

London School of Economics and Political Sciences

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**PROVIDING NURSERY EDUCATION IN POOR
NEIGHBOURHOODS: JOINT ACTION BY THE COMMUNITY
AND THE MUNICIPALITY IN MONTEVIDEO**

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Thesis submitted to fulfil the requirements of the degree of Master in

Philosophy

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ABSTRACT

This thesis discusses the new relationships established between the State, the market and civil society through the study of a municipal decentralised community nurseries programme implemented in poor neighbourhoods of Montevideo. A country with a strong centralist tradition, Uruguay has lived in the last decade a process of 'participative decentralisation' in its capital city, initiated by the left-wing coalition government of the Municipality of Montevideo. The different elements that might account for the effectiveness of this participative programme are analysed in this research.

The decline of centralised State models, burgeoning decentralisation policies and the emergence of new actors and interests have dramatically altered the context of social policy in the last decade. Participation and empowerment have been top of the agenda of policy-makers and academics. This has stimulated the debate over democratisation and civil society, particularly in Latin America. Here, the State has had a traditionally strong embeddedness in society, and the debate over State reform has coupled with a marked economic crisis prompted in great part by the effects of the liberalisation and stabilisation policies enforced during the 1980s.

The findings of this research (obtained through observation, questionnaires and interviews) show that effective and democratic decentralisation policies require a redistribution of power through participative channels. Relying on the ideas of an 'economy of solidarity', this thesis argues that the boundaries of private, public and political domains of action are challenged by the creation and strengthening of social organisation. Findings point to the importance of enhancing links of mutual trust and solidarity to generate reciprocity and create stronger local organisations with a well developed internal management capacity. The claim is made that together with an 'endowment' of coherent and dependable public institutions, which allow power distribution and local self-development, this leads to synergistic relationships and effective negotiation within and between State and non State actors. The effectiveness of the *Nuestros Niños* community nurseries programme seemed thus to depend mainly on its decentralised and participative design and on the trust and reciprocity links established within the community and with the municipal officers. However, it was found that better

use could be made of its decentralised structure and that more efforts should be placed on strengthening the neighbour management associations of the nurseries as well as the relationships between these associations and the nursery staff.

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INTRODUCTION

The economic crisis suffered by most developing countries in the last decades, their dependence on external funding and the conditionalities imposed by many lending agencies, coupled with the decline of centralising State models of development, have resulted in more limited resources being available to national and municipal governments and have given a great impetus to the search for more efficient and effective ways of delivering social services. These new ways have involved different roles for central and local governments as well as for community organisations. Thus, decentralisation and changing intergovernmental relations have dramatically altered the context of social policy in Latin America in the last decades. There has been an 'awakening of interest' in local government due to the internal development of disciplines (economy, political science, sociology) and to the changing economic and political significance of local government and its relation to central government. However, decentralisation has been seen from very different perspectives and used for a variety of ends. It has been seen as a means of achieving greater equity and a more democratic social planning; and it has also been seen as a means to 'undemocratise' the State, to limit its role and to foster a compartmentalisation of social demands. Privatisations and participation have become common words in the social discourse. Yet, the notions of decentralisation, local government, privatisation and participation approach all the same concern: the search for a new relationship between the State, the market and civil society.

Never before have the relationships between State and civil society been more in the centre of the debate as today. This might be due to the fact that the State represented a safe place and civil society did not seem to appear as a pressure subject. Nowadays, many social security and protection systems are in crisis. There has been excessive confidence in the State as the inexhaustible provider of the 'manna' needed by the peoples. On the other hand, it is very dangerous that social justice is totally subordinated to the logic of supply and demand. The environment of social policy is thus expanding to incorporate interests and actors previously excluded. Non State-bodies such as NGOs, grassroots groups, what has been called 'civil society', have become key vehicles for purposive social policy. Merging frontiers between public and private sectors have contributed to strengthen participatory local governments and led to a diversification of social policy.

Given the historical interweaving of the State in society in Latin America, these issues are closely related to those of democratisation. Uruguay has had a long democratic tradition and, like most Latin American countries, a strong State involvement in society. Benefiting quite exclusively for many years from a recognised high standard of living in terms of per capita income and social indicators, in the last decades the world crisis and the effects of the structural adjustment policies affecting the rest of the continent began to make their way into the country and to change the economic and social situation. Under the budding liberalism, State activity retracted, the external debt increased, unemployment rose and production stagnated. After approximately a decade of military rule (from 1973 to 1984), during the first democratic governments in Uruguay, power in the Municipality of the influential capital city, Montevideo, went to the *Frente Amplio*, a coalition of left wing parties. Very soon after having taken power, this new municipal government initiated an ambitious process of 'participative decentralisation'.

Within the main conceptual framework of the ideas of complementarity and constructability, this research will study the different relationships created in one of the social programmes implemented under the new decentralisation process of the Municipality, and the elements that may account for its effectiveness. To this effect, the case study will be a community nurseries programme implemented in poor neighbourhoods of Montevideo. A case study technique was followed in the research and the tools used were observation, questionnaires and semi-structured interviews. The initial research question was the extent to which decentralised and participative social programmes respond better to local needs and generate better response from their beneficiaries. However, during the course of fieldwork and while deepening the literature review, the focus began to shift to the relationships developed between the different parties involved, the relevance of the links created and whether these could be constructable. Thus, although the results of the research will not reflect thoroughly the second question asked, it is hoped that they leave open the possibility for further research on the subject.

This thesis will be organised as follows. The first chapters will present the theoretical basis. In chapter one, after a brief outline of what led to the 'crisis' of the Welfare State, the ideological context of the Liberalist and Statist perspectives of the State will be

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explained. As a response to the crisis and according to the perspective of the State adopted, different decentralisation options began to appear in the last decades. This chapter will describe deconcentration, delegation, devolution and privatisation. Emphasis will be placed on the different dimensions of decentralisation relating to changing power relationships between levels of government. The role of municipalities, as the 'decentralised level of the State' (Castells, 1983:300), will be discussed as well as the importance of territoriality and the notion of 'local', understood as 'the effective terrain for engagement in civil life beyond the household and in relation to the state and the corporate economy' (Friedmann, 1998:1). In Latin America, a continent with a deep centralist tradition, the crisis of the Welfare State coincided with the liberalisation and stabilisation policies imposed in the 1980s, as a result of which several governments embarked upon decentralisation policies and privatisations. Simultaneously, the continent witnessed the emergence of a larger and more evident non-government sector. This brought about the debate over decentralisation and democratisation. The last section of this chapter will thus deal with the issues of participation and empowerment, where participation will be understood as 'a process through which stakeholders influence and share control over decision and resources that affect their lives' (Fowler, 1997:16), concluding that decentralisation has to imply a redistribution of power through participatory channels.

Chapter two will refer to the new actor appearing as a result in social and economic life: the citizens and their associations, when they do not seek either government or economic power (Nerfin, 1986), that is, the so called 'third sector'. It will analyse the networks established between private and public sectors introducing the concept of an 'economy of solidarity' mainly through the ideas of Luis Razeto (1988), where three different sectors are defined: an exchange sector (the market), a regulated sector (the government) and a solidarity sector (the third sector). In this context, reference will be made to projects that create institutional changes by promoting mixed solutions where community spirit is expanded by means of the market and redistribution, relying on the principle of solidarity (what Laville, 1992, calls 'proximity services'). The notion of solidarity is related to civil society within whose realm operates the third sector (Najam, 1996). Civil society will be understood in this thesis as the 'solidary sphere in which a certain kind of universalising community comes gradually to be defined and to some degree enforced' (Alexander, 1998:7). In the context of the merging debate over civil society and democratisation in

Latin America (Foweraker, 1995), the last section of this chapter will argue that democratic citizenship can be furthered as a result of collective activities initiated and sponsored by movements and organisations of civil society.

The notions of collective action, co-operation and collaboration as key elements in the establishment of a strong civil society will thus be the object of chapter three. The creation of identities and the power relations this involves present a challenge to the boundaries between public, private and political domains of action. Institutionalisation and inter-personal relationships will be studied in this chapter in the context of social movements. The ideas of collective action and institutionalisation will also be approached through the study of social capital and the mutually supportive relations between public and private actors will be discussed under the notion of complementarity. Emphasis will be placed on the synergy between complementarity and embeddedness, that is, the linkages or ties that bound together public actors and citizens (Evans, 1996a and b). The last section of this chapter will focus on whether the materialisation of this synergy depends on pre-existing sociocultural capital (endowment) or whether it can be built on (constructability). The results of fieldwork for this research will try to add to the debate of this particular issue.

Chapter four will present the background of the case study of the research, the municipal community nurseries programme *Nuestros Niños*. The decentralisation structure that supports this programme will be described and situated in the Uruguayan historical and political context. Many studies (Smith, 1994; Cormack Lynch and Fujimoto, 1992; OPP/IDB, 1994; ANEP, 1998) have proved the relevance of physical, intellectual, emotional and social development of children during their first years of life. The importance of comprehensive early education will thus be stressed – mainly for poor sectors –, in the light of the increasing number of women entering the labour market in the last decades and the effects of the deteriorating economic and social conditions on the lives of children, particularly those living in deprived areas. These two factors, coupled to important changes in the structure of families, have affected particularly the Uruguayan society in the last decades. This chapter will describe this situation as well as the background of pre-school service in Uruguay, explaining the structure of the educational system and the characteristics of the demand, and of public and private provision. It will be stressed that public provision in Uruguay has not followed the evolving economic and

social conditions in the country and that it varies greatly between richer and poorer areas of the city. Private provision, in turn, tends to benefit middle and higher class sectors. Thus, the gap and inadequacy of services in this area would justify the creation of alternative models of early education provision. To end the chapter, particular reference will be made to the early education component of the newly implemented Uruguayan national educational reform (1996), whose provisional results will be briefly discussed in the last chapter as far as they might impact the Programme under study.

In March 1990 the Municipality of Montevideo signed an agreement with UNICEF for the implementation of a project aiming at the welfare of children and women in the poorest neighbourhoods of the capital, which was incorporated to the newly created Division of Social Promotion of the Department of Decentralisation of the Municipality in 1992, when it became a Programme. Chapter five will describe in detail the *Nuestros Niños* Programme, its background and its functioning, explaining the different roles played by the individual actors. This Programme has at present a coverage of approximately 1,800 children and is managed locally by neighbour Administrative Commissions. Its educational project is comprehensive and it benefits from the technical support of a team of psychologists, psychiatrists, pedagogic advisers, health consultants and music experts. The results of the data analysis of the fieldwork will also be presented in this chapter according to different subject headings. (A detailed description of the methodology used and the problems encountered, as well as relevant annexes is included in the appendix.) In general terms, the *Nuestros Niños* Programme seemed to be attaining its stated aims and objectives and the whole structure of the Programme seemed to be working reasonably well. However, more specifically, it will be noted that the decentralised structure did not appear to be rendering full effects. With respect to participation¹, a satisfactory level of collaboration and of involvement in activities with the staff, the experts and/or the children will be noted. The relationships found between the degree of collaboration of respondents and their awareness of the whole idea of the Programme and their relationship with the staff will allow us to reflect on the issues of complementarity of efforts and of synergy in the last concluding chapter. Likewise, the relationship between their level of participation in meetings with the Administrative

¹ Measured in terms of involvement in cleaning and maintenance activities, in activities with the children, the nursery staff, the technical support team and the Administrative Commissions, awareness of the educational goals of the Programme and establishment of community support groups.

Commissions, their previous experience in other community organisations and the length of time respondents had been using the service will stimulate the discussion on endowment and constructability.

Finally, in chapter six a debate on the way this municipal community programme reflects a new way of relationship between the State and civil society will be initiated, drawing on the evidence gathered. Thus, the type of decentralisation implemented in this programme by the Municipality, its objectives, and the extent to which these were attained will be analysed emphasising the notions of participation and empowerment. The relationship created between central and local municipal bodies and civil society will be discussed as well as the importance of institutions and of inter-personal relationships for the effectiveness of collective action. The general conclusions of the study will be presented and general policy implications relating to decentralised and participative social programmes will be drawn out as well as specific recommendations concerning the implementation of the *Nuestros Niños* Programme. The last section of this thesis will briefly outline possible key areas for future academic research.

CHAPTER ONE - FROM WELFARE MODELS TO DECENTRALISATION PROCESSES

INTRODUCTION

In recent years, the emergence of new ways of facing the increasing demand for welfare service provision has been witnessed. Like most of the Latin American continent, Uruguay - a country with a deeply centralist tradition - has been suffering in the last decades budgetary restrictions on welfare programmes. This was paralleled by increasing popular demand and need for responsive services. The aim of this research is to discuss the capacity of a decentralised municipal community-based pre-school care programme being implemented in poor neighbourhoods of the capital city, Montevideo, as an effective alternative model. This chapter will first briefly outline what has been described as the crisis of the Welfare State, which has led to searching for new ways of meeting welfare needs. As a consequence of this 'crisis', and following prevailing liberalisation trends, several governments have, in the last decades, embarked on decentralisation policies and privatisations, which have responded to different ideological models of the State and resulted in different dimensions and objectives of the policies undertaken (section 1.2). The debate over decentralisation will be presented emphasising the issues of participation and empowerment. Special focus will be placed on the Latin American context, where the situation described coincided with the liberalisation and stabilisation policies imposed in the 1980s, a general debate on the reform of the State and the emergence of a larger and more evident 'non-profit'/non-governmental sector.

1.1 THE WELFARE STATE AND ITS CRISIS

After years of apparent 'good health', in recent decades the Welfare State has been showing signs of decay. All over the world countries have been experiencing increasing social problems: lack of equity in work remuneration, unsatisfied basic needs, inadequacy of State services, and most countries nowadays are making important reductions in social budgets. Before describing what has been referred to as the 'crisis' of the Welfare State, this section will define the common properties of what is understood constitutes a Welfare State. It will be claimed that the Welfare State, as Martin Hewitt maintains, underwrites in

the public domain 'universal expectations for justice, citizenship and collective well-being' (1992:4). Thus, the main characteristics of Welfare States, as defined from an ideological or programmatic point of view by Franz-Xaver Kaufmann (in Eisenstadt and Ahimeir, 1985), will be considered to be the following:

- a) providing economic security and social services for certain categories (or all) of their citizens;
- b) taking care of a substantial redistribution of resources from the wealthier to the poor;
- c) instituting social rights, as part of citizenship;
- d) aiming at security for and equality among their citizens;
- e) assuming explicit responsibility for the basic well being of all of their members.

The period seen as the 'golden age' of the Welfare State (Pierson, 1991; Esping-Andersen, 1996), i.e. the post-war period (1945-1975), was thus seen as bringing rapid initial reforms to create a much more comprehensive and universal Welfare State based on the idea of shared citizenship, a commitment to direct increasing resources towards the rapid expansion of benefits and coverage within this extended system, a broad-based political consensus in favour of a mixed economy and a system of extended social welfare, and a successful commitment to economic growth and full employment. Economic growth was the irreplaceable foundation of the traditional Welfare State and this 'golden age' period was also a period of unprecedented and unparalleled growth in the international capitalist economy (Pierson, 1991).

However, although the concept of 'crisis' of the Welfare State has been challenged by authors like Pierson, even he endorses that 'not all is well with the Welfare State' (1991:177). It is not the intention of this thesis to analyse this particular issue, but in order to put into context the new alternatives that have emerged, a brief summary will be provided of the main aspects that show that the welfare models that seemed to be flourishing until the 1970s have lately undergone substantial changes.

Jean-Louis Laville et al. (1992) talk about a double crisis of the synergy between the market and the State: a crisis of values and an economic crisis. They claim that from the late 1960s, questions began to be raised regarding economic and social progress as a result of the complementarity of the market and redistribution. There is a rupture of the

pre-established consensus; militants and experts question the belief that the increase of wealth estimated through national accounts guarantees welfare, and they demand a better quality of life. From an economic point of view, as Pierson (1991) states, the reconstruction of the international political economy has definitively altered the circumstances in which Welfare States have to operate. Further, changes in the economy nationally and internationally may transform the configuration of individuals' interests and the political articulation of those interests. Esping-Andersen states that many of the difficulties that Welfare States today face are caused by market failure (badly functioning labour markets that produce an overload on existing social programmes) and by 'Welfare State failure', that is, that the edifice of social protection in many countries is 'frozen in a past socio-economic order that no longer obtains, rendering it incapable of responding adequately to new risks and needs' (1996:2).

Moved by competition, the market becomes again a legitimate area while the Welfare State sees its own legitimacy deeply questioned. The universal expectations referred to before are being now overtaken by 'an individualist dogma stressing competition, material success and market discipline' (Hewitt, 1992:4). Laville et al. (1992) believe that the first crisis, the crisis of values, has been covered up by the economic crisis, which has led to focusing social criticism on the Welfare State, while the main problem remains the ethical and financial crisis of the synergy market-State.

Whatever position one holds regarding the so-called 'welfare crisis', it can be argued that in many cases this situation has led to an erosion of centralised options of welfare provision, ranging from cases like Britain to more extreme ones like Chile and Eastern European countries. These changes were paralleled by a renewed interest in local approaches and, consequently, to a surge of decentralisation policies, seen as an effective option in both the developed and the developing world. However, the perceptions of decentralisation – and of efficiency and equity in the provision of social services – are coloured by whatever theory is held, implicitly or explicitly, of the State. Thus, the following section will begin with an overview of the main doctrinaire models of the State and their consequences for the decentralisation debate.

1.2 DECENTRALISATION AS A SOLUTION

1.2.1 Main doctrinaire models of the State

Despite all the recent debates these ideas have attracted, and taking into consideration, as Giddens states, that 'the categories of "social democracy" and "neoliberalism" are wide and have encompassed groups, movements and parties of various policies and persuasions' (1998:5), two main doctrinaire models will be distinguished: Liberalism and Social Statism. Liberalism is based on freedom regulated by the market; it is the process of a growing reliance on the market for organising social and economic activities. It tends to confirm the value of private initiative; from a liberal perspective, everything relies on the capacity of society to act for itself. The extreme expression of liberalism would be to reduce the State to its virtual disappearance or to transform it in just a law-enforcement entity.

For Social Statism, what matters more is to have a fair distribution of goods; efficiency is here subordinated to equality. Social Statism can only be possible through public policies that are identified with State policies. From a social statist perspective, the State is responsible for regulating the relationships between individuals and groups levelling inequalities by coercive interventions on society. The extreme expression of this form of conceiving social regulation would be 'State socialism'; another social statist proposal inspired by social democracies culminated in the Welfare State (Rivera, 1992).

Neo-liberal thinkers base their analysis on accusations of an excess of social demands, a disproportionate weight of the State machinery and the loss of freedom that State invasion creates in society, and consequently in the life of its citizens. They view the free interplay of market forces as a solution for the crisis and argue that the State dimension is to be diminished by the transfer of the 'social' responsibility from the institutional machinery of the State to society. Thus, the community would be in charge of self-providing most of the social services while the State would at best only exercise a monitoring role. Statist advocates themselves recognise the excessive growth of the State machinery, the lack of operational functionality of the administrative system and the material impossibility to meet growing social demands; but this has rather led them to reflect on the reform of the State (Rivera, 1992).

In this perspective, a liberal view of the State would see localised government as an important part of a foundation for political equality and liberty as well as a political training ground and source of stability. It would see an economic model of the citizen who seeks to maximise personal utility by way of locational decisions and voting behaviour (Arocena, 1995). For sectors with liberal tendencies, local initiatives are a way of weakening the State and of encouraging private enterprise. Private enterprise would gradually replace the State in the productive and commercial areas, as well as in education, health and social security. The increasing number of local initiatives in these areas would improve the efficiency and effectiveness of the activities.

Those who defend the State claim that what is needed is not to privatise, but to improve the efficiency of the State. From this Statist concept, decentralisation is a formula to 'revitalise' the State and to optimise its policies. By reallocating resources and functions to State bodies outside the administrative centre, the idea is to attempt to limit social expenses, debureaucratise services and delegate more responsibilities to the community in the tasks inherent to the traditional Welfare State (Rivera, 1992).

The ambiguities of the approaches to decentralisation are very well presented by Coraggio (in Rodríguez Villasante, 1995). He refers to two authors, with very different political ideologies, both unconditional supporters of State decentralisation. For Hernando de Soto – representative of the New Latin American Right –, decentralisation gave an integrated framework to formal and informal private institutions working better than the State. For Jordi Borja – who may be said to represent the new Post-Marxist Left –, political and administrative decentralisation is the proper way to promote the political socialisation of popular classes and the development of individual freedom, as well as socio-economic changes for a greater equity. These ideas will be vital in analysing what type of decentralisation policies are implemented and how.

1.2.2 Forms and dimensions of decentralisation

This section will attempt to define the concept of decentralisation and its different dimensions and objectives. The general concept of decentralisation encompasses a number of different dimensions from the political and administrative to the economic and social.

Rondinelli has provided a broad definition of decentralisation: the transfer of planning, decision-making, or administrative authority from the central government to its field organisations, local administrative units, semi-autonomous and parastatal organisations, local governments, or non-governmental organisations (1983:9-10). However, the degree of responsibility for and discretion in decision-making that is transferred by the central government can vary. Thus, four major forms of decentralisation have been distinguished: deconcentration, delegation, devolution and privatisation.

Deconcentration involves the passing of some administrative authority or responsibility to lower levels within the central government machinery. It is a shifting of the workload from centrally located officials to staff or offices in the periphery. According to Rondinelli (1983), this has been the most frequently used form of decentralisation in developing countries since the early 1970s. As deconcentration involves the transfer of administrative rather than political authority, it is seen as the least extensive form of decentralisation.

Delegation involves the transfer of managerial responsibility for specifically defined functions to organisations that are outside the regular bureaucratic structure and that are only indirectly controlled by the central government. Governments might see delegation as a way of avoiding the inefficiency of direct government management, of increasing cost control, and of setting up an organisation that is responsive and flexible. This form of decentralisation has been vastly used especially in Latin America, where sometimes the sector of the decentralised organisations or parastatal enterprises is much larger than the central government.

Devolution implies the creation or strengthening - financially or legally - of sub-national units of government, which are substantially outside the direct control of the central government. According to Anne Mills (1990), these bodies normally have a clear legal status, recognised geographical boundaries, a number of functions to perform, and statutory authority to raise revenue and make expenditures. The new sub-national units created are legally separated from central government, which exercises, at the most, supervisory control over them.

Finally, *privatisation* implies the transfer of a particular sector of government functions to voluntary organisations or to private profit-making or non-profit-making enterprises with a variable degree of government regulation. Under privatisation, the services previously offered by parastatal or public corporations are provided by privately owned or controlled enterprises.

The formal distinction between these four types of decentralisation is based essentially on their legal status. In reality, however, other factors are also important in determining each type of decentralisation. Moreover, decentralisation in a particular country may have features from more than one type. Mawhood (1983) notes that decentralisation involves the delegation of authority, political or bureaucratic. In the same sense, Fowler (1997) states that the degree of centralisation or decentralisation is determined by whether decision-making authority is concentrated at the top or spread downwards and outwards. Fowler refers to three basic ways to decentralise: to deconcentrate, to delegate and to devolve. Deconcentration is, according to this author, the most limited form of decentralisation, where responsibility for decisions is shifted downwards and outwards within the organisation, but where the authority, that is, the actual power to decide, remains at or near the top. Delegation, in turn, is one way in which management assigns power to local level; it occurs when authority is spread downwards and outwards. Finally, he describes devolution as the most far-reaching approach to decentralisation involving the placement of decision-making powers outside of the organisation.

Following these lines, Hambleton (1988) talks about three dimensions of decentralisation: the degree to which power is being decentralised from the centre to the edge of the organisation; the degree to which different services are being brought together at local level, and the degree to which the initiative combines managerial with political change. Regarding the first dimension, at one end of the continuum there is an improvement of public access to local authority services by relocating services on a more local basis. As a minimum there would be dispersed local offices providing information and advice as well as a referral service to other departments; moving along, more decision-making power is devolved to the local office and more actual service delivery is provided from the office, and moving further along, a certain degree of policy-making would be devolved to the local office, within clear guidelines set down by central council policy. Thus, the

continuum will pass from no local decisions, through some local decisions to substantial local decision-making.

The second dimension is concerned with the degree to which decentralisation to local offices breaks down bureaucratic and professional barriers. At one end of the continuum the objective is breaking down barriers *within* departments; moving along, decentralisation may try to break down barriers *between* departments (this approach is usually referred to as 'multi-service' decentralisation). Thus, it will go from a single service, integrating different sections of the department, through the co-ordination of several services, with a neighbourhood-co-ordinator and team working, to the management of several services, with a neighbourhood manager and generic working.

The third dimension is political. At one end of the continuum decentralisation is seen as an entirely managerial or administrative reorganisation, where only officers are involved. Moving along the continuum, approaches are found that combine decentralisation with efforts to democratise public service provision, involving a wider councillor, consumer or community participation. At the other end of the continuum there are approaches to decentralisation which emphasise community development and the creation of local arenas for decision-making involving local councillors and representatives of the communities the council is intended to serve.

1.2.3 Objectives of decentralisation

Within this framework, Hambleton (1988) identifies five objectives of decentralisation policies. One would be the desire to *improve public services*. The emphasis would be placed on neighbourhood offices working to enhance service responsiveness, on local financial management or in developing area-based policy-making. A second objective would be the desire to *strengthen local accountability*. This objective involves giving local councillors or consumers or members of the public more authority and/or influence over decisions affecting their area; influencing central decision-making processes or delegating authority to local level to enable decisions, including some spending decisions, to be taken locally.

A third objective would be *distribution*. Decentralisation can be linked to improving services for previously neglected groups who may be concentrated in the poorer estates and areas. To this effect, a selective approach might restrict the decentralised arrangements to needy areas of the local authority. Hambleton (1988) states that even though focusing on 'priority areas' can miss many needy people living outside the designated areas (with decentralisation being seen as a setback for the cause of equal opportunities), internal monitoring arrangements can be established so as to ensure that local performance complies with central policy and the special needs of different groups may become more visible with decentralising policies. The fourth objective would be to *increase public support for local government*. Decentralisation can be seen as part of a more general marketing strategy that takes every opportunity to identify the requirements of users and makes it easy for them to deal with the authority. The final objective, according to Hambleton, would be *staff development*. Decentralisation places new demands on all the staff of the authority and investment in training and staff development is essential if this objective is to be achieved.

The dimensions and objectives of decentralisation defined in these sections point to decision-making power being brought to the local level, closer to the people. Thus, next section will be devoted to defining what this thesis understands by 'local'.

1.2.4 Territoriality and locality

'Geographical communities are important because we cannot avoid living in them.

However "creatively individual" we may be, with whatever networks of friendships and "communities of interests", we are dependent on the other people, mostly strangers, with whom we share physical and political space.'

(Michael Jacobs, 1995, in Goldman, 1997:224)

Collective relationships as well as individual relationships link State and civil society territorially. Friedmann (1992) centres much of his analysis on empowerment and alternative development on the idea of *life space* and the importance of territorial boundaries. According to Arocena (1995), the economic space penetrates and overlaps with this life space since it is structured by market relations and defined by the location of productive activities and the intersecting flows of capital, commodities, labour and

information. He stresses that the technological changes, the implications of information and communications on the financial sector and the subordinate position in which real or productive economy is left (together with the many problems of resource depletion the world is facing) are generating a new global situation that deeply affects the territorial configuration of what is local.

In the twenties, Park and Zorbaugh developed the concept of 'natural area', which was later described with more precision by Paul Hatt as 'a spatial unit limited by natural boundaries including a homogeneous population with a characteristic moral order' or 'a spatial unit inhabited by a population united on the basis of symbiotic relationships' (in Rodriguez Villasante, 1995:238-239). Later on, the concept of 'social area' appeared. Shevsky and Bell (in Rodriguez Villasante, 1995) define it as not being limited by the geographical framework of reference – as is the case with the natural area – nor by implications concerning the degree of interaction between individuals in the local community; they link it to economic, family and ethnic status.

However, the most used term when discussing decentralised policies is that of 'local'. Norman Uphoff (1986) states that although the local level is often equated with the community level, many kinds of collective action are better undertaken at a level below the community – at the group or neighbourhood level – and others may be better handled by several communities together. He considers that 'local' has different meanings depending on whether it is regarded from the perspective of an outside agency or from the vantage point of people themselves. Thus, Uphoff states that, 'viewed from above', what is referred to as 'the local level' (1986:11) has at least three levels:

- the locality level – a set of communities having co-operative/commercial relations;
- the community level – a relatively self-contained, socio-economic-residential unit;
and
- the group level – a self-identified set of persons having some common interest.

Above and below these levels one would no longer be dealing with what would be described as 'local'. Households and individuals are seen by Uphoff as quite different units of decision-making and activity as they are smaller and not confronted with the same kind of problems of collective action as are evident at the group, community and

locality levels. At higher levels (sub-district, district, regional – State or provincial –, national and international levels), qualitative differences arise because State authority and very large units of decision-making and activity are involved.

For Uphoff, determining what is or is not local is sometimes ambiguous and drawing a firm boundary line is not important in itself. What is important for him is to see that 'people's perceptions of common interest and orientations toward collective action will change once the unit of potential action includes a significant number of "strangers"' (1986:13). He states that even though there can be disagreements and differences within smaller units, the basis for decision making and mobilisation of resources is much different where an established identity exists than in larger groups lacking that sense of identity.

Along the same lines, Arocena defines the term local, that he uses throughout his book on local development, not as a synonym of a 'return to utopian community patterns' (1995:12) but as the consolidation of the difference, the specificity, the individuality; of what defines each particular human group. He distinguishes local from community, from base (grassroots) rejecting the underlying idea of these being 'better' ways of organisation; from popular because of the imprecision of the term and the underlying Manichaeism and exclusion of what is not 'popular'. He describes 'local' as a relative concept, an answer to a state society goes through, requiring a very precise definition of social actors, based on an integral and integrating approach to development and confirming singularity at the same time as structural regularities.

In this sense, Rodriguez Villasante also bypasses the geographical element and considers that we need to talk about 'new centralities' that can be based on 'social subject maps' in order to attempt to deal with the problems that appear in each of the areas considered with decentralised services (1995:240). He proposes three differentiated and articulated fields: a) the field of coexistence, of a reduced size, comparable in urban terms to a neighbourhood, a village or a neighbourhood association; b) the field of co-ordination that, in rural areas, would be defined by the economic and social influence of certain local leaders and, in the cities, by the co-ordination of grassroots movements; and finally c) the field of the region, the country, that is, the 'level of the macro economy, the defence of the culture and the territory' (1995:241).

Rodriguez Villasante proposes to break down the first two fields in what he calls 'areas of coexistence' and 'citizens' focal points', which he considers very important elements as regards decentralisation since they incorporate local life and are capable of recovering what he calls 'charismatic zones' (1995:241-242). Beyond administrative decentralisation, he refers to 'platforms for building popular citizenship', defined as wide social blocks with a proper local personality around their specific problems, but not limited to local issues, taking a non-partisan socio-political approach (1995:250). The important factor he underscores is that people must be clearly required to subordinate their private interests in favour of a common and specific project. This notion will embrace the definition of local adopted in the decentralised municipal programme studied in this research.

Consequently, when referring to 'local' in this research, the term will be used as a relative concept, according to how Arocena (1995) and Rodriguez Villasante (1995) have described it, involving a very precise definition of social actors, reflecting common interest and orientations towards collective action and combining singularity with organisational structure. It will be understood at Uphoff's (1986) locality, community and group levels, emphasising the importance of the sense of identity. It will also be seen as Friedmann put it '... local not in the sense of being closed off from global influences, but as the effective terrain for engagement in civil life beyond the household and in relation to the state and the corporate economy' (1998:1).

Before introducing the general debate decentralisation policies have induced in the last decades, the next section will describe the background and present situation of decentralisation policies in Latin America.

1.3 CENTRALISATION AND DECENTRALISATION IN LATIN AMERICA

1.3.1 Background

Fights have always torn Latin American history between those who support centralisation and those who defend decentralisation processes, between unitarism and federalism.

These conflicts have sometimes even ended up in civil wars and have shaped the present institutional structures. On the one hand, ideologists, military leaders and rural leaders (*caudillos*) promoted decentralising tendencies, which incorporated the different areas of the old Spanish Viceroyalties in large Federal States, based on a relative local autonomy. On the other hand, the urban élites of the big capitals, supported by some military leaders, promoted unitary tendencies proposing the need to build a State strongly controlled from the centre and discarding any idea of local autonomy and State federation.

According to Arocena (1995), liberal thinking had great influence on Latin American intellectuals and political leaders in the nineteenth century. Both partisans of centralisation and of decentralisation were inspired by ideas inherent in the liberal thoughts of the moment. On the one hand, liberalism conceived order as limited functions, monopolised by a Nation-State, where centralised political power became the assurance of individual freedom and rights. Local authorities have thus very little autonomy and their role is basically administrative. On the other hand, he states that 'contractualist' liberalism inspired decentralisation ideas whereby democracy is only possible in small-scale territorial units. Local societies were claimed to have enough autonomy to become guarantors of real democracy. The conflict between these two approaches was gradually resolved in favour of the first. Urban élites gradually imposed the centralism of the newly formed Nation-States, 'balkanising' the continent; local institutions assumed an administrative role with no political decision-making power. The concept of citizen was only applied at a national level; at local level, people were considered just taxpayers. For example, in Argentina, for a long time, political parties had no local expression and local authorities were elected by 'selective vote' (*sufragio censatario*). In Colombia, in turn, municipal authorities were appointed by the Internal Affairs Minister or by the provincial governor.

After independence, the institutional dynamic of Latin American countries was strongly marked by centralism. Capitals were in fact the real centres of power, whereas it concerned a federal State or a unitary State. As a result, Latin America was fragmented and lost all prospects of local autonomy.

'The strengthening of central States with weakly consolidated social classes was the condition of national unity in almost all countries of the region.'

(Borja et al., 1989:436).

From the 1960s the 'republican model' of an omnipresent central State began to show the signs of a severe crisis. States weakened, privatisation ideas gained ground, local levels claimed more autonomy, bilateral treaties, free trade areas and common market ideas tried to overcome the fragmentation. The oil shock of 1973 together with the debt crisis unleashed in 1982 in Latin America, as well as the failure of early policies implemented in some countries of the region to deal with it, played an important role in reshaping policy views in the continent. It became increasingly apparent that relying heavily on the State to run the economy did not generate the expected results. Instead of protecting the public from major external shocks, the overexpanded State greatly weakened the ability of these economies to react to foreign disturbances (Sebastian, 1995). At the end of the 1980s, and in great extent as a response to the 'Washington-consensus' (a consensus of Washington-based institutions such as the IMF, the World Bank and other IFIs, imposed as a condition for external debt renegotiation and access to new funds to Latin America), a growing number of political leaders began to adopt a new vision of economic policy based on market forces, international competition, and a limited role for the State in economic affairs. After 1989, an intensification and generalisation of this reform process occurred, with more and more countries opening to international trade and embarking on ambitious privatisation programs. Thus, the policies of stabilisation (of prices and national accounts), privatisation (of the means of production, State enterprises), liberalisation (of trade and capital flows), deregulation (of private activity) and fiscal austerity have been implemented to different degrees and in various forms throughout Latin America.

While many academics and policymakers applauded the market-oriented reforms as paving the way for the emergence of a new, more dynamic model of development, others questioned not only if these reforms are really compatible with democratic governance, but also the capacity of neoliberalism to achieve sustained growth with minimally acceptable levels of social equity (Smith and Korseniewicz, 1997). Thus, from the 1980s, the debate about State reform – towards a 'minimum' or a 'better' State – intensified in Latin America. In many countries, structural adjustment had led to the creation of poverty

clusters while the prevailing redemocratisation process promoted greater social participation. These developments favoured changes in the municipalities: Latin America entered then a period of reinforcement of its local governments through decentralisation and community participation in public policies. As local demands for basic services increased, community efforts tended to substitute in many cases public provision by collective co-operation, and neighbourhood associations created new links with municipalities, that were thus forced to assume new roles. However, this situation faces the obstacles posed by the historical heritage of municipalities in the continent.

1.3.2 The role of municipalities

'The municipality is the decentralised level of the state, the most penetrated by civil society, the most accessible to the governed, and the most directly connected to the daily life of the masses. Central state-municipal relations are the clearest indicator of the general relations between the State and civil society.'

(Castells, 1983:300)

Municipal weakness is a consequence of Latin America's historical background. The State framework established by Spanish rule in the continent resulted in general in municipalities which represented frequently oligarchic groups and excluded large sectors of the population, such as the indians, 'mestizos', recent immigrants and lower social groups. Hence, for a long time Latin American municipalities were hardly representative entities or the institutionalised expression of local democracy. In addition, as State centralism strengthened, the public management potential of municipalities was severely weakened.

According to Arocena (1995), these weak local regimes could not easily become a vital element in democratic functioning and, as a result, there is frequently a confusion in local level roles between municipalities, provincial governments and the central State, which creates a duplication of tasks, obstruction and stagnation, and affects adversely the life of local communities. In general terms, Latin American municipalities lack the information and the necessary resources to carry out their tasks efficiently. Thus, there is an overlapping of traditional municipal roles, without neither adapting to new needs and requirements nor integrating intermunicipal co-operation.

In most countries, municipalities subsist on meagre and dwindling transfers, rather than on an independent tax base. One of the reasons for the lack of economic and financial resources is that income is centralised by the State. Municipalities are forced to ask for grants and this generates dependence. The scarce resources that they have available are usually allocated to the payment of salaries, but which are in general low and do not make the civil servant career attractive. Further, higher performance and competition are not encouraged. There is a generalised lack of training policies in place designed to improve municipal officers' performance, and the administrative staff generally lacks basic training. Arocena (1995) adds as well that criteria for selecting and recruiting staff are usually strongly influenced by clientelism. The percentage of the resources available devoted to investments tends to be insignificant. As a consequence, even traditional municipal services are very frequently inadequate and this puts lower income local communities particularly in a very difficult situation. Faced with overwhelming fiscal crisis, municipal governments are increasingly receptive to collaborative ventures in service delivery. Some municipalities opt to downsize, contracting out services through non-governmental organisations and unloading social services onto the non-profit and for-profit private sector. Other municipal authorities have begun to levy new taxes and to 'formalise' even microentrepreneurs.

In the case of capital cities, even though there might be resources available, the autonomy of municipalities diminishes due to their closeness to national government bodies. If the same political party administers both levels, the national level will probably be more favoured than the local level. If political leaders from different parties have to co-administer, then municipal government might be more visible. In the case of the Municipality of Montevideo which will be described in detail in chapter four, municipal action has become much more visible since it is governed by the *Frente Amplio* (left coalition party) while central government is in the hands of the *Colorado* party (traditional conservative party). However, opposing ideological views create problems as far as resource allocation and taxes imposed from central level are concerned.

Arocena (1995) refers to other exceptional cases where a change in municipal operation has been achieved by means of the implementation of participative mechanisms where local teams manage to involve the community in recognising common problems and

finding solutions for them. He argues that, in those cases, local institutions are strengthened more through civil society than by means of political and institutional reforms. The following chapters will discuss further these ideas focusing on the creation and strengthening of local organisations. To end this chapter, the main lines of the debate on decentralisation will be outlined giving special emphasis to the issues of participation and empowerment.

1.4 THE DEBATE ON DECENTRALISATION

'It is very important to stress the difference between a simple geographic or formal decentralisation and an actual decentralisation of power towards the most oppressed classes and groups in our society... We saw the State not only as a way of redistributing resources but as a way of redistributing power towards the population in general.'

Ken Livingstone, last elected president of the Greater London Council

(in Rodriguez Villasante, 1995:83).

After a period where decentralisation proposals seemed to carry a message of democratisation and development, in recent years several authors have begun to warn against the negative effects and possible dangers of decentralisation. Far from encouraging equality, decentralising policies have been seen as increasing inequality between different groups and regions by eliminating central compensation mechanisms, and as allowing an even greater penetration of multinational capitals (de Mattos, in Rodriguez Villasante, 1995).

Coraggio quotes several Latin American authors denouncing the decentralisation processes under way. He says that those processes are 'masking the dismantling of the machinery that the Welfare State developed in the sixties, through the democratic means of decentralising roles but not resources' (in Rodriguez Villasante, 1995:232). He warns about the risk of considering decentralisation as one of the many hypotheses used as subterfuge for masking necessary social transformation. The State is seen as abandoning some of its social responsibilities and keeping the relevant resources for other ends, and increasing its control by organising new territorial divisions. Referring to the interests behind decentralisation policies, he stresses that the fact that international organisations,

some governments of central States and neo-liberal thinkers support these policies shows that they would not benefit the weaker parts of the system.

Coraggio (1988) claims that local power is not necessarily popular power, and that administrative decentralisation can end up distributing power among the same people. On the one hand, decentralisation of powers at local level may not be followed by the relevant transfer of resources (or of powers to collect them); on the other, problems arise when one tries to enclose at local level a system of political relationships, without taking into account that the material basis of local society, its economic dynamics, still depend on mechanisms and agents located outside local forces. In this context, the pretended autonomy becomes just a formality. Thus, communities and local societies, as well as their governments, have a very limited autonomy in real terms since, not having their own, stable economic base, they cannot establish an equitable relationship. Coraggio claims that to put forward 'another development' for the local society, when the economic and social basis needed cannot be ruled by local agents is 'like putting forward a project without people' (1988:108).

Coraggio states that, from a political point of view, the results of the decentralisation of services depend very much on the global and particular socio-political context, such as local clientelism or more progressive forms in the control of State bodies. From a technical point of view, he questions if decentralisation ensures better conditions of provision for poorer sectors. The real margin of savings, he claims, will depend on the ability of the new groups of not reproducing the same vices.

Referring to a process of 'bureaucratic reorientation', Fowler (1997) states that the common way of changing the relationship between bureaucrats and people has been until now to bring them closer together, which has entailed decentralising government functions by establishing intermediary levels of development action and decision-making, such as local development committees and local authorities. However, as the previous authors quoted, Fowler also claims that without sufficient care, decentralisation can simply bring top-down government-dominated development projects closer to the people rather than increase people's influence.

While believing that decentralisation may increase the participation of people at the local level, Diana Conyers (1990) also claims that sometimes it is only a small privileged elite group who get to participate. Many other authors share these concerns. According to Jaime Ahumada Pacheco (1994), given their limited power, the inequalities of citizens in terms of level of income, prestige, education are translated in a different position and potential to participate in the decision-making process. This was the case in Chile, where the Neighbourhood Councils established in better-off areas, even though less active, became more influential given their greater professional and social pressure potential. In the same sense, Jordi Borja (1988) refers to the institutional system that tends to hinder direct participation mechanisms by multiplying administrative structures. He claims that the more organised social groups would then have a comparative advantage in relation to groups in need of greater care, like the elderly, immigrants, ethnic or cultural minorities, children, women.

Conyers (1990) refers to several common problems in the implementation of decentralisation policies at the local government level. She identifies three types of problem areas: those related to the planning or design of decentralisation policies; those related to their implementation and those related to their impact on planning. The first set concerns the complexity of decentralisation and its relationship to development planning. Conyers' refers to the inherent conflicts and contradictions whereby the type of decentralisation programme which is likely to maximise efficiency in the delivery of services, may be unlikely to also maximise community participation. It is common to find decentralisation policies which either do not go far enough to achieve their stated planning-related objectives or are inconsistent with one or more of these objectives. She warns that there is little point in decentralising the power to prepare plans without also decentralising some control over the allocation of resources for their implementation. Furthermore, because decentralisation is a political process, decisions about the relative importance of the different types of planning objectives, and decisions about the type of decentralisation which should be introduced to achieve these objectives, will also be influenced by political factors.

Implementation problems stem from the absence of an agency specifically responsible for co-ordinating the implementation. Decentralisation can require additional human resources in some fields and it may be necessary to increase the capacity of existing staff

at those levels, through training and upgrading positions. Opposition from those at the local level or more often from those at the centre, who are reluctant to relinquish power or authority is an important implementation problem. In many cases, opponents do not become fully aware of all the implications of decentralisation until implementation begins. The last set of problems, she claims, concerns complaints that decentralisation programmes have not achieved the planning-related objectives for which they were designed or even have created new problems or hampered the implementation of other national development policies. However, Conyers (1990) states that it is very difficult to measure progress in achieving nebulous objectives such as 'participation' and to separate the effects of decentralisation from those of other policies or events.

Decentralisation, participation and empowerment

'I participate, you participate, he participates, she participates, we participate, you participate, they decide.'

(translated from a quote in Borja (1988:309) from a wall graffiti in Berkeley, University of California).

It becomes thus important to understand what is meant by 'participation' and by 'transfer of power'. Most definitions of participation have one thing in common: they express or assume a relationship between those with the power to take decisions and those who ought to have a right to influence them. Fowler gives the following 'working definition' of participation: 'a process through which stakeholders influence and share control over decisions and resources that affect their lives' (1997:16).

Several 'degrees' of participation have been studied during the last decades. In the traditional study of Sherry Arnstein (1969), eight broad levels of participation are described: the first two levels are manipulation and therapy; informing, consultation and placation constitute degrees of 'tokenism and partnership', and delegated power and citizen control, constitute degrees of 'citizen power'. Mills et al. (1990) talk about four types of 'involvement': collaboration, participation, consultation and negotiation.

Paul (1987), in turn, provides a useful description of four 'levels of intensity' of community participation in the context of development projects. *Information sharing,*

where project designers and managers may share information with beneficiaries. This equips beneficiaries to understand and perform their tasks better and thus can have a positive impact on project outcomes, but reflects a low level of intensity. *Consultation*, where beneficiaries are not only informed but consulted and they have an opportunity to interact and provide feedback, which rises the level of intensity. *Decision-making*, where the level of intensity is still higher since beneficiaries have a decision-making role either exclusively or jointly with others on specific issues, and thus have a greater level of control or influence. Finally, Paul states that the level of intensity of community participation reaches its peak when beneficiaries show *initiating action*, that is, when they are able to take the initiative in terms of actions/decisions pertaining to a project.

In the same sense, Oakley (1991), describing three broad interpretations of participation, i.e. participation as contribution, participation as organisation and participation as empowering, sees in this latter that the transfer of power is implicit in participation, whereby people are given the means to decide upon and take actions. In this sense, he claims that participation is a political activity. In political terms, participation is taking place when individual citizens play active and equal roles in collective decision-making. Wolfe and Stietel (1994) stress the importance of bringing in people who have usually been excluded from the political process.

As mentioned in 1.2.2, Fowler (1997) analyses the relationship in power distribution and participation. He states that, in general, more controls mean less flexibility, which is bad for participatory development. He illustrates his ideas with the following table:

Shared identity	Leadership	Trust	Authority	Controls	Flexibility	Effect on participation
Strong	Consultative	High	Decentralised	Relaxed	High	Positive
Weak	Autocratic	Low	Centralised	Firm	Low	Negative

(1997:57)

Fowler states that for authentic participation, evidence suggests that authority should be delegated as far down and out as possible; such delegation should be complemented by

performance standards negotiated with stakeholders; levels of shared identity and trust should be high as well as the degree of flexibility (1997:58).

Montgomery (1988) analyses the practice of participation in the light of the potential role of government and the extent to which it can facilitate or is an inevitable obstacle to a process of participation. He sees participation as a valuable source of information to governments and as an opportunity for citizens to improve their own welfare. According to him, 'useful' participation requires mediation, intermediaries (political parties, churches, voluntary associations) between the citizens and governments, between consumers and the market. These ideas will be furthered when discussing the role of institutionalising collective action in chapter three, and will be useful for analysing the role of intermediaries in *Nuestros Niños* Programme.

However, decentralisation and participation do not lead necessarily to better government. In this sense, and to sum up this debate, this thesis will quote Judith Tandler (1997), who claims that we are experiencing a 'decentralisation fever'. She believes that this would imply that robust civil societies make for good government and that NGOs and other institutions of civil society are autonomous and independent of government. However, Tandler states that her own research in Ceará in Northeast Brazil has proved that 'civil society was not a homogeneously virtuous institution, keeping wayward governments on the straight and narrow and working its magic best on local government. The causal relationships between good government and civil society were anything but unidirectional.' (1997:156). The links between good governance and civil society will be discussed further when referring to the theories of social movements and social capital in chapter three.

CONCLUSION

There is no doubt that we are witnessing an increasing need to address welfare demands, particularly in the light of a growing public demand and less responsive institutions. This chapter claimed that the crisis of the Welfare State, which for a long time was seen as being solely responsible for providing welfare services, contributed to the search for new alternatives in the provision of services. Decentralisation processes were for a long time the preferred option. However, even though for some time these processes were seen as the key to solving most problems, it was stated that decentralisation can be interpreted in many different ways and lead to very different models of society. The conclusions of this chapter point to the interrelation between decentralisation and democratisation stressing the power relations involved in the concept and the way participation should be understood as a decentralising channel. These issues have been particularly on the debate floor in Latin America during the last three decades. An overexpanded State resulting from a strong centralist tradition began to face the consequences of the new visions of economic policy prevalent in the 1980s. In many Latin American countries, public provision was substituted by community efforts which led to an increasing involvement of non State bodies and new roles for municipalities, particularly during this decade. The different aspects of the relationship between central and local State bodies, and with non State bodies will be furthered in the following chapters.

CHAPTER TWO - A NEW RELATIONSHIP STATE-MARKET-CIVIL SOCIETY

INTRODUCTION

As stated in chapter one, the new situation created by the decay of centralised models of welfare provision has prompted different models of relationship between governmental bodies, municipalities, the market and civil society. The re-evaluation of the role of the State has questioned existing policies and also the ideas about the structure of social and economic life. In the Latin American context, particularly, by increasing the role of the market and decreasing (or at least redefining) the role of the State, the neo-liberalism imposed by structural adjustment policies has had effects on civil society, and on the relations between civil society and the State. The pre-school programme under study involves an innovative relationship between the municipality, para-Statal bodies, community-based organisations and local actors, in the microeconomic context of neighbourhoods. This chapter will thus argue that the production of welfare is now a result of networks between the public, the private and the so called 'third sector'. The concept of an 'economy of solidarity' introduced by Razeto (1988) and Laville (1992, 1994) will be presented (section two) and the new roles of the State in projects involving new partnerships with the community will be outlined (section three). This chapter will point finally to the links between civil society and democratisation, particularly in Latin America, where increasing social discrepancies risk to threaten the long term stability of the State.

2.1 THE EMERGENCE OF A THIRD SECTOR

The existence of two grand complexes of institutions into which it has become conventional to divide social life, that is, the market and the State, or the private and the public sectors, is now widely accepted. However, recent dissatisfaction with the role of the State has challenged this two-sector conceptualisation rather fundamentally by focusing attention on a third set of institutions that has been growingly involved in welfare service provision.

Welfare pluralists argue that current over-reliance upon State provision of welfare can be relieved through a reallocation of responsibilities into the informal, commercial and voluntary sectors. Amongst these, they claim that the voluntary sector is seen to have a particular attraction as the repository of social and altruistic impulses, without many of the vices such as 'compulsion, centralisation and inflexibility which undermine the State as a vehicle for society's well-being' (in Pierson, 1991:200-201). The voluntary sector is sometimes perceived as having much greater sensitivity than the State to the needs of its welfare community, to be more responsive to change and better able to initiate new programmes and services. Voluntary organisations, being typically small, specialised and organised 'from the bottom up', are seen to be less vulnerable to formalisation or to capture by (self-interested) groups of professional workers.

As stated in chapter one, neo-liberal proponents would see the market as the solution while social statist consider State policies as the vehicle for equality. However, as Mishra (1984) claims, neither a return to free market nor a socialist revolution seem feasible as alternatives to the Welfare State. As far as the market economy is concerned, he stated that the changes that were needed for some variant of it to restore economic dynamic and growth would be so massive as to rule itself out on grounds of equity and justice, as well as political feasibility. As far as the socialist alternative is concerned, Mishra claimed that it was not clear how it was to realise its major objectives and how it might reconcile liberty, equality, democracy and economic growth. He stressed that the sharp separation between the social (welfare and needs) and the economic (market, profits, efficiency) inhibited the search for appropriate institutional forms through which the problem of interdependence among these spheres, especially between economic and social welfare, might be addressed.

According to Arocena (1995), Rosanvallon anticipated in 1981 reflections that are nowadays relatively generalised. Rosanvallon stated that the Welfare State had created great social rigidity structured around two poles: the market and the State. He goes beyond the equation: equality = public = non-mercantile economy = State; and inequality = private = market economy. He proposes overcoming the dichotomy of State or market by bringing into being 'a civil society of greater density' and developing its scope 'for

exchange and mutual support, instead of "externalising" these needs and abandoning their satisfaction to the twin poles of market or State' (1995:204).

Along the same lines, Rodriguez Villasante (1995) maintains that Neo-liberalism and Welfare State are not the only options. He refers to the emergence of 'new ways', of a 'third sector' or a 'third system', and he relates them to the theory of conflict resolution. He quotes Johan Galtung (1984) in a book significantly titled 'There are alternatives', where Galtung proposes three other possibilities to the opposition 'Blue (West) all market - Red (East) all planning', that is Rose (Social Democracy), a little bit of market and a little bit of planning; Yellow (Japanese), a lot of market and a lot of planning, and Green (alternative), 'where there is little room for national and multinational companies or bureaucracies and the stress is put on the local level' (1995:262).

Thus, a 'third sector', outside the market and the State, has increasingly come into view as a crucial actor in modern social and economic life. The third sector, the voluntary sector, the non-profit sector, the French sector of 'économie sociale' are terms which have been increasingly used over the last ten years and which, in addition to their various meanings, testify to the increasing interest in those growing economic activities which are not dependent on the traditional private and public sectors.

Salamon and Anheier define the institutions in this sector as 'private in form but public in purpose' (1996:2). These authors state that such organisations have been called on recently to substitute for government social welfare spending in the United States and the United Kingdom, to help overcome the exclusion of the poor in France, to promote pluralism in Sweden, and to help foster a 'civil society' in Russia and Central Europe. In the developing world as well, such non-governmental, but not-for-profit, institutions have come to be seen as important catalysts for a new approach to development stressing grass-roots involvement and assisted self-reliance.

The problem is that there is not a very clear understanding of the nature or the capabilities of this sector. Many authors (Salamon and Anheier, 1996; Defourny and Monzón Campos, 1992; Najam, 1996) refer to a terminological confusion. What in France is called 'économie sociale', in Britain 'public charities', in America 'non-profit sector' and in Latin America and Africa 'non-governmental organisations' reflect different concepts and

different groupings of institutions. As a consequence of this conceptual confusion, it is difficult for policy makers and the general public to understand the role that these organisations really play or to comprehend the contribution they can, or should, make to public life.

Conceptualisation

The very bilingual title of a book by Jacques Defourny and José L. Monzón Campos (1992), 'Économie sociale: entre économie capitaliste et économie publique'; 'The Third Sector: co-operative, mutual and non-profit organisations' reflects this conceptual problem.

Adil Najam (1996) argues that the definitional crisis is not due to a lack of attempts to understand its intricacies but rather to a profusion of such attempts. He claims that '...there has been no dearth of attempts to define what is variously referred to as civil society or the non-profit, the non-government, the voluntary, the independent, the charitable, the philanthropic, the associational and the third sector' (1996:204). He states that the two most commonly used labels are *non-profit* and *non-government*. The first term tends to be popular in capitalist industrialised countries (especially the United States) where market institutions are the dominant organisational actors, whereas in many developing countries and in international forums (such as the United Nations) where government agencies are more dominant, *non-government* tends to be the favoured modifier.

However, the nature of these descriptors is negative and residual; the definition focuses on how this sector is different from the other sectors but not on how it is unique in itself. Whereas for the State and the market there are broad definitions that allow us to easily recognise organisations that can be placed in the same institutional sector despite internal differences, for voluntary associations descriptors tend to be narrow and there is confusion between external distinctions with other sectors and internal differences within the sector.

Najam (1996) states that there is a lack of coherence and consensus on what the non-profit or non-government organisations do, or do not, entail, that is, on their external

boundaries. He affirms that not only do the three sectors have distinctive concerns and rationales but they also have distinctive organisational and structural preferences. He quotes Brown and Korten arguing that we 'do face an institutional reality comprised of at least three distinct organisational sectors', each of which has 'distinctive and conceptually meaningful characteristics' (1991:49). 'Conceptually we can define the three sectors in terms of the three primary options available to organisations to mobilise the resources on which their function depends: coercion and legitimate authority, negotiated exchange in market systems, and shared values in consensus-based systems... Government organisations mobilise resources through the mechanisms of authority and legitimate coercion... Commercial organisations produce goods and services through the mechanisms of exchange... Organisations on the voluntary sector, in contrast, mobilise resources and social energy through the mechanisms of shared values and expectations...' (Brown and Korten, 1991:49-50).

Along the same lines, Marc Nerfin (1986) has provided a framework for conceptualising what he calls the 'three systems of power' in society. In contrast to government power - the Prince - and economic power - the Merchant -, 'there is an immediate and autonomous power, sometimes patent, always latent: the power of the people' (1986:47). Some people develop an awareness of this power, associate themselves with others, and thus become citizens. Citizens and their associations, when they do not seek either government or economic power constitute the third system. In making patent what was latent, the third system is one expression of the autonomous power of the people. These images allow us to understand the three sectors, not merely as residuals of the others, but as an integrated and interacting social mesh.

Najam (1996) uses Nerfin's idea to present a profile of the three sectors, focusing on their relationships with each other 'within holistic frameworks' rather than defining any one sector as a derivative or residual of the others. He distinguishes, thus, three sets of organisations, those of the Prince, the Merchant and the Citizen. Following Brown and Korten (1991), he states that the first is primarily concerned with the preservation of social order, through its legitimate authority and coercive sanction from society; it represents the interests of the majority (or dominant groups) and operates in the realms of the political system. The second is concerned with the production of goods and services, through mechanisms of negotiated economic exchange and profit maximisations; it

represents individual self-interest and operates in the realm of the market system. The third, the voluntary association sector, is most concerned with the articulation and actualisation of particular social visions, through the shared normative values of its patrons, members and clients; it represents the interests of the minority (or marginalised interests) and operates in the realm of civil society.

Najam (1996) affirms that his approach does not contradict the more prevalent approaches but expands them. In 1992, Salamon and Anheier had concluded that the most useful definition of the third sector was the 'structural/operational' one, which included organisations sharing five basic characteristics: being formal, private, non-profit-distributing, self-governing and voluntary. Najam states that these 'five sieves' still constitute a mechanical system of separating non-profit organisations from State and market organisations: the focus remains on the residual; the approach still tells us more about what these organisations are not than what they are. He claims for an institutional sector 'unto itself, on a footing no different from the state or the market' (1996:214), characterised by its variety and diversity. His conception wants to be broad and inclusive and focusing on the cross-cutting general realities of the sector.

To sum up, this section will quote Rodriguez Villasante (1995) who considers that the so-called 'third sector', social movements, the 'third system', NGOs, non-profit associations are placed in a 'wide field and shift among the different positions' (1995:264). He claims for a third system that creates alternatives of society, new values and a new economic, social and political culture, which needs to be differentiated from the traditional models used in the past. For him, the main problem does not lie in determining whether a service is public or private, but on the values leading to the specific objectives aimed at. Thus, Rodriguez Villasante stresses that the third system leads to a deep change of values, provided that it defines a domain or a third sector different from the State and the mercantile sectors. He adds that it proposes a 'democratic and institutionalising method that develops all the potentials (economic, social and cultural) in a synergistic way' pointing to 'alternatives of society', to what he calls a 'civilisational' change (1995:288).

2.2 A NEW DEFINITION OF ECONOMIC SECTORS: AN 'ECONOMY OF SOLIDARITY'

In order to understand the relationship between these three different sectors, reference will be made to Razeto's (1988) analysis, which is based on the definition of three main economic sectors: the exchange sector, the regulated sector and the solidarity sector. This author defines each sector as composed by a certain quantity of enterprises and economic individuals, by the various activities they carry out and by all the goods that flow through the relevant economic relationships created. Thus, according to him, the exchange sector is composed of individuals, activities and flows where the main relationships are of exchange (the market economy). The regulated sector is based on relationships of contribution and hierarchical allocations, and is usually identified with the public sector or planned economy. The solidarity sector is composed mainly by individuals, activities and flows derived preferably from relationships of co-operation, reciprocity and donation (the economy of solidarity); this sector covers a whole range of productive activities very difficult to classify in the traditional categories, like community workshops, micro-enterprises, non-lucrative associations.

Razeto (1988) offers a hypothesis about the 'suitability' of these three economic sectors, drawing on different economic 'factors'. He claims that the exchange sector (the market) is especially suitable for the allocation of the financial factor, of an important part of the work force and of some kinds of material resources (such as tools, equipment), while it is less efficient in the allocation of the technological and what he calls the factor 'C' (co-operation, community, collectivity, co-ordination and collaboration). The regulated sector (the government), in turn, is especially able to allocate efficiently an important part of the administrative factor, some material resources (such as natural non renewable resources like urban spaces, natural parks, motorways and routes, cultural, architectonic and tourist attractions considered as social patrimony) and some aspects of the technological factor (basic information and know-how, scientific and technological information circulated through the educational system). It is relatively unsuitable for the allocation of the work factor and not very efficient for the financial factor. Finally, the solidarity sector (the third sector) is especially prepared to process and allocate factor C, some kinds of work force

and some aspects of the administrative and technological factors, but particularly inefficient in respect of the financial factor and some aspects of the administrative factor.

Relative size of each sector

The relative size of each sector varies from country to country and is determined by the political ideology dominating the society, expressed through policy preferences, legislation, and public versus private investment choices. The third sector is not viewed or put into practice in the same way in every country. Factors like the variety of national legal frameworks, the difficulties in finding equivalent terms in different languages, different traditions of associationism and different social, cultural and political backgrounds prevent a common approach on an international level. For example, in the United States the role of government is actively limited and private enterprise and voluntary initiative is encouraged; in Western Europe, the State sector is probably larger; and in Latin American and Asian countries, the government sector tends to dominate.

While claiming that markets cannot replace governments in any of the areas they exist for, Giddens maintains as well that neither can social movements or other kinds of non-governmental organisation, no matter how significant they might become (1998:26). He states that governments have to be ready to learn from social movements, single-issue groups, NGOs and other associations of citizens, to react to the issues they raise and negotiate with them, as will corporations and other business agencies. He believes, however, that the nation-State and national government, although they may be changing in form, both retain a decisive importance. The role of the State in this economy of solidarity will be described in section 2.3.2 below.

Relationship with the outside world

The way in which each of these sectors relate to the outside world differs, according to Fowler (1997). Governments are inclined to be authoritative in their dealings with citizens; their relationship is tied within a permanent set of mutual obligations that are negotiated through the political process. In turn, the relationship between businesses and their customers is based on momentary transactions, that is, purchases; lacking formal coercive power, businesses try to condition the external world through advertising,

building monopolies and sometimes employing corrupt practices or attempting to coerce customers into buying from them. Left to their own devices, without public controls or incentives, competition naturally inclines businesses to minimise the internal costs and externalise the public costs of their activity to tax payers. Voluntary sector organisations 'do not have the legislative capability and coercive force of the State, nor the economic clout of commercial capital and enterprise'. Instead, they have the 'dynamism and power of self-willed human action, which can encompass very large numbers of people and exert significant influence in society' (1997:24). As they are set up by value-driven, self-motivated people to serve a segment of the population unreached by the State or the market, according to Fowler (1997), there is a strong identification between the organisation and those it is set up for. This is what he terms solidarity. This aspect will be furthered in the following sections and in chapter three.

Resource mobilisation and performance

Fowler (1997) points as well to the different pattern for each sector as far as resource mobilisation is concerned. Governments function from taxes paid by citizens who should receive adequate public services in exchange. Businesses sell goods and services to customers for an amount sufficiently greater than their cost if they do not want to become bankrupt. In general terms, non-membership voluntary organisations do not recover the full cost of what they provide to their clients or beneficiaries, and raise finances from donors.

As far as performance is concerned, Fowler (1997) states that for governments, the bottom line is political: the level of citizen satisfaction expressed through the ballot box or through civil disobedience. For businesses, it is profitability. Market indicators such as share value, price/earnings ratio and market shares provide effective and immediate feedback to managers. In the voluntary sector, mutual benefit organisations can gain performance measures and feedback from those who should be reaping the benefits through, for example, a system of annual meetings and members' voting rights. For service-providing organisations, the bottom line would be credibility and legitimacy, 'measures which must be "constructed" from the combined social judgement of the organisation's users, including intended beneficiaries, governors, volunteers and staff' (1997:26-27). This is not an easy way; it is open to dispute because of differences in

users' weight and comparisons. Fowler states that this lack of clear performance indicators makes the management of non-profit organisations more complex and difficult than the other sectors. The most critical line of feedback must come from the primary stakeholders through, for instance, changes in their well being.

2.3 A NEW TYPE OF ENTERPRISE

Laville et al. (1992 and 1994) claim that societal developments converge to draw attention to 'persisting anomalies' in the production and distribution of goods and services (1992:140). These anomalies are due to social demands requiring a quantitative as well as a qualitative adaptation of the existing social services. In the context of the synergy State-market, they have logically expanded in the non merchant economy, that is, that economy where the task of ensuring order in the production and distribution of goods relies on redistribution, organised under the Welfare State's responsibility. In the paradigm of the system 'of growth', the aim of social services based on redistribution was to correct the perverse effects created by the market. It has been shown that these services can no longer be limited to the services organised under the auspices of the Welfare State, but defined more widely as all the collective interest services considered by social groups as necessary for them, including cultural, educational and environmental services.

The Welfare State crisis has thus forced the replacement of services traditionally provided by the State by a heterogeneous range of initiatives combining elements of an exchange economy with those of an economy of solidarity. These services combine paid tasks with voluntary ones, and run frequently thanks to the contributions and the donations of the community or of other organisations, and sometimes to the collaboration from the State or the municipalities.

Laville et al. (1992 and 1994) refer to various recent local experiences in Europe, whose aim was job creation and social cohesion. These local experiences seek to present original approaches that are aware of the emergence of new needs and the inability of the market as well as of public intervention to satisfy them. Beyond the State and the market, these experiences define another type of enterprise involving new socio-economic dynamics; the association of users, paid and voluntary staff, and the original combination of

resources, creates new types of associations and companies that they define as the '*entreprise solidaire*' (the 'solidary² enterprise').

These new enterprises are real companies where entrepreneurs are involved without having direct dependence links between employers and employees for personal services, as a result of the creation of collective groups and a relationship between provider and beneficiary mediated by a structure. They are also 'solidary enterprises' since the balance of management implies using resources derived from the voluntary association of people who consider themselves concerned by a social problem and resulting in the participation of beneficiaries, in benevolent involvement modes and in the contribution of different groups (formal or informal) in the provision and spreading of services (1992:154).

Along the same lines and working on the Latin American context, Razeto (1988) refers to different types of 'alternative' enterprises, i.e. associational, co-operative and based on some 'joint action' of people co-operating with each other in order to meet common economic needs, to improve their quality of life and to have a positive effect on the communities in which they live. He defines this joint action that has specific and tangible effects on the result of an economic activity as the 'factor C' in the economic equation mentioned previously. The content of this 'factor C' can be summed up as follows:

- Co-operation in work
- Sharing the use of knowledge and information
- Collective decision-making
- Improved and more equitable distribution of benefits
- Psychological incentives resulting from certain rituals of team or community work that benefit the social atmosphere surrounding the activities carried out
- Diminution of social conflict in the economic unit, due to the strong community element involved.

One of the main aspects of this new type of enterprise is that it shows a new way of conceiving social services on a reciprocal basis. This reciprocity can be intrinsic, that is,

² 'Marked by unity of interests, responsibilities, etc.' (Collins English Dictionary, 3rd edition, Harper, 1992:1470). See Zald and McCarthy (1979:239), '...the more closely sympathisers to any social change goal approximate to a *solidary* group, the more easily mobilizable they are...'; Evans (1996:1124), '...generation ... of *solidary* ties and social action...'

exercised by the same members of a group of people or extrinsic, that is, exercised by a group of people for another group of people. In both cases, it takes into account the everyday space and time of people for whom it is exercised. The reciprocity is based on a voluntary and collective action in the public sphere that develops jointly the supply and the demand. It means that people do not solve their problems individually in the private area, but that there is a voluntary action that deals collectively with everyday problems in the public area.

2.3.1 The hybridisation of economies

Laville et al. (1992 and 1994) have focused their research on the subject on what they describe as 'proximity services'. This notion refers to the subjectivity of the people involved; it is defined by the fact that it is felt, lived by the actors and not by reference to the territory, even though it can have a neighbourhood basis. They are services provided to families in their homes or in a limited local space, and responding to individual or collective social needs, such as nurseries, elderly care, cleaning and maintenance services, some health services, school transport, services for handicapped people, training and work insertion programmes. What is new about these services is that they are based on a principle of economic behaviour different from that of the market and of redistribution: it is the reciprocity principle that guides behaviours in a totally independent way in order to create services through a process of interaction between people voluntarily involved.

The first projects related to proximity services in Europe placed the reciprocal action in the domain of the non-monetary economy, that is, the economy where the task of ensuring the order in the production and distribution of goods relies on reciprocity and internal management. However, several obstacles began to appear including poor resources, isolation, inadequate actions, high rotation of voluntary staff.

According to Laville et al. (1994), relying jointly on the market (through the sale of services) and on redistribution (by making contracts with public authorities), and incorporating the principle of reciprocity, it is possible to avoid such limitations. They quote the experience of parental nurseries in France, which consider these three principles: parents see a diminution of their responsibilities by public funding,

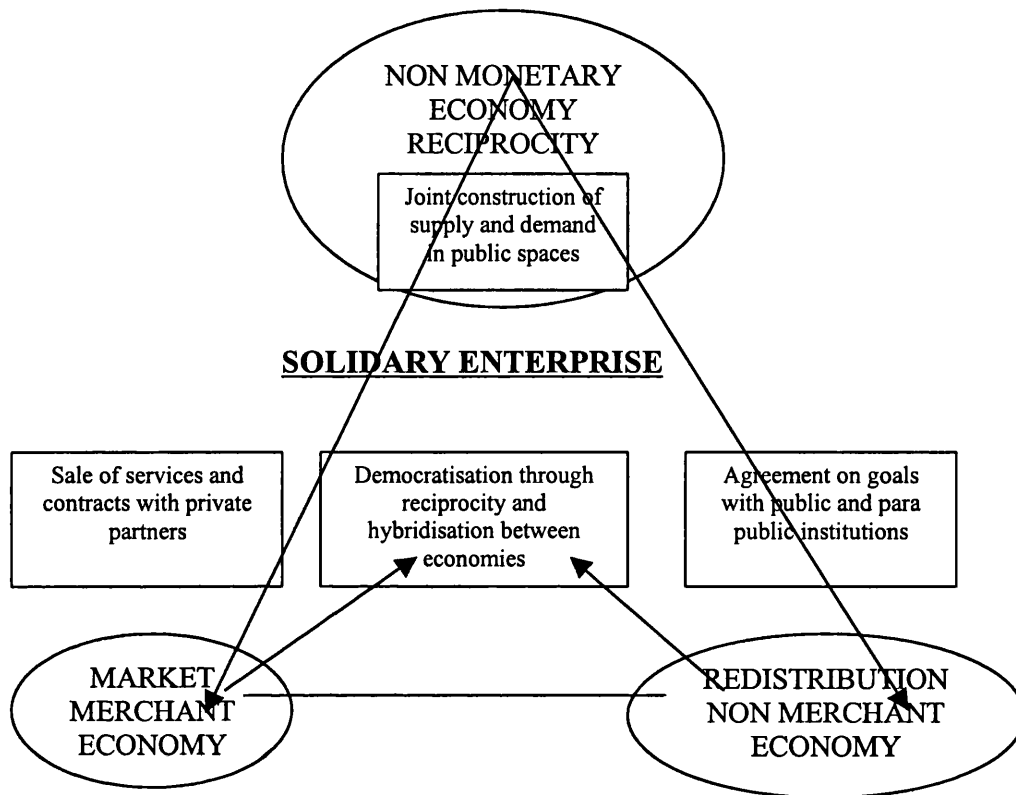
professionals see new possibilities and public partners see an opportunity of demultiplying structures at a lower unitary cost as well as the possibility of creating job opportunities.

Proximity services that were once somehow an alternative have become a mixture of the non-monetary, the merchant and the non-merchant economies. The aim of these projects with collective actors was to create institutional changes by promoting mixed solutions where community spirit is expanded by means of the market and redistribution in the functioning of microeconomic institutions. Relying on the principle of economic behaviour allows an increase of the field of action and of the target population, by mobilising resources resulting from the sale of the services provided. Taking into account the principle of reciprocity means that the merchant obstacle can be curbed by mobilising non-monetary resources.

These type of services, thus, are a good example of a hybridisation of economies. They can be defined as services born from a reciprocity stimulus that jointly create the supply and the demand, and that materialise through a combination of market and redistribution principles. The aim is a lasting articulation of reciprocity, market and redistribution within microeconomic units. Given that they imply the mobilisation of non-monetary, merchant and non-merchant resources gathered in the same unit generating the services, they presuppose a complementarity between three economies that used to be separated (see diagram next page).

There is a recognition of a real entrepreneurial dynamics, quite different from a capitalist process and the economic initiative of the public authorities. Laville et al. (1992) refer to a 'solidary entrepreneurship', that combines all the resources at hand; it does not rely on the State to generate activities having a 'social use', or on the voluntary or militant association fabric being capable of solving emergencies. It can materialise, as mentioned previously, in proximity relational services through the involvement of beneficiaries in the design and operation of the services intended for them and the hybridisation of different styles of resources: mercantile, non mercantile and non monetary. The sustainability of enterprises is guaranteed by this combination of resources which implies selling the services, a negotiated use of the funds from redistribution (of the State or municipalities) and developing complementarities between paid and unpaid workers.

Socio-economic organisation of proximity services



(From Laville et al., 1994:88)

For Giddens (1998), since the late 1980s numerous varieties of schemes of 'social entrepreneurship' have evolved in the form of volunteers who take part in charitable work and who are paid in time donated by other volunteer workers. He states that government can act in partnership with agencies in civil society 'to foster community renewal and development' (1998:69), and he defines the economic basis of such partnership as a 'new mixed economy.' This new mixed economy looks for a synergy between public and private sectors, utilising the dynamism of markets but with the public interest in mind.

2.3.2 The role of the State

The role of the State in this new relationship has attracted considerable debate. In the next chapter, the relationship State-civil society will be analysed further. However, it will be argued here that the emergence of an economy of solidarity is linked to the search for a

new regulatory intervention of the State. In order to move towards a State intervention more aware of people and of its efficiency, it is necessary to identify first how part of the revenue transfers can encourage the strengthening of social links, which is a necessary condition for reaffirming collective identities. John Friedmann, referring to an alternative development model, claims as well that the State should play an 'enabling, facilitating and supportive role' (1992:160). The roles of the State in this perspective, as specified by Laville et al. (1994), are the following:

- Ensuring non-discrimination between individuals, social groups, generations and regions by offering the possibility of appeal and ways of financial mutual associations that would allow to solve situations where there is a lack of funds.
- Developing points of reference for evaluation by promoting offers of evaluation and disseminating the results among those concerned.
- Favouring the socialisation of the key persons involved in the services concerned and the identification of requirements for those services.
- Encouraging and giving feedback to societal debates on major social issues.
- Legitimizing socio-economic innovation. There is a need to establish intermediary structures so that the inevitable cost of the necessary multiple procedures is taken by the State. This can be achieved by means of local regulation between financial bodies, local communities and public services. Local initiative has to be encouraged by the State favouring the creation and operation of mixed structures assisting in the starting phase, providing guarantee for funds and low-interest loans, giving financial encouragement to ensure the quality of services and strengthening the provision of training as well as of methodological advice and evaluation.
- Simplifying radically the finances in the social area in order to achieve a significant change of behaviour. Transparency in finances can also encourage more provision of services by hiding social and territorial inequalities and making choices as clear as possible.

In sum, the aim of State intervention in an economy of solidarity would be to organise the relationship of services emphasising more the coherence of the complex rules and instruments involved than legislative action, the regulation of activities, direct management or an increase in measures. Giddens (1998) believes that there are no

permanent boundaries between government and civil society. Depending on context, government needs sometimes to be drawn further into the civil arena, sometimes to retreat. Where government withdraws from direct involvement, its resources might still be necessary to support activities that local groups take over or introduce, above all in poor areas. Yet, he points that it is precisely in poorer communities that the fostering of local initiative and involvement can generate the highest return.

Razeto (1988) states as well that State intervention, as the main agent of the regulated sector, can vary according to the different historical moments. For instance, the sector of solidarity will cover larger areas of the economy when the State reduces its action; in this context, many 'local initiatives', located in the sector of solidarity of the economy, can be important means of implementation of social policies. According to Arocena (1995), this classification of Razeto allows us to approach issues like privatisation, decentralisation and local autonomy with less influence from ideology, and proves useful when defining the course of social policies.

2.4 NEW RELATIONS OF POWER: CIVIL SOCIETY AND DEMOCRATISATION

John Friedmann (1992) places the discussion on these new sectors and relationships in terms of relations of power and suggests four overlapping domains of social practice: the State, civil society, the corporate economy and the political community. He allocates to each domain an 'autonomous core of institutions' (1992:28) that governs its respective sphere. According to Friedmann, the core of the State consists of its executive and judicial institutions; the core of civil society is the household; the core of the corporate economy is the corporations; and the core of the political community is the independent political organisations and social movements. For each of these a distinctive form of power can be identified: State power, social power, economic power and political power.

Friedmann (1992) associates social power with civil society and limits it by contrasting forms of State, economic and political power. This thesis will understand civil society as Alexander defines it, that is, 'a solidary sphere in which a certain kind of universalising community comes gradually to be defined and to some degree enforced' (1998:7). It is

'the arena where social solidarity defines itself in universal terms'; 'the "we" of a national community, taken in the strongest possible sense, the feeling of being linked to each member of the community, going beyond private commitments, closed loyalties and sector interests' (Alexander, 1994:85).

Friedmann (1992) argues that each form of power is based on certain resources that can be accessed by a collective actor (see also Brown and Korten, 1991, 2.1 above). The State has the law on its side and a monopoly over the legitimate use of violence. Corporations have substantial access to financial resources, the power to shift capital from one place to another, and the power to hire and fire. The political community (parties, social movements, political action committees) has the power to vote, to stage street demonstrations and rallies, and to pressure politicians through lobbying. The power of civil society is gauged by the differential access of households to the bases of social power. He defines social power as concerned with access to certain 'bases' of household production, such as information, knowledge and skills, participation in social organisations, and financial resources. Friedmann claims, however, that an increase in access to bases of social power is not enough. Social power should be transformed into political power and politics have to be capable of turning political claims into legitimate entitlements (1992:71).

In the last decade, the revival of interest in civil society has been connected with the process of democratisation. This has created a widespread conceptual identification between civil society, democracy and equality. Walzer (1994) believes that only a democratic State can create a democratic civil society, and only a democratic civil society can sustain a democratic State. He states that the civility that makes democratic politics possible can only be learned in the associational networks; and the 'roughly equal and widely dispersed capabilities that sustain the networks have to be fostered by the democratic state' (1994:24).

Nardin (1994) distinguishes different kinds and degrees of liberty, and also of solidarity, and argues that civil society should not be confused with what a 'just' civil society might look like. The existence of great inequalities of wealth and power may be unjust, it may unbalance civil society, but it does not necessarily destroy it. He supports agreement,

consensus and solidarity, an association of common practices, rules and procedures, but not the idea of universally shared values.

In Latin America, according to Foweraker (1995), the debate over civil society merges imperceptibly into the debate over democracy and democratisation. Elisa Reis (1998) warns about Latin America's historically institutionalised model of citizenship that has contributed to fostering a collective identity built around a conception of the nation-State that places authority above solidarity. She stresses that acute deprivation and too much inequality can act as deterrents to solidarity since large sectors of the population remain excluded, see no chances of being incorporated, and therefore display no feelings of solidarity towards the larger society. She believes that extreme forms of social inequality like those observed throughout most of Latin America hamper the generalisation of social solidarity because severe disparities in life experiences breed differences in cognitive orientations that are so vast that feelings of belonging simply cannot take root. According to this author, this situation, obviously, does not strengthen democracy.

It has become clear that in the current context of fiscal austerity and heavy influence of private interests on the State apparatus experienced by Latin American countries, the expansion of citizenship cannot be promoted effectively by the State itself. However, Jelin (1996) claims that within the hegemonic neoliberal discourse in which the State is 'subsidiary' and should be as small as possible, the third sector is sometimes identified with civil society. As Najam stated, 'the third sector operates in the realm of civil society' (1996:212). Jelin believes that the third sector is being put forth as a model, as the basic road to strengthen civil society and she warns about the lack of built-in accountability of NGOs and 'private-yet-public' organisations. According to this author, the third sector's agenda is not always elaborated by individuals operating on good will and a communitarian conscience nor guides its actions according to democratic and participatory principles or to promote citizenship and rights. This leads her to maintain that the State cannot and should not renounce its function and obligation to promote citizenship rights and participation and that social movements and collective participatory action cannot and should not be institutionalised totally, be it through State-oriented channels or through 'concerned' NGOs. These ideas will be further discussed when focusing on collective action and institutionalisation in the next chapter.

This thesis would argue that democratic citizenship can, nonetheless, be furthered as a result of collective activities initiated and sponsored by movements and organisations of civil society. Thus, initiatives and movements emerging from social actors can play a significant role in shaping the democratisation agenda. The institutions of civil society can and ought to be the target of democratisation, of egalitarian projects aimed at expanding rights and solidarities; the institutions of political and economic society can and ought to be the targets of actors in civil society seeking to render them more receptive to their influence (Cohen, 1994). There is a need to promote and facilitate the formation of civil institutions at micro-level, as well as to strengthen their capacity to engage with each other, with the State and with the market. At a macro-level, ways in which a growing civil society can negotiate within itself and with government should be established. As will be argued later, it is necessary to have recognised and respected mechanisms to increase the range of organised social, political and economic actors, who engage with each other and with public bodies.

CONCLUSION

The third sector, that is, citizens and their associations not seeking either government or economic power (Nerfin, 1986) has come to be a crucial actor in modern social and economic life, be it under the label of public charities, non-profit sector or non-governmental organisations. This chapter has discussed the interrelationship of the public, the private and the third sector spheres as well as the respective roles of each of them. Focus was placed on the new role the State has to play in an economy of solidarity, which implies new partnerships with public authorities derived mainly from relationships of co-operation, reciprocity and donation (Laville, 1992, 1994). The significance of initiatives that mobilise people and rely on a synergistic combination of economic and social issues instead of encouraging their separation was stressed. Finally, the new relations of power created were linked to civil society and the debate over democratisation in Latin America, and the claim was made that initiatives and movements emerging from social actors can play a significant role in shaping the democratisation agenda provided the necessary mechanisms are in place. The following chapter will further these notions and will discuss the elements of this third sector that can help strengthen it and become an effective partner in an alternative model of welfare provision.

CHAPTER THREE - SOCIAL MOVEMENTS AND SOCIAL CAPITAL: THE ROLE, MOTIVATIONS AND EFFECT OF COLLECTIVE ACTION

INTRODUCTION

Co-operation, collaboration, solidarity, are key elements in the establishment of a strong civil society. However, these joint efforts need to be institutionalised and a synergistic relationship needs to be developed amongst political, economic and social actors in the public, private and third sector spheres. The aim of this research is to understand the intrinsic and extrinsic elements of the co-operative associations that run the community nurseries of the case study, which help them strengthen and make them more efficient. This chapter will discuss the notions of institutionalisation and of inter-personal relationships towards understanding the creation of identities and the power relations involved. The ideas of collective action and of institutionalisation will be approached through the study of social movements and social capital theories. The relationship between public and private actors and the scaling up of effective collective action will be furthered in the last section devoted to the ideas of complementarity, endowment and constructability.

3.1 SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

Cohen and Arato (1992) sustain that social movements constitute the dynamic element in processes that might realise the positive potentials of modern civil societies. In the 1950s and 1960s, functionalism treated social movement activity as qualitatively distinct from normal or institutionalised action. In Marxist and neo-Marxist analysis, the empirical content of social movement activity is viewed as a manifestation of deeper conflicts, and social movements are thus considered 'reformist' and opposing class movements which are 'transformative' (Scott, 1990:7). For many Marxist theoreticians, social actors are class actors.

Social movements imply mass mobilisation – or the threat of mobilisation – as their prime source of social sanction, and hence of power; thus, they are distinguished from other collective actors, such as political parties and pressure groups. They are further distinguished from other collectivities, such as voluntary associations or clubs, in being chiefly concerned to defend or change society, or the relative position of the group in society. Scott, thus, defines them as 'a collective actor constituted by individuals who understand themselves to have common interests and, for at least some significant part of their social existence, a common identity' (1990:6).

Dalton and Kuechler, in turn, refer to social movements as 'a collectivity of people united by common belief (ideology) and a determination to challenge the existing order in the pursuit of these beliefs outside institutionalised channels of interest intermediation.' (1990:278-279)

The social actors in the world scene have changed profoundly during the last two decades. Up until the 1970s, the primacy of the political system was undisputed: political parties, elections, and revolutionary wars were the strategies for change. The State was at the centre: the central question concerned the best strategy for gaining State power. Even traditional corporatist actors (entrepreneurs and the labour movement, the military and the clergy) were analysed in terms of their capacity to intervene in the political space of the State. Other actors were weak, and social demands were put directly to the State; what was left outside the formal political arenas (spaces for sociability and local cultural reinforcement) was thought of as less 'important' (Jelin, 1996).

Major trends changed this situation. In Latin America, the context of social movements was significantly transformed from class-based actors or occasional student mobilisations by two major developments: the shift from rural to urban and industrial society, and the crisis of the populist and developmentalist State followed by the advent of the repressive military and authoritarian regimes of the 1970s and 1980s. Linking these two developments was the huge growth of the State apparatus, and the massive increase in forms of State intervention. Thus, the 1970s and 1980s were a period of flowering of 'new' social movements throughout much of Latin America. In addition to established labour movements and political parties, an effervescence of grassroots mobilisation (comprising those who could not express themselves through conventional institutional

channels for conveying social demands) led to a dramatic expansion of all sorts of organisations, as a response to urbanisation, human rights and citizenship issues, religious change. Some of these new social movements grew up in opposition to the State and in this sense they were 'new'. Some theorists of 'new social movements' (Escobar and Alvarez, in Foweraker, 1995) consider them as the generators of a new and fuller kind of democracy: increased popular participation, greater involvement in decision-making, the devolution of power to the grassroots, greater accountability.

As stated in the previous chapter, the debate over civil society in Latin America merges into the debate over democracy and democratisation. Social movements became increasingly concerned with their projection into political society, or the arena of political competition for control over public power and the State apparatus. For Foweraker, thus, social movements must exhibit 'a sense of collective purpose and the kind of political objectives... which require interaction with other political actors... and must also mobilise its supporters in pursuit of its goals.' (1995:4)

3.1.1 Theories of social movements

In the classical theoretical paradigm, collective behaviour theorists have focused on explaining individual participation in social movements, looking at grievances and values as responses to rapid social change and social disorganisation. As a response, the resource-mobilisation paradigm emerged in the United States in the 1960s and 1970s and the 'new social movements' paradigm in Western Europe and in Latin America.

3.1.1.1 Resource mobilisation theory

Resource mobilisation theorists presume that political dissatisfaction and social conflicts are inherent in every society; thus, the formation of social movements depends not just on the existence of these interests but on the creation of organisations to mobilise this potential. Zald and McCarthy (1979), the initial proponents of this theory, shift the focus of our attention from the sources of citizen dissatisfaction to formal organisational manifestations of these processes. Social movements, for them, were known and became a force for social change primarily through the social movement organisations (SMOs) they spawned.

This theory is based on the idea that successful movements acquire resources and create advantageous exchange relationships with other groups as they achieve success in fulfilling their goals. It emphasises both societal support for and constraint upon social movement phenomena and examines the variety of resources that must be mobilised, the linkages of social movements to other groups, the dependence of movements upon third parties for success, and the tactics used by authorities to control or incorporate movements. The new approach depends more upon political, sociological, and economic theories than upon the social psychology of collective behaviour.

What this theory was found to be lacking is an understanding of the content of social movement demands, that is, the 'why' as well as the 'how'. It lacks an explanation of the connection between particular types of social movements and the general conditions obtaining within their social environment; 'the cultural as well as the purposive aspects' of their activity. Without these cultural considerations 'it is difficult to see how solidary action would be possible' (Scott, 1990:111). Furthermore, Foweraker (1995) stresses that resource mobilisation theory fails to explain social movements that are too weak to distribute selective benefits, and tends to ignore movements which go unrecognised by government authorities.

3.1.1.2 New social movements theory

According to Dalton and Kuechler (1990), resource mobilisation theory appeared indifferent to the political or ideological content of social movements. Foweraker (1995), in turn, states that the focus on structural preconditions diverts attention away from the political problems of mobilisation, organisation and strategic decision-making. Thus, European attempts to explain new social movements gave a more prominent role to ideological factors. Dalton and Kuechler state that the ideological orientation of new social movements determines what might be truly new about these movements. Their distinct ideological orientation influences the type of supporters they mobilise, their organisational structure and their choice of political tactics.

Scott (1990) emphasises the largely cultural character of social movements, their loose organisational structure, and their focus on life-style rather than conventionally political issues. The role of ideas, the centrality of cultural elements was what marked for many scholars the new social movements as discontinuous with the past; the importance of shared and socially constructed ideas in collective action.

In the Latin American context, along the lines expressed previously, the main features of new social movements have been described by Rodriguez Villasante (1995) as:

- a) a *transforming intentionality*, that is, taking on their condition as subjects for social change;
- b) a focus on *participative democracy*, not only as a form of social organisation but also as a model of their own internal organisation and actions;
- c) the defence of their autonomy, their *independence* from any other form of political power and organisation;
- d) the framework of *social economy*, rejecting all sort of speculative capital formation.

Scott (1990) argues that new social movements can be best explained through what he calls middle-range theories: social closure, mobilisation and interest articulation. They are best understood in terms of a continuum stretching from informal network-like associations to formal party-like organisations. He refers to two approaches: culturalists theories are explanations of the formation of interests and actors' identity on the one hand, and cultural and normative innovations on the other; realist approaches tackle the way social movements achieve their effects. Culturalists theories do have a partial explanation of social movements effects in terms of cultural innovation, but because they disregard political negotiation they fail to analyse the processes by which such cultural innovations are fed into politics, how new political agendas become set, and how political parties, pressure groups, react to external pressure. According to Scott, a 'middle-range theory of social closure' (1990:135) enables us to identify the two central types of social movement activity: the expansion of citizenship and the insertion of excluded groups into the polity.

3.1.1.3 Synthesis

There have been some attempts to form a synthesis between the new social movements and resource mobilisation approaches through what has been called the political process approach. Resource mobilisation theory came to recognise the importance of the State in the political process model, so it began to address the roots of civil society in the idea of the 'micro mobilisation context'. Another general review of social movement theory concluded that there was a large gap in our understanding of social mobilisation, that it left the links between the macro and micro levels of analysis unexamined. McAdam, McCarthy and Zald proposed marrying the micro and macro perspectives by focusing on the micromobilisation context which connected 'private troubles to public issues' by providing a 'structure of solidary incentives' to aggregate individual choices into programmes of action (in Foweraker, 1995:19-20).

A mainly European insistence on identity tends to confine social movements to civil society, while the mainly North American focus on strategy places them in political society. Cohen (quoted in Foweraker, 1995) proposes a synthesis that treats social movements as both expressive and instrumental, as both resource generators and resource mobilisers. This author argues that any single social movement can involve both the construction of personal and collective identity and instrumental and strategic activity, and that these modern movements have civil society as both target and terrain of collective action.

Identity vs. strategy

Cohen (1985, in Foweraker, 1995) introduced for the first time a distinction between identity-oriented and strategy-oriented approaches to social movements, and claims that without an understanding of identity there is no way of explaining why social movements move. Alexander (1998) believes that goals, tactics and strategic choices not only impact on the political environment but also shape the way issues are seen *within* the movement, and so achieve lesser or greater degrees of loyalty and cohesion. He quotes Birnbaum saying that 'the stronger the group's feeling of identity.... the more organised the group is'

(1998:52), and he concludes that it remains impossible to disentangle the intrinsic (identity) and extrinsic (strategy) practices of social movements.

In turn, Foweraker (1995) states that identity cannot simply be conceived as a precondition of strategic action, because the processes of organisation and strategic choice contribute crucially to construct and shape this identity. The shared experience of structural contradictions and inequalities may still be necessary but not sufficient to explain social mobilisation that will also depend on 'a host of other factors which are context specific' (Scott, 1990:53), such as the presence or absence of emotive issues, potential leaders or possible allies, as well as the reaction of the authorities and the outcomes of strategic choices.

New social movements involve actors who have become aware of their capacity to create identities and of the power relations involved in the social construction of those identities. Contemporary collective actors see that the creation of identity involves social conflict around the reinterpretation of norms, the creation of new meanings, and a challenge to the social construction of the very boundaries between public, private and political domains of action.

3.1.2 Institutionalisation of social movements

In approaching the State or developing a political project it is a commonplace observation that social movements become 'institutionalised'. McAdam et al. (1996) believe that the tendency towards institutionalisation will inevitably create tensions in grassroots movements which practice different forms of direct democracy. Radical theorists like Castells and Touraine (Hannigan, 1985) are suspicious that organisation and formal leadership structures may invite symbolic responses and consequent demobilisation. But other authors argue that social movements are condemned to sterility if they do not develop social movement organisations (SMO) to assume the executive functions previously exercised by informal groups, and to carry out 'the crucial task of mediating between the larger macro environment and the set of micro dynamics on which the movement depends' (in Foweraker, 1998:70).

The double political task of the new social movements is the acquisition of influence by the public, associations, and organisations on political society, and the institutionalisation of their gains (new identities, autonomous egalitarian associational forms, democratised institutions) within the lifeworld. They begin in the form of broad yet loose networks of local associations and grassroots groups, with minimal distinctions between 'leaders' and 'followers', members and non members. In the formative period of social movements, expressive action and direct participation are appropriate to the goal of articulating a new collective identity. The second stage involves routinisation, inclusion, and finally institutionalisation. Once the new collective actor succeeds in forming an identity and gaining political recognition, action shifts from the expressive to the instrumental/strategic. Formal organisations replace loose networks, membership roles and leaders emerge, and representation replaces direct forms of participation. The logic of collective action at this stage is structured by the politics of political inclusion, that is, aiming at the expansion of political or economic society to include new actors, in order to gain access to power or benefits. Full institutionalisation would involve recognition of the (demobilised) group represented by the new political insiders as a legitimate special interest whose claims become susceptible to negotiation and political exchange. (Cohen and Arato, 1992)

Institutionalisation occurs at the 'meso-level' of collective action and, according to McAdam et al. (1996), this is the key to understanding the phenomenon. This meso-level includes a kaleidoscope of 'mesostructural factors', such as pre-existing organisations, party constellations, rules and policies, public opinion, and even factions internal to the movement itself. 'Institutionalisation must be thought of as an inherent part of the logic of collective action since it is instrumental in producing the rhythmic ebb and flow seen in the formation of collectivities' (Boschi, 1987:183, in Foweraker, 1995:70).

McAdam et al. (1996) point to the determinant and interactive effects of three factors on movements dynamics: 1) the structure of political opportunities and constraints confronting the movement (*political opportunities*); 2) the forms of organisation – informal as well as formal – available to insurgents (*mobilising structures*); and 3) the collective processes of interpretation, attribution, and social construction that mediate between opportunity and action (*framing processes*). These three factors are interdependent. In the absence of sufficient organisation, political opportunities are not

likely to be seized. Mediating between the structural requirements of opportunity and organisation are the emergent meanings and definitions – or frames – shared by the adherents of the burgeoning movement. The impetus to action is as much a cultural construction as it is a function of structural vulnerability.

The broad political environment in which the movement is embedded constitutes a powerful set of constraints/opportunities affecting its development. The structure of political opportunity is more a product of the interaction of the movement with its environment than a simple reflection of changes occurring elsewhere. For the movement to survive, insurgents must be able to create a more enduring organisational structure to sustain collective action. This usually entails the creation of SMOs which will endeavour to shape the broader political environment which influence the overall pace and outcome of the struggle. In a mature movement, framing processes are more likely to be shaped by conscious, strategic decisions on the part of SMOs and be the subject of intense contestation between collective actors representing the movement, the State, and any existing countermovements.

Collective action and institutionalisation have been approached recently in the context of the study of social capital. In the development of this concept, mutually supportive relations between public and private actors have been studied under the notion of complementarity and the multiple network of social relationships between officials and local actors has been analysed under the notion of embeddedness, the two notions being related in the context of synergy. To analyse whether synergy depends on pre-existing sociocultural capital or whether it can be built on, the concepts of 'endowment' and of 'constructability' have been put forward. Before describing in more detail these ideas, the next section will first define social capital and analyse its different components.

3.2 SOCIAL CAPITAL

'Informal ties do not necessarily promote improvement in material well-being any more than wealth or technology is necessarily used to promote human betterment, but if people can't trust each other or work together, then improving the material conditions of life is an uphill battle... Without social capital, physical and human capital are easily squandered.'

(Evans, 1996a:1034)

In recent years, and mainly following Robert Putnam's publication of *Making Democracy Work* (1992), a lot of interest has been drawn to the concept of social capital. The idea of social capital has seemed to promise answers which are attractive both to the neo-liberal right and to those committed to ideas about participation and grassroots empowerment.

Social capital has been defined as '...the features of social organisation, such as trust, norms and networks, that can improve the efficiency of society by facilitating co-ordinated actions...' (Putnam, 1992:167) and '...trust, norms and networks that facilitate social co-ordination and co-operation for mutual benefit' (in Putzel, 1997:939). It has also been referred to as '...aspects of informal organisation which are used by actors for productive purposes and have an intrinsic social character through the combinations of collective actions that have common consequences.' (Coleman, 1994:175, in Portilla Rodriguez, 1997). In this sense, 'a group whose members manifest trustworthiness and place extensive trust in one another will be able to accomplish much more than a comparable group lacking that trustworthiness and trust' (Coleman, 1990:304).

If we refer to the economy of solidarity described in chapter two, social capital will be factor 'C' in Razeto's economic equation for alternative associations: co-operation, community, collectivity, co-ordination and collaboration.

3.2.1 Main criticisms of Robert Putnam's theory of social capital

Robert Putnam (1992) studied two different profiles of social cohesion for North and South Italy and attributed the differences to the presence and absence of a historical legacy of social capital accumulation. He focuses on the link between the vibrancy of

associational life, good governance, and democracy and argues that the act of involvement in secondary associations produces civic communities whose members engage in collective action for mutual benefit and who demand government responsiveness. His major issue is how social trust, that is, trust among those lacking intimate knowledge of each other, develops and is maintained in a society. He claims that this trust has two sources: norms of reciprocity and networks of civic engagement, and that the first are likely to be a function of the second. 'Participation in dense networks of horizontal interactions of relative equals produces norms of reciprocity, provides sanctions for defectors, offers some information about others, and creates a culturally-defined template for future collaboration' (1992:174).

The main criticisms of Putnam's theory of social capital run alongside some ideas put forward when discussing decentralisation and participation in chapter one and civil society in chapter two, as well as the theories of social movements earlier in this chapter.

3.2.1.1 Necessary causality between 'civic engagement' and good governance

Putnam (1992) claims that citizens who have a dense network of civic engagements not only trust each other but also produce good government, democratic government, and good democratic government. Margaret Levi (1996) believes that a more precise concept of trust is needed and considers that under certain conditions, vertical relationships may also facilitate trust, reciprocity and certainly co-ordination (the Mafia, for ex.) while horizontal organisation is not necessarily a good thing; she claims that there are innumerable instances where the capacity to engage in collective action is demonstrably a bad thing (like in the case of Bosnia or Rwanda). Along the same lines, James Putzel (1997), quoting Elinor Ostrom (:162), states that cartels and organised crime are networks of relationships that lower overall productivity while generating disproportionate benefits for a few beneficiaries; a system of government based upon military command and the use of instruments of force can also destroy other forms of social capital while building its own. Likewise, chapter one (:28) quoted Tandler (1997) claiming that robust civil societies do not make necessarily for good government.

John Harriss (1997), in turn, believes that Putnam does not explain either the mechanisms or processes whereby networks of civic engagement lead to more effective government; he also claims that there is no guarantee that demands will be of a democratic nature. Putnam assumes that a horizontal organisation in civil society is in the interests of society as a whole and no differentiation is made between different types of organisation nor power is taken into account (football clubs are not the same in terms of their implications as labour unions, for instance). The most telling line of criticism, according to Hariss, is, thus, Putnam's analysis of causality. Harriss argues that whereas civic engagement gives rise to good governance, both historical evidence and theoretical argument suggest that the direction of causality is at least as likely to lie in the reverse direction (1997:927).

Along the same lines, in the debate on civil society, Abu-Lughod (1998) distinguishes the 'good' elements of civil society from its 'bad' manifestations. She compares judging the quality of civil society with testing the potential health of an individual's arteries on the basis of measuring the amount of cholesterol in the blood. Safe cholesterol readings exist between parameters of too little and too much. Too little civil society can lead to fascism, to the weaknesses inherent in mass society. In turn, too much civil society can result in anarchy which undermines efficacy. She states that Friedmann has also referred to two kinds of civil society. One is empowering, participatory and responsible, depends on a functioning democratic system and seeks to be inclusive and conflict mediating. The other can be exclusive and rejecting, thereby undermining the equity and non-discriminatory values of the wider society. Or they can be 'so reliant on disruptive and irresponsible dissent that the ordinary democratic mechanisms for representation, adjudication of differences and institutional execution are eventually undermined' (1998:236). Such groups risk losing their capacity for positive action, regardless of their ability to include a wide range of involved participants.

Abu-Lughod (1998) believes that even when the overall amount of civil society falls within an acceptable range, one has not necessarily achieved a 'healthy balance' (the overall cholesterol measure is a composite of both the 'good' and the 'bad' kinds), and that a 'healthy society may need a high ratio of good to bad elements in its composite civil society'. However, according to Michael Storper, if civil society is to be defined as something capable of generating social progress, then it must be sufficiently precise as to exclude the 'bad' versions which can currently be included (1998:240).

3.2.1.2 Neglect of the State and of the wider political setting

Levi (1996) claims that Putnam's analysis is too society-centred and neglects actors in government. Governments, she argues, also may be a source of social capital; policy performance can be a source of trust, not just a result. In continental Latin America, the oldest and persistent experiences of democratic development, that is, Costa Rica, Uruguay and Chile, have all counted historically with a strong 'embeddedness' of the State into society allowing the progressive redefinition of State and society relations as substantially non antagonistic.

Putzel (1997) questions Putnam's strategic disregard of the State as principal actor in the experiment of Italian regionalisation and states that his debate on the relation between social capital, economic development and democracy is also lacking the experiences from developing societies. Likewise, according to Foley and Edwards (1996), what is missing is the political variable. 'Putnam not only romanticises community but also skates over social differentiation.' (in Harriss, 1997:927) These authors believe that the role played by civil society organisations will depend crucially on the wider political setting, and on the ways in which inequalities of power and resources are dealt within the economic and political arena.

The policy point that Harriss (1997), in turn, indicates is that Putnam believes that the concept of social capital suggests either an alternative at least to the central government part of the 'State' or the means of improving the quality of government in general. His critics suggest that the networks, norms and trust are very powerfully influenced by political institutions, including State institutions. Thus, Harriss quotes Tarrow (1996) arguing, for example, that structural factors such as the semi-colonial status of southern Italy are much more important in explaining the region's backwardness than any lack of 'social capital'. This relates to the development of theories on social movements as presented in the previous section. As Foweraker claims, 'the collective identity and strategic intent of social movements remains indeterminate until they are analysed in interaction with the political environment, and especially with the institutions of the state' (1995:19).

Likewise, says Harriss (1997), there are societies in which there is a lot of social capital (in terms of networks of contacts and connections) but in which other assets and resources are insufficient to allow people to escape from poverty. As mentioned when discussing civil society and democratisation (see Reis, 1994, in 2.4), in Latin America growing numbers of unintegrated people do not enjoy the objective conditions of attaining an integration, nor do they display any willingness to join collective efforts that would move them towards it.

3.2.2 The components of social capital

James Coleman states that the quality of social capital is conditioned by the 'properties of the social structure' (closure, multiplexity and continuity of social relations and networks). He analyses the expression in terms of 'capital' implying 'a resource or factor input that facilitates production, but is not consumed or otherwise used in production'; and 'social' referring to 'aspects of social organisation, ordinarily informal relationships, established for non-economic purposes, yet with economic consequences.' (in Portilla Rodriguez, 1997:18). For Coleman, the strategic use of social capital by different actors can have multiple goals: societal cohesion, sanction, accountability, control, economic development.

Regarding what it is about social relations that can constitute useful capital for individuals, Coleman (1990) highlights the significance of insurance, related to the obligations and expectations which arise in social relationships; the information which is communicated through social relations and the ways in which the existence of norms and effective sanctions facilitates action. In Coleman's account, social capital is an inherent aspect and an unintended outcome of the institutionalisation of social relationships in 'social structure'; it accrues to individuals (in Portilla Rodriguez, 1997). The implications of social capital for him differ according to circumstances and for different groups of actors.

Sanjeev Prakash (1997) analyses how social attributes like relationships, experiences, interests, beliefs structure levels of interaction among members, and how within such

interaction the problems of co-ordination and trust arise and are overcome. Prakash states that such interactions are central to the process of joint consumption involving different levels of capabilities, preferences, trust and reciprocity. He believes that information about the responses and preferences of others is always incomplete in real-life settings, and the pattern of relationships, reciprocity and trust on which informal institutions are founded is continually reinforced and reinvented through social interaction.

Prakash (1997) introduces the concept of fairness. When policies are perceived to be fair, it is possible for local actions to be nested in larger regimes and enterprises. When policies are perceived to be unfair by the majority, disruptive tactics will likely ensue. According to this author, dynamic transactions and relations embedded in contextualised notions of fairness result in a consolidation of information about the positions, beliefs, and interests of others. The accumulation of trust and social capital within complex bonds of solidarity generates continual entitlements and expectations of reciprocity, networks of interaction and institutional instruments for collective endeavour. These interactions reveal a plurality of beliefs, preferences and contributions maintained and supported by interlocking webs of social solidarity and engagement. Despite the divergent beliefs and strategies employed by different individuals, the community negotiates, monitors and enforces its collective decisions and rules internally.

Various perceptions of fairness are adopted in specific contexts by different actors. Prakash conceives fairness as 'a social norm of co-operation that applies only to contribution, not to outcomes or benefits' (1997:184). He believes that the structure and relationships inherent in each cultural system result in a particular organisational style that legitimates and is linked to certain recurring patterns of negotiating fairness. People are fair for reasons arising from functions of identity, personal values and experiences, or if they believe that others will reciprocate, or if they can expect some external benefits from being so (even though if these benefits are in the first place social, such as an accumulation of social capital). According to Prakash (1997), the experience of fairness in interactions and allocative decisions over time leads to trust, facilitating the norms of reciprocity and networks of social engagement that constitute the accumulation of social capital.

The expectations of reciprocity join people in complex patterns of solidarity within which the exchange of goods and services becomes a basic form of social interaction determining the allocation of future entitlements. In the context of social movements, Jelin (1996) proposes that those anchored on solidarity mechanisms – that is, anchored in a shared sense of responsibility toward others – play a central role in challenging authoritarian norms and in opening up new institutional spaces that promote the expansion and strengthening of citizenship.

3.3 ENDOWMENT AND CONSTRUCTABILITY

Drawing on the aspects analysed in the previous sections, this last part will study the factors that encourage or deter the possibility of joint public/private/third sector action. To this effect, the notions of complementarity and embeddedness will be discussed as well as the possibility of synergy.

3.3.1 Complementarity and embeddedness of public/private/third sector efforts

This chapter has referred to the processes of institutionalisation in the context of social movements. Melania Portilla Rodriguez (1997) states that Coleman gives a valuable contribution to discussions about the relationship between social capital and institutional processes: how micro processes express at the macro level (become institutionalised) and how the invert movement occurs. For instance, how the creation, strengthening or erosion of people's social capital (local and civil forms of organisation and social bonding) can be affected by a given institutional framework and its particular development.

According to Harriss (1997), social capital matters, but in the context of government institutions. He suggests that all societies are endowed with at least a minimal stock of social capital, in the form of family and kinship ties, or of co-operative arrangements among friends and neighbours. Evans, in turn, maintains that what makes the difference is how social capital is, or is not, scaled up through the relationships between State and private and voluntary organisations 'to generate solidary ties and social action on a scale that is politically and economically efficacious.' (1996b:1124)

As already mentioned, many authors have studied the mutually reinforcing relations between governments and groups of engaged citizens. Following some research, Peter Evans (1996b) made an analytical distinction between two concepts: complementarity and embeddedness. Complementarity suggests a clear division of labour, based on the contrasting properties of public and private institutions. Governments are suited to delivering certain kinds of collective goods which complement inputs more efficiently delivered by private actors.

Nugent has described the most universally acknowledged kind of complementarity: '...there is evidence that the existence of the state and the rules it establishes and enforces can strengthen and increase the efficiency of local organisations and institutions (LOIs) and that, at least in coalition with other urban-based groups, these LOIs can give rise to collective actions increasing the power of the state.' (1993:629)

According to Evans (1996b), complementarity can be based on the public provision of intangibles, like the creation and diffusion of new knowledge by agricultural extension services or media publicity. In this context, Tandler (1997) states that since media publicity is subject to manifest economies of scale, it is the kind of public good that it makes sense for the State to provide. She quotes her research on Ceará's (Brazil) preventive health program, where success is attributed to this state government's blitz of positive media publicity, which bolstered the health agents' sense of 'calling', and made them more willing to engage in the kind of diffuse public service that helped generate new relations of trust between them and the community. It also affected the way in which they were viewed by members of the community, increasing as well the likelihood of relations of trust.

Complementarity can also be of a more tangible variety, as it happens with irrigation, for example, according to Evans (1996a). Thus, the standard analysis of public goods includes as well the possibility that provision of such goods, in addition to facilitating private production of conventional goods (for example, crops), may also contribute to enhancing farmers capability and willingness to relate to and to work with one another. Efficient provision of the tangible main facilities and channels has the tangible consequence of making it more worthwhile for farmers to organise themselves. Evans quotes the research carried out by Fox in Mexico (1996a), where one of the State's

contributions to 'scaling-up' peasant social capital is simply providing transportation so that peasants from different local areas can get together.

Embeddedness refers to the 'ties that connect citizens and public officials across the public-private divide' (Evans, 1996b:1120). In Lam's analysis of Nepal (1994), the direct involvement of the State-bureaucracy in the operations of local systems undercut the development of the collective institutions that farmer-managed systems depended on and reduced the likelihood of effective water delivery. The State seemed to help most by providing inputs that local people cannot provide for themselves and then maintaining a 'hands-off' stance with regard to activities that are within the scope of local action. In Lam's article on Taiwan, the irrigation system is not an instance of 'hands-off' complementarity; on the contrary, the 'enmeshment' in the form of a dense network of social relationships is the key to the system's effectiveness at local level (Evans, 1996b:1121). There are multifaceted set of ties which bind together local public officials and local farmers. Officers at local field offices rely on the experience and local knowledge of the farmers to allocate water among the fields, and local farmers depend on their public sector counterparts for integrating local needs into the overall plan for the entire irrigation association and for making sure that the promised water is actually delivered to the local area. There is a division of labour but among a tightly connected set of individuals who work closely together to achieve a common set of goals.

In Tandler's study (1997), building relations of trust between the hired health agents and their clients was a central part of their jobs and the key to the health program's success. The health agent's approach generated reciprocal attitudes. Individual ties helped in turn generate a generalised commitment to the community. In these two examples, social capital is formed by making some who are part of the State apparatus more thoroughly part of the communities in which they work. The networks of trust and collaboration that are created span the public/private boundary and bind State and civil society together (Evans, 1996b:1122). Evans (1996a) refers to the central role of ties that cross public-private boundaries in China's transition and in the – until recently – 'East Asian Miracle', and states that in these two examples, the social capital that is most critical to the outcome is formed in networks that are neither public nor private but fill the gap between the two spheres.

Complementarity creates objective grounds on which co-operation between government and citizens can be built but embeddedness generates the normative and interactional basis for realising the potential joint gains. Both ideas are mutually supportive. In an example analysed by Ostrom (1994), the effective delivery of services produced by government (primary education and city sewer system) depended on the joint activity of citizens and government, which she calls 'co-production', and that enabled poor neighbourhoods in Recife to get the sewer systems they needed. Complementarity created the potential for synergy but not the organisational basis for realising the potential. Embeddedness in the form of direct involvement of the public officials was a key component in getting citizen efforts organised and sustaining citizen involvement. In all cases, intimate interconnection and intermingling among public and private actors is combined with a well-defined complementary division of labour between the bureaucracy and local citizens, mutually recognised and accepted by both sides.

Aligned with these ideas of complementarity and embeddedness, the theory of 'bureaucratic populism' put forward by Montgomery (1988) depends upon the assumption that governments can motivate the people to produce a public good that provides opportunities for them to generate private goods. The collective goods generated through participation – the merging of the collective and individual goals of participation – can occur when the bureaucracy pursues both individual and public objectives. Thus, bureaucratic populism begins with a search for major investments that can be made collectively by the deprived individuals themselves in the hope of increasing their productivity. And the way to increased productivity is to organise individuals so that their efforts are mutually complementary. In bureaucratic populism, government interventions involved are designed to improve the capacity of the public to function effectively and to augment the skills of local organisations in influencing the behaviour of their members and in representing their views and circumstances to the government.

Montgomery (1988) describes several experiences with village and neighbourhood-level organisations and analyses the relationships between governments and grassroots organisations. He refers to 'linkages' established that provided a basis for continuous interaction among them. The first linkage is the resources passed from the public supporting agency to the participative organisations, which he classifies as money, policy guidance, information and authority. The second linkage is the style or manner of

delivering these resources, which varied from a centralised set in which the local units were treated as subordinate parts of a hierarchical system to a completely decentralised or even devolved set of responsiveness or receptivity to local initiatives. Between these two extremes, he proposes various procedures designed to support local management within the context of clearly defined central purposes.

3.3.2 The possibility of synergy

In sum, the relationship between the State and civil society can be approached through the dismantling of the State, through the conflict State-citizenry or, as several authors have proposed (Putnam, 1992; Nugent, 1993), through the idea of synergy. Evans (1996a) stresses that even though there may be cases in which synergy is created solely on the basis of complementarity or even where synergy is built around network connections which do not involve complementarity, the best way to understand synergy is as a set of public/private relations built around the integration of complementarity and embeddedness.

The idea of synergy implicitly takes the assumption of homogeneous interests by further assuming that public sector actors share interests with their constituents. However, Evans (1996a) claims that the degree to which interests are shared across the public-private divide varies substantially from case to case and plays a central role in determining the potential for synergy. Conflicting interests make political regimes condition as well the possibility of synergy and social capital formation.

As discussed in relation to new social movements, the forms and nature of political competition depend not only on the effective normative context but on the nature of underlying social conflicts. Political competitiveness is useful because it contributes to a climate in which citizens count and because it helps check the ability of individual members of the elite to interfere with efforts to foster social capital among the less privileged. However, the positive possibilities that flow from political competitiveness are likely to be sterile if public institutions are organisationally incapable of delivering what people need (Evans quotes the case of post-Soviet Russia, where although allowing more

political competition than China, an ineffectual Russian State provides no dependable vehicle to deliver the goods).

This thesis has stressed the link between civil society and democratisation: democratic social structures facilitate synergy. Understanding how people and resources are aggregated in order to pursue social change is the central task of social movement analysis. The availability of appropriate tactics in the experience of participants, the responses of authorities and target groups, the availability of material resources, the availability of leadership cadres, the nature and extent of pre-existing social networks, the way in which movements are portrayed or ignored by the mass media, and the experience of prior movements are factors that encourage or constrain mobilisation as a way towards social change. McAdam et al. (1996) discuss these factors under two headings: the importance of the fabric of pre-existing social relations, and the interaction between social movement organisations (SMOs) and various other more or less formally organised segments of a society. They discuss how the pre-existing social relations of those who are sympathisers to a particular cause either encourage or discourage the possibilities of mobilising those sympathisers for collective action. They claim that the structured pre-existing social relations that characterise sympathisers are of crucial importance in understanding the recruitment strategies available to SMOs and the operation of social control mechanisms.

The fabric of social relations of a society exists within a fabric of relations between organisations. SMOs must interact with a wide variety of more or less organised segments of a society. The connections between SMOs and their environments can be seen through co-operation and competition among them, through 'connections with the governmental apparatus' (McAdam et al., 1996:242); through the institutionalisation of social movement goals in the formal political process; and through the connections with elites. In this same sense, in the context of social capital, Evans (1996a and b) puts forward the issue of determining whether the possibility of synergy depends primarily on sociocultural endowments that must be taken as given or if the application of imaginative arrangements can produce synergy over relatively short periods of time.

The endowment view emphasises the extent to which positive State-society relations depend on pre-existing features of the society and polity that are relatively difficult to

change in the short run. For example, the prior stock of social capital; features of society that tend to change very slowly, like the level of inequality; the form of political regime or the character of bureaucratic institutions. According to Evans (1996b), prior endowments of social capital are not the key constraining factor for synergy. Even when essential ties (like interaction among friends, kin or neighbours) exist, synergy fails to occur. Consequently, he states that the attention should be drawn somewhere else, like the lack of a competent, engaged set of public institutions.

In this context, Evans (1996b) discusses the kind of government organisation that would make for the most effective relations between State and society. He states that the absence of coherent, dependable public institutions makes synergy harder. Robust, sophisticated public institutions are an advantage both in the formation of local social capital and in the pursuit of developmental ends, not because they are instruments of centralisation but because they are capable of formulating more nuanced ways of distributing power and therefore of supporting decentralisation and openness to local self-organisation.

Thus, he refers to the constructability approach which focuses on the possibility of building synergistic relations in the relatively short run. This approach assumes that prior distributions of sociopolitical endowments are not the primary constraint; the imaginative application of 'soft technologies' of institution-building and organisational change can produce synergistic relations even under unlikely circumstances. According to Evans (1996b), when the social and political context is inauspicious, creative cultural and organisational innovations can still produce results. He mentions three important aspects of constructability: a) social structures depend on people's perceptions of themselves and their neighbours, which are malleable; social identities are constructed and reconstructed on a regular basis and can be reconstructed in ways that enhance prospects for synergy; b) soft technologies of organisational design can have large effects, like the simple choice of keeping staff in the same local area or transferring them; c) simple redefinitions of problems can be very important.

Evans maintains that synergy is constructable and states that what seems to be more difficult is to generalise small-scale successes. He claims that 'prudence should not be an excuse for paralysis' and that 'ignoring the evidence of returns to enterprising and

imaginative efforts to construct synergy is probably a worse mistake than underestimating the sociopolitical obstacles to be overcome.' (1996b:1130).

CONCLUSION

The theories of social movements and of social capital allow us to discuss the ideas of collective action and of mobilisation and generation of resources. This chapter has analysed the notions of identity and of strategy, and has stressed the importance of taking into account the wider political context and the power relations involved in social movements. The institutionalisation of joint community efforts in complementarity with State and non State bodies was stressed as an efficient alternative for successful service delivery, pointing to a better quality service provision and an empowerment of beneficiaries. Solidary³ ties have to be created on a scale that is politically and economically efficacious. To this end, the relations of trust and the notions of fairness and reciprocity were studied and it was claimed that it is necessary to create a synergy between complementarity and embeddedness (Evans, 1996). This chapter ends with the discussion over the pre-existence of sociocultural features (endowment) or the possibility of building on existing ones (constructability) in order to achieve synergistic relationships.

These first chapters have set the context to analyse the extent to which the effectiveness of a social programme that reaches adequately its intended beneficiaries depends on: a) its decentralised nature; b) the participative components of its design; c) the interaction of State/non State bodies in the wider political, economic and social context; d) the factors that account for effective collective action and synergy between complementarity and embeddedness. The discussion will be illustrated with the findings of the *Nuestros Niños* Programme, whose context and background will be described in the following chapter.

³ See footnote 2. before.

CHAPTER FOUR – PARTICIPATIVE DECENTRALISATION AND EARLY EDUCATION IN MONTEVIDEO, URUGUAY

INTRODUCTION

In 1989 the new government of the Municipality of Montevideo initiated a process of decentralisation that involved a 'disintegration' of public power resulting in three complementary dimensions: administrative, political and social decentralisation. In the context of this latter dimension, one of the divisions created under the Department of Decentralisation of the Municipality dealt with social promotion. The case study of this research is a community nurseries programme implemented under the auspices of this new division. This chapter will first describe the institutional and political structure which supports this programme. The second section will be devoted to discussing the importance of early education programmes, in the light of the increasing number of women entering the labour market and the deteriorating economic and social conditions in which many children have to live. The different types of pre-school provision available and the relevance of parents and community participation in these programmes will be stressed. The last section will concentrate on the Uruguayan context where public provision has not followed the changing economic and social conditions in the country and private provision tends to focus on middle and higher class sectors. The gap and inadequacy of services in this area will thus be stressed as a fair justification for searching alternative models of provision. To end this chapter a brief reference will be made to the early education component of the newly implemented national educational reform.

4.1 CENTRALISATION AND DECENTRALISATION IN URUGUAY

4.1.1 Centralist tradition

Uruguay is no exception to the situation described in chapter one concerning centralisation and decentralisation trends in Latin America. The strong concentration of social, political and economic activities and resources in the capital, Montevideo, at the expense of the rest of the country dates back to colonial times. The colonial period

bestowed special status on selected port cities of the continent. Montevideo, a coveted natural harbour, thus acquired a great importance from the beginning of Spanish rule and marked the political and economic development of the whole country.

Under independence, the productive model as well as the territorial configuration and population distribution was characterised by a high urban concentration and a virtually exclusive centralisation of services in the metropolitan area. Nowadays, Montevideo still has almost half of the population of the whole country (44 per cent, approx. 1,300,000 inhabitants) (IMM/UNICEF, 1997) and concentrates most of its services. This high density of population in the capital city is associated with a highly centralised bureaucracy. The Uruguayan State administration has over the years created a vast number of directly and indirectly managed administrative units alongside the main ministries. Local governments were historically weak and had little room to manoeuvre vis-à-vis the general public policies implemented by the central power. Therefore, the satisfaction of most of the social needs of the population was historically met through the intervention of the central government.

This Uruguayan State, which until the late 1950s could reasonably meet the basic needs of its society, faced in the 1960s a profound internal political and social crisis which led to the establishment of a right-wing military dictatorship in 1973. Concomitantly, Uruguay was suffering the effects of the world economic crisis of the 1970s. As explained in chapter one, and as was the case with other military processes in Latin America, the economic ideology that began to burgeon in this period was liberalism. This ideology, which was characterised mainly by a disincentive of exports and a subsidisation of imports, led to a growing external debt, a disarticulation of the systems of production and increasing unemployment. It also called for a retraction of State activity. Before long, the State could no longer guarantee the needs of its population; it neither had the economic resources nor the political infrastructure to do so. Thus, people's demands fell increasingly on the local governments which, in closer relation to their populations, had to take over the responsibility for meeting the needs not covered by the central State.

Marilyn Gittell (1980), referring to the decline of community organisations, argues that crisis situations encourage the growth of opposition organisations and increase their effectiveness. Indeed, during the period of military dictatorship in Uruguay (1973-1984)

there was an emergence of social organisations which took over the responsibility of defending and representing the community's rights and which tried to articulate the emerging social issues in the best possible way. Subsequently, while the process of 'redemocratisation' was taking place, new local dynamics began to emerge in the country. The most underprivileged sectors of the population began to place further demands on their local governments in the areas of production, job opportunities, health and social issues. Thus, according to Pérez Piera (1993), the municipal administration, which developed traditionally in a very centralised way, with a specialised structure and neglecting territorial differences, began to face a new challenge.

4.1.2 Municipal decentralisation

The present institutional structure of municipalities in Uruguay dates back 50 or 60 years and practically reflects the layout established in the 1933 Constitution. However, the country's situation has clearly changed dramatically since then. State functions are now much more complex than 65 years ago and people's demands have become much more specific. As a consequence, on top of the traditional municipal responsibilities, municipalities have in the last decade begun to play a much more active role in defining, developing and implementing local public policies. Their influence on the formulation of economic and social policies and on the links between public measures taken by the central government and those planned at a local level needs therefore to be considerably increased. This implies, as Pérez Piera (1993) states, a reinforcement of their autonomy and a substantial progress towards a political and administrative decentralisation as well as the creation of new channels for social participation.

Decentralisation at the 'Intendencia Municipal de Montevideo' (IMM or Municipality of Montevideo)

Montevideo could be considered a special case of municipal government since it is at the same time capital of the Department and of the country. As already mentioned, it concentrates almost half of the national population and an even greater percentage of the economically active population. In terms of concentration of values generated in the secondary and tertiary sector, 63 per cent of Uruguay's gross industrial product value and

75 per cent of its services are concentrated in Montevideo (Pérez Piera, 1993). Thus, the Municipality of Montevideo is responsible virtually for half of the country. It is also decisive from a political point of view of the prevailing logic of government given its larger organisational capacity (compared to the rest of the country), larger trade union movement and the influence of the University sectors.

In the national and local elections of 1989, power in the IMM went to the *Frente Amplio*, a loose coalition of left parties that participated for the first time in the Uruguayan political stage at the elections of 1972, preceding the military coup. A few days after taking over the local government, the new Mayor adopted a decree whereby the whole territory of the Department of Montevideo was subdivided into 18 areas, where 18 *Centros Comunales Zonales* (Local Communal Centres or LCCs) were established (see map in appendix). These communal zones are composed of different neighbourhoods that form subregions with particular features, each of them gathering approximately 90,000 people, that is, three to five neighbourhoods.

The meaning of 'decentralisation' adopted in the debates of the Municipality of Montevideo was comprehensive. According to Pérez Piera (1993), it focused on a 'disintegration' of public power through different modalities, resulting in three different but complementary dimensions: administrative, political and social decentralisation. The administrative decentralisation consists of a deconcentration of services, that is, the transfer of certain services, functions and offices from the central municipal government to the peripheral neighbourhoods. The 18 Local Communal Centres gradually gained more self-reliance when the previous Area Co-ordinators were replaced by Directors (specifically appointed and responsible for the functioning of each Local Communal Centre), and specific tasks and resources began to be increasingly deconcentrated to them.

The present responsibilities of the LCCs include the following:

- a) providing traditional urban services: maintenance of public lighting and some new lighting installations; maintenance of green areas; street cleaning and street repairs;
- b) guaranteeing administrative procedures: several municipal authorisations, licences and permits which formerly could only be obtained at central municipal level have been

delegated to the LCCs; the LCCs also have an advisory function in connection with services where deconcentration does not seem advisable;

c) social services: almost all municipal social programmes can be initiated at the Local Communal Centre level.

Apart from this administrative decentralisation, the process took two other fundamental dimensions: in the political dimension, a *Junta Local* (Local Board) or *Comisión Especial* (Special Commission) was established in each communal zone as a link between the Local Communal Centre and the central Municipality; in the social dimension, *Concejos Vecinales* (Neighbourhood Councils) were created in all zones where a Local Board or a Special Commission existed, as a forum that would allow to open local management to the citizens. While the administrative decentralisation progressed after some initial obstacles, the establishment of the Local Boards or Special Commissions was a more complex process that required long political negotiations. These new political bodies are composed of five municipal officers and one secretary designated by the Mayor by proposal of the political parties on a pro-rata basis (three from the party in power and two from the opposition parties). The recent constitutional reform (approved by national voting in 1997) has transformed the Special Commissions into Local Boards in all LCCs.

Social decentralisation, channelled through the Neighbourhood Councils, has been the core of the IMM initiative. There are 18 Neighbourhood Councils corresponding to each of the communal zones where a Local Board exists. These councils are composed of between 25 to 40 members, elected by open voting. The decree establishing the Neighbourhood Councils leaves a great degree of organisational freedom in relation to the Councils' structure so that each one of them can reflect as best as possible the requirements of the neighbourhoods they represent. Each has its own Rules of procedure and terms of operation. The first elections for these Councils were held in 1993, when around 68,000 citizens participated in the voting. In the elections held in 1995, 82,500 people voted and in the last elections of 1998, an increase of 29.5 per cent compared to the first elections was registered, with a total of almost 107,000 voters and some of the LCCs attaining a 140.2 per cent increase (IMM, 1998, informal paper). These Councils do not have decision power. They play a consultative role, and are supported in their work by commissions dealing with different topics such as public works, green areas, public lighting, cleaning, housing, childhood. They are entitled to give advice, make proposals

and follow-up municipal works and plans. Since their implementation, they have played an important role in the development of the five-year and annual plans of the municipal government. They have consolidated their participation in identifying priorities of investment for their areas. The IMM proposes the total amount of funds for each area and field of action, and the Neighbourhood Councils decide on the priorities. They sometimes manage to change proposals put forward by communal experts given their better knowledge of the needs of the neighbourhood. Once the priorities have been identified, they are submitted to the Local Board for approval and legal ratification by the Provincial Government Board in view of their implementation by the Municipality.

Following complex political negotiations and consultations with neighbourhood organisations, a Department of Decentralised Activities (now called Department of Decentralisation) was created in 1992 as part of the Decentralised Area of the Municipality of Montevideo. The Department of Decentralisation of the Municipality of Montevideo comprises as of February 1995 four Divisions: Deconcentrated Services, Health, Local Administrations and Social Promotion. The Division of Social Promotion covers five areas: Children, Women, Youth, Handicapped and Elderly. The Municipality signs contracts with specialised social organisations with experience in the different types of programmes to be implemented in the communal zone (health, non-formal education and work training, nurseries, old age homes, recreation, supply of building materials for housing or for community projects, food provision). It provides or contributes with the infrastructure, resources and technical advice so that these social organisations, most of which are non-profit making, can run the projects. The IMM is also responsible for the follow-up and evaluation, normally through the Local Communal Centres.

This research focuses on a programme aimed at pre-school age children. Given the inadequacy of pre-school provision in terms of coverage, target populations, and content of the services provided, as well as the increasing social demand, especially in low-income areas of the city (see 4.3 below), one of the main goals of the new municipal social programme was the establishment of an alternative model of community nurseries in the poorer neighbourhoods of the city. Before presenting a general overview of pre-school service demand and provision in Uruguay, the next sections will outline the importance of early education programmes and the different types of provision available.

4.2 EARLY CHILD CARE AND EDUCATION

4.2.1 Definitions

This thesis will take an integrated approach to early care and education. The focus will be placed not just on educational outcomes but also on welfare and care. Consequently, day care and education will be considered two aspects of the same service ranging from State school provision to informal care in the home. In this sense, early education or pre-school education will be understood as the education and care provided for a child before they begin the first year of the national curriculum, this is to say, in their early years. However, as this education and care has been increasingly understood as a phase with an intrinsic value in itself rather than as a subsidiary to later stages of development, the term "early" education will be preferred to pre-school education, which relates directly to a phase preceding school. The term "pre-school" will be used, though, when it is considered useful to mark the difference in the approach to these services in specific cases.

4.2.2 The importance of early education

In recent decades, the traditional role of women has been greatly modified due to the requirements of modern life, the rapid rate of urbanisation, the serious economic problems and the disintegration of the family. It can be said in general that women are now part of the workforce and contribute to supporting their families. In most cases, this forces them to work outside home and to have a dual role as a mother and a worker. Concomitantly, there has been a growing interest and concern in respect of the situation of children under six, particularly those living in deprived areas who suffer, even before they are born, the effects of deprivation and need resulting from poverty. This has led to research and studies aimed at improving the quality of life of children up to six years of age and, consequently, contributing to their normal physical, intellectual, affective and social development. The results of these studies and research have in turn brought about an awareness of the vital importance of the first five years of life and of the different factors that promote or condition the development of the child in that phase, considered as the most risky and decisive in human life.

The impact of early education has been studied extensively during the last forty years, particularly in America and Europe. Even though the effects and the effectiveness of early education are interrelated, some studies have focused on the immediate, short-term effects on the child such as cognitive, social and emotional development and behaviour while others have examined medium-term effectiveness such as the child's later performance in school, and long-term effectiveness such as qualifications, employment and life chances. While the former have been concerned more directly with the child, the setting and the family, the later is a far more political issue (Arango Montoya and Hearn, 1992).

It is difficult to disentangle the whole question of educating the under-fives from other social, political and economic factors. The first five years of life are a period of particularly rapid growth and development, both intellectual and physical. Current theories indicate that there is a much more complex interaction between heredity factors, environment and experience than was assumed in the past. It follows, therefore, that attendance at pre-school level might be expected to have some impact on early learning and development, whether positive or negative.

Elizabeth Smith (1994) refers to the results of a large project carried out in Great Britain (Osborn and Milbank, 1987) concentrating on public and private sector provision. Overall, the report concluded that attendance at pre-school settings resulted in improvements in children's cognitive ability and educational attainments. She quotes similar results of studies carried out in America and Europe. Cormack Lynch and Fujimoto Gómez (1992) refer to longitudinal research dealing with the relationship between the educational support during the first six years of life and children's future performance in school. This research evaluated the long-term effects of an Education Project (the 'Perry Project') in lower-income groups of the population in the United States of America. According to the research, children participating in the project – aimed at their social and cognitive development – showed a better academic performance in school, a higher number of successes at the end of their studies, a higher enrolment rate for post-graduate courses and better job opportunities as well as a reduction of antisocial acts.

Several similar studies were also carried out in Latin America, but it would be difficult to generalise their results since they were not longitudinal studies (which are very costly). While some refer to the positive effects of the education of children under six, others recognise the positive effect on children's performance, but claim that in primary education socio-economic level is a very important factor (in Córnick Lynch and Fujimoto Gómez, 1992).

In some studies carried out in Uruguay by the Technical Co-operation Section of the Planning and Budgeting Office in collaboration with the Inter American Development Bank (OPP/IDB, 1994) (which will be further quoted in 4.3), the relationship between the total coverage of early education and the rate of children who failed the first year of school was analysed in 62 areas of Montevideo. The results showed that in neighbourhoods with a higher coverage of early education there was a lower rate of repetition at the beginning of the school phase. In the same sense, in October 1996, the National Administration of Primary Education (ANEP) carried out in all public and private schools of the country a national census of 'levels of learning', recording the socio-cultural characteristics of families and the schooling record of the pupils. One of the results of this census was that 60 per cent of the children who had not had any early education, and whose mothers had just attended primary education (in full or not), had failed once or several times a year at basic education level. On the contrary, those children who had benefited from early education showed a repetition rate of less than 35 per cent (ANEP, 1998).

Even though the importance of early education has been stated widely, there are very few institutional possibilities for under five's in developing countries. Economic crisis and urgent housing, health and employment problems, inter alia, limit the growth of early school education services.

4.2.3 Arguments that justify early child care programmes

In the context of PRODEBAS (Multinational Basic Education Project), Arango Montoya and Hearn (1992) identify reasons that justify the investment in early child care programmes by governments of Latin American and Caribbean countries. They classify

them into *social arguments* whereby social change is promoted through the prevention of a distorted and retarded development. These authors claim that the absence of proper care, stimulation and education impairs physical, mental, social and emotional development in children and, thus, their social and individual potential. They maintain that this could lead to apathetic, unproductive and dependent youth and adults, which has a high social cost.

As *demographic arguments*, they quote the increase in the number of working women, the changes in traditional family relationships, the reduction in children's mortality rate and the increase in the number of schools, which results in older children being less able to care for their younger brothers and sisters. The *scientific arguments* point to the results of research in the fields of neurophysiology, psychology and nutrition which indicate that the first years of life of the child are vital for the development of their intelligence, personality and social behaviour.

As far as the *economic arguments* are concerned, Arango Montoya and Hearn (1992) stress that it is common sense that a person who has enjoyed a healthy physical, mental, social and emotional development is better prepared to contribute economically in the family as well as at the community level. They also claim that investments in health, nutrition and psychosocial development during the first years of life of the child can be recovered economically through reduced sickness leave, reduced need for welfare and health programmes and a lower school failure rate. Further, early stimulation programmes also provide women the opportunity to work and allow older brothers and sisters to attend school or work, if necessary.

Finally, these authors refer to *humanitarian arguments* – they see early child care programmes as a protection of children's human rights – and to *moral arguments*, whereby those programmes have the potential to convey social and moral values.

4.2.4 Poor sectors and early education: the need for comprehensive care

The economic, social, environmental and cultural conditions that characterise the child's family and community, as well as his/her health, nutritional and psychological welfare status, are key factors that have an influence in children being 'prepared' to begin formal

education, and thus somehow guarantee their success in the system and performance level. According to some research (Myers, 1992), 50 per cent of brain development takes place during the first five years of life and this is strongly diminished in contexts of social and cultural deprivation.

In Uruguay, most of the research carried out in this area points to the fact that a great deal of the problems of development (cognitive, behavioural and functional problems, as well as problems of school failure) are more frequent and acute in a situation of economic deprivation. According to the census carried out by ANEP referred to before, school failure rates are strongly linked to the 'disadvantaged or very disadvantaged sociocultural background' from where children repeating the year come from (1998:1).

However, there are other psychosocial factors behind material poverty that play a role - directly or interactively - and increase the effects of material poverty. In a study carried out by the Interdisciplinary Group of Psychosocial Studies of the Faculty of Medicine, University of Uruguay (1997, draft copy), it was noted that poor families with children between two and five years of age are more socially isolated and have less access to material, emotional and information support networks. Hence, their social relations are deprived of gratification or valorisation. Besides, a lack of hygiene and order in their homes, a higher tendency to use violent or inadequate means of communication, frequent feelings of disenchantment, discouragement, frustration and fatalism, as well as Machista ideas in children's upbringing, that discriminate between both sexes, were stressed. The interaction of some of these elements in a context of great economic need is linked with the possibility of having access to processes of symbolisation and abstract thinking. These difficulties were found to influence the learning and socialisation processes of those populations.

A study carried out by CLAEH (Latin American Centre for Human Economy) and UNICEF in 1987 stressed that risk factors concentrate in poverty areas and affect children's development and their educational future (in UNICEF, 1994). In a national sample of 1,200 children under five years of age living in poor conditions, it was noted that in the age group zero to three, 28.2 per cent showed a deficit in their psychomotor development (IMM/UNICEF, 1997).

It is therefore very important to identify the factors that condition the development of children in poor areas so that strategies which guarantee equal opportunities and access as well as permanence in the educational system can be designed. One of the goals of early education is thus to contribute to a comprehensive development of the child, which requires a comprehensive care. Comprehensive care is here understood, as Arango and Hearn (1992) describe it, as the different conditions of life – material, social and cultural – that promote the growth and full development of the child physically, intellectually, emotionally and socially.

These authors have studied early education provision in Latin America and emphasise the importance of developing a 'comprehensive' approach to the care of children under six. Their arguments are that there is clear evidence that the improvement in the health field has greatly reduced infant mortality levels during the last decade in Latin America. Thus, a growing survival index means that there is a greater number of children in need of health and education. They emphasise as well the importance of satisfying the emotional needs of children, in situations of increasing social and economic problems due to the huge migration that has been taking place in the last decades, the increase in single-parent working mothers, civil wars, drug trafficking. In order to achieve a comprehensive care, they claim, programmes should provide for the differing needs of children in their various development phases. They should be implemented through strategies that promote families (or others) capabilities to provide for the needs of children. They stress that they should rely on self-help and self-management at a family and community level and that they should be organised so that the largest possible number of children and families can be cared for.

4.2.5 Different strategies of early education

Drawing from a report prepared by Peter Moss in 1978 for the Equal Opportunities Commission, where he outlines the different strategies of early education in the United Kingdom, and from a summary of alternative and complementary strategies described by Arango Montoya for the Organisation of American States (1992a), this section will briefly summarise different modalities of early child care.

In the context of direct State provision, Moss (1978) mentions *extended-day nursery schooling* and *children centres*. He claims that the first one has the advantage of using existing buildings but has the drawback of the limited age range of children, that is, three and four year olds. Children centres, not being school based, can sometimes offer a more flexible approach and include a range of other services for their local community.

In the context of State-aided voluntary provision, he refers to *extended-day playgroups* and *community nurseries*. This strategy involves the channelling of State funds to voluntary groups, who use them in developing and managing their own early education provision. Moss believes that extended-day playgroups are unlikely to be able to meet the needs of children under two and that they may cater for too many children creating thus an environment too different from family conditions. The community nursery model he describes would be centres of full-day care, with their own management structure, and a parents' management body. It is based on State funding (funds for both capital and running expenses being administered by the management body, but largely or wholly provided by government sources), with the State ensuring certain standards without unduly restricting each nursery's autonomy and initiative.

Two further strategies would be *private provision* and *workplace provision*. In the case of private provision, Moss states that even if sufficient subsidies were available to enable all parents to afford fees that could provide all child-minders and staff of private nurseries with satisfactory pay and other working conditions (as well as meeting the other requirements of good quality care), the continuation of such conditions could not be guaranteed. Further, private provision would mean diverting very substantial resources from developing the other types of provision discussed to a sector with no record of being able to provide good quality services for children on any substantial scale. As far as encouraging employers and educational establishments to make direct provision for the children of their employees and students, Moss (1978) stresses that the strictest regulation and compulsory provision by all employers would be needed so that it does not 'tie' workers to their employers and that standards of care are not in conflict with a desire to cut costs. The consequences of the typical conflict between costs and standards becomes more serious where the managing body is accountable neither to parents nor to the community and where its main concern and objective is not the care and education of children.

Arango Montoya (1992a), in turn, focuses on alternative approaches based on parents' participation. She describes initiatives based in centres, such as conventional programmes or *day care centres*. However, she states that these initiatives can frequently be very costly and involve too many children being cared for. In some cases, these care centres are run by parents, which presents the advantage of reducing costs and providing a more 'family-like' atmosphere for children's emotional development. Arango Montoya stresses that in this situation, parents in charge should receive proper training and be closely followed-up. She mentions another model, the *neighbourhood homes* as a less costly and more participative initiative. This would involve a group of neighbours offering their homes to care for children during working hours. However, she believes that the lack of training of those in charge may impair the quality of the care provided; these homes would usually care for more children than advisable, and the women working in these homes, particularly, risk being exploited and badly paid. She describes, though, a good complement for this model: some joint initiatives taking place in countries like Colombia and Venezuela, where the government intervenes by providing training, technical support and encouraging study groups or even by proposing to combine these centres with centres where health and nutritional support is provided.

4.2.6 Early education and participation

As stated previously, in a comprehensive approach to child care, the family and the community have a crucial role as those responsible of providing the appropriate affective and material surrounding. Chapter one has stated that during the last decade participation has been used with exaggeration and has thus embraced different conceptualisations. In community or children care projects, it has been proclaimed as an essential process for social development and sometimes it has been believed that just by introducing an element of participation, success was guaranteed. Participation is a concept that has been widely used during many years to strengthen the link between families, communities and schools, but the applications have been very diverse according to the objectives gained and the nature of the processes promoted.

In a publication on general guidelines for developing a non-formal early education strategy (ANEP/UNICEF, 1994) participation is described as meaning an involvement in project design, management, planning, the different activities carried out and the evaluation and control processes. It further adds that it implies the involvement of children, parents and other educational agents. Tizard and Mantovani, in turn, referring to early child care and education programmes in OECD countries, note that active parent involvement is unlikely to occur unless parents have much more direct control over organisation and curriculum (CERI, 1981).

Arango Montoya (1992b) identifies different ways of conceiving participation in early education programmes, which follow the different approaches to participation mentioned in 1.4. She sees participation in this context as a collaboration, that is, as the mobilisation of parents and communities in order to guarantee their collaboration. Here, basic decisions on actions to be developed and the 'rules of the game' are previously determined, generally from central level. So, it would mainly be a passive form of participation and can be used as a way of diminishing the cost of local projects. In child care programmes, this sort of participation translates into involving the family or the community in activities intended to improve physical facilities, in fund-raising to buy equipment or materials and in collaborating in the preparation of meals and in the cleaning and maintenance of the centres. She also sees participation as organisation, that is, as a process through which parents organise themselves in order to identify their own needs in relation to their children's education and to collaborate in the design, implementation and evaluation of programmes. The main objective of this form of participation would be to 'unite' to gain force. However, Arango Montoya warns, the organisation in groups does not lead automatically to participation. In many cases, organisation does not come about as an initiative of the same people, but is forced from outside and does not lead to an internalisation of people's objectives.

Participation can also be conceived as a process of individual and group development. In this case, it would go beyond the creation of organisations and move towards trying to change the environment. In this process, groups develop initiatives encouraged by their own ideas and decisions over which they exert control. Finally, she conceives it as a process of self-management and power acquisition. This involves having access to the decision-making processes and to the necessary resources to administer with autonomy

the projects and direct them to objectives defined by the group. Thus, parents and the community become dynamic agents in the implementation of projects and would not only share in the administration of the programme or manage its resources, but also organise others so that they achieve similar objectives. In this context, Arango Montoya (1992b) claims that to achieve participation implies groups that act in a wider context than that of the same programmes; a non-institutionalised educational process, focusing on reflection and awareness; some external assistance and a gradual appropriation of the programme by the parents and the community.

One of the main goals of any participative child care programme would be, then, to increase the ability of the family, the school and the community to cater for the needs of children and promote their healthy physical, social, emotional and cognitive development. Another goal would be to strengthen the image parents and children have of themselves. This would involve reinforcing their cultural identity and improving their ability to solve problems, individual and collectively. Along these lines, Arango Montoya (1992b) outlines certain principles worth considering in order to have an effective participative programme:

- The community has to be involved from the beginning and its ideas have to be incorporated in the plans and actions taken.
- Projects should encourage people's autonomy and reduce unnecessary dependency.
- People should be considered participants and not only beneficiaries.
- Services should be in harmony with the cultural framework of the participating groups.
- Participants should be involved from the very beginning in the identification of the problems, in setting the priorities, in defining the roles and functions they will play and in analysing and selecting the strategies, as well as the resources for the programme.

Before focusing on the participative community nursery programme studied in this research, the last section of this chapter will describe the demand and provision of early education in Uruguay, particularly in Montevideo, where this municipal programme is being implemented.

4.3 EARLY EDUCATION IN URUGUAY⁴

4.3.1 Background

The interest in pre-school education in Uruguay appears at the same time as the primary education reform initiated by José Pedro Varela who, in his work 'La Educación del Pueblo' (1874), includes a chapter on kindergartens describing Federico Froëbel's method based on play. In 1892, Enriqueta Compte y Riqué, a teacher, founded a free and lay kindergarten based on Froëbel's method for children three, four and five years of age. However, for 54 years, pre-school education was limited to one public centre and a few private initiatives. It was only in 1949 that 200 kindergartens for five year old children were formally institutionalised in Montevideo and the countryside in an early schooling effort conceived as a preparatory phase for school. In 1973, the Primary Education Council established the Department of Pre-school Education (subsequently called National Inspection of Pre-school Education) with the following terms of reference: providing for kindergartens and pre-school classes; developing and implementing training programmes for parents; offering technical assistance and re-training opportunities for teachers; co-ordinating the development of curricula; and providing specialised training and constant updating for teachers.

In 1982, a Supervisor Inspector of Private Pre-school Education post was created to supervise authorised kindergartens and pre-school children groups in accredited schools and to check compliance with relevant official rules and provide advice through courses, conferences and workshops. The same year, as a consequence of a diagnosis carried out in rural areas, pre-school education was extended to these areas by means of conventional education and of distance education. The approach to pre-school education has nowadays changed along the lines mentioned in section 4.2.1 and, as a consequence, more and more

⁴ The Uruguayan Parliament approved in 1996 an educational reform which covered a special component regarding early education. A brief section will be included at the end of this chapter summarising the main lines of this reform and some preliminary assessment of its results. However, unless otherwise stated, the information contained in the following sections has been mainly extracted from the 'Diagnóstico Nacional' (National Diagnosis) prepared by the Technical Co-operation Section of the Planning and Budgeting Office in collaboration with the Inter-American Development Bank (OPP/IDB, 1994). Therefore, all the information provided should be considered as pre-reform.

frequently reference is made to 'educación inicial' (early education), which implies a stage with a beginning and an end in itself rather than to 'pre-school' education.

4.3.2 General information

Population in Montevideo:	1,300,000 (approx. 400,000 families), i.e. 40 per cent of the whole country.
Percentage of women:	22.4, aged between 15 and 44
Percentage of children under 6:	10, i.e. approx. 130,000
Expected annual gross birth rate (period 1990-1995):	17 per thousand with a sustained tendency to decline
Global mortality rate:	10 per thousand, with a slight tendency to rise due to the ageing of the population.
Child mortality rate (1991):	21.13 per thousand, with significant differences between users of public and private health.

Source: IMM/UNICEF, 1997

Uruguay's population structure can be classified as in demographic ageing, as a result of low fecundity and a strong migratory process aggravated by the economic crisis. In the last decades there have been migration movements in Montevideo whereas the population has been displaced to peripheral areas of the city as a result of their impoverishment. Hence, there is a process of differentiation and acute segregation between urban areas with well developed infrastructure and good quality services and marginal peripheral areas with a high percentage of unsatisfied basic needs, where the lower income population lives. Furthermore, during the last three decades, Uruguayan society at large has suffered important changes: a decrease in birth rate, a decrease in child mortality, an increase in divorce rate, an increase of single mothers and teenager mothers, an increase in life expectancy. From a historically traditional family system (nuclear families), other types of family models have entered in the Uruguayan society: the extended families and what has been called 'mixed' families ('hogares compuestos'), that is, sharing the provision

of food. Further, in recent decades, women from urban households have joined the work force massively, in an age that coincides with their reproductive cycle. During 1973-1990, there was a significant increase in women's economic participation in the labour market, from 28.0 per cent to 46.7 per cent (Dirección General de Estadísticas y Censos, 1991).

From the 235.781 children between one and five years of age in the whole country, 45.4 per cent (i.e. 106.974 children) lived in households with unsatisfied basic needs, according to census data of 1985 (IMM/UNICEF, 1997). According to ANEP (1998), 40 per cent of Uruguayan children are born in the population sector corresponding to the lowest level of income, where families show more frequently instability, low educational levels and women are predominantly heads of the household. Public provision for under fives' care has not accompanied this evolution; it caters for only 36.9 per cent of the children population between three and five years not covered by private provision. (ANEP, 1995)

A comparative study carried out by CLAEH (1990-1991) of the nutritional level of poor and richer children, showed that only 24.4 per cent of poor children in Montevideo met what they refer to as 'normal' criteria, in terms of the relationship between weight and height for their age. Although the data indicate that the general average shows a relatively acceptable situation, problems tend to concentrate in certain areas; 22 per cent of State schools are attended by 74 per cent of the children presenting the worst nutritional status, and are in turn located in the poorer areas of the city (in UCUDAL, 1994). The access to early education services is 2.5 times higher in areas of higher income than in poorer ones (78.5 per cent and 30.5 per cent respectively) (ANEP, 1998).

Even though compared to the rest of the countries in Latin America, it can be said that Uruguay achieved an early universalisation of primary education and high coverage at secondary and tertiary levels, early education services are relatively less developed.

4.3.3 Structure of the educational system: the Early Education Programme

The main body in charge of the design and implementation of educational policies in Uruguay is the Primary Education Council. In a descending hierarchical order, there are

several Divisions under a Director. The Primary Education Division is directly responsible for the implementation of educational policies. Within this Division, one of its Departments is the Early Education Programme; the highest post in this Programme is that of the National Inspector. Although this Programme has been significantly enlarged in the period 1963-1991, with a public enrolment in 1991 more than four times larger than that of 1963, it still needs the approval of Primary Education as far as technical and administrative matters are concerned, notwithstanding the different field of work it embraces. The whole structure is highly centralised and lacks an intermediate level of decision-making authorities. Until very recently there was no compilation of rules and regulations concerning exclusively the pre-school sector, which left a great number of legal provisions of considerable complexity unattended. Thus, the rules and provisions of the pre-school system came basically from ordinary school.

The essential eligibility criterion for access to pre-school services in the context of the Early Education Programme is for mothers to be in paid employment; preference is given to those working more than eight hours per day, and to children with brothers or sisters in the same institution. As a consequence of this lack of precision in the eligibility criteria, most of the children benefiting from public early education services belong to middle class sectors. The number of pupils per group is quite high compared to the type of care required by the service: the national average in 1993 was 31.5 pupils per group.

Even though one of the main goals of this Programme is to provide comprehensive care for children, it does not seem to have gone beyond the purely educational aspects. It is said to be more remedial than preventive in its character with no clearly defined objectives, which tend to be irrelevant to the social and cultural needs of the target population, whose socio-economic characteristics are generally not taken into account. Only 55.2 per cent of the early education teaching staff has a basic teaching training plus a specialisation in early education. Teachers tend to migrate to the private sector where salaries as well as working conditions are more attractive.

4.3.4 Service provision

According to information from the Primary Education Council, in 1993 there were 202 registered early education institutions in the whole country, of which 158 were public and 44 private (ANEP, 1995). In Montevideo, there were 51 public institutions and 39 private registered ones. It should be noted that this Council had only information about a small proportion of private institutions.

The links between public and private sectors are in general terms very poor. The Early Education Programme has not established links with private services. Nor has the Programme established any links with several kindergartens (generally free or highly subsidised) sponsored by NGOs, which provide assistance and social promotion in lower-income areas of the city.

The total coverage of early education within the urban population in the three to five years of age range is 56 percent. In Montevideo, this percentage is of 70 percent, where private provision is considerably higher (43 per cent against 27 per cent of public provision) (ANEP, 1995). With respect to the needs defined as 'basic', on the whole, the gross rate of early education coverage is considerably higher amongst the population with satisfied basic needs (SBN) than amongst that with unsatisfied basic needs (UBN); 73.7 and 46.4 per cent respectively in Montevideo (see map in appendix). This means that the simple majority of children between three and five years coming from households with UBN has got no coverage of early education. In relation with the poverty line, children between three and five years of age from households with inadequate income have a lower access to early education (47.3 per cent in Montevideo). Two basic problems are identified: the lack of programs aiming at children up to three years of age and the lack of co-ordination of strategies of children care in the zero to five group, within the State and with the private sector (UCUDAL, 1994).

4.3.4.1 Public provision

Public provision is ruled by the Inspection of Early Education only as far as the four year range is concerned, while services for the five years old are covered by the National Administration of Primary Education (ANEP).

National Inspection of Early Education

The National Inspection of Early Education offers different pre-school services, operating on a half day or a full day basis depending on their type. The so called *kindergarten classes* cater for five year old children, half day, in ordinary schools. In 1991 the ratio pupils/group in these classes was of 33. The *ordinary kindergartens* care for children three, four and five years old, half day. In these kindergartens, services tend to be more comprehensive going beyond the usual care and protection of children. The network of kindergartens is said to be of a higher operational cost than the system of kindergarten classes in ordinary schools, apart from not having the spatial coverage of the primary education system.

There is another type of kindergartens in deprived areas that have not only an educational role but also provide assistance (*jardines asistenciales*). Most of them are open eight hours a day (although some of them only operate half day) and all of them provide meals. *Nurseries* care for babies from six months to four year old children. There are only three in the whole country and they are located in Montevideo. There is also a system of distance education established whereby five year olds are given education through the media in their family context.

Public kindergartens tend to concentrate less in deprived areas. In Montevideo, 41.4 per cent of them are located in areas with a maximum of 20 per cent of families with UBS whereas 37.9 per cent are found in areas with 20 to 40 per cent of families in that category. Until the 1996 educational reform, the global increase in State early education had been quite poor. In a context that shows a significant deficit in coverage, the State presence appeared quite inadequate in relation to poor populations, i.e. less than 10 per cent for children with unsatisfied basic needs three years of age, and 20 per cent among children in the same category but four years of age (ANEP, 1995). No specific health/sanitation or psychological support is included in the design of these services and, although special training sessions are now being organised, few teachers have a specialisation in early education.

The care of children between zero and six years of age is undertaken as well by various institutions operating within the State context, but with no link with the formal

educational system. This is the situation of independent institutions under *I.NA.ME* and *CAIF Plan*, whose estimated total coverage within the range of three to five years of age is of 5.2 per cent (2.6 per cent in Montevideo). Their main aim is social protection while ANEP's role is essentially educational.

National Institute for the Child (I.NA.ME)

The National Institute for the Child (I.NA.ME) is a para Statal body that, since 1986, has promoted a policy of assistance to deprived childhood. Regarding pre-school care, it implemented a plan of community nurseries. There are now seventeen of these nurseries in Montevideo, which are open eight hours a day.

Caif Plan

In 1988, a co-operation agreement was signed with UNICEF whereby several Childhood and Family Care Centres (C.A.I.F.) were established at national level aiming at early education provision for lower-income families. The CAIF Plan is multisectoral, with the participation of the Ministries of Work and Social Security, Education and Culture and Public Health as well as the National Institute for the Child (I.NA.ME.) and the National Food Institute (INDA). These centres offer not only comprehensive care for children in the educational, sanitation and nutritional areas but also specific activities for the family and community as a whole. There are 82 accredited centres in Uruguay of which 10 are located in Montevideo. Each caters for approximately 57 children, ranging between three and five years of age. They are open eight hours a day during the whole week all year long. The CAIF Plan is assisted by community organisations, which are mainly in charge of the management of the centres and of the activities directed at the family and the community. Different national institutes collaborate paying staff salaries, covering partially the running costs and providing dehydrated food. Municipalities provide fresh food as well as offering premises and contributing to their maintenance. The supervision and follow-up of these centres has recently been decentralised to area commissions composed of local experts in the relevant areas.

Municipalities

Some municipalities provide educational and assistance services for deprived children. One of the most important initiatives for pre-school age children in this context is the

Nuestros Niños Programme run by the Municipality of Montevideo, which will be described in the following chapter.

4.3.4.2 Private provision

In Uruguay, 41 per cent of private early education provision takes place in areas defined as having families with a high level of satisfied basic needs. Another 42 per cent is located in areas defined as 'intermediary', while only 17 per cent appears to focus on 'deprived' areas. The results of a workshop on early education in Montevideo sponsored by UNICEF point in the same direction: in 1993, 74 per cent of the early education institutions surveyed (which constituted 95 per cent of all the private institutions working in that field in Montevideo) were located in areas of middle and higher income (UNICEF, 1994).

As far as the strategies followed by private institutions of early education are concerned, there is a clear predominance of those established as a private company, more or less aimed at earning some income that will cover the required human and physical resources, as well as an excess gain understood directly as 'benefit'. There is a small proportion (approximately one tenth of the total) of institutions defined as having a 'social component' in their organisation, which are not seeking benefit nor even recovering costs: these are institutions subsidised by local or foreign organisations in the context of a social role understood as basic (ANEP, 1995).

A new national bill regulating the functioning of private nurseries was passed in October 1997. This bill deals, *inter alia*, with the activities of private nurseries, the necessary qualifications of the staff, the location and conditions of the premises and the responsibilities of the owners. It prescribes the creation of an Honorary Commission under the auspices of the Ministry of Education and Culture to control and supervise private nurseries. It also establishes under the said Ministry a National Registry of Nurseries where all private institutions should register.

To sum up, the main characteristics of early service provision in Montevideo before the reform of 1996 could be summarised as follows:

- Historically, public provision has given priority to children in the five year old range.
- Within the Primary Education structure, pre-school services have a lesser involvement and status in terms of their coverage and functions.
- The institutional changes introduced into public early education have reflected a relatively small response to new economic and social conditions, as well as to social demand.
- Public provision varies greatly from one area to another of the city and early education centres tend not to be located in critical areas, which encourages access of middle or higher-income sectors of the population.
- There is a strong tendency whereby differentials of the UBN index are linked to increases in the rate of deterioration of school premises. Thus, in poorer areas services will be of worse quality as a result of their smaller size in terms of pupils, groups and school classes.
- The private educational offer benefits middle and higher class sectors not only in terms of quality but also of coverage.
- There is a lack of co-ordination between the different services offered at a public level and a lack of formal mechanisms which might link the different State and para State bodies providing early education.
- There is hardly any link at all between the public and the private sectors in the area of early education.

4.3.4.3 The 1996 Educational reform⁵

As mentioned before, a nationwide educational reform was approved by the Uruguayan State in 1996. Within the National Administration of Primary Education, the main goals of the educational reform were prioritised as follows:

1. To consolidate social equity;
2. To dignify teachers' training and the role of teachers;
3. To improve the quality of education; and
4. To strengthen institutional management.

⁵ Unless otherwise stated, the information in this section comes from the publication *La Educación uruguaya: situación y perspectivas* (based on the explanatory statement of the 1997 project of accountability and budgetary performance) (ANEP, 1998).

Early education is understood in this reform as a response to poverty issues, given its greater influence in younger population groups. The reform shows a high level of focusing in expanding policies of early education; 58 per cent of the new vacancies for teachers were allocated to schools in Montevideo where the rate of school failure in the first year was 30 per cent or more. The design of the new programmes allow a better articulation between early education and basic education strengthening the relationship with the first year of school and preparatory activities. The goal of the early education reform programme was the universalisation of schooling for children five years of age and 67 per cent coverage of schooling of children four years of age. During 1995-1999, this meant an additional coverage for 10,500 children five years of age and the coverage of 14,560 children four years of age.

Families have widely responded to the call for enrolment of children four and five years of age in early education. By 1997, 16,700 four year old children and 5,000 five year old had already been incorporated to the school system. In April 1998, the enrolment for children four years of age was of 33,615 and for five years old, 37,380. This means a total enrolment of 70,995 children in both age ranges, compared to 40,979 children in 1985 and 48,535 in 1994. Thus, the coverage exceeded by large the original expectations.

When the data was being collected for this study, this educational reform was just beginning to be implemented under a pilot scheme in some neighbourhoods of Montevideo. Chapter six will reflect on the impact this preliminary assessment of the results of the reform might have on the programme under study.

CONCLUSION

Given the strong centralist legacy of Uruguay, the decentralisation process undertaken by the Municipality of Montevideo has progressed slowly since 1990. One of its main focus has been its social dimension, under which several programmes have been initiated at local level in the last years. This chapter has described the gap and inadequacy of services in the area of early education in Uruguay, where the demand appears to be significant (particularly in Montevideo). Uruguayan society has suffered important changes in the

last decades due to several factors, such as new family patterns (from traditional nuclear families to extended and mixed families), increasing insertion of women into the labour market and deteriorating social and economic conditions which resulted in a high percentage of children under five being born in households with unsatisfied basic needs. This chapter has pointed to the importance of comprehensive early education programmes given the relevance of physical, intellectual, emotional and social development of children during their first years of life. Strategies that promote participation in early education programmes as a process of self-management and power acquisition were highlighted. The last section contained a very brief description of the early education component of the national educational reform approved by the Uruguayan State in 1996, which aims to achieve full coverage of children four and five years old.

CHAPTER FIVE - THE *NUESTROS NIÑOS* PROGRAMME: DESCRIPTION AND EMPIRICAL FINDINGS

INTRODUCTION

This chapter will give a general description of the *Nuestros Niños* Programme and present the results of the fieldwork. The different actors involved in the functioning and running of the Programme will be described in detail in order to allow a better understanding of the findings. The aim of this research is to assess the effectiveness of the Programme and the elements that might be accountable for it. To that effect, the fieldwork focused on four particular aspects of the Programme: those relating to its decentralised nature; those related to the relationship between the different parties involved; those related to its participative nature; and general aspects related to its design and operation. These were analysed through observation, the application of questionnaires and the conduct of semi-structured interviews. The research was carried out in a sample of seven nurseries within the Programme, representative of the different types of service provided and areas covered at the time the study was undertaken. The data analysis was essentially qualitative focusing on what, how and why factors occurred. The appendix will include a detailed account of the context and background of the research, the sampling procedure, the methodology used and the problems encountered during fieldwork, as well as relevant charts, tables and other information.

5.1 THE *NUESTROS NIÑOS* PROGRAMME

5.1.1 Background

In the context of the decentralisation process undertaken by the Municipality of Montevideo – which was basically understood as a tool for democratisation –, in March 1990, the IMM and UNICEF signed an agreement for an initial period of two years for the implementation of a project aiming at the welfare of children and women in the poorest neighbourhoods of the capital. In 1992, by renewing this project for a further

three years, and incorporating it to the newly created Division of Social Promotion of the Department of Decentralisation of the Municipality, it became a Programme.

5.1.2 General objectives of the Programme

The *Nuestros Niños* Programme goes beyond the child and seeks to benefit the family and the whole social environment, through an interdisciplinary approach. According to the report of activities for the period 1990-1994, its goals are threefold:

- 1) the improvement of the living conditions of children and women in the poorest urban sectors through programmes dealing with education, health and nutrition of children under six years of age;
- 2) the development of innovative methods for dealing with children and family needs based on the organisation, participation and mobilisation of the community; and
- 3) the creation of regulatory frameworks and social intervention models and methodologies at municipal level that allow for global social programmes with institutional and community support.

5.1.3 Structure and functioning of the Programme⁶

The main lines of action of the Programme are the establishment of Early Education Community Centres (hereinafter referred to as community nurseries or simply nurseries), the incorporation of existing nurseries that meet certain specified conditions under a scholarship regime (scholarship nurseries) and a permanent training plan. Within this framework, as of April 1999, 18 new community nurseries had been established in 11 Communal zones (covering approximately 1,500 children). Most of these nurseries operate on an eight hour regime, although after piloting a half day modality in some of them (while fieldwork was taking place in 1997), there has been an increase in this modality, as a result of local diagnoses. The idea for the creation of a community nursery stems usually from the neighbourhood. A neighbourhood group constitutes itself into a civil association and negotiates an agreement with the Municipality through the Childhood Commission

⁶ The information in this section comes mainly from the publication 'Modelo de intervención socio-educativa' (IMM/UNICEF, 1997).

established in each neighbourhood within the framework of the decentralised structure, that is, the Neighbourhood Councils and the Local Board.

Regarding the scholarship regime, the Municipality agrees to transfer funds to cover a certain number of scholarships for selected children to attend pre-existing nurseries that share the goals and objectives of the Programme, as well as a common curricula regarding the work with the children, the family and the community. As of April 1999, 16 nurseries were operating under the scholarship system (approximately 270 children were benefiting from scholarships).

A third line of action of the Programme is the permanent training plan. The Programme aims to mobilise the abilities of the local community in order to improve the quality of life of its children and families. To this effect, one of the requirements is for educators in each nursery to be recruited in the communal zone concerned. The selection process (carried out by different experts and by members of the local civil associations) consists of a series of workshops which aim to assess the abilities relevant to the performance of the job, together with practical exercises and personal interviews. Once the staff has been selected, there is a period of initial training to be held jointly with the Administrative Commission members - who will manage the nursery - and children's families, conducted by experts provided by the Municipality. The design of the Programme includes permanent internal training after the nursery has opened for the educators and the families in the areas of pedagogy, psychology, psychomotility⁷, music, health and mental health.

5.1.3.1 Physical space and children groupings

Children are grouped in levels according to their age. The ratio child-adult is as follows:

<i>Child's age</i>	<i>Ratio child-adult</i>
6 to 12 months	6 children per educator
13 to 18 months	8 children per educator
19 to 23 months	8 children per educator
2 years	10 children per educator

⁷ *Psychol.* 'physical movement which reflects or is evidence of mental activity', The Oxford English Dictionary, 2nd ed., vol. XII (1989:759)

3 years	15 children per educator
4-5 years	15 children per educator

Although every child has a group and an educator of reference, some activities are organised across the different group levels, such as outings, parties, story-telling and meals. Each nursery should have a reception area, class areas, open spaces, multi-usage areas and alternative 'corners', apart from the necessary and adequate toilet facilities according to the number and age of the children.

5.1.3.2 The Administrative Commissions

The Administrative Commissions are in charge of managing the whole functioning of the nursery and are composed by neighbours of the area, usually members of the civil associations that constitute the legal counterpart of the agreement signed with the Municipality. They are specifically responsible for:

- The funds transferred by the Municipality and those coming from the community
- The functioning, maintenance and vigilance of the premises
- Establishing work links with the nursery staff
- Taking part with the educators and experts in the planning and follow-up of the whole Programme
- The community promotion programme

5.1.3.3 The technical team at the nurseries⁸

The permanent staff in the nurseries is composed of one or two teachers and the required number of educators, according to the number of children and the service provided. The educators are selected in the communal zone concerned (preferably from the neighbourhood where the nursery is located) according to the process described in the previous section. Their role consists of the following:

⁸ Hereafter referred to as the 'nursery staff'.

- Guaranteeing the general functioning of the nursery in the areas of education, assistance and hygiene
- Taking part with the Administrative Commission in the community promotion activities
- Taking part in the Permanent Training Plan, as described earlier.

Teacher

- Responsible for the implementation of the Programme according to plans agreed collectively
- Responsible for documentation and filing
- Provides technical guidance at the planning, implementation and evaluation stages
- Takes active part with the educators in the activities carried out with children
- Guarantees the necessary co-ordination between the technical team and the support experts

Educator

- Responsible for the implementation of the Programme in his/her group, according to plans agreed collectively

Educator in the area of food

- Responsible for the implementation of the Nutritional Programme developed jointly
- Responsible for the preparation and the control of meals

5.1.3.4 The technical support team

The work of each nursery is supported by experts in Mental Health, Psychomotility and Popular Music. The relevant professionals visit the nurseries regularly, work with the children and with the local technical team, and organise workshops including families. Their specific functions are as follows:

- Providing guidance and technical supervision in their field of expertise
- Promoting research and creative activities
- Taking part in an interdisciplinary exchange to promote a comprehensive approach

5.1.3.5 The pedagogic team

Each nursery has been allocated a Co-ordinating Teacher from the Social Team of the Local Communal Centre concerned. The role of this Co-ordinating Teacher is the following:

- Guaranteeing the necessary co-ordination between central and local levels
- Organising the participation of different resources in the area in the context of the Programme
- Acting as the first level of supervision, follow-up, orientation, co-ordination and representation of the Municipality with respect to the community counterpart of the Programme

5.1.3.6 The health teams from municipal surgeries

Nurseries benefit from the collaboration of health teams from the municipal surgeries in the area. Their role is to:

- Implement and follow-up the Health Programme in each nursery
- Exchange ideas with the different people involved
- Take part in interdisciplinary meetings at central and local levels

5.1.3.7 The central team

This is the staff working for the Programme at the central level of the Municipality. It is responsible for planning, promoting, co-ordinating, following-up, guiding and evaluating the Programme and the Permanent Training Plan, in regular contact with the Social Teams of the Local Communal Centres.

Consultant in Pedagogy

- Responsible for the co-ordination between the local pedagogical teams and the community
- Provides guidance on the educational programme

Consultant in Nutrition

- Provides guidance and supervision regarding the Food and Nutrition Plan
- Trains the educators in charge of meals regarding the educational and community aspects of their work

Social worker

- Acts as the link with the civil association regarding co-ordination and follow-up
- Co-ordinates agreements with the civil associations

Psychologist

- Provides guidance in the process of selection of the staff of the nurseries
- Co-ordinates activities with the Health and Mental Health teams

Paediatrician (delegated by the Health Division)

- Co-ordinates the activities of the Health teams in the different areas
- Represents health teams in co-ordination and interdisciplinary meetings

5.1.3.8 The educational project

The educational project of the Programme seeks to involve the educators, the support experts, the Administrative Commissions, the parents and the children in a democratic approach with total personal involvement. Its main stated objectives are the following:

In relation with children

- Comprehensive development of the biological, cognitive, affective, emotional and social potentialities
- Promoting the structuring of knowledge, abilities, attitudes, values and standards for a life in the community
- Caring for physical and mental health through diagnosis, guidance and prevention
- Promoting the development of the ability to feel, express, discover, know, communicate, create and transform
- Promoting emotional development through a stable and harmonic atmosphere
- Encouraging knowledge of reality through direct experiences and the development of imaginative processes
- Promoting socialisation through shared activities and attitudes with other children and adults

- Aiming at successes in future school work

In relation with the community and the family

- Promoting the participation of the community in everyday life at the nursery
- Encouraging the sense of community belonging and self-management
- Guaranteeing the participation of the family as a social actor
- Promoting the interaction family-child-educator
- Guiding the family in their educational role
- Developing inter-institutional relationships through the different resources of the community

In relation with the local technical team

- Promoting the participation of local women and young people in the activities of the nursery
- Developing permanent training plans regarding social, educational and assistance issues
- Reaffirming the concept of shared, responsible, critical, reflexive and solidary activities
- Consolidating the idea of interdisciplinarity jointly with support experts

5.1.3.9 Funding of the Programme

Funding for this Programme comes mainly from the five-year budget of the central municipal government, which covers fully its operational costs. The Municipality makes one-off transfers of funds or materials to repair the required premises or set up the necessary equipment, and periodical (monthly) fund transfers, including the resources to cover the running costs (staff salaries, food). The central government contributes with dry food and milk through the National Food Institute. UNICEF provides funds to subsidise the technical support teams (psychiatry, psychomotility and popular music) as well as staff training.

5.2 FIELDWORK RESULTS

Although a detailed account of the methodology applied is included in the appendix, for the sake of clarity, a brief summary of how the research was carried out follows. Work was carried out in the following nurseries: Cilindro (LCC 11), Jardines del Hipódromo (pre-existing the Programme, LCC 9), La Gotera (scholarship nursery, LCC 17), La Tortuguita (LCC 10), Mi Casita (scholarship nursery, LCC 11), Murmullos (recently

opened, half day service, co-funding regime, LCC 18) and Valparaíso (recently opened, half day service, LCC 6). These nurseries were visited between three and seven times each and observation registers of each visit were kept. 88 questionnaires were applied to parents/relatives of children attending the nurseries (almost 50 per cent of the total sample population). 36 semi-structured interviews were carried out with the different parties involved either individually or in groups. The author also participated in a meeting of teachers organised by the central team and in the feedback meeting given to the Administrative Commissions by the *Grupo Interdisciplinario de Estudios Psicosociales* (Interdisciplinary Group on Psychosocial Studies) about the preliminary results of the survey it carried out in nurseries of the Programme, commissioned by the central team. The researcher had likewise three working meetings with the central team. As mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, the analysis focused on qualitative aspects, that is, on values, attitudes, motivations and behaviours of target people and groups, exploring processes and developing theories and strategies. As will be explained in the appendix, the statistical analysis consisted of a frequency test and a chi-square cross tabulation. In the chi-square test a 90 per cent confidence interval was used.

5.2.1 Aspects related to the decentralised structure

The *Nuestros Niños* Programme was born with a decentralising 'intention'. However, due to the characteristics of the decentralisation process of the Municipality of Montevideo (late opening of the Local Communal Centres, internal municipal restructuring), this 'intention' could not be materialised effectively until 1993, when the Programme was put under the Division of Social Promotion of the Department of Decentralisation and when Co-ordinating Teachers, who had previously worked with the central team, were allocated to the different Local Communal Centres. This facilitated certain effective processes of decentralisation since the procedure for opening new nurseries was improved and formalised. Although the proposals had always come from the neighbourhood, since then, they have been included in the Five Year Plan and get to the central level through the decentralised channels, that is, the Neighbourhood Councils, with the approval of the Local Board. The generalised view is, however, that too much was put into the idea of a decentralised structure, but that Local Communal Centres do not have enough human and

material resources to put this into effect and nurseries are not supported by their local social teams as expected.

Role of the Local Communal Centres

In general terms, few contacts appear to exist between the Local Communal Centres and the nurseries. All the interviewees agreed that the level of support they get from the LCC is varied; it depends on the area and the composition of the LCC's social team. Some LCCs never prioritise childhood issues; in others there are frequent conflicts between local and central issues.

'The (nursery) is established in the territory, but the LCC doesn't feel it as its own because everything gets solved from the central structure' (Interviewee 25, Social Worker at a LCC) *'The LCC turned its back on us because it didn't want the nursery to be opened'* (Interviewee 12, Co-ordinating Teacher) *'We feel discriminated by the LCC'* (Interviewee 4, Social Worker at a scholarship nursery) *'We have little contact with the LCC. There is no relationship.'* (Interviewee 5, educator at a community nursery)

The LCCs do not seem to be an important element for promoting awareness about the Programme. When respondents to the questionnaire applied in the sample chosen (see a copy in annex two of the appendix) were asked why they had chosen the nursery concerned, only two out of 88 mentioned that they had learned about it through the LCC. In some of the nurseries where the Secretary of the Local Board had had an active participation, it was obvious that a relationship was easily created between the nursery and the LCC which, in turn, improved mutual levels of knowledge and information. With one exception, no LCC in the sample appeared to have acted as an information point for the Programme, not even to advertise vacancies. Most educators had no contact with their LCC; in Murmullos nursery, where one educator told us that she had seen the vacancy advertised in the Local Communal Centre, the Co-ordinating Teacher and the Secretary of the Local Board are very actively involved in the nursery.

Apart from a few activities, LCCs do not appear either to have a very active participation as a focal point for bringing together other social organisations in the area. Where nurseries had

stronger links with other social organisations in the area, this was generally due to the initiative of the nursery staff or the Administrative Commission, but not of the Local Communal Centre. Although training sessions are organised in the nurseries inviting different bodies working with childhood issues in the area, participation appears to be quite limited.

The decentralisation of the Co-ordinating Teachers (CTs) is seen as very positive: as pedagogical advisers for the whole Local Communal Centre, they are closer to the 'source' and have better chances of understanding the characteristics and problems of the area. The Co-ordinating Teacher is generally identified as the intermediary, the link between the central team and the nursery. Only in one case did this relationship appear to be virtually non-existent (La Tortuguita nursery). However, Interviewee 9, a Co-ordinating Teacher, said that *'we are mid-way between central and decentralised because even though part of the staff is relatively decentralised - like myself -... there is a central childhood team that, as its name indicates, is the centre'*. This *'makes things more difficult'* since although the information goes from the central team to the different groups in the different areas, *'the Co-ordinating Teacher is under the central team supervision'*. In the same sense, Interviewee 24, from the central technical team says *'we are mid-way and sometimes there are difficulties in articulating local and central issues'*. Another Co-ordinating Teacher, Interviewee 15, said that although policies that come from central level take account of local realities, they are planned at central level and the lack of local autonomy creates long waiting periods to get an answer to local demands, which generates 'mistrust in the intermediaries', that is, the Co-ordinating Teachers.

In general terms, the Co-ordinating Teacher is not very present in the Neighbourhood Council nor in the Local Board and, as Interviewee 9, a Co-ordinating Teacher, said: *'there are lots of people who do not know the Programme because we do not have time to give information about it.'* In the nurseries opened more recently, it could be noted that the Co-ordinating Teacher had a more active participation. However, at the time of fieldwork, some Co-ordinating Teachers were still responsible for two LCCs, which made their time allocation very tight. Although the central team is aware of this situation and is endeavouring to correct it, the Director of the Division of Social Promotion and the Director of the Department of Decentralisation explained that budgetary restrictions make this problem very

difficult to solve. They expressed that the lack of resources makes it necessary to 'prioritise where these are allocated', 'moved sometimes by political motivations'.

The involvement of social workers of the Local Communal Centre social team appears to depend on personal interests, on the priorities of the LCC in which they work and on their relationship with the central team. Apart from very few exceptions, the normal tasks of the social workers in their LCCs absorb them most of the time and they only deal with nurseries covered by the Programme in specific situations. Teachers in general believe that the participation of a social worker would be extremely important, not only as far as the selection process is concerned but also for the follow-up of children. The LCCs' social workers interviewed agreed that there are particular situations which can only be dealt with by a professional and felt it was desirable and necessary to include a social worker in the nursery teams to tackle children's problems from a family perspective. Although some Administrative Commissions have counted on the help of the social worker of the relevant LCC, most did not. The Administrative Commission of El Cilindro nursery, who recruited out of its own budget a social worker, stated - as did its staff - that the intervention of this professional in dealing with complex situations was of great benefit.

5.2.2 Aspects related to the roles of the different parties involved and the relationships between them

5.2.2.1 The central technical team

The central team organises monthly meetings with the Co-ordinating Teachers, with the nursery teachers and, since 1995, with the educators and with members of Administrative Commissions as well. In general terms, Co-ordinating Teachers consider that these meetings are useful, although one of them pointed to the fact that Co-ordinating Teachers should have more participation in the decision-making process. Nursery teachers find them very useful and several stated that they felt 'listened to' and 'respected in their views'. In two cases, lack of support and bad communications with the central team was mentioned. They concerned a recently opened nursery that felt 'abandoned' in its critical first months of operation (Valparaíso nursery) and La Tortugueta nursery, where there are serious relationship problems between the nursery staff and the Administrative Commission. Some members of

the Administrative Commissions claimed that there was no 'effective participation' in meetings with the central team since *'it is always the same ones who discuss, give their opinions and the rest just listens'* (interview 3); however, these meetings are generally seen as a good step towards creating a space for a proper exchange of ideas and a claims procedure. Although the presence of members of the central team in the field was acknowledged and welcomed by many, the staff in the different nurseries and the members of the Administrative Commissions kept stressing how important it was for them that the central team shared more of their experience by visiting the nurseries more regularly.

5.2.2.2 The Administrative Commissions

The Administrative Commissions are a basic part of the Programme. *'Neighbours are the component absolutely impossible to replace'*, says the Director of the Division of Social Promotion. Interviewee 15, a Co-ordinating Teacher, stated that *'the survival of the nursery depends on the existence of the Administrative Commission'*. However, these commissions seem to be a constant worry for the central team and for the Director of the Division. The heavy burden of administrative roles for people that have frequently little specific training presents difficulties. A general feeling of 'weariness' in members of the commissions was felt due to a bureaucracy that they feel is excessive. In this sense, the relatively recent introduction of the *Programa Cardijn*, an NGO responsible for supporting their legal/accounting tasks, seems to have been extremely helpful. The work of this NGO has been praised by all the Administrative Commissions: *'it speeded up processes'*, *'we have corrected things we used to do wrong in the past'*, *'we always find an answer'*, *'we feel so relaxed to know they are checking on us'* (Interviewee 2 and interviews 4 and 5). Another measure that helped considerably the work of the Administrative Commissions was the introduction, in 1995 (by resolution 4.545 of 16.12.94), of a module system for the payment of nursery staff salaries.

However, the excessive administrative load hinders in many cases a more active involvement of the commissions in the educational project, in planning activities in the nurseries, in attracting neighbours to renew its composition and in fund-raising. Some commissions, composed in general by people with a high level of commitment and social militancy, are very active and play their role efficiently, although with effort. However, other

commissions, with a weaker composition, poorly defined roles and a lower level of social commitment appear to be 'absent' and, in many cases, they delegate excessive tasks to the educators.

The composition of the Administrative Commissions is in many cases inadequate in terms of numbers. It is very difficult to renew them and it is not very clear who should take part in them. In this latter respect, all parties interviewed agreed that (at least for the time being) it did not appear to be viable that parents of attending children should be involved in the ACs. Further, when asked whether they would be interested in participating in the Administrative Commission, 40 per cent of the parents interviewed responded negatively (see graph one, annex five of the appendix). Many more resources would be needed to support parents who, in general, are not used to playing a role in the community and who would have to act as beneficiaries of the service and staff employers at the same time. In some cases, the Administrative Commissions are composed of people who come from a very similar socio-economic strata to that of the beneficiaries of the service, and who are sometimes not capable of taking on the duties that their role as managers involves. On the other hand, when members of the Administrative Commissions belong to a socio-economic strata too different from that of the beneficiaries, the nursery staff feels they are 'distant' and state that they do not understand all the problems they experience.

The motivation of members of these commissions is shown not only by the time they devote to their duties as managers without receiving any financial reward for it, but also in many cases by contributions in cash and kind. In some cases, the political factor is important, '*so that the Frente Amplio is well seen*', '*the majority is people who share our political platform*' (interview 1). In other cases, people are motivated by the prestige attached to their role in the Administrative Commission. In others, there is a commitment '*out of pure solidarity*', '*to be really involved*' (interviews 4 and 5).

The image given by the nursery seemed to be an important factor in encouraging neighbours' participation. In Valparaíso nursery, for instance, members of the Administrative Commission stated that it was difficult to get neighbours to participate because of the '*bad reputation of the previous nursery*' in the premises (interview 4). In El Cilindro nursery, the free distribution of informative bulletins to neighbours by the teacher proved very useful. A father who used to send his son to Jardines del Hipódromo

nursery, became a member of the Administrative Commission because he learned to 'love the nursery', because he liked the Programme, the work, *'I come because I have fun and if they do not throw me out, I will stay here'* (interview 5). Joint nursery staff, parents and Administrative Commission meetings to discuss different ideas and brainstorm about the most appropriate activities that can appeal to people in the neighbourhood have also proved to be very useful.

5.2.2.3 The nursery staff

The nursery staff showed a high level of motivation. An indicator of this was the number of extra non paid hours they worked. In all nurseries visited, it could be verified that the staff worked many 'community hours', devoted to activities organised with parents or with the Administrative Commission as well as to staff meetings. However, this was sometimes felt as excessive. Interviewee 14, a Co-ordinating Teacher, says that it would be advisable to 'regulate community work'. The Programme's project itself was an important factor in making teachers and educators apply for work in the nurseries. Teachers interviewed said:

'I was attracted by the project.' (Interviewee 5) *'I needed a significant job, something different.'* (Interviewee 13) *'I was very interested in working with parents.'* (Interviewee 6) *'I was very interested in the possibility of bringing together early education as a motor of potential change and social work in a poor neighbourhood.'* (Interviewee 17)

Educators, in turn, stated:

'I liked the idea... something new.' *'Talking to parents, that is what I like.'* (interview 9) *'I loved the project because it is different, it is more free.'* (Interviewee 8) *'It is a very nice programme... the work with parents.'* (interview 2)

The Programme's educational project establishes a 'horizontal role' of the teacher in the nursery. This was an aspect that proved to be causing several problems in many nurseries. The attitude of 'equality' encouraged led in many nurseries to a poor definition of the role of the teacher and of the educators, and thus to nurseries not benefiting from the pedagogical and didactic contribution of teachers. Many of the educators and members of

the Administrative Commissions interviewed complained that they did not see the roles sufficiently differentiated and that they wanted teachers to have a less administrative and more pedagogical role. This is particularly important in the light of comments concerning the ability of educators to face a pedagogical role. Interviewee 3, a teacher at a community nursery told us that *'the educators are not really ready for educating'*. Interviewee 14, a Co-ordinating Teacher, said that although the role of educators is very important *'sometimes they have too many teaching responsibilities with not enough personal skills to face them.'* There is a general feeling, particularly among the staff of the longer-running Programme nurseries, of having to face too many responsibilities and tasks. On top of the normal pedagogical activities, the staff has to carry out administrative and co-ordinating activities, talk with parents facing specific problems, look after problematic children, comply with Administrative Commissions requirements, follow training sessions with the technical team. Several Co-ordinating Teachers stressed the impotence felt by educators who cannot offer solutions to problems raised to them. It could be verified during fieldwork that the nursery staff in general felt disappointed because it could not make users really understand the spirit of the project.

'One feels frequently powerless because one doesn't know what else to do.'

(interview 2) *'There are things that depend on parents, and if one cannot get to them... one feels impotent.'* (Interviewee 6)

In this respect, training is considered a very important element: the Director of the Department of Decentralisation of the Municipality of Montevideo stated that *'it is a central element if we want a process that brings about changes... we cannot neglect it.'* Although a pre-training period of one month before the opening of the nurseries is required by the Programme, this has not always been respected in practice. In-service training was in general considered very useful. However, Interviewee 9, a Co-ordinating Teacher, believed that the result of the training modules established in 1996 (covering six different subject areas and organised by the technical support team) had not been proportional to what was spent in them since they did not always respond to the area's reality. Interviewee 16, an educator at a community nursery stated that *'sometimes what (the technical team) brings is of no use... they have to adapt to the place.'*

The Mental Health Team also stressed the importance that these training sessions should adapt to the *'particularities and timings of local staff'*. Furthermore, Interviewee 11, a Co-ordinating Teacher, said that the level of these training sessions should be 'lower' and the pace 'slower'. In one community nursery (interview 3), the teacher and some members of the Administrative Commission stated that it was important not to *'throw a lot of information to people with no community experience or experience in working with pre-school children'*. Many interviewees stressed that aspects related to the 'social dimension' should be included in the training subject areas.

'Specific training in the social area would be needed: that would be vital.'

(Interviewee 14, a Co-ordinating Teacher) *'The training is excellent with respect to the work with children but I am not that sure it is so with respect to the work with families'* (Interviewee 18, Social Worker at a LCC). *'We are lacking something that explains to us the limits of our work, if we are not in some way encouraging and preserving a specific state of affairs.'* (Interviewee 5, teacher at a scholarship nursery)

It is worth mentioning that because of budgetary restrictions (UNICEF's funding of a great part of the technical support has been reduced since 1997) and as a result of the evaluation of previous actions, the decision was taken to change the training patterns from the last term of 1997 onwards. The intention was that more agreements be signed with public and private organisations so as to identify and make the best possible use of local community resources, and to seek the collaboration of postgraduate students from different faculties. Further, a self-teaching modality would be implemented whereby educators will be responsible for reading theoretical material and performing in different areas under the supervision of specialised staff.

5.2.2.4 Nursery staff-beneficiaries-Administrative Commissions

The relationship between the nursery staff and the users of the service appeared to be satisfactory, even considering the possible bias of some of the answers received: the consolidated results of the questionnaires applied show that 34 per cent of respondents stated it was very good; 56.8 per cent said it was good; and eight per cent stated they had no relationship (see annex three and graph two, annex five, of the appendix).

In most of the nurseries visited, a difficult relationship between the Administrative Commissions and the nursery staff could be noted. This has been in general recognised by both parties involved, and confirmed by Co-ordinating Teachers and social workers with respect to other nurseries of the Programme not covered in the sample. The Administrative Commission's role as 'employer' is a source of conflict. Many Administrative Commissions present a hierarchical role, business-like, verticalist, which the nursery staff resists. Some see the Administrative Commission members as 'bosses' that put sanctions if what is established is not respected. In case of conflict, the answer is '*we are the ones recruiting here*' (Interviewee 2). Other Administrative Commissions seem to take a possessive attitude towards the nursery, and the nursery staff has to '*make efforts sometimes to keep their spaces*' (Interviewee 25, Social Worker at a LCC). It was noted that the younger Administrative Commissions need support in order to understand and put into practice the idea of the 'horizontality of roles' on which the Programme is based. Some members of these commissions stated that they did not know '*where we are standing*'. The need to clarify and limit the role of the Administrative Commissions appeared as a clear need from the interviews held with the different parties involved.

We studied two cases more closely. The staff of case 1 had been working together for quite some time and had achieved a good level of training and cohesion. The Administrative Commission had an excellent, organised and methodical team work, but appeared to be too rigid and put forward numerous claims. Its members claimed they were not satisfied with the work of the staff, that '*they don't show good will*', and a continuous feeling of conflict could be sensed. The nursery staff, in turn, felt that the Administrative Commission had taken a controlling role, that it had created an 'employer-employee' relationship, '*as in a private*

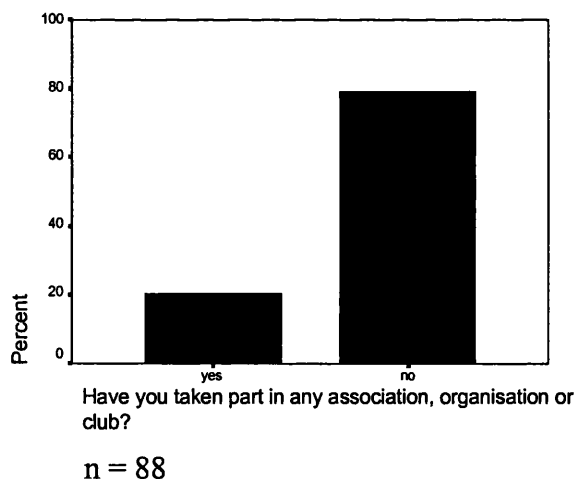
enterprise', and that they did not have enough co-ordination possibilities. Interviewee 7, a teacher who used to work in that nursery, stated that he felt that the Administrative Commission 'undermined his authority', did not support his work and was excessively demanding with the educators. This is reflected as well in the report of the Mental Health Team working in the nursery since 1994 concerning workshops carried out in February 1996, where one of the main concerns of the nursery staff was the difficulties in relating with the Commission. The report stated that the educators were being overcharged, that the Administrative Commission was too rigid and that this was pushing both groups further and further away. However, this nursery showed a high percentage of participation in the different activities organised and a high level of commitment of all parties involved.

The staff of case 2 had been working together for a shorter period of time and its level of training was lower. The Administrative Commission had few active members and the older ones did not seem to allow other members to join, and appeared to be the 'exclusive owners' of the nursery. Although no open statements against the nursery staff were made, statements like *'We are now less worried with the staff, but we have to fight and to control them'* (Interviewee 2) reflect a certain sense of dissatisfaction. Teachers stated that the relationship with the Administrative Commission was very difficult, that their members were very rigid, *'closed to any argument or explanation'*. Interviewee 3, one of the teachers, added that this *'discourages'* her and *'affects the attention I give to children'*. The communication between both parties seemed to be quite bad; the Administrative Commission of this nursery not only did not participate in aspects of the educational project, but did not seem to be interested in doing so. Personal observation during a planning meeting could be confirmed that the communication between the Administrative Commission and the nursery staff was indeed very difficult and that it was based on mutual mistrust. One of the psychiatrists of the Mental Health Team working in the nursery confirmed that she saw a lot of mistrust between the Administrative Commission and the nursery staff, and that the nursery staff felt that the members of the Administrative Commission were very distant from their work.

5.2.3 Aspects related to participation

The process of integrating parents/relatives into the Programme is not immediate and for many of them it is maybe easier to collaborate in cleaning and maintenance activities than to get involved at a different level. One educator (Interviewee 16) stated in this context that *'it is difficult, but one looks for strategies so that parents understand'*. The attitude of the nursery staff towards parents was seen as an important element in attracting parents. In one of the scholarship nurseries (which showed a high rate of participation of parents in the activities of the nursery, of a practical as well as a substantive nature), teachers and parents themselves stressed in informal chats the importance of the attitude of the staff towards them, that is, showing respect towards their time and availability. An important factor to be taken into account when analysing participation in the sample population is the lack of community participation experience of most respondents. Almost 80 per cent of the persons interviewed had never participated in any kind of association, club or organisation in the neighbourhood (of a political, religious, trade-union, neighbourhood or other nature) or elsewhere.

Graph 1



Participation has been analysed according to four subheadings: the involvement in cleaning and maintenance activities; the involvement in activities with the children, the nursery staff, the technical support team and the Administrative Commissions; the awareness of the Programme educational goals and the establishment of community support groups.

5.2.3.1 Participation in cleaning and maintenance activities

The results of the questionnaire applied show 53.4 per cent of interviewees having helped with the cleaning of the nursery once a week or more, 21.6 per cent having helped once a month or very few times, 14.8 per cent when needed, 1.1 per cent twice a month and 9.1 per cent never (see graph 3, annex 5).

The results of the Chi Square statistical analysis show a relationship (p -value = 0.019) between the participation of respondents in activities with the children, the staff, in the nursery and their collaboration with the cleaning and maintenance of the premises. Of those who had participated in activities with children and staff in the nursery (in total, 76 out of 88, i.e. 86.4 per cent), 43 out of 76 (56.6 per cent) had helped once a week or more with the cleaning of the premises compared to five out of 12 (41.7 per cent) who claimed they had not participated in any activity with children or staff and had collaborated only when needed in the cleaning (see table 1, annex 6 of the appendix).

There is also evidence of a relationship, though less strong (p -value = 0.07) between the degree of satisfaction with the attention provided by the nursery and parents' help with its cleaning. 33.3 per cent of respondents answered that they helped with the cleaning of the nursery once a week or more and that they were very satisfied with the attention given to their children (see table 2, annex 6). Although the statistical analysis does not show a very strong relationship between the degree of collaboration in cleaning activities and the relationship with the staff of the nursery (p -value = 0.200), the qualitative analysis showed that the degree of collaboration seemed to increase as the relationship with the staff improved.

5.2.3.2 Participation in activities with the children, the nursery staff, the technical support team and the Administrative Commission

The results of the questionnaire applied show that 86.4 per cent of respondents had participated in activities with the staff of the nursery and with the children (see graph 4, annex 5). From the statistical analysis carried out, there appears to be a strong relationship (p -value = 0.000) between parents' relationship with the nursery staff and their degree of

participation in the activities organised in the nursery. Of those respondents who said that they had a good relationship with the staff of the nursery (50 out of 87, i.e. 57.9 per cent), 80 per cent (i.e. 44 out of 50 had participated in different activities organised at the nursery (see table 3, annex 6 of the appendix).

56.8 per cent of interviewees had had meetings with one or more of the support professionals (either psychologists, psychiatrists, or musicians) against 39.8 per cent who had not; (see graph 5, annex 5 of the appendix). Most of the respondents who answered negatively stated that this was due to the fact that these meetings coincided with their working hours. However, the high percentage of affirmative answers shows that a good number of parents are nevertheless benefiting from this technical input. 34.1 per cent of respondents found these meetings very useful; 20.5 per cent found them useful; 2.3 per cent did not find them useful and 43.2 per cent were not applicable answers relating to respondents who had not participated in any meeting (see graph 6, annex 5 of the appendix). Of the 50 respondents who had participated in one or more meetings, 30 (60 per cent) found them very useful and 18 (36 per cent) useful.

There is also a strong relationship (p -value = 0.003) between the time parents have been sending their children to the nursery and their degree of participation in the activities organised. Of those who had been sending their children to the nursery for more than a year (in total 50 out of 88, i.e. 56.8 per cent), 48 out of 50, i.e. 96 per cent, had participated in the activities organised compared to 28 out of 38 (73.7 per cent) who had sent their children to the nursery for less than a year and had participated in nursery activities (see table 4, annex 6 of the appendix).

Concerning participation in meetings with the Administrative Commission, 54.5 per cent of respondents stated that they had participated sometimes or very few times, 28.4 per cent that they had never participated, and 6.8 per cent that they had participated many times (see graph 7, annex 5). These answers should be qualified with the fact that the Administrative Commissions did not always organise meetings including parents. Several respondents stated that they had never participated in such meetings because they had 'never been told' about them.

There is an important relationship (p -value = 0.012) between respondents' community experience and their participation in meetings with the Administrative Commission (see table 5 of annex 6). Of those who had never participated in any association (63 out of 79, i.e. 79.7 per cent), 42.9 per cent had participated only sometimes in meetings with the Administrative Commission, and 34.9 per cent had never participated (see table 5, annex 6 of the appendix). Only 20.5 per cent of the respondents had participated at least in one sort of association and 28.4 per cent had never participated in any meeting with the Administrative Commission.

5.2.3.3 Awareness of the Programme goals

One of the indicators used to measure the degree of awareness of the educational goals was parents'/relatives' interest and ideas regarding new activities in the nursery. The results of the questionnaire applied show a cumulative 56.8 per cent of interviewees who showed interest in participating in other activities in the nursery as against 37.5 per cent who did not mention any (5.7 of not applicable answers). The 56.8 per cent of affirmative answers is composed as follows: 15.9 per cent would be interested in participating in any other activity; 5.7 per cent would like to see more outings; 4.5 percent, more productive workshops and handcrafts activities; 3.4 per cent more fund-raising activities (such as raffles); and 27.3 per cent mentioned other activities, like cooking, sewing, sports, gym, parents' only meetings, staff-parents' meetings, workshops parents-children, story-telling, open classes. 15.9 per cent of those respondents who did not mention any other activity stated that they could not mention any other because 'a lot was already being done'. This leaves 21.6 per cent of parents who did not show any initiative in this respect (see graph 8, annex 5).

Another indicator used to measure the degree of awareness of the Programme was the reasons why respondents considered the nursery useful for the neighbourhood. Their answers in this respect were as follows:

Because it is a very poor neighbourhood: approx. 32 per cent yes, 66 per cent no.

Because parents need to work: 36 per cent yes, 61 per cent no.

Because children need to learn to interact socially: 16 per cent yes, 82 per cent no.

Because of the attention it gives to children: 32 per cent yes, 66 per cent no.

Because it is cheap: 20.5 per cent yes, 77 per cent no.

Because children need to get an education: 8 per cent yes, 91 per cent no.

Other reasons ('it is the only nursery in the neighbourhood', 'it is close', 'there are many children'): 25 per cent yes, 73 per cent no.

(see graphs 9a-f, annex 5)

This variable was subsequently recoded and frequencies obtained were as follows:

Answers referring to a practical need (poor neighbourhood, parents need to work, low cost): 54.5 percent

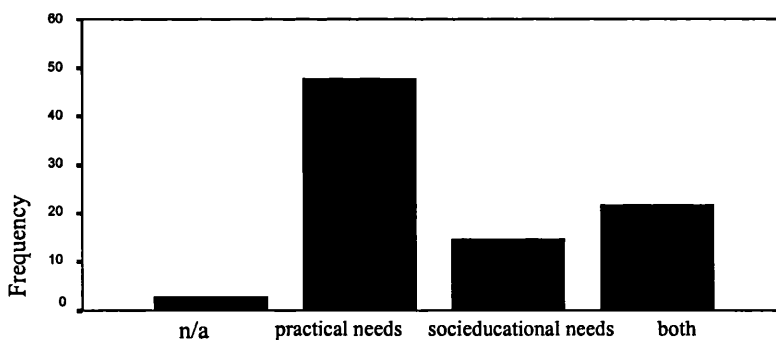
Answers referring to a socioeducational need (children's interaction, good attention, education): 17 percent

Answers referring to both needs: 25 percent

Don't know, doesn't answer: 3.4 percent

Cumulative excluding references only to a practical need: 42 percent

Graph 2



Why do you think the nursery is useful to the neighbourhood?

n = 88

These answers probably show, on the one hand, that the Programme caters for areas in need of the service and, on the other, that more efforts could be made to convey a deeper understanding amongst adult beneficiaries of the goals of early education. However, they should also be read against answers to question 27, concerning the most important things respondents believed children would acquire by attending the nursery. The answers to that question were as follows:

Good habits and behaviour: 27 per cent yes, 72 per cent no.

Social interaction, independence: 68 per cent yes, 32 per cent no.

School training: 49 per cent yes, 51 per cent no.

Medical/psychological follow-up, food: 4.5 per cent yes, 95.5 per cent no.

Others ('to be happy', 'good memories'): 16 per cent yes, 84 per cent no.

(see graphs 10a-e, annex 5)

The higher impact of 'social interaction' in this question probably shows that the formulation of the previous mentioned question prompted answers to focus mainly on the relationship neighbourhood-nursery.

This variable was subsequently recoded and the frequencies obtained were as follows:

Practical gains (good habits, behaviour, medical/psychological follow-up, food): 9.1 percent

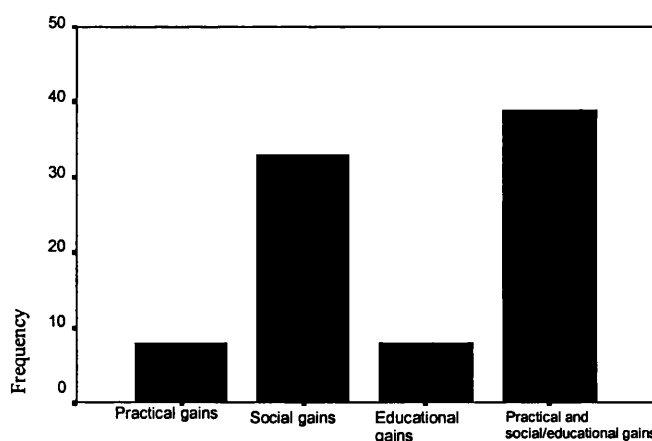
Social gains (interaction, independence, sharing): 37.5 percent

Educational gains (school preparation): 9.1 percent

Practical and social or educational gains: 44.3 percent

Cumulative excluding references only to practical gains: 81.8 percent

Graph 3



What are the most important things you expect your child to gain from his/her attendance to the nursery?

n = 88

It is arguable whether there is any relationship (p -value = 0.125) between parents' relationship with the staff at the nursery and their expectations from the nursery in respect of their children (see table 6, annex 6). This is due partly to the fact that there are not many cases where question seven (concerning the relationship with the nursery staff) has been answered as 'no relationship', and partly because for answers 'very good' and 'good', the pattern is similar (there is a high frequency for social gains, and practical/social or educational gains).

5.2.3.4 Establishment of support groups

When respondents were asked about the improvements they would like to see in the nurseries, 13.6 per cent mentioned spontaneously that they would like to see more collaboration from parents. According to the statistical analysis carried out, there is a strong relationship (p -value = 0.004) between the time parents have been sending their children to the nursery and the wish to see more collaboration from parents (see table 7, annex 6). Of those who had been attending the nursery for more than a year (in total 42 out of 78, i.e. 53.8 per cent), 11 out of 42 (26.2 per cent) would like to see more collaboration from parents. On the other hand, 97.2 per cent of those respondents who had been sending their children for less than a year did not think of mentioning this aspect. Respondents were further asked whether they would be interested in participating in a parents' commission to help with the running of the nursery. Their answers were as follows: 77.3 per cent of respondents said they would be interested; and 19.3 said they would not be interested (see graph 12, annex 5). It does not appear to be any relationship (p -value = 0.875) between the degree of satisfaction with the attention at the nursery and parents' interest in participating in such a commission to help the nursery (see table 8, annex 6).

Another indicator used to measure the degree of organisation attained by users was whether they would like the nursery to act as a meeting point to talk about matters of concern to the neighbourhood. The answers were as follows: 83 per cent thought this would be a good idea; 15.9 per cent did not think so and 1.1 per cent did not know (see graph 13, annex 5). It appears to be some relationship, although not very strong (p -value = 0.172) between the previous participation of parents in associations or organisations and

their wish to see the nursery as such a forum (see table 9, annex 6). Of those respondents who had never participated in any kind of organisation (69 out of 87, i.e. 79.3 percent), 81.2 per cent did not want to see the nursery as a meeting place for neighbours. Of those who had participated in some kind of organisation (18 out of 87, i.e. 20.7 percent), 94.4 per cent would like to see it as such a forum while 5.6 per cent would not.

5.2.4 Other aspects related to the Programme

One of the main advantages found in the development of the Programme was its flexibility, its capacity to adapt to different realities and to look openly for solutions to different situations.

5.2.4.1 Premises and material

It could be verified in all cases that the premises were used exclusively for children's care, except in some nurseries where some rooms were also used for neighbourhood meetings, but always outside nurseries' opening hours. Premises of the three longer-running nurseries were appropriate in terms of size of rooms in relation to the quantity of children and staff working in them, ventilation and natural illumination. However, in one of them there were not enough children's toilets available. Regarding the two more recently opened nurseries, one had excellent premises in terms of size, outdoor space, light and ventilation whereas the other one had small rooms and would benefit from an enlargement. Both scholarship nurseries would benefit from larger and better premises. Toilets were inadequate and, in one of them, the kitchen did not have any ventilation or natural illumination. In both cases, outdoor spaces lacked green areas, games and limiting boundaries. There is a general need in all visited nurseries to improve on the existing furniture.

User parents were asked whether they thought there was room for improvement in the nurseries. According to the aggregated results obtained, 50 per cent of respondents considered there was room for improvement while 38.6 per cent did not think so and were totally satisfied with things as they were. 34 per cent of the respondents mentioned the need for more human or material resources (more personnel, better playground/outside

area, larger and better premises) while 54.5 per cent did not mention spontaneously these aspects (see graph 14b, annex 5).

The atmosphere in the nurseries was considered an important indicator of the attainment of the Programme's goals since this is a decisive factor in children's activities (Mara, 1996:126-131). In all nurseries visited the atmosphere was gay, the decoration was adequate, with several wall posters in all rooms (boards to exhibit children's works, drawings, photographs, activity planning tables).

Teaching materials did not appear to be adequate: they are expensive items that have to be bought by the Administrative Commissions, which in general cannot afford to do so. Interviewee 14, a Co-ordinating Teacher, states that *'many nurseries have great deficiencies in respect to teaching materials.'* The central team has tried to rely on productive workshops, where parents are invited to repair or build materials. However, this does not seem adequate neither in quantity nor in quality terms.

5.2.4.2 The educational project

This research did not focus on this particular aspect, but in general terms, teachers considered the curricula *'very good', 'extensive', 'it allows to adapt to different realities', 'it is self-managed, you have freedom to move and it is horizontal and participative'* (Interviewees 3, 5, 7 and 17). Interviewee 15, a Co-ordinating Teacher, stated that *'I am always critical, but undoubtedly there is no comparison whatsoever. /the educational project/ approaches lots of things that Primary Education doesn't even think about.'*

In order to assess the results of the Programme from an educational point of view, the central team has prepared school follow-up forms that would allow to monitor the progress of children once they have left the nurseries. At the time of fieldwork there were already some cases of children who had attended the whole duration of the community nurseries programme and were now in the Primary School system. However, mainly due to lack of time, these forms had not been implemented.

5.2.4.3 The effects on children

Health and nutrition. Although these aspects were not covered in detail in the research, a satisfactory level of health and nutritional care could be verified. All nurseries visited seemed to be complying with the Programme's goals in respect of children's paediatrics control (on admission and weekly afterwards) and of training activities for nursery staff and family users. An efficient development of the programme of parasitical control in children, which is co-ordinated with municipal policlinics through an agreement with the Hygiene Institute, Parasitic Department, Faculty of Medicine could also be verified in some of the nurseries visited. In some nurseries there are dental prevention and dental care plans.

Regarding children's nutritional level, in all nurseries visited the staff stated that they had seen changes in children's nutritional level and in families' food habits. They seemed very satisfied with the informative meetings organised by the Municipality and with the training received. 37.5 per cent of respondents answering the questionnaire with respect to the changes they had noticed in their children since they were attending the nursery stated that they ate more or better (see graph 15a, annex 5). Several of the respondents having answered 'no change' to this question (58 percent) stated that their children already ate properly before beginning to attend the nursery.

In all nurseries, most interviewees had observed 'radical changes' in children, more progress was registered in children attending more regularly and with whose parents the nursery staff and the technical team had worked. From parents' perception, according to the survey answers, the more noticeable changes were that children related more, shared more and were more independent: 84 per cent of respondents mentioned this aspect (see graph 15b, annex 5). Other changes noticed were better behaviour, that is, improved habits, changed attitudes, more obedient, less aggressive: 36.4 percent. 33 per cent of respondents referred to a whole range of changes (learned a lot, more aggressive, worst behaved) (see graphs 15c and d). These last set of answers could be qualified on a case by case basis (particular family problems, such as divorces, separations, new babies). There is a high comparative percentage of changes pointing to a higher social interaction seen in children. Parents were in general satisfied with the attention being given to their children:

57 per cent said they were very satisfied; 41 per cent said they were satisfied and one per cent was relatively satisfied (see graph 16, annex 5).

5.2.4.4 The effects on families

Taking into account the national employment context, the Programme seems to be making it possible for parents to work more hours. The findings show that 27.3 per cent of respondents to the questionnaire were working more hours since children attended the nursery, 22.7 per cent were working an equal number of hours, eight per cent were working fewer hours (these answers could be qualified on a case by case basis: pregnancies, illness) and 34.1 per cent were not working and had not begun to work since they started using the service (see graph 17, annex 5). Several respondents stated that they were looking for jobs. In one of the nurseries operating on a half day basis, most of the respondents who were not working stated that *'four hours of nursery don't allow us to work'*. Eight per cent had lost their jobs. Members of the Administrative Commission in this nursery were divided in their views:

'For mothers who work, four hours is not enough.' 'But 80 children can have lunch instead of 40.' 'I think that in this neighbourhood the nursery should open from five am for parents who work.' 'One gives good habits to more children.'

(visit 3.3.97)

This would show that the Programme is responding to a specific need in these areas. However, a very important goal of the Programme is to 'educate' the parents, since, as Interviewee 8, an educator at a community nursery tells us, *'the better your relationship with the family, the better your relationship with the child'*. The general feeling is one of discouragement and even pessimism with respect to the Programme's results in this area. Interviewee 25, Social Worker at a LCC, suggested that more thorough and systematic work with parents is needed. Interviewee 18, another social worker at a LCC, proposed to keep supporting the child until the end of school so that he/she feels less the possible lack of positive modifications in his/her family environment.

All actors involved agreed that *'there is still a lot of work to be done with respect to families'* (Interviewee 24, member of the central technical team). Interviewee 11, a

Co-ordinating Teacher, believed that *'the work done with parents is not enough: it is the most difficult task, to make the community commit.'* Interviewee 16, an educator at a community nursery said that *'we should carry on putting efforts in improving the quality of life of families.'* Interviewee 2, member of the Administrative Commission of a community nursery said that *'we have not yet managed to work at family level.'*

5.2.4.5 Coverage of the Programme

The target population of the Programme is a matter of constant concern. The Programme has set weighting criteria for admitting children to the nurseries, which were being revised at the time of fieldwork following a study of the psychosocial aspects that define the population in the nurseries. The discussion turns around targeting families in risk situations or families in limit situations. The intention at central level of widening the Programme's coverage is clear. The obvious way, that is, to fill in all the available spaces, has already been followed. In 1992, the Programme covered six community nurseries catering for 420 children and three nurseries with 65 children benefiting from scholarships. In April 1999, it included 18 community nurseries and 16 scholarship nurseries and a total of approximately 1,800 children were being cared for. Waiting lists were huge in all nurseries in 1997.

A second way would be to run half-day nurseries so that the coverage doubles. This new nursery scheme has been operating since the end of 1996 and when fieldwork was being conducted it was still very early to evaluate the results of this change. However, it was possible to observe certain general tendencies. Views at central level differ regarding this new scheme. The pedagogical adviser states that it is more important for children to access education than to focus on satisfying the needs of parents' who work full-time. According to her, in many cases parents did not seem to be working eight hours and even when they do work full-time, because it is informal work, nurseries' opening hours do not help them totally. The social worker, in turn, stated that even if mothers are not working, children might be living in such precarious conditions at home that in many cases they need to be eight hours in the nursery to benefit from early development, and that it is important to take into account the quality of the other four hours children would spend in their homes. Neighbours and parents' reactions in the nurseries visited operating on this

scheme seemed to indicate that there was still a demand for full-time opening hours. When asked if they thought there was any room for improvement in the nurseries, 12.5 per cent mentioned spontaneously the wish to see longer opening hours. Out of the 11 affirmative answers that compose this percentage, 10 were given by parents using the newly established Programme nurseries that run on a half day basis. Out of the total number of respondents in these nurseries (i.e. 37), 27 per cent mentioned this aspect spontaneously.

Co-ordinating Teachers interviewed put forward the idea of accepting full-time opening hours for mothers who can prove they are working and accepting half-day nurseries if premises could not be enlarged. One Co-ordinating Teacher mentioned that it was a 'political' decision, since *'in public matters, quantity – more coverage – matters more than quality'* (Interviewee 14). Another felt that *'no more nurseries should be opened for a year so that we can consolidate the ones that are already running.'* (Interviewee 9) Another (Interviewee 15) still stated that in his LCC there was the potential to create more nurseries and that the decision of consolidating the existing ones instead of opening new ones was a means of 'justifying the inability to do so.' As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter (see 5.1.3), the author was informed this year that there had been an increase in the half-day operation scheme as a consequence of the results of local diagnoses carried out in 1998.

The central team accepted the idea of trying to enlarge premises since the extra staff this would require would not significantly alter the budget. However, if to cut costs down the Programme relies on local labour, this process might take too long. A further option would be to widen the number of scholarship nurseries. The team favours the idea of concentrating on quality and making sure that any new nursery opened takes due account of actual possibilities.

Following the implementation of the early education component of the educational reform briefly summarised in chapter four, the *Nuestros Niños* Programme nurseries enrolment figures have shown a sharp decrease as of March 1999 in the four and five years range⁹. Apart from few exceptions (that should be considered on an ad hoc basis according to the

⁹ Information obtained from 1999 enrolment figures provided informally by a member of the central team.

specific areas and the characteristics of the nurseries concerned), most community nurseries are now thus focusing on the zero to three years range.

5.2.4.6 Sustainability of the Programme

The Municipality has been for some years absorbing the running costs of the Programme. The general view is that nurseries can exist with no extra funding and that this can be a municipal programme. The Administrative Commissions interviewed showed optimism in respect to continuing their co-management with the Municipality. In spite of arrears in parents' contributions and some administrative obstacles, most of them seemed well organised and coping with the problems they faced. What needs to be considered is the part of the Programme that the Municipality is not financing, that is, the technical support team, paid by UNICEF funds. The possibility of reabsorbing this element in the municipal budget does not seem viable. The Director of the Social Promotion Division explained that the Childhood Programme absorbs nowadays one fourth of the whole budget of the Division and that it is very improbable that more municipal funds can be allocated at this stage to the Programme. The option of reallocating funds of the overall budget of the Municipality to the Social Promotion Division is clearly a political one.

Another option would be delegating some of the roles of the technical team to the educators. However, it could be risky to diminish the technical support and overload the educators, as mentioned previously when referring to the new nursery staff training modalities. When the research was being conducted, the only technical team that could be interviewed was the Mental Health Team. Members of this team stated that the changes announced would affect their work in the nurseries since their intervention would be reduced from four hours per week to four hours per month. They added that even those four hours per week were not enough to deal with the growing demands from a growing number of nurseries. The Mental Health Team believed that this change would imply that no more work would be done directly with the children and their families since they would need to concentrate efforts in working with the educators and supporting them in their role. According to them, this would clearly impair quality levels and have an adverse impact on families. Further research would be needed into this particular aspect.

CONCLUSION

As a result of the data analysis it can be concluded that, in general terms, the *Nuestros Niños* Programme seemed to be attaining its stated aims and objectives. Community nurseries seemed to be responding to a clear need in all areas studied and the whole structure of the Programme seemed to be working reasonably well. However, more specifically, the decentralised structure did not appear to be rendering full effects and it was noted that more efforts should be placed into strengthening inter and intra-group relationships, particularly between the neighbour Administrative Commissions and the staff of the nurseries. With respect to the participation in the Programme (measured in terms of a) involvement in cleaning and maintenance activities; b) involvement in activities with the children, the nursery staff, the technical support team and the Administrative Commissions; c) awareness of the educational goals of the Programme; and d) establishment of community support groups), the conclusion was reached that considering the different variables, a satisfactory level had been attained in terms of collaboration and of involvement in activities with the staff, the experts and/or the children.

The degree of collaboration of respondents seemed to increase as their relationship with the staff improved. Interviewees seemed to be aware of the whole idea of the Programme and of the importance of their involvement in it, and this knowledge seemed to improve as their relationship with the staff improved. More changes were registered in children with whose parents the nursery staff and the support experts had worked. These aspects will allow to discuss the issues of complementarity of efforts and of synergy in the last concluding chapter. It was noted that the sample chosen showed a very low percentage of experience in community participation: almost 80 per cent of the persons interviewed had never participated in any kind of association, club or organisation. Their involvement in the activities organised seemed to increase with the length of time they had been using the nursery, and all actors involved showed in general commitment to the Programme. This, in turn, will stimulate the discussion on the notions of endowment and constructability.

The Programme did not seem to be attaining effectively its objectives with respect to reaching the wider level of families and the local community. The following chapter will

discuss the factors that could account for this situation and how they could be overcome. In terms of coverage, a clear need and desire to expand the Programme was noted. However, the importance of not doing so at the expense of its level of quality and comprehensiveness was stressed. In this sense, this chapter warned about the possible effect on the Programme of the new half-day modality and staff training schemes implemented as well as of the newly adopted national educational reform¹⁰.

¹⁰ As an issue of further research, a discussion on gender issues could draw light on whether the Programme has an influence on the balance of power between men and women in the neighbourhoods covered, and outline the general impact of the Programme on the situation of women in the different neighbourhoods. One of the quoted goals of the Programme is the improvement of the living conditions of children *and women* (see 5.1.2). While these categories are seen as target groups, a relational approach to gender issues seems to be adopted since both women and men are expected to participate in the different activities organised. Staff at central and local levels showed as well gender awareness; for example, they tried to avoid imposing on women working long hours in the domestic service the responsibility of the cleaning and maintenance of the nurseries, and encouraged collaboration from male participants. Still, due to the persistent weight of gender roles in Uruguay, women seemed to be the main participants. Further research could benefit from a breakdown of the quantity of working mothers and of mothers as heads of household, specifically as far as the potential of the Programme to allow parents to work or to work more hours (see 5.2.4.4) is concerned.

CHAPTER SIX – JOINT ACTION FOR NURSERY PROVISION: CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

INTRODUCTION

The initial research question of this thesis pointed to the extent to which decentralised and participative social programmes respond better to local needs and generate better response from their beneficiaries. After conducting fieldwork and while deepening the literature review, focus began to shift to the relationships established between the different parties involved, the relevance of the links created and whether these could be constructable. In this chapter, then, the question will be raised whether the general effectiveness of the municipal programme under study was due to its decentralised management, to its participative nature or whether there were other factors that accounted for it. Conclusions as to how far this kind of programme could be replicated will also be drawn.

By examining the study findings (see chapter five) against the theoretical background of this research (see chapters one to three), it will first be analysed, then, what type of decentralisation was implemented by the Municipality of Montevideo, what were its objectives and how these were or were not attained. The participation component will be discussed with reference to the processes of empowerment and democratisation. The second section will discuss the relationship created between central and local municipal bodies and civil society, emphasising the complementarity of efforts, the embeddedness State-citizens and the synergy created between them. The importance of institutions and of inter-personal relationships for the effectiveness of collective action will be subsequently analysed. Focus will be placed on the elements of trust, reciprocity and solidarity as crucial for establishing social networks and it will be argued that these are constructable. Finally, specific recommendations concerning the implementation of the *Nuestros Niños* Programme will be drawn out as well as general policy implications relating to decentralised and participative programmes.

6.1 DECENTRALISATION IN THE *NUESTROS NIÑOS* PROGRAMME

The Municipality of Montevideo chose a kind of decentralisation that simultaneously involved service deconcentration, political decentralisation and neighbourhood participation. Official statements equate decentralisation, participation and democratisation (and frequently co-government with neighbours). Thus, the decentralisation process would have a three-fold objective: improving services by deconcentrating them, bringing decision-making power closer to local areas and including civil society in the decision-making process. These objectives would embrace most of the ones mentioned by Hambleton (1988). An improvement of public services (by deconcentrating them to neighbourhood offices); the strengthening of local accountability (by delegating authority to local levels through the Local Communal Centres); a concern for distribution, since the decentralisation process is linked to improving services for previously neglected groups in deprived areas of the city. Finally, it also involves staff development since resources have been allocated to training in order to comply with the new demands of the decentralisation process.

Social service provision has definitely been given a far greater emphasis since the introduction of this decentralised approach by the Municipality of Montevideo; within the Department of Decentralisation there is now a whole Division devoted to social promotion. Through the newly established Neighbourhood Councils the needs of the different areas seem to be better identified. The *Nuestros Niños* Programme is a clear example of a successful negotiation between neighbours and the Municipality in order to cover some of the identified needs providing a service demanded by previously neglected groups, in a participative and democratic way.

However, this decentralised structure does not appear to be working as effectively as it could, since resources and decision-making power are not being adequately transferred to local bodies. The process of decentralisation showed in general a lack of maturity, which often rendered the articulation between central and local levels difficult. The following extracts of semi-structured interviews with the different parties involved capture well these difficulties. *'The (nursery) is established in the territory, but the LCC doesn't feel it as its own because everything gets solved from the central structure'* (Social Worker at a LCC).

'We are mid-way between central and decentralised because even though part of the staff is relatively decentralised – like myself –... there is a central childhood team that, as its name indicates, is the centre' (Co-ordinating Teacher). *'We are mid-way and sometimes there are difficulties in articulating local and central issues'* (Member of the Central Technical Team). The Local Communal Centres do not seem to be playing an effective role as far as the *Nuestros Niños* Programme is concerned. They are not acting, in general, as a decentralised forum for disseminating knowledge about the Programme nor for bringing together other social organisations in the area. Furthermore, in order to make the best possible use of the benefits of decentralisation, the work carried out by the Central Technical Team in respect of the Administrative Commissions and the staff of the nurseries should have to be continued by the social team of the LCCs at local level. However, many LCCs are not capable of giving this support (see 5.2.1). As an educator at a community nursery put it: *'We have little contact with the LCC. There is no relationship.'*

Regarding the idea of 'locality' adopted by the Municipality, as far as geographical aspects are concerned, a survey carried out in three LCCs (FESUR, 1994) showed that there were acute differences within the different communal areas, which sometimes covered households with widely differing percentages of unsatisfied basic needs. Although this research did not focus on this particular aspect, the author believes that the process of subdivision of Montevideo into 18 LCCs did not respond to a careful study of the different characteristics of the areas involved and their inhabitants. However, this element is not considered to have significantly influenced the study since the *Nuestros Niños* Programme established or incorporated nurseries in the most deprived areas of the capital city and focused on the more needy sectors within each of those areas. As explained in chapter five, a careful procedure is followed before opening or accepting under a co-management or scholarship scheme a new nursery into the Programme. There is also an updated system for accepting children in the nurseries, based on specific poverty and social deprivation indicators developed by an *ad hoc* technical team.

With respect to the wider definition of 'local' adopted in this thesis, the local policies implemented by the Municipality in the context of this Programme appear to refer to units where there is a common sense of identity, common interests and orientations toward collective action, that is, what Rodriguez Villasante defined as 'fields of coexistence' (1995:241). The Municipality appears to point to creating 'platforms for building popular

citizenship', with a proper local personality but not limited to local issues, taking a non-partisan socio-political approach (Rodriguez Villasante, 1995:250).

Chapter one referred to several 'dimensions of decentralisation' (see Hambleton, 1988). With respect to the degree to which power is being decentralised from the centre, the process undertaken by the Municipality of Montevideo would probably be mid-way along the continuum described by Hambleton. That is, a relocation of services on a more local basis, with local offices providing information and referral and some decision-making power and service delivery, but without substantial local decision-making and with a rather imperfect and, in many cases, inadequate local rendering of services. It is believed that, as far as the local rendering of services is concerned, the *Nuestros Niños* Programme would be an exception, but that decentralisation did not play a vital role for it to be so. Regarding the degree to which different services are being brought together at local level, the Montevideo process would again be situated mid-way along the continuum, considering that there has been a breaking down of barriers within departments and between departments. A whole new Department was created in the Municipality and within it new divisions, and 18 Local Communal Centres were established. However, this does not constitute in general what Hambleton classifies as neighbour management of services, although the Administrative Commissions of the nurseries of the *Nuestros Niños* Programme are a good example of some areas in which progress is being made to attain that goal. As far as the degree to which the initiative combines managerial with political change, the process undertaken by the Municipality is moving towards emphasising community development and creating local arenas for decision making involving local representatives of the communities being served. The Administrative Commissions are composed of local inhabitants and are working together with the neighbours. This process is difficult since, as it has been stated, the society studied has a weak tradition of community participation and of channels, mechanisms and procedures for social participation. However, evidence also suggested that links of community trust and solidarity could be constructable (see below).

The very structure of the *Nuestros Niños* Programme shows the greater degree of decentralisation, participation and local empowerment being attained. Local inhabitants decide on the establishment of the nurseries according to the priorities in the different areas, through the Neighbourhood Councils and the Local Boards. The Programme introduced a decentralised channel between central and local levels: the Co-ordinating

Teachers who, in spite of the difficulties found in the implementation of their role as the official municipal-neighbourhood links (:108-109), seem to be working effectively. Their allocation to the different LCCs represent a significant improvement compared to their previous work at central level since it allows them to comprehend and understand better local realities. In the management of the nurseries, whole responsibility goes to the Administrative Commissions which are considered a fundamental part of the Programme. As a Co-ordinating Teacher said: *'The survival of the nursery depends on the existence of the Administrative Commission.'* Although evidence has pointed to the need of further support for these commissions in their work (see 5.2.2.2), this social decentralisation seems particularly successful and involves the devolution of greater responsibilities and of a certain degree of decision-making power to local inhabitants with respect to the service provided.

The Programme has already taken some measures to support the work of the Commissions. It has introduced an NGO to help them with their legal/accounting tasks, which has proved very useful. As a member of an Administrative Commission said: *'We feel so relaxed to know they are checking on us'*. It has likewise simplified the procedures through which payments for the nursery staff salaries are made to the Administrative Commissions. The central team of the Programme shows flexibility and the ability to search for solutions to the different problems that emerge. It holds regular separate meetings with the Administrative Commissions, the teachers and the educators of the nurseries, where in general participants felt listened to, and which were considered very useful.

The participative component

Although it is true that in Uruguay there has lately been some pressure from citizens requiring participation, it is also true that many groups still prefer to demand pre-packaged solutions from the government instead of getting involved in the negotiation and co-management of those solutions. In the case of the *Nuestros Niños* Programme, there is still a feeling that the Programme provides a forum for neighbours to complain and get ready-made solutions rather than promoting joint action for solving common problems. However, the same structure of the Programme promotes the active participation of those involved.

As mentioned in 1.4, participation can be used and understood in many different ways and contexts. Participation in the *Nuestros Niños* Programme can be classified according to Marta Arango Montoya's (1992b) division (see 4.2.6) as a form of collaboration, since parents, and in some cases the community at large, are involved in the cleaning and maintenance of the premises and in fund-raising to cover some of the costs. More than half of the respondents to the questionnaires had helped with the cleaning of the nursery once a week or more, and 86.4 per cent had participated in activities with the staff and the children, including fund-raising events. In some cases, participation can also be seen as organisation, since there are some parents' commissions established to help with the running of the nurseries and a few nurseries are being used as a forum to discuss problems affecting the whole neighbourhood. When respondents were asked whether they would like the nursery to act as a meeting point to that effect, 83 per cent considered this a good idea. However, given mainly the economic situation of the neighbourhoods involved, there are few real signs of self-management or power acquisition. There are, though, some examples of progress towards this end: the Murmullos nursery was the first one to be established with a phased co-management regime in 1995; the Administrative Commission of the Cilindro nursery decided on allocating funds to pay for a social worker not planned in the Programme.

Most principles put forward by Arango Montoya (1992b) as necessary for an effective participative programme are however present: an involvement of the community from the beginning, trying to incorporate its ideas in the plans and actions taken; encouragement of people's autonomy; particular attention to adjusting to the local cultural framework; and involvement of the participants in identifying the problems, setting the priorities, defining the roles and functions they will play and analysing strategies as well as the resources for the Programme.

This kind of participative decentralisation has been criticised for making participation available to just an 'elite'. Conyers (1990) has also expressed concern about decentralisation programmes that maximise efficiency in the delivery of services but do not necessarily enhance community participation (see 1.4). In the light of the empirical evidence, this research argues that in the case of the *Nuestros Niños* Programme it is not only a small elite which benefits from the new participative approach but a whole group of previously neglected people, and that the delivery of services would not be efficient if

there was no community participation. This is due in great part to the very structure of the Programme since it aims at directly involving the community as a whole and has established specific mechanisms to attain this objective. With respect to another set of problems put forward by Conyers, the central team of the Programme could act as the agency co-ordinating the implementation that she claims is essential to avoid implementation problems.

As will be stated when discussing complementarity in the next section, what seems decisive is thus the interaction between the different actors incorporated into the Programme's design. This is facilitated and favoured by the decentralised organisational set-up, and it would undoubtedly be more beneficial if it worked more efficiently. Yet, decentralisation does not in itself appear to be the key to success.

6.2 A COMPLEMENTARITY OF EFFORTS

Chapter two discussed the emergence of a 'third sector' and the new relationships created between the State, the market and this sector. The case study of this research confirms Marc Nerfin's (1986) definition of the third sector as citizens and their associations not seeking economic or political power (see 2.1). The type of services provided under *Nuestros Niños* Programme could be considered as 'proximity services' (Laville, 1992a), that is, services provided in a limited local space, and responding to individual or collective social needs, based on the principle of reciprocity, which guides economic behaviour independently in a process of interaction. The main relationships being of co-operation and reciprocity, the Programme would also comply with Razeto's (1988) definition of the solidarity sector.

Beneficiaries of the *Nuestros Niños* Programme are thus involved in the design and operation of the services intended for them. There is an idea of association of users, paid and voluntary staff (such as advanced university students, local organisations). The Programme implies a joint construction of supply and demand in public spaces, some contracts with private partners, reciprocity and agreement on goals with public institutions. This would be what Laville (1992b) defined as a 'solidary enterprise' (see 2.3). A new partnership with public authorities is created, where these play a different

role than in the past. The Municipality is responsible for ensuring that there is no discrimination between individuals, social groups and areas. It develops points of reference for evaluating and disseminating the results among those concerned, it encourages and gives feedback on major societal debates, and it promotes local initiative favouring the operation of mixed structures as well as transparency in finances.

As mentioned in the previous section, the role of complementarity in the *Nuestros Niños* Programme seems, thus, vital. The Programme would not exist without the Administrative Commissions, but these commissions could not operate neighbourhood nurseries without the municipal framework. There is a complementarity of efforts, both of a 'tangible' and of an 'intangible' variety (see Evans, 1996b). The Municipality provides the funds to pay the salaries of the staff and in most cases to cover all running expenses, sometimes the physical infrastructure, technical support (in psychology, health, nutrition and pedagogy) and training. The neighbourhoods provide human resources (educators, teachers, members of the Administrative Commissions), local knowledge, fresh food (through contracts with local suppliers) and in some cases financial contributions to help cover the operational costs of the nurseries. The central government provides dry food (through the National Food Institute) and milk. UNICEF finances partly the technical support team; the University of the Republic lends postgraduate students (in Psychology and Social Work); and an NGO provides music workshops. Although this complementarity of efforts is hardly working as effectively as possible (mainly with respect to partnerships with central government and the University of the Republic), it is strongly encouraged by the Municipality. The new training scheme put forward by the central team in 1997 (see 5.2.2.3), for example, emphasises the establishment of new partnerships with the Mental Health Team of the Faculty of Medicine and with local organisations.

This complementarity is also reflected in the results of the analysis of the data. The degree of collaboration of respondents to the questionnaires applied in cleaning and maintenance activities in the nurseries increased as their relationship with the staff improved. This would also seem to be the case with respect to their awareness of the whole idea of the Programme and to the perceived importance of their involvement in it. More progress was also registered in children with whose parents the nursery staff and the support team had worked. The statistical analysis as well showed an important

relationship between respondents' relationship with the nursery staff and their involvement in the different activities organised in the nursery (see 5.2.3.2).

This research has stated that Uruguay, like most countries in Latin America, has a historically strong embeddedness of the State into society, which allows the progressive redefinition of State and society relations as substantially non-antagonistic. When referring to bureaucratic populism, it was stated that government interventions are designed to improve the capacity of the public to function effectively and to augment the skills of local organisations (Montgomery, 1988). Attention was also drawn to embeddedness in the form of direct involvement of the public officials as a key component in getting citizen efforts organised and sustaining citizen involvement. In the *Nuestros Niños* Programme, although more embeddedness would definitely be profitable, the involvement of public officials is quite clear and the effectiveness of their involvement as well. In theory, the nursery staff are municipal officers since they are paid by the Municipality, although many do not feel themselves to be 'municipal' officers. The Co-ordinating Teachers, in turn, do act as the official municipal link between the nurseries and the Municipality through the decentralised structure of Local Communal Centres, and the data gathered suggests that they are an important and useful element contributing to the overall effectiveness of the Programme. The central team is also involved in the whole process from central level but also in the field.

Decentralisation processes benefit these new partnerships if they rely on strong collective actors that can identify their needs at local level, but these processes do not prevent bureaucratisation. Therefore, in order to avoid an 'overwhelming' State power, when bureaucratic Statism is very marked, as is the case in Uruguay, priority should be given to the strengthening of collective actors and to supporting their institutions. Through the establishment of the Administrative Commissions, the *Nuestros Niños* municipal programme is helping to institutionalise neighbourhood collective action. And this institutionalised civil society acts within a democratic and participative framework. If we refer to Friedmann (1992), the formation of civil institutions at this micro level, with access to information, knowledge and skills, participation in social organisations and financial resources would be a measure of social power, and would further democracy (see 2.4).

When quoting the main criticisms of Putnam's (1992) theory of social capital (see 3.2.1) it was stated that networks of civic engagement and integration do not necessarily lead to more effective government and that there are other important factors intervening. The case of the *Nuestros Niños* Programme illustrates this point by stressing the relevance of the wider context in which programmes are set, and of the availability of the necessary assets and resources. If the general ideological context did not favour community participation, involvement in decision-making, self-help and network development, as well as diverting adequate resources, this programme would have been yet another one where people expect to receive a service and do not feel or learn to feel involved in the actions taken.

Chapter three pointed to the idea of synergy between complementarity and embeddedness. However, interaction among all such actors – from different institutional sectors, unequal in power, with very diverse interests and perspectives – can produce misunderstanding, conflict, and power struggles rather than effective collaboration in policy/programme design and implementation. When parties of unequal power have different interests, some disagreements can be expected in the formulation and implementation of programmes that affect those interests. The next section will attempt to understand – through the experience of this case study – what factors serve to prevent these conflicts by drawing on the ideas of identity, social capital, solidarity and reciprocity.

6.3 CREATING AND STRENGTHENING EFFECTIVE COLLECTIVE ACTION

As discussed in chapter three, in the formation of social movements, in order to reconcile individual needs with collective interests an instrumental motivation is needed, as well as the notion of group identity. To go beyond individual gains, it is necessary to strengthen group identity and commitment to a common cause. Although it has been mentioned that there is no significant community solidarity heritage or tradition in Uruguay, it could be seen that most participants in the *Nuestros Niños* Programme felt that the programme belonged to them and they showed commitment to it. Even the feelings of discouragement and pessimism mentioned while presenting the fieldwork results with

respect to the effects of the Programme on families, for example (see 5.2.4.4), also show that implementers (educators, teachers, social workers, psychologists) are very involved in the whole approach and capable of constructive criticism, and that they would like to see the Programme fully attaining its objectives. It was stated that neighbours who had community work experience established stronger and more effective social organisations. However, a commitment 'out of pure solidarity', 'to be really involved' was also noted among neighbours with no previous experience in community activities (see 5.2.2.2). As far as parents are concerned, it was possible to establish that the longer they had been sending their children to the nurseries, the more they participated in the different activities organised and the more they wished to see more collaboration from other parents, which also shows that they are learning to identify with the Programme.

Networks of associations and norms of trust and reciprocity

Evidence presented in chapter five has indicated significant elements related to the role of social capital in the *Nuestros Niños* Programme. The social capital present in the Programme would correspond to what Harriss has described as the 'cross-sectional linkages or contacts spanning differences in sector and power', linking together organisations 'belonging to different sectors of society in the search for solutions to problems by combining different resources and different kinds of knowledge' (1997:933).

The mutually supportive relations created between the Administrative Commissions, the nursery staff and other local NGOs, as well as between these and the Municipality and other official bodies, are crucial for the continuity of the Programme. The existence of individuals or organisations with inter-sectoral relationships enables contact among parties with different interests and backgrounds. Such bridges between sectors facilitate the recognition of common problems and shared interests in problem solving. In the case of this research, as already stated, the Co-ordinating Teachers act as the link between the central team and the nurseries, conveying demands and solutions. Co-ordinating Teachers have the LCCs, the Municipality and the nurseries concerns and requirements present, and they interact between them. In the case of the Valparaíso nursery, the Co-ordinating Teacher was a very important element in solving the problems encountered during the first months of existence. In turn, the lack of a Co-ordinating Teacher was an important drawback in the case of La Tortuguita nursery (see 5.2.1 and 5.2.2.1).

Social capital involves also norms of reciprocity and co-operation, and the attitudes of social trust and respect reflected (Putnam, 1992). The relationship amongst the staff in the nurseries, between the staff and Administrative Commissions, and between central and local staff is vital for the effectiveness of collective action. Rational collective action is fostered when there is a high level of trust, since each party knows that the other one can be counted on. This thesis has quoted Judith Tandler (1997) with reference to the build-up of relations of trust between health agents and their clients as the key to success of the health programme Tandler studied in Brazil (see 3.3.1).

An important element in the *Nuestros Niños* Programme was building trustworthy and fair relationships. When policies are perceived as fair, it is easier for them to be nested in actions. In general terms, no significant sense of unfairness was detected among participants in the *Nuestros Niños* Programme in the course of the fieldwork. Spontaneously or when asked, respondents stated, for example, that they found the system of children's admission and of payments fair. Prakash (1997) has stated that over time, fairness leads to trust, facilitating the norms of reciprocity and networks of social engagements that constitute the accumulation of social capital (see 3.2.2). This accumulation of trust and social capital in bonds of solidarity generates entitlements and expectations of reciprocity: the community nursery provides a needed service, and parents and neighbours must also respond to the demands.

One important condition set by the Programme when recruiting its staff is that the people working in the nurseries come from the neighbourhood where the nursery is or will be established, or at least from the same LCC, as this promotes knowledge and understanding of the issues and concerns of local inhabitants. However, given the competition for job opportunities in these poor neighbourhoods – particularly when the national context is one of generalised lack of employment – , and given that staff has access to different resources in the nurseries (such as food), this condition can also lead more easily to situations where there is an abuse of power, within the nursery and in the neighbourhood. During fieldwork, the intervention of the Municipality through the relevant channels to help sort out some difficult situations in this sense could be verified. When higher levels of solidarity and trust were evident, relationships amongst the nursery staff, and between the staff and the Administrative Commissions, seemed to be more

fluid. This, in turn, improved the work with children and with parents (5.2.2.4 and 5.2.3). The author might risk assuming that the weak links of mutual trust and solidarity found between these two groups are responsible and are reflected in some measure in the low level of attendance at meetings with the Administrative Commissions by the nursery staff and by the parents (parents might sometimes not be adequately informed by the staff of those meetings, or encouraged to attend them, or they might not have good relationships with members of the Administrative Commissions). Although there are probably several intervening factors, it would be interesting to pursue further this investigation, with specific indicators on this aspect, comparing the relationships between the staff and the Administrative Commissions in different nurseries, and trying to identify distinct elements that influence the relationships of mutual trust.

However, overall, evidence has pointed to the importance of the mutual control derived from the Programme's design and of the level of commitment to the Programme, as mentioned at the beginning of this section, in contributing to strengthen these relationships. Most staff work extraordinary hours and neighbours devote a lot of unpaid time to their work in the Administrative Commissions. In spite of the many obstacles Administrative Commissions face (administrative, interpersonal) and of their complaints regarding different aspects of the implementation of the Programme, most of them showed optimism in respect to the future of the nurseries, were prepared to continue their work and seemed satisfied with the results. This evidence allows us to refer here to a 'good' kind of civil society, as Abu-Lughod (1998) qualified it (see 3.2.1.1). Findings suggested that this has utmost importance since these commissions are responsible for the actual running of the service and to a great extent for keeping the whole idea of the Programme under focus. As far as beneficiaries are concerned, according to the empirical results, the more parents/relatives were included in social and educational activities with children and staff and – to a lesser extent – the more satisfied they were with the attention given to the children, the more they collaborated with the cleaning and maintenance of the premises. This adds to the previously mentioned aspects that show their commitment to the Programme as well as a sense of reciprocity.

Endowment and constructability

This thesis has stated that some proponents of social movements theory (McAdam, McCarthy and Zald, 1996) have analysed how the fabric of pre-existing social relations encourages or discourages collective action and the interactions between social movement organisations and other segments of society. In the context of social capital, Evans (1996a and b) refers in the same sense to the ideas of endowment and constructability: whether positive State-society relations depend on pre-existing features of the society (prior stocks of social capital, features of society that tend to change very slowly, like the level of inequality, the form of political regime or the character of bureaucratic institutions) or whether synergistic relations can be built in the relatively short run (based on the malleability of people's perceptions of themselves and on the construction and reconstruction of social identities, on soft technologies of organisational design and on redefinitions of problems).

The *Nuestros Niños* Programme benefits from a conducive political framework and bureaucratic institutions that tend to change very slowly. However, most of the population in the sample of this research did not have previous experience in community work and there were no significant networks or norms of trust and solidarity established in the areas studied. Nonetheless, the sample population showed significant levels of involvement and of commitment to the Programme. The results of fieldwork show that the involvement of respondents in the activities organised in the nurseries seemed to increase with the length of time they had been using the nursery. Further, the longer the respondents had been sending their children to the nursery, the more they wanted to see collaboration from other parents, that is, the more they felt the Programme 'belonged' to them (see 5.2.3.2 and 5.2.3.4). In this same sense, a large percentage of interviewees (77.3) responded affirmatively when asked whether they would be interested in participating in a parents' commission to help with the running of the nursery. And this data does not seem to be related to their level of satisfaction with the service provided. 83 per cent of respondents was favourable to using the nursery as a meeting point to discuss matters of concern to the neighbourhood. And this did not appear to be strongly related with their previous experience in community work.

This data would allow to suggest that *Nuestros Niños* Programme is a good example of a situation where it is possible to 'construct' social capital and strengthen collective action mainly through the benefits of a well structured design, based on community needs and values, and on notions of fairness, solidarity and reciprocity. It is also a good example of the importance of the 'endowment' of coherent and dependable public institutions which allow power distribution and local self- development. These two elements would permit the construction of synergistic relationships.

Evans (1996:1124) has been quoted stating that what makes a difference is how social capital is, or is not, scaled up through the relationships between State and private and voluntary organisations. The difficulty resides in generalising small-scale successes. In the case of the *Nuestros Niños* Programme, social capital could be boosted by strengthening inter and intra group relationships (particularly between the staff and Administrative Commissions), through a better use of the decentralised structure, by incorporating the regular services of a social worker, and a social psychologist or an expert on group dynamics, at nursery level. This would strengthen the necessary links of mutual trust and solidarity that in turn generate reciprocity. It would create stronger local organisations, with a well-developed internal management capacity, which would lead to more effective negotiation with the Municipality and other civil society actors.

6.4 CONCLUDING REMARKS

6.4.1 Policy recommendations for the implementation of the *Nuestros Niños* Programme

There is no doubt about the need to provide early education in the areas covered by this Programme. According to the situation described in chapter four, the generational renovation in Uruguay is relying on sectors with fewer possibilities of preparing their children for the new demands of today's life. Without a properly established and managed early education policy, then, the internalisation by children of behaviour patterns from their parents will lead to an increase of the subculture of deprived sectors compared to wealthier sectors of the population.

The *Nuestros Niños* Programme was in general found to be effective in responding to its main objective of providing good quality, comprehensive early education for the socio-economic groups that needed it more, within a family and community framework. The model of community nurseries of the Programme conforms to the one described by Moss (1978) (see 4.2.5) in that they are – in most cases – centres of full-day care, with their own management structure, in which parents have a controlling interest. The management body does make decisions about admissions, and some regarding the general objectives of the nurseries in working with children, staffing and other policy matters, but in conjunction with municipal staff. It is based on municipal funding (funds for both capital and running expenses being administered by the management body, but largely or wholly provided by government sources), with the Municipality ensuring certain standards without unduly restricting each nursery's autonomy and initiative.

The decentralisation process at the Municipality of Montevideo involved a radical change in a deeply centralist bureaucratic routine which not only required a change in the internal dynamics of the Administration but the emergence of a new actor, the neighbour, which had hitherto been a passive recipient of often inefficient services. The redistribution of power, the creation of new bodies and the transfer of new responsibilities to them, coupled with the uncertainty inherent to any innovative process, has certainly created tensions. A whole range of new relationships emerged, which frequently resulted in conflicts. It has been stated that, although the decentralised structure was found useful and necessary for the implementation of the Programme, this factor did not seem to be key to its general effectiveness. In order to improve decentralisation within the *Nuestros Niños* Programme, though, the following recommendations can be put forward:

- re-stating the role of Co-ordinating Teachers so that a clearer definition of responsibilities is achieved in relation to the Central Team and to the relevant LCCs;
- increasing the time allocation of Co-ordinating Teachers to the Programme so that they can focus on disseminating it within their respective LCCs at the Neighbourhood Council and the Local Board level;
- improving the articulation of Co-ordinating Teachers with the LCCs in order to enhance local administrative procedures; and

- requiring that a specific number of hours of the workload of social workers at the LCCs be especially devoted to working with the community nurseries of the Programme in the area.

The Programme's participative nature is undoubtedly a very important factor and contributed to its overall results. In order to strengthen the participation of parents and neighbours, the following recommendations are made:

- To promote activities in all nurseries aiming at attracting parents and neighbours through
 - social events tailored to the neighbourhood's tastes
 - assemblies
 - regular information about the use of funds contributed by parents (for example, posting in bulletin boards the quarterly reports of the Administrative Commissions and calling for informative meetings)
 - disseminating information about the nurseries and the whole Programme (through bulletins and workshops)
 - more systematic consultation of parents regarding the educational project of the nurseries
 - further organisation of meetings and workshops on specific subjects of interest to parents and neighbourhoods with the support of experts
- To promote a more heterogeneous composition of the Administrative Commissions (including, for example, people with prestige in the neighbourhood, like Neighbourhood Council members, doctors, priests)
- To promote staff stability so that trust relationships between educators/teachers/experts and parents/neighbours can be reinforced.

The same structure of the Programme, that includes and guarantees participation and builds on social capital, is a vital element in its effectiveness. The Programme does not focus solely on educational aspects; it takes a comprehensive approach to early education aiming at improving the quality of life in the whole area by informative sessions and training workshops for families and the community. It was concluded that the Programme did not seem to be adequately attaining its objectives in this area. Such a change in living

perceptions and conditions, that is dependant as well on a national context favouring better employment conditions and anti-poverty strategies, takes time. In order to strengthen the complementarity of efforts that would contribute to reach this goal, focus can be placed on:

- Upgrading continuously the Programme's design by
 - insisting on the pre-training of staff and intensifying on-the-job training according to local realities and needs, and to the abilities of the staff
 - supporting inter- and intra-group relationships through regular workshops with qualified experts in order to strengthen mutual links of trust and solidarity
 - encouraging further the production of written and audio-visual material by the central team in order to increase the levels of self-esteem and promote training and professionalisation
 - encouraging interdisciplinarity and the co-ordination of activities with the different parties involved
 - reviewing and promoting the use of the existing school follow-up forms so as to assess the results of the Programme on the educational level.
- Focusing more on the work with families and the community as the basis of the complementary socialisation of children and, to this effect:
 - give appropriate training to the staff and the Administrative Commissions as well as continual support in their work in this area
 - promote the establishment of parents' associations and of neighbourhood fora
 - promote a study on user families so that the effects of the Programme can be assessed in terms of changes in habits and levels of self-esteem and of interest and understanding of children's development
- Promote a comparative study with other early education centres in the different LCCs (private, Statal, para-Statal, and non Statal) in order to assess the cost-effectiveness of the *Nuestros Niños* Programme.
- Promoting more active involvement and new partnerships with central government entities, such as the different bodies of the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Work and Social Welfare, and the CAIF Plan, as well as with other formal and informal organisations (such as local NGOs).

- Ensuring that services are not duplicated in the light of the newly implemented national educational reform (which aims at the universalisation of education for four and five years old).

The role of the Municipality of Montevideo as far as social service provision is concerned is very valuable, especially in the light of the different political and ideological framework with the national government. The Municipality has focused on providing a service that covers an unmet need in deprived areas in such a way as to create a new social intervention model by establishing effective mechanisms to improve living conditions in the long-run, with institutional and community support, and taking into account the particular features of the respective areas. One of its main goals has been to create effective community action. This goal is certainly difficult to achieve, particularly when there is no prior social capital in that sense, but evidence from the research of the *Nuestros Niños* Programme has shown that it is possible to 'construct' the links of solidarity and trust that are essential to work towards that aim, provided that the necessary mechanisms are established in a conducive political context.

It is true that the running of this Programme depends almost entirely on municipal funds and that given the local and national socio economic situation it does not seem plausible in the foreseeable future to attain an actual municipal-neighbour co-management of the nurseries. This raises questions about the long-term sustainability of the Programme. It can be argued that there is no guarantee that the monies will continue to be allocated to it if there is a political shift in the municipal government. Priorities may change and political needs as well. Informal conversations indicate, though, that enough political will is being currently built up to guarantee the continuation of the Programme in spite of future political changes. But more importantly, the identification of the staff working in the nurseries and of the local beneficiaries with the Programme is an important input towards achieving a certain independence of the Programme from the official structure that sustains it. Furthermore, the expectations are that wide community support can be built up as a pressure upon maintaining the Programme at least in the areas studied.

It also remains to be assessed what the effects the newly implemented early education component of the national educational reform are on the Programme. Questions that can be raised are the possible changes in the total coverage of the Programme considering that

the national system is obtaining full coverage in the four and five years range. It would be likewise important to follow the school performance of children abandoning the Programme in the light of having benefited from the *Nuestros Niños* educational project up to the age of three years instead of five years.

6.4.2 General policy implications for participative and decentralised social programmes

This research has given further evidence that decentralisation is not a panacea for the social and economic ills of the poor and will itself alone not change political and social relationships that have obstructed greater participation in development planning and administration in the past. Social participation is an essential factor if decentralisation policies are understood as a means to achieving improved and more democratic social planning. Community involvement in decentralised social programmes is then vital; the beneficiaries should be participants and should have a say in the decisions taken that will affect them. For this purpose, it is essential that a political system with a certain level of democracy is in place, which will allow official bodies to strengthen collective action and the negotiating power of civil society.

The future of this kind of programme depends on their ability to democratise services through the role allocated to users and through the resulting institutional change. Democratisation from grassroots can only be instrumental if it creates institutional changes at the top, that is, if it creates institutional changes that allow beneficiaries' ideas in the institutions responsible for redistribution to be taken into account. The goal should be to influence the formulation of public policies and to guarantee an interface with public authorities. Structures that represent them should scale-up from experimental to policy-making levels and, thus, beneficiaries would be able to contribute to the renewal of public service combining different resources. As Laville (1992b) introduced with his notion of 'proximity services', public policies should encourage the development of an institutional infrastructure for those services and strengthen the collective actors necessary for its reproduction.

The process of replicability in this kind of service is not standardised and there are no specific techniques that can be reproduced. It is always specific projects that allow a joint construction of supply and demand through local partnerships. Municipal governments are often as poor in human capital as they are in physical resources, but they have one great advantage: they are well positioned to evolve and guide purposeful action through the establishment of partnerships. Efficacious and responsive social policy needs to be grounded in local settings. It should be a guide to action and, as such, can be the property of both government *and* citizenry, public *and* private spheres. Policy should take into account the complex processes that motivate and develop collective action and its institutions, based on links of trust, reciprocity and solidarity.

Focus should be placed, then, on the internal capacity-building of the organisations and on their external capacity to negotiate with other actors. To this effect, four important aspects that should be promoted can be mentioned:

1. Training, follow-up of structures and of projects promoting actors' acquisition of new social and professional qualifications, building on mutual relationships of trust and solidarity. For example, workshops with experts on group dynamics, organisational arrangements, social work, and in-work evaluation sessions.
2. Research, in order to inform the actors so that they can change behaviours, adapt their actions and, if necessary, change their aims. This might involve continual assessment of the needs and the context of actors by relevant experts.
3. External communication, in order to represent interests and negotiate with public authorities, and to ensure dissemination to all potentially interested parts. External communication can facilitate adjustments with political and administrative modalities and favour greater awareness from people and groups towards the proposed services, so that they feel more encouraged to participate. This can be channelled through the necessary intermediaries.
4. Internal communication, in order to promote the understanding of the different environments in which people have to carry out an evaluation and to circulate information on internal procedures.

6.4.3 Key areas for future academic research

This paper has just laid down some insights in the wide subject of the constructability of social capital. As mentioned previously, it did not start up with a focus on this particular element, but it is believed that there is ample scope to further this aspect. It would be therefore interesting to focus on the development and strengthening of links of mutual trust and reciprocity in this kind of programmes.

To this effect, future academic research could cover the following areas:

- How do pre-existing features of society influence the effectiveness of collective action
- How are trust and reciprocity links created, reflected and encouraged in social organisations
- What is the relationship between levels of mutual trust and solidarity and the effectiveness of social programmes.

This thesis has left several 'inconclusive' issues. The sustainability and replicability of programmes of this nature are aspects that need to be furthered. Research in this context could point to examining the mechanisms that can guarantee sustainability:

- specific means to develop wide community support;
- the establishment of partnerships at local level which could diversify sources of funding;
- the role of the State in legitimating socio-economic innovation;

and the extent to which this contributes to the generalisation and replication of these programmes.

The gender issues involved in the design and implementation of this kind of projects should also be specifically discussed in future academic research.

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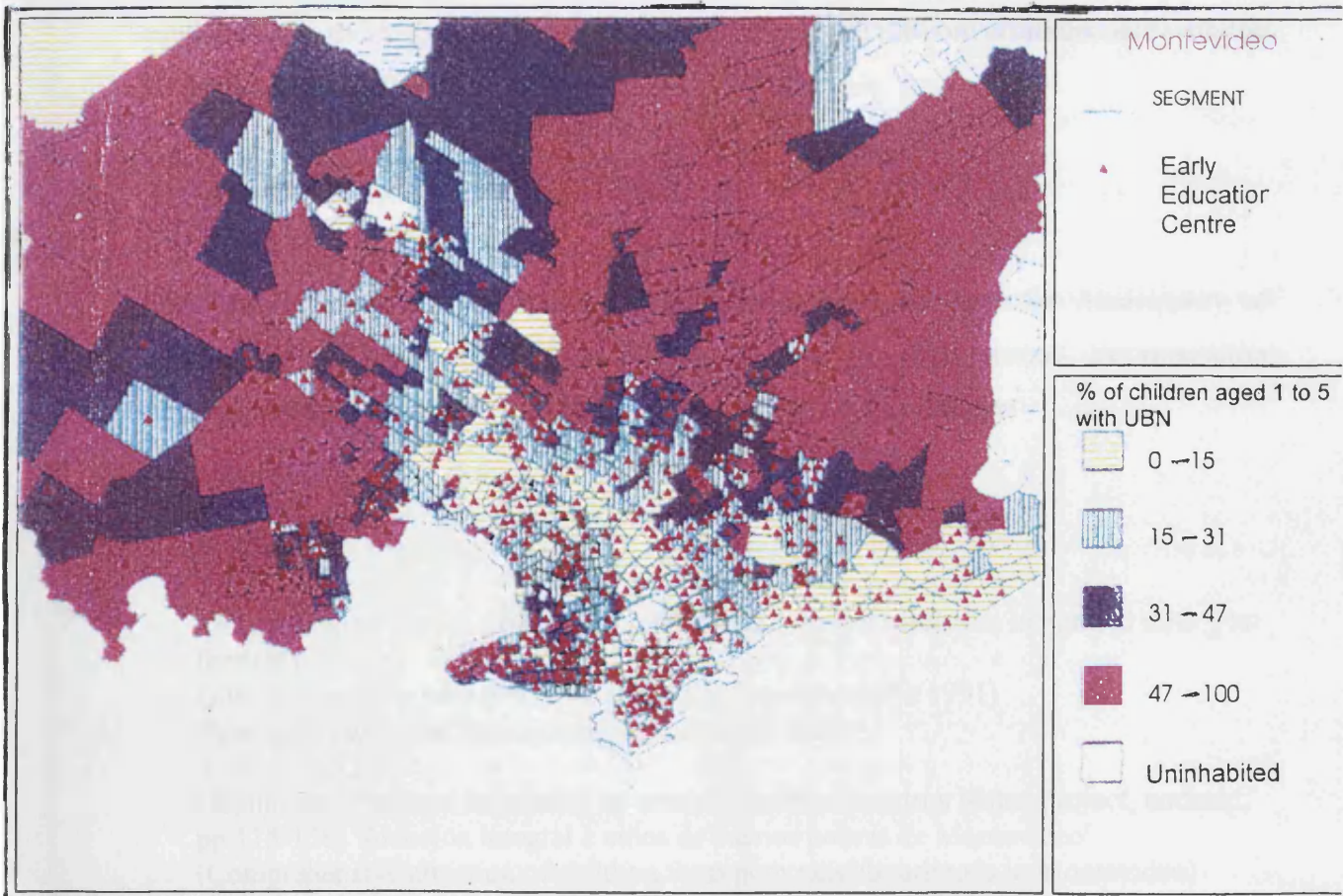
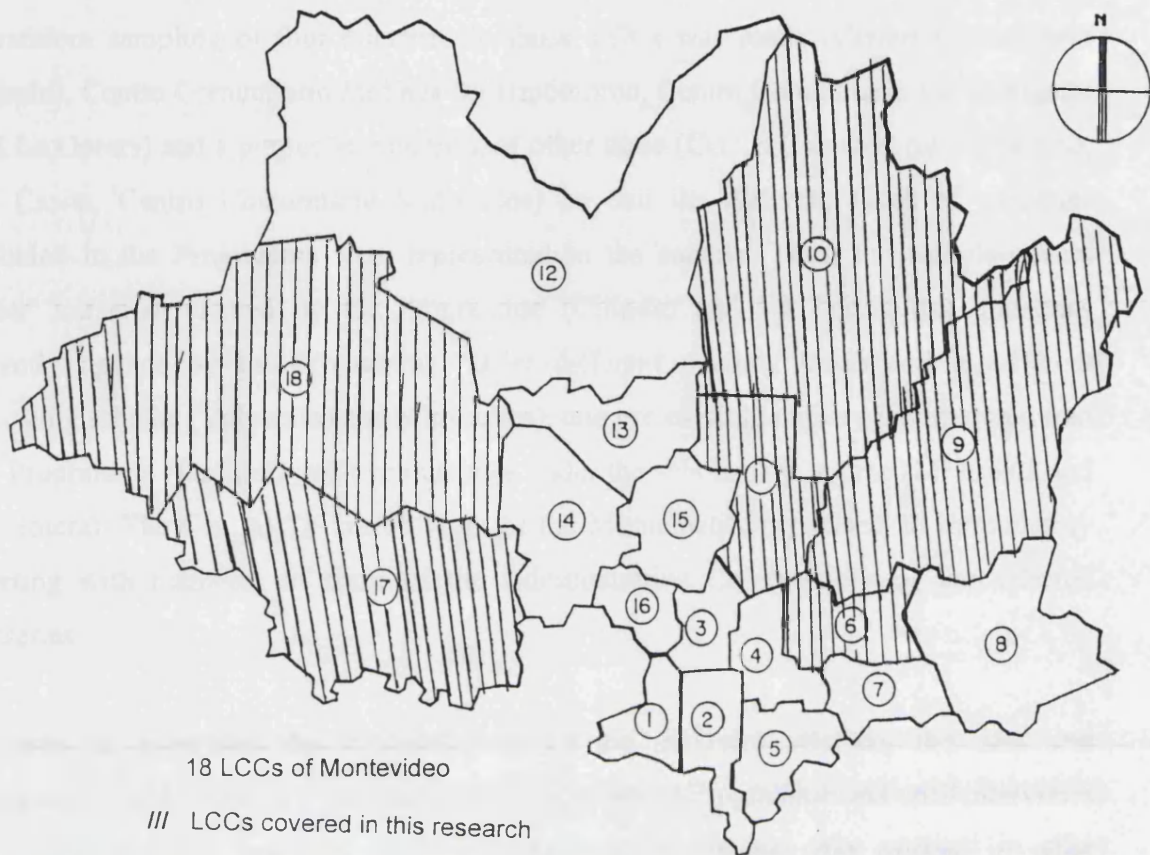
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APPENDIX

1) CONTEXT OF FIELDWORK AND SAMPLING PROCEDURE

Fieldwork for this research was carried out between December 1996 and September 1997. In the course of fieldwork the researcher was commissioned to undertake an evaluation of the *Nuestros Niños* Programme by UNICEF Montevideo. The fact of having to adapt the research to the needs of a programme evaluation (which implied a full study of its different elements, following given terms of reference and in a required time span) affected the academic work since once having finished the evaluation it was difficult to focus back on the initial research question. However, the advantage was that the evaluation exercise allowed a much deeper and wider knowledge of the Programme and of its different actors from an 'insider's' perspective, in a shorter run. It also contributed to gaining credibility with the interviewees.

When selecting the sample, an important consideration was, thus, the time limitations implied by the evaluation commissioned. The first step was to study secondary information in order to define the characteristics of the different areas and of the nurseries involved. Taking also into account the very long distances in and between the different Local Communal Centres (LCCs), it was considered reasonable to think of focusing the study in a representative sample of seven nurseries in six different areas. Six LCCs that have high rates of unsatisfied basic needs (UBN) (OPP/IDB, 1994) and which represent various population characteristics (IMM/CLAEH, 1996) were chosen. These were the LCCs six and 11 (urban areas, with a high density of population and a well established Childhood Commission), nine and 10 (large rural subareas, with a lesser density of population, difficult connections between neighbourhoods and a weak Childhood Commission), 17 (covering an important rural area and a moderate density of population, with a high organisative level in the population and a solid Childhood Commission) and 18 (area with a generalised index of UBN and a very low density of population).



(UNICEF, 1994)

A random sampling of four nurseries in those LCCs was made (Centro Comunitario Cilindro, Centro Comunitario Jardines del Hipódromo, Centro Comunitario La Tortuguita and La Gotera) and a purposive sampling of other three (Centro Comunitario Valparaíso, Mi Casita, Centro Comunitario Murmullos) so that the different types of nurseries included in the Programme were represented in the sample. Thus, the sample covers 'older' nurseries created by the Programme (Cilindro and La Tortuguita), nurseries recently opened by the Programme, under different opening hours and a different financing scheme (Valparaíso and Murmullos), one pre-existing nursery incorporated into the Programme (Jardines) and two nurseries under the scholarship regime (Mi Casita and La Gotera). The Central Technical Team of the Municipality organised an introductory meeting with members of some of the Administrative Commissions of the selected nurseries.

In order to guarantee the representativity of the nurseries selected, the data was triangulated with secondary information about the whole Programme and with interviews with Co-ordinating Teachers, social workers and technicians who worked in other nurseries than those covered in the sample, as well as with the conversations held with the Central Technical Team.

2) METHODOLOGY

The first step was to study sources of information obtained from the Municipality of Montevideo and from UNICEF Montevideo, as well as other relevant documentation obtained by the researcher (not directly quoted in the text), as follows:

IMM:

- Progress report for the first half of 1990 ('Plan global de atención integral al niño y la familia')
- Quarterly activity plan and work schedule (January-March 1991)
- 'Propuesta curricular base' (curricula proposal), 1992
- Action Plan 1992
- Document submitted requesting an extension of the Nuestros Niños Project, undated, pp 115-139, 'Atención integral a niños de barrios pobres de Montevideo' (Comprehensive attention of children from poor neighbourhoods in Montevideo)

- Report from the internal evaluation carried out at the end of 1992 plus complementary information from the first half of 1993 and provisional evaluation of the scholarship modality and of the workshops on early stimulation
- Action Plan 1995 (Early Education, Permanent Training)
- Report covering the period until October 30, 1995 plus complementary report covering October 1995 to April 1996
- Permanent training plan – Preliminary report covering the activities carried out until 10/10/96
- 'Relevamiento de proyectos sociales protagónicos' (Survey of main social projects) 2nd. part. Popular Education Program, Ariel Celiberti, Jorge Ferrando. Undated;
- 'Los montevideanos y las políticas de solidaridad: acciones municipales y participación social', 1996.

Others:

- Evaluation report - Project Nuestros Niños, UNICEF, April 1991
- 'Una aproximación evaluativa. Proyecto Nuestros Niños', Ana María Cabello, UNICEF Consultant, November 1991
- Trabajo docente-asistencial de psiquiatría de niños y adolescentes en la comunidad (Psychiatric teaching-assistance work for children and youth in the community), Faculty of Medicine, Hospital Pereira Rossell, Dra. Dora Musetti de Schelotto, Dra. Gabriela Garrido de Ciganda, Dr. Manuel Cherro, 1991
- 'Trabajando en salud mental con la gente' (Working in mental health with people) Essay. Hospital Pereira Rossell, Dra. Dora Musetti de Schelotto, 1992
- Report on the evaluation carried out between November and December 1992 updated to June 1993, Psic. Víctor Giorgi and Psic. Walkiria Navarro.
- Project PASI: 'Evaluación del impacto en beneficiarios de guarderías' (Impact evaluation on nursery users), Viña & Asociados, May 1993.
- Diagnose on early education projects supported by UNICEF Montevideo. CLAEH, December 1993.
- Thesis submitted to fulfil postgraduate requirements at the Faculty of Medicine, '¿Qué hacemos los siquiátras de niños y adolescentes en los centros diurnos de educación inicial?', Dra. Gabriela Garrido de Ciganda, October 1996
- Report of the activities carried out from February to June and from October to December 1996 by the Children and Youth Psychiatric Surgery in the community nurseries of the Municipality of Montevideo
- Report of the Psychomotility Unit of the Educational Centres Sol y Luna and El Cilindro. Analysis of work carried out during 1996 by Inés Pierri.
- Report of the Psychomotility Unit of the Educational Centre La Tortuguita, December 1996, Andrea Pozzi.

The specific objectives of the research were revised in the light of the material read.

An initial period of observation followed, when each nursery of the sample was visited at least once. In the whole period of fieldwork, the nurseries were visited between three and seven times each. Those most visited ones were the three longer-running nurseries which

were visited five, six and seven times each respectively. The ones less visited were the scholarship nurseries, which were visited one twice and the other one three times. Twelve observation registers were made (see list in annex 1).

88 questionnaires were applied to parents/relatives of children attending the nurseries, in two stages (see copy in annex 2). The first set of questionnaires (February 1997) was applied to complement the study done for the evaluation of the Programme commissioned by UNICEF Montevideo. It covered two of the longer established nurseries: Cilindro and La Tortuguita. Following talks with the staff in those nurseries about the best way to approach the population, and considering the time limitations imposed by the evaluation and the period of the year (this evaluation was carried out during the Summer months, when most of the staff is on holidays and when most nurseries are closed for a whole month), as well as distances and difficulties of access, it was decided that the questionnaires would be applied by the same staff of the nurseries, briefed by the researcher. The target population were families who had been using the service for one year or more. In the case of Cilindro nursery, there were 24 families in this category, of which 21 could be interviewed (55 per cent of total population, but 87.5 per cent of target population). In the case of La Tortuguita nursery, this number was of 11 (35 per cent of total population, but 78 per cent of target population).

A second set of questionnaires was applied by the researcher herself in September 1997. Although some questions were added and others clarified, the questionnaire did not change in substance. In this case, the target population was the whole population of the nurseries, since in two of the cases the nurseries had only opened one year before (these were the nurseries chosen because of the new patterns of opening hours and financing systems they represented). Interviewees were chosen at random, although in some cases it was possible to make specific appointments. In the case of the Valparaíso nursery, 16 persons were interviewed (50 per cent of total population, i.e. 33 families). In the case of Jardines del Hipódromo, 19 (50 per cent of total population, i.e. 38 families) and in the case of Murmullos, 21 (approx. 57 per cent of the total population, i.e. 37 families). The total number of families interviewed for the questionnaires was thus almost 50 per cent of the total sample population (approximately 178 families).

A comparative frequency chart was made between answers to questions asked in the first set of questionnaires and in the second one, which could have been biased by the method of application of the questionnaires. The results of these compared frequencies are shown in annex 3. There are obviously some differences in the two sets of answers, but these differences are not considered significant. It is believed that they might be due not mainly to the different moment and method of application, but to the different type of nurseries that were involved in the second run of questionnaires, where two out of the three had recently opened and had different opening hours and financing modalities. Consequently, it was decided to consider the totality of answers as a whole. When presenting the results of the data analysis, thus, unless otherwise specified, the compounded number of questionnaires will be used.

36 semi-structured interviews were carried out: 27 individually and nine group discussions. Unless specified, all of them were recorded and transcripts are available (see list, details and extracts of samples in annex 4).

The researcher also participated in the feedback meeting given to Administrative Commissions by the *Grupo Interdisciplinario de Estudios Psicosociales* (Interdisciplinary Group on Psychosocial Studies) about the preliminary results of the survey it carried out in nurseries of the Programme, commissioned by the Central Technical Team. Three working meetings were held with the Central Technical Team. The first one (March 21, 1997) considered the general pattern of the evaluation to be carried out. In the other two meetings (April 22 and 28, 1997) a commented lecture of the evaluation report for UNICEF Montevideo was made and note taken of relevant comments by the central team.

The statistical analysis applied consisted of a frequency test (see results in annex 5) and a chi-square cross tabulation (see annex 6). In the chi-square test a 90 per cent confidence interval was used. This was considered a satisfactory confidence interval not only because of the type of research but also because the sample size is 50 per cent of the whole population under study. Thus, it will be considered that there is some relationship between the two variables analysed if the asymptotic significance ('p-value') is less than 0.10. Because of the relatively low incidence of answers 'I don't know' or of respondents that did not answer, and considering that these answers make no important difference in

the aspects being studied, for this analysis that data has been considered as missing values.

The type of analysis followed was essentially qualitative. This type of analysis was considered more appropriate since the research aimed mainly at explaining the relevance of factors and not at establishing their frequency. Qualitative analysis attempts to represent the social world and the perspectives on that world in terms of the concepts, behaviours, perceptions and accounts of the people studied. These methods are used to meet a variety of different objectives, that Jane Ritchie and Liz Spencer, from the 'Social and Community Planning Research' (SCPR), divide into four categories: contextual (identifying the form and nature of what exists); diagnostic (examining the reasons for, or causes of, what exists); evaluative (appraising the effectiveness of what exists) and strategic (identifying new theories, policies, plans or actions) (in Bryman and Burgess, 1994:174). For the qualitative analysis the tool developed by SCPR called 'Framework' was used. This approach involves a systematic process of sifting, charting and sorting material according to key issues and themes through five 'key stages' (*ibid*:178), that is, familiarisation; identifying a thematic framework; indexing; charting; and mapping and interpretation. It involves three stages: ordering and developing a thematic framework; summarising and synthesising; and interpreting and abstracting. For this research eight thematic frameworks were developed (participation; decentralisation; children care; family/community dimension; perceived successes and difficulties; Programme development; coverage of the Programme; and sustainability) and in each of them the data (coded from the interviews held) was summarised and synthesised according to different sub-headings, as shown in the extracts included in annex 7.

3) PROBLEMS ENCOUNTERED AND GENERAL REMARKS

There were some practical problems that had to be overcome during fieldwork. The big distances involved and poor transportation made time allocation quite tight. This coupled with strict schedules at the nurseries and a difficult time of the year (Summer) when some of the staff were on holidays and some nurseries were closed. When questionnaires were applied by the researcher, parents/relatives were for the most part interviewed as they were taking or picking up the children in the premises of the nurseries. This proved

sometimes to be problematic since some of them did not have enough time to devote at that moment but did not show interest in fixing an appointment for a convenient day and time later on. In some cases this could be overcome by showing total flexibility and adapting to the interviewees' conditions of time and place; in others, collaboration was sought from the teachers and educators, who were in general extremely helpful and 'convinced' parents/relatives to let themselves be interviewed. It proved in some cases difficult as well to find an adequate physical space to carry out the interviews, since there was interference from children (who wanted to be with their parents/relatives) and noise around. In most cases, either part of a classroom was used or an office not being used at the time, or else the open space outside the premises of the nurseries when appropriate. Some parents were interviewed in their houses. In these cases, the sometimes inadequate facilities or extremely poor living conditions did not seem to pose any problems to the interviewees who in general showed willingness to welcome the researcher and answer the questions.

Although in some cases it was not easy to make interviewees feel at ease and open to the questions, most of the times feedback was excellent and interviews were carried out in a relaxed atmosphere. The nursery staff and members of the Administrative Commissions were in general extremely co-operative and showed interest in the research. The fact of being sometimes identified with UNICEF, and others with the Municipality, created some biases, but it also meant that interviewees could feel more free to 'criticise' either because they felt that the researcher was not an 'insider' or that she could 'convey their message'.

An important problem was the impossibility (due to lack of time) of piloting the questionnaire. A quick review of it was carried out with some technical experts of the Central Technical Team and some social workers at LCCs before its actual application. Thus, some questions were found to be badly formulated, and others irrelevant for the research. Probably the lack of focus on the research question while conducting the evaluation for UNICEF did not help tailor the questionnaire appropriately. The level of language had also to be adapted in some cases (either simplifying it or 'upgrading' it). However, it was relatively easy to overcome this latter inadequacy on site.

Diplomacy had likewise to be exercised with the staff at the Municipality who, while giving total free access to the nurseries of the Programme, wished to see 'their'

programme giving the best possible results. Some problems were encountered in relation with the nurseries chosen for the sample since the Central Technical Team did not appear to be satisfied about the inclusion of two of them, which were according to them particular cases and not representative, and feared that this could bias the research and its results. The problem was discussed with the central team, the methodology used was explained in detail and assurance was given about the random sampling made, while explaining the importance of impartiality. Guarantee was also given that their comments and remarks would be taken into account when presenting the results. It was not always easy to get the necessary data from the central offices, either because it was not available or because it was necessary to show a lot of perseverance before it was made available. The fact of having approached the Municipality in the past (when conducting a small-scale research on decentralisation and participation at the Municipality for an MSc dissertation in 1994) proved useful since the staff working for the Programme had a general idea of the objectives of the study and of the researcher before having been recruited by UNICEF. However, this previous knowledge also made it difficult at times to keep a professional relationship with some of the municipal staff.

ANNEX 1

OBSERVATION REGISTERS AND VISITS

(written records available unless otherwise stated)

Community nursery Valparaíso	End of the year party	12 December 1996
Scholarship nursery Mi Casita	End of the year staff and experts meeting	15 December 1996
Community nursery Cilindro	End of the year party	16 December 1996
(no written records of these first three visits)		
Community nursery Valparaíso	Meeting of the Administrative Commission with the Co-ordinating Teacher	17 February 1997
Community nursery Cilindro	Meeting of the Administrative Commission	17 February 1997
Municipality	Meeting of nursery teachers with the Central Technical Team	24 February 1997
Community nursery La Tortuguita	Monthly planning meeting	27 February 1997
Community nursery Cilindro	Visit nursery	28 February 1997
Community nursery Murmullos	Meeting of Administrative Commission	3 March 1997
Scholarship nursery La Gotera	Visit nursery	5 March 1997
Community nursery La Tortuguita	Visit nursery	7 March 1997
Community nursery Cilindro	Weekly planning meeting	10 March 1997
Community nursery Jardines del Hipódromo	Planning meeting	21 March 1997
Community nursery Cilindro	Impressions while collecting questionnaires	26 March 1997
Community nursery Tortuguita	Visit nursery	8 April 1997

- All nurseries were visited one more time each during the months of May and June 1997 to give feedback of the evaluation exercise.
- Several visits to Jardines, Valparaíso and Murmullos nurseries were made during September 1997 in order to apply personally the second set of questionnaires.

(no formal written records are available of these last visits)

ANNEX 2

QUESTIONNAIRE

(revised)

NOMBRE DEL ENTREVISTADO:

FECHA Y HORA DE LA ENTREVISTA:

SEXO: F M

EDAD: 15-24 25-34 35-44 45-54
 55-64 65 +

RELACION CON EL NIÑO: Madre/Padre Abuela/o

Otra _____

JEFE DE FAMILIA: SI NO

NIVEL DE INSTRUCCION: Sin instrucción
 Primaria incompleta
 Primaria completa
 Secundaria incompleta
 Secundaria completa
 Universitaria
 UTU
 Otros _____

OCUPACION: Desocupada/o
 Trabajo a tiempo parcial
 Trabajo a tiempo completo
 Jubilada/o

TIEMPO QUE HACE QUE VIVE EN EL BARRIO: Más de 5 años
 Entre 2 y 5 años
 Entre 1 y 2 años
 De 6 a 12 meses
 Menos de 6 meses

TIEMPO QUE HACE QUE MANDA A XX A LA GUARDERIA:

Primer año Segundo año Tercer año
 Cuarto año

Average application time: 50 minutes

CUESTIONARIO

1) ¿Por qué eligió esta guardería?

2) ¿Usó alguna otra en la zona?

- a Sí b No
(POR QUE CAMBIO)

3) ¿Cómo resumiría la atención que da la guardería a XX?

- a estoy muy conforme b estoy conforme
 c estoy más o menos conforme d no estoy conforme (POR QUE)

4) ¿Qué cosas le parece podrían mejorarse?

1)

2)

3)

5) ¿Ha notado algún cambio en el comportamiento o los hábitos de XX desde que viene a la guardería?

- a Come mejor (más, más variado) b Tiene mejores modales
 c Se relaciona más (habla, canta) d Otros (ACLARAR)

6) ¿El personal de la guardería le ha hablado sobre el plan de trabajo?

- a Sí b No

7) ¿Cómo es su relación con el personal de la guardería?

- a Muy buena b Buena c Regular d No tengo relación
(POR QUE)

8) ¿Se siente escuchado por el personal?

- a Sí b No

9) ¿Tuvo alguna reunión con:

- a el/la psicólogo/a b el/la sicomotricista? c gente del TUMP?
 d ninguno de ellos
(POR QUE) (IR A PREGUNTA 11)

10) ¿Cómo diría que fueron esas reuniones?

- a Muy útiles b Útiles c Más o menos útiles
 d No me sirvieron de mucho
(POR QUE)

11) ¿Colabora en la limpieza de la guardería?

- a más de una vez por semana b una vez por semana c dos veces al mes
 d una vez al mes e muy pocas veces f nunca
(POR QUE)

12) ¿Se entera fácilmente de las actividades organizadas en la guardería?

- a Sí b No

13) ¿En cuáles ha participado?

- a actividades con los niños b reuniones con el personal
 c talleres con técnicos d rifas, fiestas, etc.
 e otros f ninguna
(ACLARAR) (POR QUE)

14) ¿Le parece importante participar en estas actividades? ¿Por qué?

- a Sí b No

15) ¿En qué otras le interesaría participar?

(PARA LOS QUE ESTEN OCUPADOS)

16) ¿Desde que XX viene a la guardería, ¿trabaja más, igual o menos horas que antes?

- a Más horas b Igual número de horas c Menos horas

17) ¿Ha cambiado su tipo de trabajo? ¿Cómo?

- a Sí b No

18) ¿Le parece que la guardería es útil al barrio? ¿Por qué?

- a Sí b No

19) ¿Le gustaría tener un lugar en la guardería para hablar sobre temas que afecten al barrio familia?

- a Sí b No

20) ¿Participa en alguna asociación, organización o club en su barrio?

- Sí vecinal sindical política
 religiosa deportiva otros

- No

21) ¿Conoce a los miembros de la Comisión Administradora de la guardería?

- a Sí b No

(IR A LA PREGUNTA 24)

22) ¿Qué relación tiene con ellos?

- a Muy buena b Buena c Regular d No tengo relación
(POR QUE)

23) ¿Ha participado en reuniones con esta Comisión?

- a muchas veces b algunas veces c muy pocas veces
 d nunca
(POR QUE)

24) ¿Le gustaría poder integrar esta Comisión?

- a Sí b No

25) ¿Le parecería útil que se creara una comisión de padres para apoyar el trabajo de la guardería?

- a Sí b No
(IR A LA PREGUNTA 27)

26) ¿Le gustaría participar en ella?

- a Sí b No

27) ¿Qué es lo más importante que espera que XX obtenga de la guardería?

1)

2)

3)

28) ¿Y qué espera obtener Ud. de su relación con la guardería?

ANNEX 3

COMPARED FREQUENCIES

Question 3 – How satisfied are you with the attention given to your child in the nursery?

	<u>1st set of questionnaires</u>	<u>2nd set of questionnaires</u>
I am very satisfied	40.6 percent	66.1 percent
I am satisfied	59.4 percent	30.4 percent
I am relatively satisfied	0 percent	1.8 percent
N/A	0 percent	1.8 percent

The results shown in this table do not appear to show any significant difference that would presuppose that they can be biased by the fact that questionnaires were applied by the staff, particularly because in both cases all the answers are grouped in 'satisfaction' levels.

Question 4a – Do you think there is any room for improvement in the nursery?

	<u>1st set of questionnaires</u>	<u>2nd set of questionnaires</u>
Yes	62.5 percent	42.9 percent
No	18.8 percent	50 percent
N/A	18.8 percent	7.1 percent

The high percentage of respondents that did not answer this question (18.8 percent) when the questionnaire was applied by the educators probably reflects that the question was more clearly put forward or that it was probed when asked by the researcher.

Question 4c – Do you think there is a need for more human/material resources?

	<u>1st set of questionnaires</u>	<u>2nd set of questionnaires</u>
Yes	56.3 percent	21.4 percent
No	25 percent	71.4 percent
N/A	18.8 percent	7.1 percent

Same remark as in question 4a. Further, the significant difference in the affirmative answers to this question might show that the respondents were prompted by the staff who might have wanted to see their needs and wishes reflected in the answers. Some verbal comments by one of the teachers working in one of the two nurseries involved in this first set of questionnaires confirmed this. However, the answer to this question was not central to the research.

Question 4d – Do you think it would be desirable to have more collaboration from parents?

	<u>1st set of questionnaires</u>	<u>2nd set of questionnaires</u>
Yes	15.6 percent	12.5 percent
No	65.6 percent	80.4 percent
N/A	18.8 percent	7.1 percent

The higher 'no' answers in the second set of questionnaires might be due to the fact that recently opened nurseries were involved.

Question 4e – Would you like to see more school preparation?

	<u>1st set of questionnaires</u>	<u>2nd set of questionnaires</u>
Yes	0 percent	3.6 percent
No	81.3 percent	89.3 percent
N/A	18.8 percent	7.1 percent

No significant difference appears to be relevant.

Question 7 – How is your relationship with the staff at the nursery?

	<u>1st set of questionnaires</u>	<u>2nd set of questionnaires</u>
Very good	40.6 percent	30.4 percent
Good	59.4 percent	55.4 percent
No relationship	0 percent	12.5 percent
Doesn't answer	0 percent	1.8 percent

The highest percentage of 'no relationship' answers in the second set of questionnaires might reflect the fact that two of the three nurseries involved had recently opened and worked on a half-day basis, which probably had not allowed for as much contact between staff and parents when the research was carried on.

Question 11 – Do you help in the cleaning of the nursery?

	<u>1st set of questionnaires</u>	<u>2nd set of questionnaires</u>
Once a week or more	62.5 percent	37.5 percent
Twice a month	0 percent	7 percent
Once a month	0 percent	1.8 percent
Very few times	31.3 percent	7.1 percent
When needed	0 percent	17.9 percent
No	6.3 percent	23.2 percent

These results show probably that the question was better probed in the second set of questionnaires. The 'no' answers were qualified (health or work obstacles in many cases). As in the case of the previous question, the fact that in the first set of questionnaires the nurseries involved had been functioning within the Programme for a longer period of time probably influenced significantly the answers.

ANNEX 4

INTERVIEWS

A) Details

Individual

Interviewee 1	Member of the Central Technical Team (at the Municipality)	17 December 1996 and 20 March 1997
Interviewee 2	Member of the Administrative Commission of a community nursery (at her home)	4 February 1997
Interviewee 3	Teacher of a community nursery (by telephone)	6 February 1997
Interviewee 4	Social Worker of a LLC (at the local scholarship nursery)	7 February 1997
Interviewee 5	Teacher at a scholarship nursery (at the nursery)	14 February 1997
Interviewee 6	Teacher at a community nursery (at the nursery)	18 February 1997
Interviewee 7	Ex-teacher at a community nursery (at his house)	19 February 1997
Interviewee 8	Educator at a community nursery (at the nursery)	21 February 1997
Interviewee 9	Co-ordinating Teacher (at the LCC)	24 February 1997
Interviewee 10	Educator at a community nursery (at the nursery)	28 February and March 4 1997
Interviewee 11	Co-ordinating Teacher (at the LCC)	3 March 1997
Interviewee 12	Retired Co-ordinating Teacher (by telephone)	4 March 1997
Interviewee 13	Ex-teacher at a community nursery (at her home)	4 March 1997
Interviewee 14	Co-ordinating Teacher (at the LCC)	5 March 1997
Interviewee 15	Co-ordinating Teacher (at the LCC and at the Municipality)	5 and 7 March 1997
Interviewee 16	Educator at a community nursery (at the nursery)	7 March 1997
Interviewee 17	Teacher at a community nursery (at the nursery)	7 March 1997
Interviewee 18	Social Worker at a LCC (at the Municipality)	12 March 1997
Interviewee 19	Member of the Central Technical Team (at the Municipality)	17 March 1997
Interviewee 20	Co-ordinator of the Mental Health Team (at the Pereira Hospital)	17 March 1997
Interviewee 21	Director, Division of Social Promotion (at the Municipality)	18 March 1997
Interviewee 22	Member of the Central Technical Team (at the Municipality)	19 March 1997

Interviewee 23	Director, Department of Decentralisation (at the Municipality)	20 March 1997
Interviewee 24	Member of the Central Technical Team (at the Municipality)	20 March 1997
Interviewee 25	Social Worker of a LLC (at the Municipality)	24 March 1997
Interviewee 26	Member of the Programa Cardijn (by telephone)	31 March 1997
Interviewee 27	Psychiatrist, Member of the Mental Health Team (by telephone)	1 April 1997

Group

Interview 1	Administrative Commission of a community nursery	17 February 1997
Interview 2	Educators at a community nursery	18 February 1997
Interview 3	Administrative Commission of a scholarship nursery	20 February 1997
Interview 4	Administrative Commission of a community nursery	21 February 1997
Interview 5	Administrative Commission of a community nursery	26 February 1997
Interview 6	Educators at a community nursery	4 March 1997
Interview 7	Mental Health Team at the Pereira Hospital	10 March 1997
Interview 8	Psychologist and Social Worker from the Mental Health Team	31 March 1997
Interview 9	Two educators from a community nursery	3 April 1997

Average duration of interviews: 1h15

B) Extracts of sample transcripts

Interviewee 10, educator at a community nursery - Tuesday March 4, 1997, 2 pm

[...]

Interviewer - With respect to the relationships with the Commission, do you feel roles are adequately defined?

Interviewee - What is defined is that the role of the Commission is administrative, but somewhere it has also been established that this is a project in which all parties participate, even in the development of the educational project. And sometimes this is misunderstood; for example */in this nursery/* we have seen that participation in the educational project meant supervising the

work we did with the children [...] and the administrative role is also misunderstood. Although you can think that there is no relationship employer-employee here [...] the rules of the relationships are the same as those with any employer. I don't know, I can give you an example. If you stay after hours, from the very beginning of the project you are told those are "community hours". But for example if one has to go to the doctor, there are always problems because they think that you want to leave earlier, that you don't want to work. I know there are different kinds of people, but I think that sometimes */the members of the Commission/* are on one side too demanding but they don't see the other side. It is difficult, because they have a purely voluntary job, with no pay whatsoever and so one's role as a worker becomes slightly vague... but nobody can force you to work after hours [...]

Interviewer - Do you think that it would be useful to have parents in the Administrative Commission?

Interviewee - No, I think that parents could form a parents' commission but they shouldn't have an administrative role because that could create misunderstandings since they might believe that in their administrative role they can obtain more benefits for their children or for themselves... [...] That is why the other day I was saying that the nursery should be a place where parents can develop their own projects [...] The needs of the people are quite clear in this neighbourhood, so it would be good if parents were able to create their own projects, establish aims; a form of farm, a housing cooperative, even a work-generating project; because there are many single mothers or husbands or partners with no employment... they could see ways of doing something productive... parents should see that they can do something productive here, even if it is in a small scale, that they can do something.

[...]

Interviewer – So you do see changes in the children...

Interviewee – And in the families as well, at least these mothers worry about their children, show a different commitment to them, you always see changes. The problem is that one is always more ambitious.

But in the children is where you see more changes. When they arrive children look like deprived children, but when they leave the nursery, you can see happiness in their faces. There are many good results, but one would like to see more. [...] I think that we should keep aiming at improving the quality of life of the families because specifically with children, we do achieve our goals.

Interviewee 15, Co-ordinating Teacher, Wednesday March 5, 1997 and Friday March 7, 1997

/The interviewee is not very happy that I am recording our conversation and wants to be reassured that I will not use any names/

Interviewer – How long have you been working in the Programme?

Interviewee – Almost two years. Always in the 17 */Local Communal Centre Nbr. 17/*, with three scholarship nurseries and one community nursery.

[...]

Interviewer – How do you feel your role as Co-ordinator?

Interviewee - On one hand, I try to structure it on the base of the LCC [...] This causes problems because there are a great number of social policies that although they take the reality of the communal zones into account, are designed at the Municipality level or are somehow implemented through it. There is ample autonomy, but basically in some places it creates contradictions because these policies are not always designed by the LCC but at central level. On the other hand, I try to do other things related to childhood, that have to do with other activities of the LCC, which might not be considered in the Programme.

Interviewer – Would you say that the decentralisation aspect was not that effective considering what you say about many decisions coming from central level?

Interviewee – I think that the decentralisation is going through a crisis. I would say that our country has features that distinguish it from other countries in Latin America, with "politisation", or party affiliation playing an important role; it is not like elsewhere in Latin America where everything goes through social organisations. In other countries, the situation is completely the opposite: social organisations tend to have a much richer or older experience than political parties. */In Uruguay/* neighbourhood organisation is relatively new; everything depends very much on party affiliation [...]

Interviewer – With respect to your work in the LCC, was decentralisation a factor that contributed in promoting your links in the area?

Interviewee – There is no doubt that the fact that I am here means that I am here and not at the Palacio */building of the Municipality/*. I devoted all last year to becoming inserted in the area. This big step of getting to know the context has to be done by oneself, no book will teach you how to do it. And it takes time; nobody speaks to you if they don't know "who you are". They respect you as long as you work. There are several aspects intervening in this sense... Sometimes being a municipal employee doesn't help, it gives you a bad reputation. In many places the municipal worker is seen as somebody who is not responsible. In general terms, "being municipal" is something that goes against you and not in your favour.

Interviewer – What do you think about the redefinition of the role of the Co-ordinating Teacher?

Interviewee – There is no doubt that our role is one of direction and supervision. [...] We try to have a role larger than that of the traditional teacher. We have raised the issue of the importance of receiving proper training, mainly regarding social issues, because ours is an interdisciplinary role. I have a background of many years of social work, of being devoted to social issues, but some other people joining the Programme, I don't know. [...]

/Speaking about the role of the Administrative Commission/

Among the numerous tasks one has to do, we have to renew the Commission, strengthen it, deal with confrontations in it, with problems between people where you are asked to act as referee [...] I think that people work a lot, they are doing a lot of things at the same time, and sometimes a commission of 10 or 12 persons loses energy with time and, after a while, only three, four or

five "solid" people remain. And many problems arise, personal problems, power problems, and even political problems.

[...]

/talking about the opening hours of the nursery/

Interviewer – So you think it is better to look after 80 children during four hours than after 40, eight hours...

Interviewee – In this particular case, yes. Most of the persons using the nursery are mothers working in the domestic service. It is temporary work. And many people do not work because they can't, because they have four or five children and they cannot leave them to go and look for a job. Further, women frequently remain on their own, many times a vicious circle is created, one which is very difficult to break.

[...]

/talking about training/

A minimum degree of training is very important. [...] Training should be permanent, in each nursery, according to their needs. And if we want to have a more macro role, a role of supervision, we have to be better trained. We have to give answers, I don't mean to become "dictionaries", but... [...] Having experience in early education should be a pre-requisite. [...]

/talking about the meetings of Co-ordinating Teachers with the central team, the interviewee says: "Do you want me to be fired? Do you want the truth?"/

[...] I feel that I can never say anything, one always comes to listen and they tell you what has already been decided, under a very democratic disguise. */He hesitates and says "I don't know who I am talking to", "nobody is external", "somebody must have sent you", "it doesn't matter, no problem, I don't care"/* I feel that somehow they put forward things to you but you can never decide. Many things are solved by the central team ... basically by the central team, maybe a couple of things with */the Director of the Social Promotion Division/*, but basically by the central team. They notify you what has already been decided. Sometimes after all has been decided they ask you what you can do, but one doesn't have the practical possibility... talking about some issues there... it is very difficult. Essentially, I would ask our participation in decision-making roles to be much more important. People participate in various ways, but if there is no decision power, there is no useful participation. [...]

/Informal and "reassuring" chat about different issues./

I think that this Programme is, on the whole, good. If I compare it with what I know of the curricula of Primary education, there is no doubt that this is very good. I am very critical, but undoubtedly there is no comparison whatsoever. It approaches lots of things that Primary Education doesn't even think about. [...]

Interviewee 17, Teacher at a community nursery, Friday March 7, 1997, 11 am

[...]

Interviewer – What do you think about on the job training?

Interviewee – I think it is very valuable that they give us the possibility of recycling continuously during our working hours. This is being done, and it is being done well. I think there should have been previous work. Because this project is not demanding from the point of view of the educational aspects, but from a social work perspective... to be able to identify with the neighbourhood, to relate with people, to reach people, to make them understand; we are not prepared for such an important social work. [...] We have done very little work of this sort and this is something the project is lacking.

[...]

Interviewee – How do you feel about the new definition of the role of the teacher in the nursery?

It took me some time to know where I was standing. [...] It was very difficult because nobody teaches you as a teacher to act as group moderator, you have to learn that on your own. In this nursery they hadn't had a teacher for a long time, and the last experience had been a bad one. It was really difficult for me because the doors were closed on me. Now everything is ok; I understood the reasons, but it was difficult. [...]

I have invested a lot of time and energy, almost two years, and we quarrelled a lot, but now the group has a good social relationship. [...] We had lots of meetings all the time to try and understand what was happening. It was very difficult to make them understand that working hours were not supposed to be for quarrelling because children sense that atmosphere; we could quarrel in our meetings. [...] This is a special communal zone. Nobody knew how to work here, there was no model. We tried several things, but nothing worked. It took us time to realise that. [...]

Interviewer – How was the relationship with the Co-ordinating Teacher?

Interviewee – Non existing or negative. [...] I complained all the time. I asked the Municipality how it was possible to have someone like that. [...] She came very rarely, and she created trouble. [...] We could never speak about it all together. She always "ran away". [...] Really, I cannot say what is the role of the Co-ordinating Teacher because we never really had one.

Interviewer – What do you think about the meetings with the central team?

Interviewee – They are very good. At first, they were just informative and co-ordinating meetings; last year they were co-ordinating and training meetings and I loved them. [...]

Interviewee 24, Member of the Central Technical Team, Thursday March 20, 1997, 3 pm

/This interviewee has worked with the Municipality for 17 years. She used to work on the field/

[...]

Interviewer – I understand you go to the different nurseries... do you think your intervention is adequate, mainly when there are specific problems?

[...] If you are asking me this as a social worker (we have discussed about this long with */the pedagogical adviser/*), from my profession's point of view, I tell you that one, two or three times of going to a place to deal with a particular conflict is not enough. I think that the weak point of this Programme [...] is that we talk of a socio-educational model, of a community and educational model; there is no doubt that it is educational, but it is necessary to support the organisations, to work with group dynamics, not only within the Commissions but with the staff in general. This has always been, in my understanding, a weak point of the Programme. [...] The whole idea is not only that a social worker is available, but how you do the work, how you support the links commission-staff, power relations, how each group takes power, how you deal with it, how you find ways and means to sort out the problems. I think that a good work requires more systematic work with these groups. [...] These are things that require continuous work, not only once or twice. And I cannot do all that on my own. [...] For instance, I have worked in some nurseries about the role of the Administrative Commissions time and time again, two years after they had began working as a commission. It is a difficult role [...]

/Talking about funding/

Ours is the most expensive programme of the Division */of Social Promotion/*, and even so, we only get to cover the operational costs of the nursery itself. But out of the total */municipal/* budget, funding for social programmes is the smallest. The Municipality wants to cover in its portfolio social actions like this one, but this means money. At the same time, the rest of the people, all of us who pay the taxes and contributions every day and who are contributing as well to these community projects, we want electricity, we want garbage to be collected, we want the normal things a Municipality should do. So, a big proportion of the general funds goes to covering these needs. [...]

Interview 5 – Administrative Commission, Wednesday, February 26, 1997, 8pm

/This is a community nursery pre-existing the Programme. The commission works within a neighbourhood association that was not created specifically for the nursery nor is devoted entirely to it. /

Present: 4 full members; 2 substitutes. Treasurer is reported sick.

Interviewer – What are the roles of the Commission?

[...]

Interviewee 1 – All those inherent to a neighbourhood association, everything that relates to any kind of social claims [...] Everything related to recruiting personnel, paying them; we participate to some degree in the annual work programme teachers develop for the nursery. We participate in

the sense that once they have developed the programme, they give it to us and we can see it, we agree with it or not... it hasn't happened until now... */that they didn't agree/* And everything that relates to the maintenance of the premises, to targeting the families that will send their children to the nursery. [...]

Interviewee 2 – In fact, this is a neighbourhood association, with general roles with regard to the neighbourhood and specific ones regarding the nursery, under a contract with the Municipality, that was previously signed jointly with the INAME but is now only with the Municipality [...]

/Various other interventions explaining the previous official links of the nursery with INAME and the Municipality, and how the process of remaining attached only to the Municipality took place./

Interviewer – **So you would have liked to stay related to both organisations...**

Interviewee 3 – Yes, yes, because maybe at a certain point by being exclusively related to one institution, the nursery may be forced to close, if there is a political change in that institution or for any other reason; we wouldn't have that risk if we had an agreement with both organisations since if one disappeared, we would still have the other one. But for the time being, we only have to celebrate the change and when we had to choose between INAME and the Municipality, the option was very clear: the approach to nursery work of the Municipality is totally different to that of the INAME, there is greater support, it is another way of working.

/talking about parents' collaboration quota/

Interviewee 1 – This results from a meeting we held with parents, before we interrupted our agreement with the INAME. This is to say, that it was a decision that we did not take on our own; we called the parents, we explained the situation, we talked about the different issues and together we took the decision. We read the new agreement linking us to the Municipality and we realised that it covered only one part of the expenses of the nursery. The initial proposal of Nuestros Niños Programme was that the community had to produce one part; we agreed with this, but our reality was different. But parents decided to keep anyway the agreement with the Municipality and they – well, we all did – took responsibility for covering somehow that part that was underfunded. Today, even though parents' contributions are adjusted as salaries are, we don't cover 100 % of expenses. Some parents are not up to date in their contributions because they have problems; the situation here is not easy [...] but we have managed to create a little contingency stock [...]

Interviewer – **Does the Programa Cardijn facilitate your task?**

Interviewee 3 - Yes. Every end of the month process becomes much easier. [...] We have avoided problems; if it weren't for them, we would be doing a lot of things wrong [...] Every time we have doubts, we bother them and we always find a door open for us. There were a lot of things that we had been doing wrong for a very long time and we began to correct them when we could rely on Cardijn.

[...]

Interviewer – How do you see the participation of neighbours in the Commission and of parents in the nursery?

Interviewee 1 – [...] In my view, it would need to be much much greater, not only because in that way the work would be much more shared but because that would mean that the neighbourhood is understanding much more the nursery, its role and importance, the community aspect of it. But for the moment, this is too minor.

[...]

Interviewer – What do you think makes people approach the nursery?

Interviewee 4 – In my case, for example, it is the nursery itself. Be able to do something [...] there is not much I can do because I don't have many abilities, but I would like to be able to help in some way. [...]

Interviewer – What is your role in the nursery's planning meetings?

Interviewee 1 – We propose topics that could be considered, we put forward the needs of the teachers. [...] We want parents to take up their responsibilities, to participate, to decide. For example, the Municipality changed the annual leave scheme; previously each nursery arranged the leave of the staff as it suited them better [...] When we took a decision on this aspect, we consulted parents and a majority said that they preferred leave to be taken in January, everybody at once. And so it is. [...]

Interviewer – Do you think you have enough support to deal with the social problems of the families?

Interviewee 3 – The aim of Nuestros Niños Programme is not only to assist the children that come to the nursery but also to reach at each family and to work with the whole neighbourhood. But that requires other type of work, with more people, I don't know with how many experts or what type of experts. But we think that is still very weak [...]

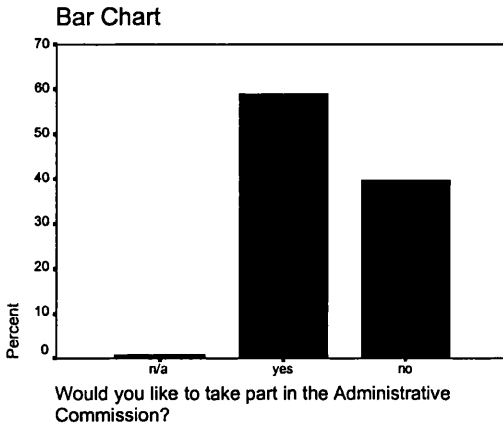
Interviewee 2 – Here one has really to commit oneself, it is not a matter of coming to work and that is it, there is sometimes community work to do. One of the elements we took particularly into account when selecting candidates lately is their community attitude. Even parents, they may not come to the meetings, but for example, they help with the painting.

[...]

ANNEX 5

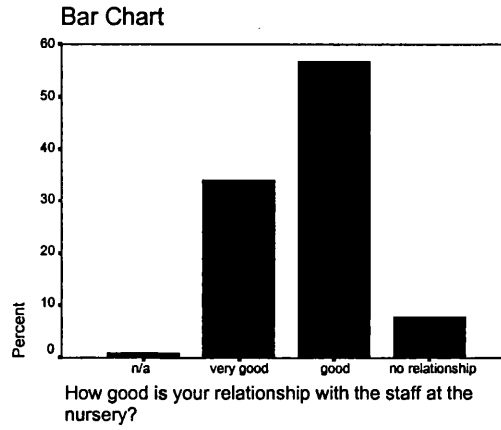
FREQUENCY CHARTS

Graph 1



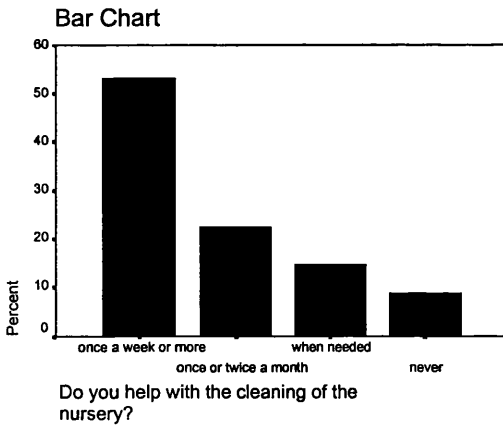
n = 88

Graph 2



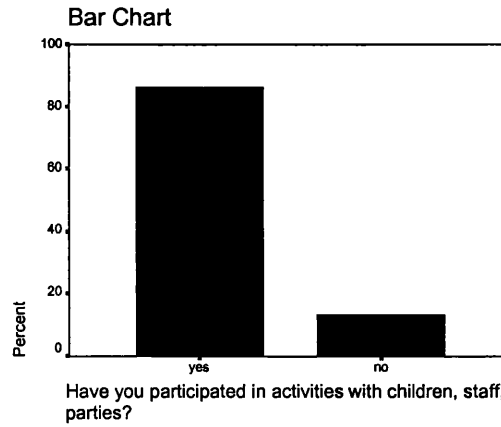
n = 88

Graph 3



n = 88

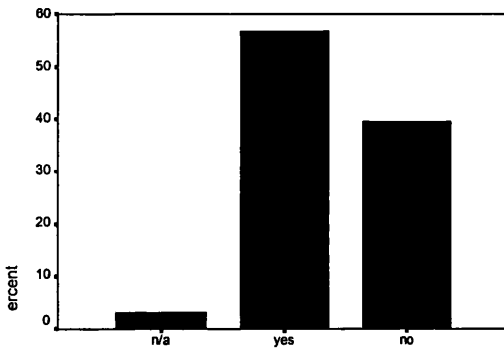
Graph 4



n = 88

Graph 5

Bar Chart

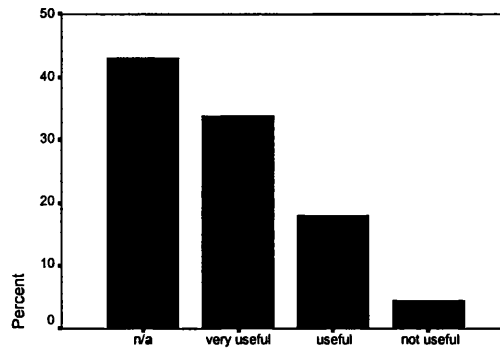


Did you have any meetings with the psychologist, psychiatrist, etc.?

n = 88

Graph 6

Bar Chart

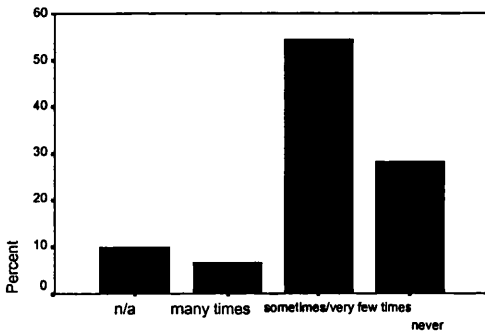


How did you find these meetings?

n = 88

Graph 7

Bar Chart

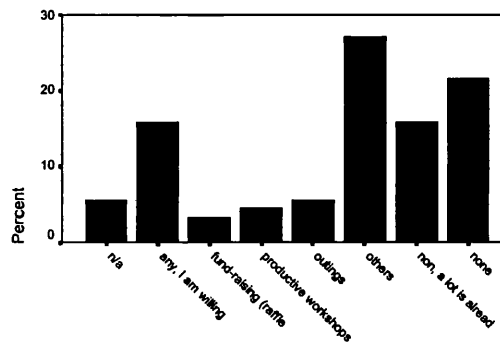


Have you participated in meetings with the Administrative Commission?

n = 88

Graph 8

Bar Chart

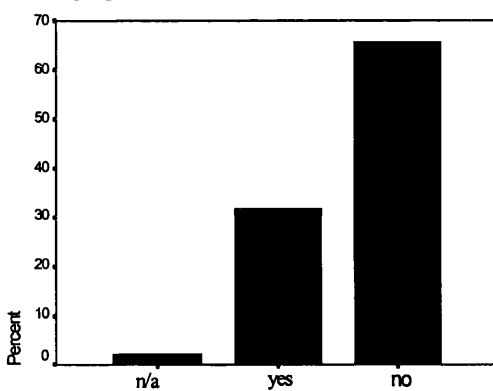


Would you like to participate in any other activity?

n = 88

Graph 9a

Bar Chart

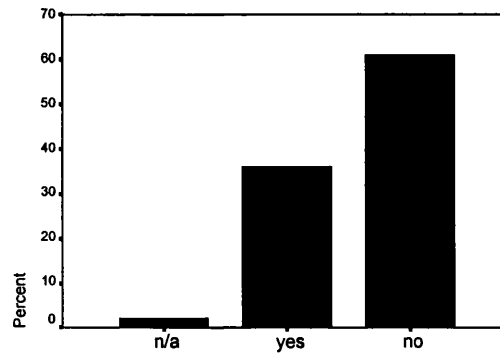


Do you think the nursery is useful to the neighbourhood because it is poor area?

n = 88

Graph 9b

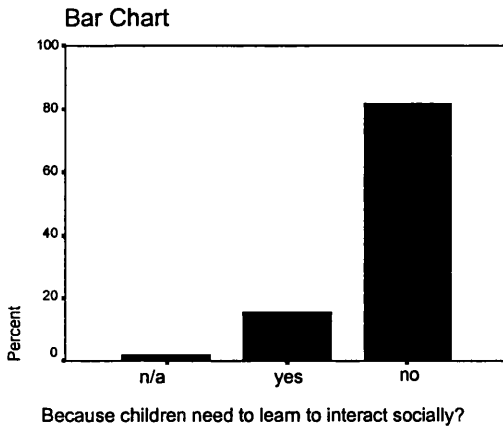
Bar Chart



Because parents need to work?

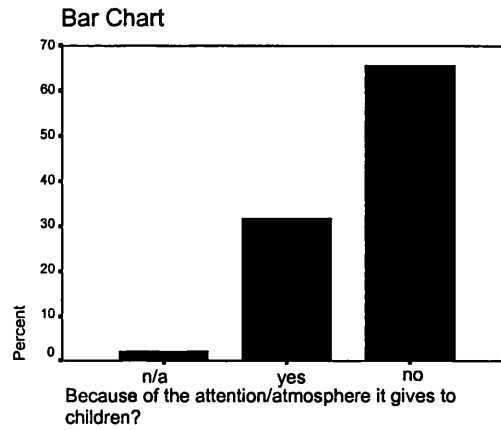
n = 88

Graph 9c



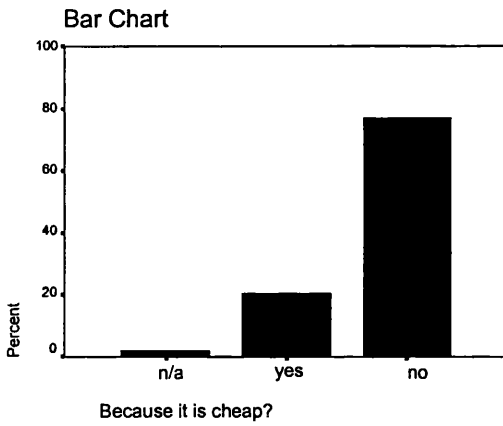
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Graph 9d



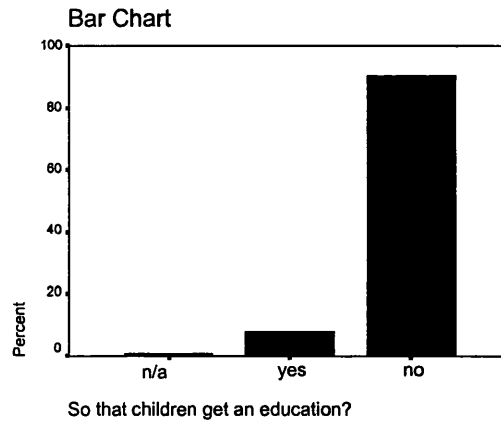
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Graph 9e



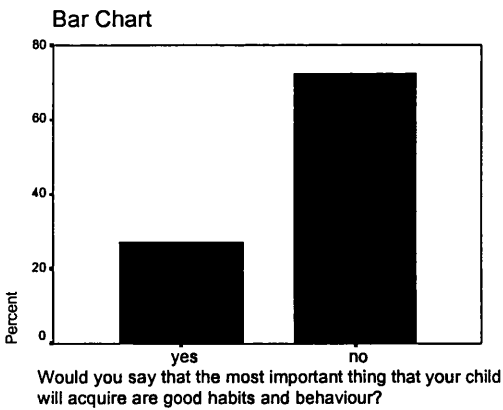
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Graph 9f



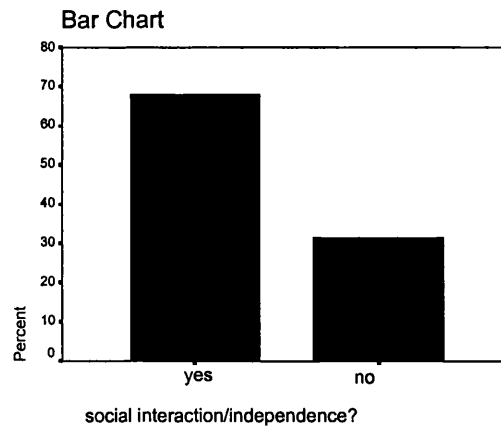
n = 88

Graph 10a



n = 88

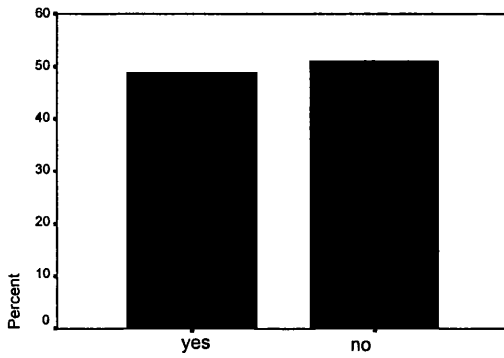
Graph 10b



n = 88

Graph 10c

Bar Chart

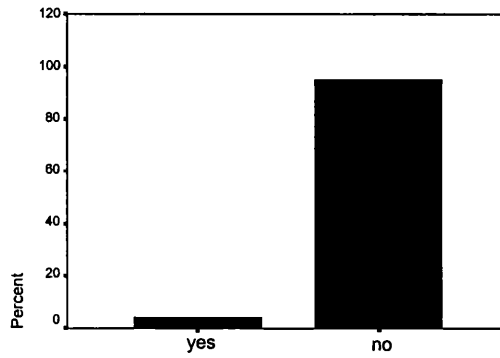


school training?

n = 88

Graph 10d

Bar Chart

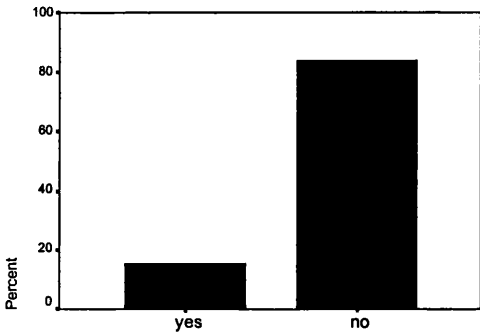


medical/psychological follow-up, food?

n = 88

Graph 10e

Bar Chart

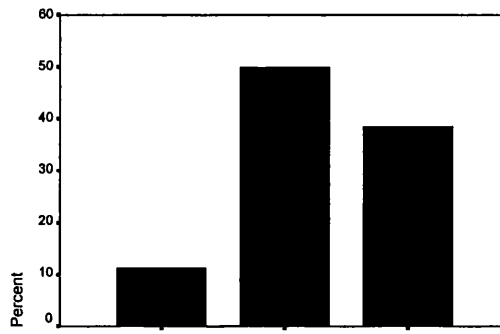


Do you think there are other important things your child will acquire in the nursery?

n = 88

Graph 11

Bar Chart

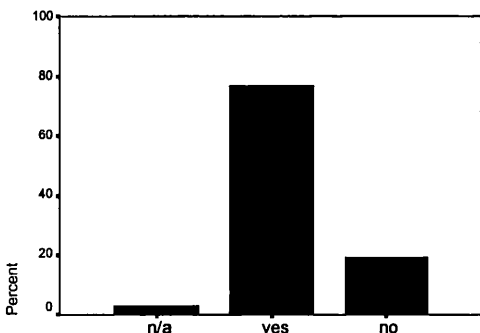


Do you think there is any room for improvement?

n = 88

Graph 12

Bar Chart

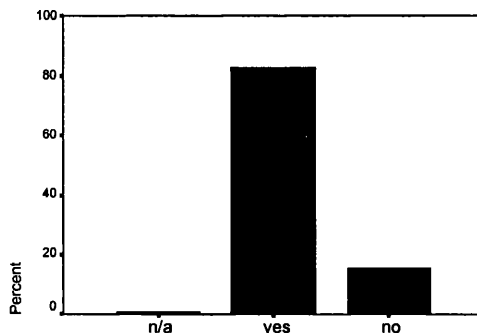


Would you be interested in participating in a parents' commission to help the nursery?

n = 88

Graph 13

Bar Chart

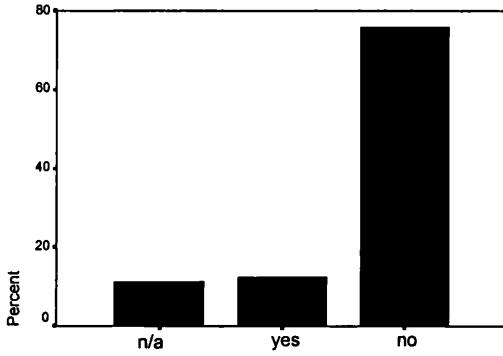


Would you like the nursery to serve as a meeting place to talk about subjects concerning the neighbourhood?

n = 88

Graph 14a

Bar Chart

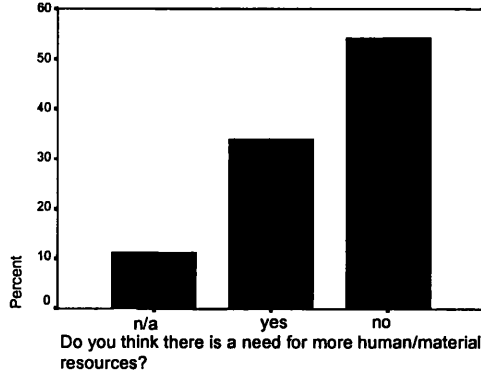


Do you find it desirable to have longer opening hours?

n = 88

Graph 14b

Bar Chart

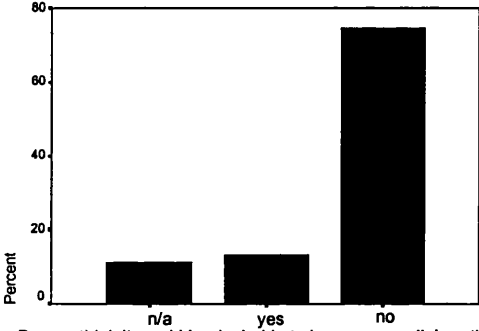


Do you think there is a need for more human/material resources?

n = 88

Graph 14c

Bar Chart

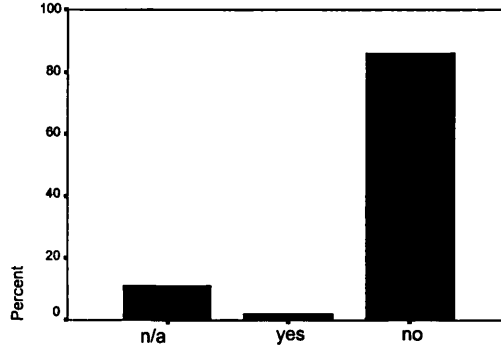


Do you think it would be desirable to have more collaboration from parents?

n = 88

Graph 14d

Bar Chart

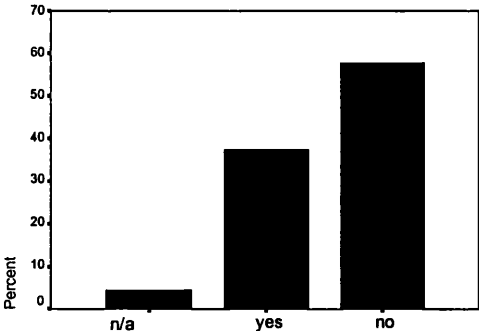


Would you like to see more school preparation?

n = 88

Graph 15a

Bar Chart

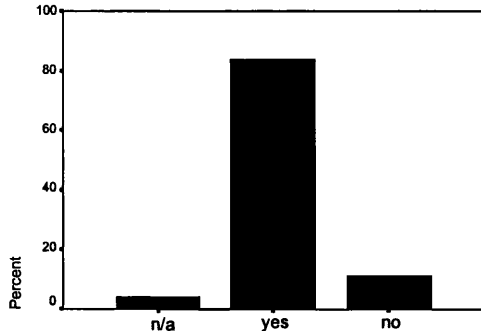


Have you noticed whether your child eats more/better since he comes to the nursery?

n = 88

Graph 15b

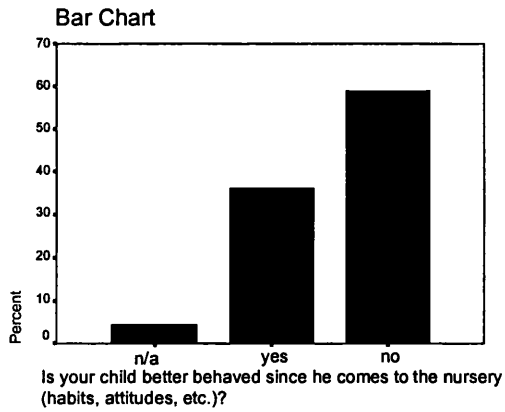
Bar Chart



Does your child relate more since he comes to the nursery (shares more, more independent)?

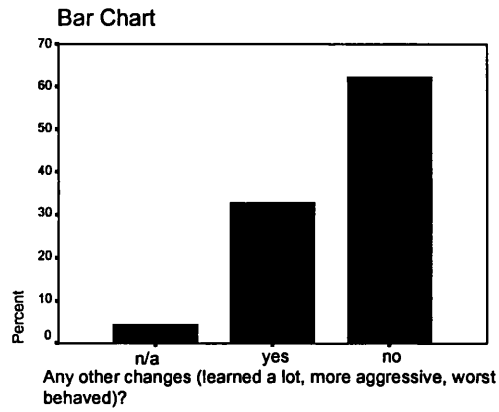
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Graph 15c



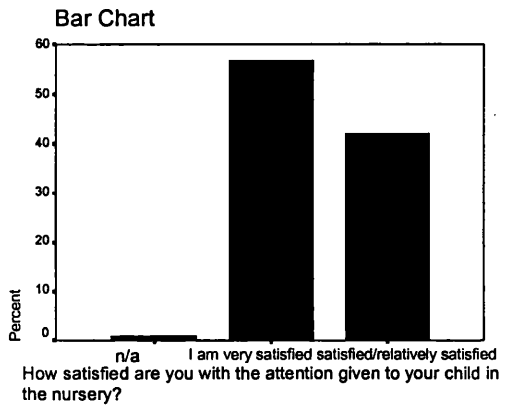
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Graph 15d



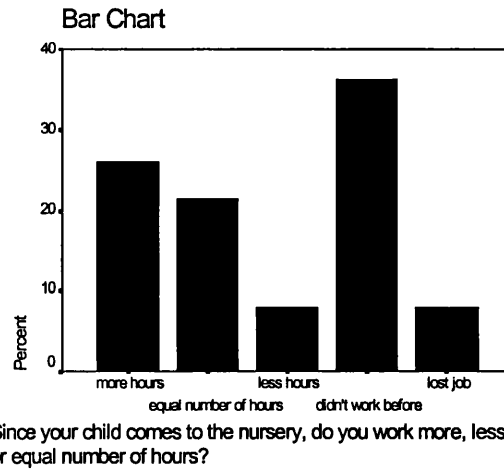
n = 88

Graph 16



n = 88

Graph 17



n = 88

ANNEX 6

CROSS TABULATIONS

Table 1.

Q11 Do you help with the cleaning of the nursery? * Q13 Have you participated in activities with children, staff, parties?

Crosstab

			Q13 Have you participated in activities with children, staff, parties?		Total
			1 yes	2 no	
Q11 Do you help with the cleaning of the nursery?	1 once a week or more	Count	43	4	47
		Expected Count	40.6	6.4	47.0
		Row %	91.5%	8.5%	100.0%
		Column %	56.6%	33.3%	53.4%
		Total %	48.9%	4.5%	53.4%
	2 once or twice a month/very few times	Count	19	1	20
		Expected Count	17.3	2.7	20.0
		Row %	95.0%	5.0%	100.0%
		Column %	25.0%	8.3%	22.7%
		Total %	21.6%	1.1%	22.7%
	3 when needed	Count	8	5	13
		Expected Count	11.2	1.8	13.0
		Row %	61.5%	38.5%	100.0%
		Column %	10.5%	41.7%	14.8%
		Total %	9.1%	5.7%	14.8%
	4 never	Count	6	2	8
		Expected Count	6.9	1.1	8.0
		Row %	75.0%	25.0%	100.0%
		Column %	7.9%	16.7%	9.1%
		Total %	6.8%	2.3%	9.1%
Total	Count	76	12	88	
	Expected Count	76.0	12.0	88.0	
	Row %	86.4%	13.6%	100.0%	
	Column %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	
	Total %	86.4%	13.6%	100.0%	

Chi - Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	9.995 ^a	3	.019
N of Valid Cases	88		

a. 3 cells (37.5%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 1.09.

Table 2.

Q11 Do you help with the cleaning of the nursery? * Q3 How satisfied are you with the attention given to your child in the nursery? Crosstabulation

			Q3 How satisfied are you with the attention given to your child in the nursery?		Total
			1 I am very satisfied	2 I am satisfied/relatively satisfied	
Q11 Do you help with the cleaning of the nursery?	1 once a week or more	Count	25	16	41
		Expected Count	23.6	17.4	41.0
		Total %	28.7%	18.4%	47.1%
	2 once or twice a month	Count	6	2	8
		Expected Count	4.6	3.4	8.0
		Total %	6.9%	2.3%	9.2%
	3 very few times	Count	2	12	14
		Expected Count	8.0	6.0	14.0
		Total %	2.3%	13.8%	16.1%
	4 when needed	Count	6	4	10
		Expected Count	5.7	4.3	10.0
		Total %	6.9%	4.6%	11.5%
	5 no	Count	11	3	14
		Expected Count	8.0	6.0	14.0
		Total %	12.6%	3.4%	16.1%
Total	Count	50	37	87	
	Expected Count	50.0	37.0	87.0	
	Total %	57.5%	42.5%	100.0%	

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	8.668 ^a	4	.070
N of Valid Cases	87		

a. 4 cells (40.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .43.

Table 3.

Q13 Have you participated in activities with children, staff, parties? * Q7 How good is your relationship with the staff at the nursery? Crosstabulation

			Q7 How good is your relationship with the staff at the nursery?			Total
			1 very good	2 good	4 no relationship	
Q13 Have you participated in activities with children, staff, parties?	1 yes	Count	30	44	2	76
		Expected Count	26.2	43.7	6.1	76.0
		Total %	34.5%	50.6%	2.3%	87.4%
	2 no	Count	0	1	1	2
		Expected Count	.7	1.1	.2	2.0
		Total %	.0%	1.1%	1.1%	2.3%
	3 no time, inconvenient hours, not yet organized, etc.	Count	0	5	4	9
		Expected Count	3.1	5.2	.7	9.0
		Total %	.0%	5.7%	4.6%	10.3%
Total		Count	30	50	7	87
		Expected Count	30.0	50.0	7.0	87.0
		Total %	34.5%	57.5%	8.0%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	26.333 ^a	4	.000
N of Valid Cases	87		

^a. 5 cells (55.6%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .16.

In order to reduce the lower than expected count of various cells, both 'no' categories could have been merged. However, it was considered worth noting the higher percentage of 'justified nos'.

Table 4.

Q13 Have you participated in activities with children, staff, parties? * TIME How long has your child been attending the nursery? Crosstabulation

			TIME How long has your child been attending the nursery?		Total
			1 less than a year	2 more than a year	
Q13 Have you participated in activities with children, staff, parties?	1 yes	Count	28	48	76
		Expected Count	32.8	43.2	76.0
		Row %	36.8%	63.2%	100%
		Column %	73.7%	96.0%	86.4%
		Total %	31.8%	54.5%	86.4%
	2 no	Count	10	2	12
		Expected Count	5.2	6.8	12.0
		Row %	83.3%	16.7%	100%
		Column %	26.3%	4.0%	13.6%
		Total %	11.4%	2.3%	13.6%
Total		Count	38	50	88
		Expected Count	38.0	50.0	88.0
		Row %	43.2%	56.8%	100%
		Column %	100.0%	100.0%	100%
		Total %	43.2%	56.8%	100%

Chi – Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	9.130 ^a	1	.003
N of Valid Cases	88		

a. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 5.18.

Table 5.

23 Have you participated in meetings with the Administrative Commission? *
Q20 Do you take part in any association, organization or club in the neighbourhood? Crosstabulation

			Q20 Do you take part in any association, organization or club in the neighbourhood?		Total
			1 yes	2 no	
Q23 Have you participated in meetings with the Administrative Commission?	1 many times	Count	4	2	6
		Expected Count	1.2	4.8	6.0
		Row %	66.7%	33.3%	100.0%
		Column %	25.0%	3.2%	7.6%
		Total %	5.1%	2.5%	7.6%
	2 sometimes	Count	4	27	31
		Expected Count	6.3	24.7	31.0
		Row %	12.9%	87.1%	100.0%
		Column %	25.0%	42.9%	39.2%
		Total %	5.1%	34.2%	39.2%
	3 very few times	Count	5	12	17
		Expected Count	3.4	13.6	17.0
		Row %	29.4%	70.6%	100.0%
		Column %	31.3%	19.0%	21.5%
		Total %	6.3%	15.2%	21.5%
	4 never	Count	3	22	25
		Expected Count	5.1	19.9	25.0
		Row %	12.0%	88.0%	100.0%
		Column %	18.8%	34.9%	31.6%
		Total %	3.8%	27.8%	31.6%
Total	Count	16	63	79	
	Expected Count	16.0	63.0	79.0	
	Row %	20.3%	79.7%	100.0%	
	Column %	100%	100.0%	100.0%	
	Total %	20.3%	79.7%	100.0%	

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	10.977 ^a	3	.012
N of Valid Cases	79		

^a. 3 cells (37.5%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 1.22.

Table 6.

Q27 What are the most important things you expect your child to gain from his attendance to the nursery? * Q7 How good is your relationship with the staff at the nursery? Crosstabulation

			Q7 How good is your relationship with the staff at the nursery?			Total
			1 very good	2 good	4 no relationship	
Q27 What are the most important things you expect your child to gain from his attendance to the nursery?	1 practical gains (good habits, med./psych, food)	Count	1	7	0	8
		Expected Count	2.8	4.6	.6	8.0
		Total %	1.1%	8.0%	.0%	9.2%
	2 social gains (interaction, independence, sharing)	Count	15	16	1	32
		Expected Count	11.0	18.4	2.6	32.0
		Total %	17.2%	18.4%	1.1%	36.8%
	3 educational gains (school training)	Count	1	5	2	8
		Expected Count	2.8	4.6	.6	8.0
		Total %	1.1%	5.7%	2.3%	9.2%
	4 practical + social/educational	Count	13	22	4	39
		Expected Count	13.4	22.4	3.1	39.0
		Total %	14.9%	25.3%	4.6%	44.8%
Total	Count	30	50	7	87	
	Expected Count	30.0	50.0	7.0	87.0	
	Total %	34.5%	57.5%	8.0%	100%	

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	9.993 ^a	6	.125
N of Valid Cases	87		

^a. 8 cells (66.7%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .64.

Table 7.

Q4D Do you think it would be desirable to have more collaboration from parents? * TIME How long has your child been attending the nursery? Crosstabulation

		TIME How long has your child been attending the nursery?		Total	
		1 less than a year	2 more than a year		
Q4D Do you think it would be desirable to have more collaboration from parents?	1 yes	Count	1	11	12
		Expected Count	5.5	6.5	12.0
		Row %	8.3%	91.7%	100%
		Column %	2.8%	26.2%	15.4%
		Total %	1.3%	14.1%	15.4%
2 no		Count	35	31	66
		Expected Count	30.5	35.5	66.0
		Row %	53.0%	47.0%	100%
		Column %	97.2%	73.8%	84.6%
		Total %	44.9%	39.7%	84.6%
Total		Count	36	42	78
		Expected Count	36.0	42.0	78.0
		Row %	46.2%	53.8%	100%
		Column %	100.0%	100.0%	100%
		Total %	46.2%	53.8%	100%

Chi - Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	8.163 ^a	1	.004
N of Valid Cases	78		

a. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 5.54.

Table 8.

**Q26 Would you be interested in participating in a parents' commission to help with the nursery? * Q3 How satisfied are you with the attention given to your child in the nursery?
Crosstabulation**

			Q3 How satisfied are you with the attention given to your child in the nursery?		Total
			1 I am very satisfied	2 I am satisfied/relatively satisfied	
Q26 Would you be interested in participating in a parents' commission to help with the nursery?	1 yes	Count	38	29	67
		Expected Count	38.3	28.7	67.0
		Row %	56.7%	43.3%	100.0%
		Column %	79.2%	80.6%	79.8%
		Total %	45.2%	34.5%	79.8%
	2 no	Count	10	7	17
		Expected Count	9.7	7.3	17.0
		Row %	58.8%	41.2%	100.0%
		Column %	20.8%	19.4%	20.2%
		Total %	11.9%	8.3%	20.2%
Total	Count	48	36	84	
	Expected Count	48.0	36.0	84.0	
	Row %	57.1%	42.9%	100.0%	
	Column %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	
	Total %	57.1%	42.9%	100.0%	

Chi - Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	0.25 ^a	1	.875
N of Valid Cases	84		

a. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 7.29.

Table 9.

Q19 Would you like the nursery to serve as a meeting place to talk about subjects relating to the neighbourhood? * Q20 Do you take part in any association, organization or club in the neighbourhood? Crosstabulation

			Q20 Do you take part in any association, organization or club in the neighbourhood?		Total
			1 yes	2 no	
Q19 Would you like the nursery to serve as a meeting place to talk about subjects relating to the neighbourhood?	1 yes	Count	17	56	73
		Expected Count	15.1	57.9	73.0
		Row %	23.3%	76.7%	100%
		Column %	94.4%	81.2%	83.9%
		Total %	19.5%	64.4%	83.9%
	2 no	Count	1	13	14
		Expected Count	2.9	11.1	14.0
		Row %	7.1%	92.9%	100%
		Column %	5.6%	18.8%	16.1%
		Total %	1.1%	14.9%	16.1%
Total	Count	18	69	87	
	Expected Count	18.0	69.0	87.0	
	Row %	20.7%	79.3%	100%	
	Column %	100.0%	100.0%	100%	
	Total %	20.7%	79.3%	100%	

Chi – Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	1.866 ^a	1	.172
N of Valid Cases	87		

a. 1 cells (25.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 2.90.

ANNEX 7

QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS FRAMEWORK

(extracts)

TEMA ①		DESCENTRALIZACIÓN	
		ROL	CCZ
CILINDRO (cont.) edcador commen	NIVEL DE DESCENTRALIZACIÓN (1.0)	Selección (3.3, 4.0) - Contratación x Com. Adm.	AS (1.3)
		MC (1.2) - Coordinación solo con el otro involucrado. No tiene un rol contratado por separado x con ella.	Gral. (1.1, 1.4, 1.1.1) - No muestra relación con otros institutos sociales de la zona. - x invitación + forma de capacitación y educación. - Con el grupo de trabajo muy poco contacto. - "No hay relación"
edcador. nuevo		- No pedido en el ambiente. - llamado en el signal.	
		- Vienen luego al nivel en planificación. - Neto + boy con más de 100.	- Vienen en signal: ccz con la participación. - Ninguna conceptual ni vinculo actual con CCZ.
TOPQUITA Comision		- A través del CCZ.	
		- "Ellos eligen (top) y otros ellos son los que descienden."	- Siempre han estado un poco solos, abandonados. - problema que se va generando de TE a través. - Pero al nivel que se maneja gente y con la influencia en la zona por la gente de nivel al de este nivel. - No vinculo con CCZ.
AS del		ful discutido a nivel de la quinta local. - Se espera que a estructura de AS y CCZ no tienen reunión. - CCZ no tienen reunión.	
		- Se va generando un trabajo de actividades relacionadas a reuniones a nivel de la quinta. - Se espera que a estructura de AS y CCZ no tienen reunión. - CCZ no tienen reunión.	- Fue a reuniones con la com. local y con la com. a HE. - cuando externo que se va generando a través de otros proyectos. - Deben de ir al lado de la gente que no van. - Subir nivel si pediatra comunitaria.

TEMA 2 - PARTICIPACION

EN LA COMISION		PARTICIPACION	
Integración (1.7.B)	Motivación (2.1.3 - 2.1.5)	Supeditados (2.1.4)	Integración pasiva (2.2.5)
<p>Integración reactiva (2.1.1)</p> <p>TORTU- GUITA</p> <p>Siguientes tra</p>	<p>Motivación (2.2.7)</p> <p>Integración pasiva (2.2.5)</p> <p>- CUESTA MUESTRAS DE POR CADA PASADIZO</p>	<p>Integración pasiva (2.2.5)</p> <p>- CUESTA MUESTRAS DE POR CADA PASADIZO</p>	<p>Motivación (2.2.7)</p>
<p>Integración reactiva (2.1.1)</p> <p>- Solo un ejemplo a la vez vada... "quien es el que unika de finca o comunero" "yo se me iba a reu- nir a un diagnóstico una vez en un barrio" - Sup. sentirse apoyado capacitar. Se usó el aprendizaje est. Práctico sobre - Cuesta muestra reactiva - (Cuestión) ¿quién?</p> <p>Comisión (Geografía)</p>	<p>Motivación (2.1.3 - 2.1.5)</p> <p>- Factor político inicial</p>	<p>Supeditados (2.1.4)</p> <p>- Factor político inicial</p>	<p>Integración pasiva (2.2.5)</p> <p>- CUESTA MUESTRAS de PASADIZOS</p>
<p>Integración reactiva (2.1.1)</p> <p>- 5 personas but 2 de activam. - Siempre los m</p> <p>Comisión (Geografía)</p>	<p>Motivación (2.1.3 - 2.1.5)</p> <p>- Factor político inicial</p>	<p>Supeditados (2.1.4)</p> <p>- Factor político inicial</p>	<p>Integración pasiva (2.2.5)</p> <p>- CUESTA MUESTRAS de PASADIZOS</p>
<p>Integración reactiva (2.1.1)</p> <p>- Comprensión de roles. - No se preocupan - Como un habitante a diferencia de otros</p> <p>Comisión (Geografía)</p>	<p>Motivación (2.1.3 - 2.1.5)</p> <p>- Factor político inicial</p>	<p>Supeditados (2.1.4)</p> <p>- Factor político inicial</p>	<p>Integración pasiva (2.2.5)</p> <p>- CUESTA MUESTRAS de PASADIZOS</p>
<p>Integración reactiva (2.1.1)</p> <p>- Poco gusto al work. - No se preocupan se encargan de captar "factores"</p> <p>Comisión (Geografía)</p>	<p>Motivación (2.1.3 - 2.1.5)</p> <p>- Factor político inicial</p>	<p>Supeditados (2.1.4)</p> <p>- Factor político inicial</p>	<p>Integración pasiva (2.2.5)</p> <p>- CUESTA MUESTRAS de PASADIZOS</p>