed by Daniel Benor and introduced in a number of projects assisted by the World Bank in developing countries.

May 1977. 55 pages (including annex). English, French, and Spanish.

Stock Nos. PM-7701-E, PM-7701-F, PM-7701-S. $3.00 paperback.

Agricultural Land Settlement
Theodore J. Goering, coordinating author

Examines selected issues related to the World Bank's lending for land settlement, and gives estimates of the global rate of settlement and the world's ultimate potentially arable land.

A World Bank Issues Paper. January 1978. 73 pages (including 4 annexes). English, French, and Spanish.

Stock Nos. PP-7801-E, PP-7801-F, PP-7801-S. $5.00 paperback.

Agricultural Price Management in Egypt
William Cuddihy

World Bank Staff Working Paper No. 388. April 1980. x + 164 pages (including annex, bibliography).

Stock No. WP-0388. $5.00.

Agricultural Price Policies and the Developing Countries
George Tolley, Vinod Thomas, and Chung Ming Wong

This book first considers price policies in Korea, Bangladesh, Thailand, and Venezuela, bringing out the consequences for government cost and revenue, farm income, and producer and consumer welfare. Other effects, including those on agricultural diversification, inflation, economic growth, and the balance of payments are also discussed. The second part of the book provides a methodology for estimating these effects in any country. Operational tools for measuring the effects on producers, consumers, and government are developed and applied.

The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1982. 256 pages.

LC 81-15585. ISBN 0-8018-2704-3, $25.00 (£17.50) hardcover.

Agricultural Project Analysis: Case Studies and Exercises
Case studies and exercises on agricultural project preparation and analysis, developed for, and used in, EDI's rural development and rural credit courses.

World Bank (EDI), 1979. v.1—viii + 711 pages. v.2—iv + 113 pages. v.3—iv + 157 pages. (Available from ILS, 1715 Connecticut Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20009, U.S.A.)

$9.00 paperback.

Agricultural Research
Points out that developing countries must invest more in agricultural research if they are to meet the needs of their growing populations. States that studies in Brazil, India, Japan, Mexico, and the United States show that agricultural research yields a rate of return that is more than two to three times greater than returns from most alternative investments and cites some of the successes of the high-yielding varieties of rice and

wheat that were developed in the mid-1960s. Discusses the World Bank's plans to expand its lending for agricultural research and extension, particularly for the production of food and other commodities that are of importance to low-income consumers, small farmers, and resource-poor areas.

Sector Policy Paper. June 1981. 110 pages (including annexes). English, French, and Spanish.

Stock No. PP-8101-E, PP-8101-F, PP-8101-S. $5.00 paperback.

A Development Model for the Agricultural Sector of Portugal

Alvin C. Egbert
and Hyung M. Kim

Spatial mathematical programming is used to develop comprehensive and quantitative methods to suggest development strategies in Portugal's agriculture sector.

The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1975. 110 pages (including bibliography).

LC 75-26662. ISBN 0-8018-1793-5, $6.50 (£4.00) paperback.

Economic Aspects and Policy Issues in Groundwater Development

Ian Carruthers and Roy Stoner

Examines a wide range of economic and policy issues related to development of groundwater for irrigation.

World Bank Staff Working Paper No. 496. October 1981. 110 pages (including annex, bibliography).

Stock No. WP-0496. $5.00.

NEW

Economic Return to Investment in Irrigation in India

Leslie A. Abbie,
James Q. Harrison,
and John W. Wall

Reports on an investigation into the efficiency of investment in surface and groundwater irrigation in India.

World Bank Staff Working Paper No. 536. 1982. 52 pages.

ISBN 0-8213-0083-0. $3.00.

Farm Budgets: From Farm Income Analysis to Agricultural Project Analysis

Maxwell L. Brown

Clarifies the relation between simple farm income analysis and the broader field of agricultural project analysis and emphasizes the more practical aspects of project preparation and gives guidance to those responsible for planning in agriculture.

EDI Series in Economic Development. The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1980. 154 pages.

LC 79-3704. ISBN 0-8018-2386-2, $15.00 (£10.50) hardcover; ISBN 8-8018-2387-0, $6.50 (£4.50) paperback.

Spanish: Presupuestos de fincas. *Editorial Tecnos, 1982.*

ISBN 84-309-0886-2, 725 pesetas.

Fishery

Highlights the importance of fisheries to the economies of developing countries and recommends that the World Bank provide assistance to those countries that have the fishery resources and are willing to develop them further.

Sector Policy Paper. December 1982.

ISBN 0-8213-0138-1. $5.00 paperback.

Food Security in Food Deficit Countries

Shlomo Reutlinger
and Keith Knapp

World Bank Staff Working Paper No. 393. June 1980. 39 pages (including appendix, references).

Stock No. WP-0393. $3.00.

Forestry

Graham Donaldson, coordinating author

Examines the significance of forests in economic development and concludes that the World Bank should greatly increase its role in forestry development, both as a lender and adviser to governments.

Sector Policy Paper. February 1978. 63 pages (including 7 annexes). English, French, and Spanish.

Stock Nos. PP-7804-E, PP-7804-F, PP-7804-S. $5.00 paperback.

NEW

Improving Irrigated Agriculture: Institutional Reform and the Small Farmer

Daniel W. Bromley

A model of farmer interdependence is developed to provide suggestions for improving existing irrigation systems, as well as for designing new ones.

World Bank Staff Working Paper No. 531. 1982. 96 pages.

ISBN 0-8213-0064-4. $3.00.

NEW

Increasing Agricultural Productivity

(Proceedings of the Third Annual Agricultural Sector Symposium)

Ted J. Davis, editor

These proceedings are the third in a series of records of Agricultural Sector Symposia presented at the World Bank each January since 1980. Contains the papers presented by the speakers, chairpersons' statements, and summaries of the discussions prepared by the rapporteurs.

1982. 307 pages (including index). ISBN 0-8213-0099-7. $15.00.

NEW

India: Demand and Supply Prospects for Agriculture

James Q. Harrison,
Jon A. Hitchings,
and John W. Wall

Contains four papers that report on the World Bank's economic work in the agricultural sector in India and the implications of this development both for foodgrains and for other major agricultural commodities. Focuses on the demand for agricultural commodities through the year 2000, the foodgrain economy, the vegetable oil economy, and the sugar economy.

World Bank Staff Working Paper No. 500. October 1981. 133 pages (including 5 appendixes, references, annex).

Stock No. WP-0500. $5.00.

Agricultural Research and Productivity

Robert E. Evenson and Yoav Kislev

Examines the role of scientific research and technological change in increasing agricultural productivity.

Yale University Press, 302 Temple Street, New Haven, Connecticut 06520, U.S.A. 1975. xi + 204 pages (including 10 appendixes, references, index).

LC 74-15210. ISBN 0-300-01815-0, $15.00 hardcover; ISBN 0-300-01877-0, $3.95 paperback.

Spanish: Investigación agrícola y productividad. *Editorial Tecnos, 1976.*

ISBN 84-309-0641-X, 420 pesetas.

Agroindustrial Project Analysis

James E. Austin

Provides and illustrates a framework for analyzing and designing agroindustrial projects.

EDI Series in Economic Development. The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1981. 224 pages (including appendixes, bibliography, and index).

LC 80-550. ISBN 0-8018-2412-5, $16.50 (£10.00) hardcover; ISBN 0-8018-2413-3, $7.50 (£4.25) paperback.

French: L'Analyse des projets agro-industriels. Economica, 1982.

ISBN 2-7178-0480-3, 49 francs.

Spanish: Análisis de proyectos agroindustriales. *Editorial Tecnos, 1981.*

ISBN 84-309-0882-X, 600 pesetas.

Argentina: Country Case Study of Agricultural Prices, Taxes, and Subsidies

Lucio G. Reca

World Bank Staff Working Paper No. 386. April 1980. 72 pages (including 3 annexes).

Stock No. WP-0386. $3.00.

NEW

The Book of CHAC: Programming Studies for Mexican Agricultural Policy

Edited by Roger D. Norton and Leopoldo Solís M.

The principal tool of analysis is the sector model CHAC, named after the Mayan rain god. This model can be used throughout the sector to cover short-cycle crops, their inputs, and their markets. It can also be broken down into submodels for particular localities if more detailed analysis is required. The model helps planners weigh the costs among policy goals, which can vary from region to region. This volume reports the experience of using the CHAC model and also presents purely methodological material.

The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1983. 632 pages.

LC 80-29366. ISBN 0-8018-2585-7, $35.00 (£24.50) hardcover.

NEW

Building National Capacity to Develop Water Users' Associations: Experience from the Philippines

Frances F. Korten

Over a five-year period, the National Irrigation Administration (NIA) of the Philippines has been building its capacity to develop water users associations on small-scale irrigation systems. This paper details the changes that have been made within the agency as a result of the development of these associations prior to the construction of the physical system and the involvement of association members in the planning and construction stages. It also examines the nature of the learning process that has led to these changes and discusses the implications for donor support of other small-scale irrigation programs and more generally for programs involving village-level work.

World Bank Staff Working Paper No. 528. July 1982. v + 69 pages (including references).

ISBN 0-8213-0051-2. $3.00.

Casos y Ejercicios Sobre Proyectos Agrícolas

Edited by Orlando T. Espadas

Three case studies prepared in conjunction with the EDI's Agricultural Projects Courses in Spanish and intended primarily for teachers of project analysis.

World Bank (EDI), March 1974; revised January 1975. 480 pages (Available from ILS, 1715 Connecticut Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20009, U.S.A.)

$5.00 paperback.

The Design of Organizations for Rural Development Projects—a Progress Report

William E. Smith, Francis J. Lethem, and Ben A. Thoolen

World Bank Staff Working Paper No. 375. March 1980. 48 pages. English and French.

Stock No. WP-0375-E, WP-0375-F. $3.00.

The Design of Rural Development: Lessons from Africa

Uma Lele

Analyzes new ways of designing rural development projects to reach large numbers of low-income subsistence populations. The paperback reprinting in 1979 contains a new chapter by the author updating her findings.

The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1975; 3rd printing, 1979. 260 pages (including glossary, appendix, maps, bibliography, index).

ISBN 0-8018-1769-2, $9.95 paperback.

French: Le développement rural: l'expérience Africaine. *Economica, 1977.*
ISBN 2-7178-0006-9, 39 francs.

Land Reform

Examines the characteristics of land reform, its implications for the economies of developing countries, and the major policy options open to the World Bank in this field.

A World Bank Paper. May 1975. 73 pages (including 2 annexes). English, French, and Spanish.

Stock Nos. PP-7503-E, PP-7503-F, PP-7503-S. $5.00 paperback.

Land Tenure Systems and Social Implications of Forestry Development Programs

Michael M. Cernea

World Bank Staff Working Paper No. 452. April 1981. 35 pages (including references, bibliography).

Stock No. WP-0452. $3.00.

Managing Information for Rural Development: Lessons from Eastern Africa

Guido Deboeck and Bill Kinsey

World Bank Staff Working Paper No. 379. March 1980. vii + 70 pages (including 5 annexes, index).

Stock No. WP-0379. $3.00.

Measuring Project Impact: Monitoring and Evaluation in the PIDER Rural Development Project—Mexico

Michael M. Cernea

World Bank Staff Working Paper No. 332. June 1979. vi + 131 pages (including 3 annexes, appendix, map).

Stock No. WP-0332. $5.00.

NEW

Monitoring and Evaluation of Agriculture and Rural Development Projects

Dennis J. Casley and Denis A. Lury

This book provides a how-to tool for the design and implementation of monitoring and evaluation systems in rural development projects. Because rural development projects are complex, they seek to benefit large numbers of people in remote rural areas, and they involve a variety of investments. The need for monitoring and evaluating them during implementation has been accepted in principle, but effective systems have not heretofore been formulated. The concepts of monitoring and evaluation are differentiated and issues that need to be considered in designing systems to monitor and evaluate specific projects are outlined, emphasizing the timeliness of the monitoring functions for effective management. Elaborates on such technical issues as selection of indicators, selection of survey methodology data analysis, and presentation. It is directed primarily to those working with specific projects and will be useful to project appraisal teams, to designers of monitoring and evaluation systems, and to project staff who work with these systems.

The Johns Hopkins University Press. 1982. 145 pages. French and Spanish forthcoming.

LC 82-7126. ISBN 0-8018-2910-0, $8.50 (£6.50) paperback.

Monitoring Rural Development in East Asia

Guido Deboeck and Ronald Ng

World Bank Staff Working Paper No. 439. October 1980. 91 pages (including annexes).

Stock No. WP-0439. $3.00.

Nutritional Consequences of Agricultural Projects: Conceptual Relationships and Assessment Approaches

Per Pinstrup-Andersen

World Bank Staff Working Paper No. 456. April 1981. 93 pages (including bibliography, appendix).

Stock No. WP-0456. $3.00.

Prices, Taxes, and Subsidies in Pakistan Agriculture, 1960–1976

Carl Gotsch and Gilbert Brown

World Bank Staff Working Paper No. 387. April 1980. 108 pages.

Stock No. WP-0387. $5.00.

Rethinking Artisanal Fisheries Development: Western Concepts, Asian Experiences

Donald K. Emmerson

World Bank Staff Working Paper No. 423. October 1980. x + 97 pages (including references).

Stock No. WP-0423. $5.00.

Rural Development

Discusses strategy designed to extend the benefits of development to the rural poor and outlines the World Bank's plans for increasing its assistance in this sector.

Sector Policy Paper, February 1975, 89 pages (including 14 annexes). English, French, Spanish, and Arabic.

Stock Nos. PP-7501-E, PP-7501-F, PP-7501-S, PP-7501-A. $5.00 paperback.

Rural Poverty Unperceived: Problems and Remedies

Robert Chambers

World Bank Staff Working Paper No. 400. July 1980. 51 pages (including references).

Stock No. WP-0400. $3.00.

Rural Projects Through Urban Eyes: An Interpretation of the World Bank's New-Style Rural Development Projects

Judith Tendler

This paper describes the Bank's new-style rural development projects, including some of the things that happen in the political environment of a project when governments, assisted by the Bank, redirect their public-sector services and subsidies to the rural poor.

World Bank Staff Working Paper No. 532. 1982. 100 pages.

ISBN 0-8213-0028-8. $3.00.

Sociocultural Aspects of Developing Small-Scale Fisheries: Delivering Services to the Poor

Richard B. Pollnac

World Bank Staff Working Paper No. 490. October 1981. iii + 61 pages (including references).

Stock No. WP-0490. $3.00.

Some Aspects of Wheat and Rice Price Policy in India

Raj Krishna and G. S. Raychaudhuri

World Bank Staff Working Paper No. 381. April 1980. 62 pages (including 2 appendixes, 6 tables, bibliography).

Stock No. WP-0381. $3.00.

A System of Monitoring and Evaluating Agricultural Extension Projects

Michael M. Cernea and Benjamin J. Tepping

World Bank Staff Working Paper No. 272. December 1977. vi + 115 pages (including 9 annexes, bibliography).

Stock No. WP-0272. $5.00.

Thailand—Case Study of Agricultural Input and Output Pricing

Trent Bertrand

World Bank Staff Working Paper No. 385. April 1980. ix + 134 pages (including 2 appendixes).

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REPRINTS

Adoption of Interrelated Agricultural Innovations: Complementarity and the Impacts of Risk, Scale, and Credit
Gershon Feder

World Bank Reprint Series: Number 206. Reprinted from American Journal of Agricultural Economics, *vol. 64, no. 1 (February 1982):94-101.*

Stock No. RP-0206. Free of charge.

Agricultural Policies and Development: A Socioeconomic Investigation Applied to Sri Lanka
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World Bank Reprint Series: Number 191. Reprinted from The Journal of Policy Modeling, *vol. 1, no. 2 (May 1979):217-34.*

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Choice of Technique in Sahelian Rice Production
Charles P. Humphreys and Scott R. Pearson

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Farm Size and the Diffusion of Green Revolution Technology On Information and Innovation Diffusion: A Bayesian Approach
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World Bank Reprint Series: Number 207. Reprinted from Economic Development and Cultural Change, *vol. 30, no. 1 (October 1981):59-76; and* American Journal of Agricultural Economics, *vol. 64, no. 1 (February 1982):145-47.*

Stock No. RP-0207. Free of charge.

Sociological Dimensions of Extension Organization: The Introduction of the T&V System in India
Michael M. Cernea

World Bank Reprint Series: Number 196. Reprinted from Extension Education and Rural Development, *vol. 2. (1981):221-35, 281.*

Stock No. RP-0196. Free of charge.

NEW

Economic Analysis of Agricultural Projects *Second edition, completely revised and expanded*

J. Price Gittinger

This entirely new edition of the World Bank's best-selling book sets out a careful and practical methodology for analyzing agricultural development projects and for using these analyses to compare proposed investments. It covers what constitutes a "project," what must be considered to identify possible agricultural projects, the life cycle of a project, the strengths and pitfalls of project analysis, and the calculations required to obtain financial and economic project accounts.

In the ten years since its publication, the first edition has been accepted widely as a standard reference and text. The methodology reflects the best of contemporary practice in government agencies and international development institutions concerned with investing in agriculture and is accessible to a broad readership of agricultural planners, engineers, and analysts.

This revision adds a wealth of recent project data; expanded treatment of farm budgets and the efficiency prices used to calculate the effects of an investment on national income; a glossary of technical terms; expanded appendixes on preparing an agricultural project report and using discounting tables; and an expanded, completely annotated bibliography.

EDI Series in Economic Development.

The Johns Hopkins University Press. July 1982. 528 pages (including appendixes and glossary/index).

LC 82-15262. ISBN 0-8018-2912-7, $37.50 (£22.50) hardcover; ISBN 0-8018-2913-5, $13.50 (£8.75) paperback.

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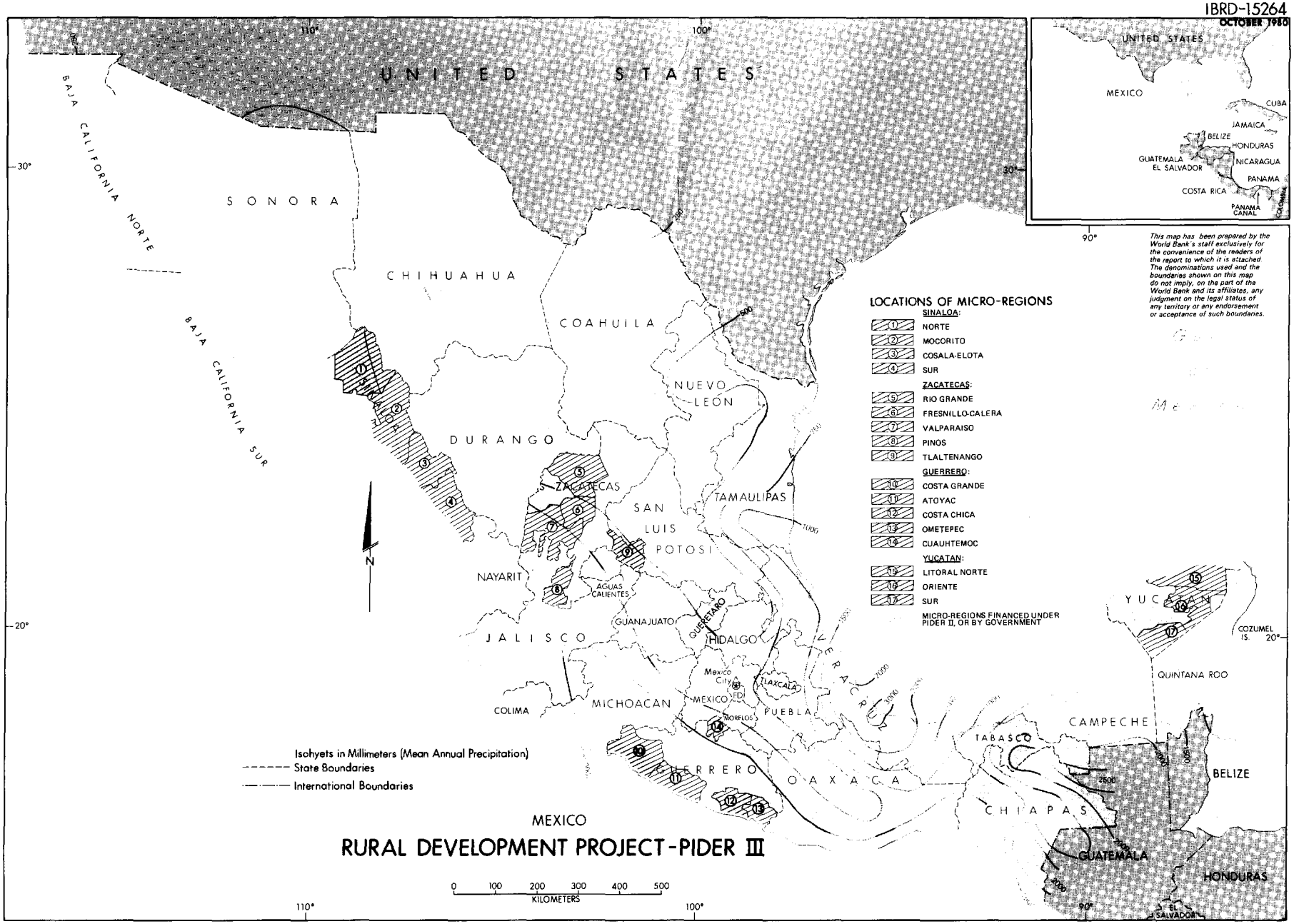

LOCATIONS OF MICRO-REGIONS

SINALOA:
1. NORTE
2. MOCORITO
3. COSALA-ELOTA
4. SUR

ZACATECAS:
5. RIO GRANDE
6. FRESNILLO-CALERA
7. VALPARAISO
8. PINOS
9. TLALTENANGO

GUERRERO:
10. COSTA GRANDE
11. ATOYAC
12. COSTA CHICA
13. OMETEPEC
14. CUAUHTEMOC

YUCATAN:
15. LITORAL NORTE
16. ORIENTE
17. SUR

MICRO-REGIONS FINANCED UNDER PIDER II, OR BY GOVERNMENT

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RURAL DEVELOPMENT PROJECT - PIDER III

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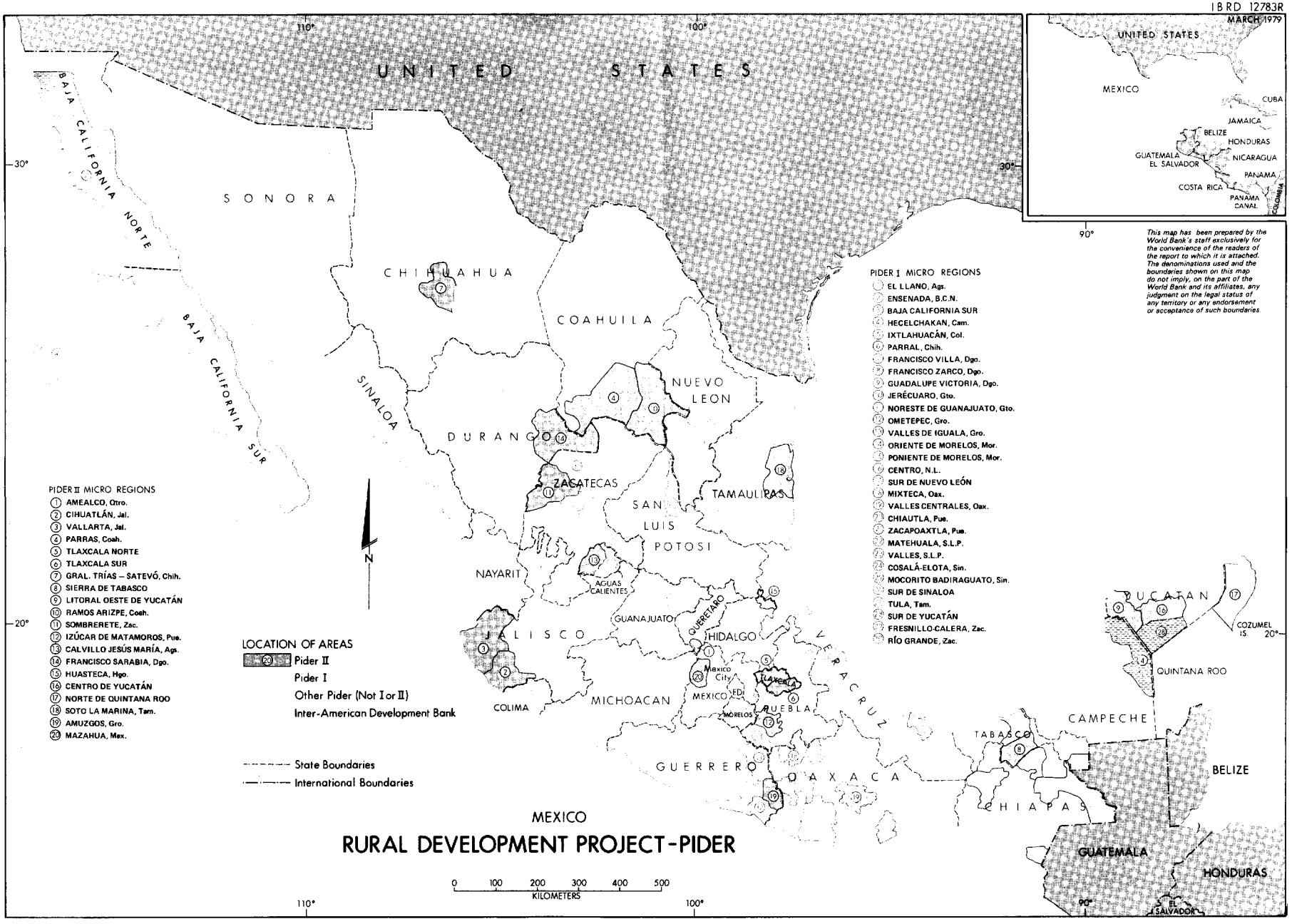

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PIDER I MICRO REGIONS
- EL LLANO, Ags.
- ENSENADA, B.C.N.
- BAJA CALIFORNIA SUR
- HECELCHAKAN, Cam.
- IXTLAHUACÁN, Col.
- PARRAL, Chih.
- FRANCISCO VILLA, Dgo.
- FRANCISCO ZARCO, Dgo.
- GUADALUPE VICTORIA, Dgo.
- JERÉCUARO, Gto.
- NORESTE DE GUANAJUATO, Gto.
- OMETEPEC, Gro.
- VALLES DE IGUALA, Gro.
- ORIENTE DE MORELOS, Mor.
- PONIENTE DE MORELOS, Mor.
- CENTRO, N.L.
- SUR DE NUEVO LEÓN
- MIXTECA, Oax.
- VALLES CENTRALES, Oax.
- CHIAUTLA, Pue.
- ZACAPOAXTLA, Pue.
- MATEHUALA, S.L.P.
- VALLES, S.L.P.
- COSALÁ-ELOTA, Sin.
- MOCORITO BADIRAGUATO, Sin.
- SUR DE SINALOA
- TULA, Tam.
- SUR DE YUCATÁN
- FRESNILLO-CALERA, Zac.
- RÍO GRANDE, Zac.

PIDER II MICRO REGIONS
- AMEALCO, Qtro.
- CIHUATLÁN, Jal.
- VALLARTA, Jal.
- PARRAS, Coah.
- TLAXCALA NORTE
- TLAXCALA SUR
- GRAL. TRÍAS – SATEVÓ, Chih.
- SIERRA DE TABASCO
- LITORAL OESTE DE YUCATÁN
- RAMOS ARIZPE, Coah.
- SOMBRERETE, Zac.
- IZÚCAR DE MATAMOROS, Pue.
- CALVILLO JESÚS MARÍA, Ags.
- FRANCISCO SARABIA, Dgo.
- HUASTECA, Hgo.
- CENTRO DE YUCATÁN
- NORTE DE QUINTANA ROO
- SOTO LA MARINA, Tam.
- AMUZGOS, Gro.
- MAZAHUA, Mex.

LOCATION OF AREAS
- Pider II
- Pider I
- Other Pider (Not I or II)
- Inter-American Development Bank

State Boundaries

International Boundaries

MEXICO

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