

**CROSS SECTORAL APPROACH IN STRATEGIES
FOR RURAL POVERTY REDUCTION IN LATIN AMERICA**

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Abstract

The main objective of this paper is to analyze if cross sectoral partnerships reduce poverty in a more efficient way than isolated efforts from one sector. To answer this question, the concept of 'social capital' and its implications for poverty reduction is used as explanatory framework and nine cases of cross sectoral experiences in Latin America are presented and reviewed in qualitative aspects to provide empiric data to the analysis. Based on the results, it is found that a cross sectoral approach to strategies for poverty reduction in rural areas in this region is crucial to improve efficiency and impact. However, it is also recognized that the construction of cross sectoral alliances is just one of the stages in the road to sustainable livelihood improvement.

Table of Contents

| | |
|--|----|
| Introduction..... | 1 |
| Chapter 1 Latin American Experiences..... | 4 |
| 1.1 Poverty Reduction Partnerships Thirteen Years After..... | 7 |
| 1.2 Innovative Social Actions..... | 10 |
| Chapter 2 Social Capital as Explanatory Framework..... | 12 |
| 2.1 Four Perspectives of Social Capital..... | 13 |
| 2.2 Social Capital in Latin American Rural Areas | 15 |
| 2.3 Poverty Reduction and Conflict: Alliances in Less-Than-Democratic Contexts | 16 |
| Chapter 3 Limits and Potential of Coordination among Sectors | 18 |
| 3.1 Bonding and Bridging through Partnerships | 19 |
| Conclusion..... | 25 |
| Appendices | 26 |
| Annex I Success cases selected by UNDP and World Bank Review 1998-2011 | 26 |
| Annex II Innovative social actions selected by SEKN Review 2006-2010 | 30 |
| Bibliography..... | 33 |

Cross Sectoral Approach in Strategies

For Rural Poverty Reduction in Latin America

Introduction

In the last decade poverty has decreased and some indicators related to the quality of life have improved in Latin America¹, however, poverty reduction and development in rural areas is still one of the major challenges in the region for the so-called development actors at local, regional and global level.

Since the last two decades there has been an increasing agreement among development actors stressing the importance of a cross sectoral approach (CSA) in the strategies for poverty reduction as a core element to increase the possibilities of a real impact and contribution to solve this problem (See Devlin and Moguillansky, 2010; British Ministry for International Development, 2005; Casado, 2007; Mataix et.al., 2008; World Bank and Mideplan, 1997 among others). The United Nations Development Program (UNDP) together with the World Bank started in 1996 a program aimed to promote cross sectoral partnerships (CSPs) for poverty reduction in six countries in the region: Argentina, Bolivia, Colombia, El Salvador, Jamaica and Venezuela. The Program was aimed to increase the quality of life of the most vulnerable and marginal sectors of the population as a way to replace, what those organizations considered, the old and failed state-centric paradigm in the region (Fiszbein and Lowden, 1999). A *collaborative*, rather than *contractual* or narrowly *instrumental* relationship among these actors was expected. In this sense, the three sectors where supposed to act as main and equal partners contributing with

¹ According to the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (CEPAL, 2010) since 1990 to 2010 poverty rates have decreased in the region from 48.3% to 32.1%. Within this percentage, extreme poverty have also reduced from 22.5% to 12.9% in the same period.

different types of resources and getting involved in the decision making process in a ‘mutually interdependent nature’ (Fiszbein and Lowden, 1999).

Nowadays it is possible to find in the field of rural poverty reduction among the strongest initiatives being implemented, a diversity of types of interactions among sectors around a strategy that are highly different in terms of activities, closeness, and involvement.

Based on this scenario, my main research question is: does the cross sectoral partnerships reduce poverty in a more efficient way than isolated efforts from one sector? To answer this question, I will rely on the concept of ‘social capital’ and its implications for poverty reduction. My expected result is that it is necessary to consider an intersectoral approach in strategies for poverty reduction in Latin American rural areas, as it is a fruitful way to increase social capital, and efficiently reduce poverty. When there is the possibility and need to develop an intersectoral approach, the nature and intensity of the interaction among sectors should be defined by the prevalent context, the purpose of the strategy and the possibility of successful achievement of clearly established goals in the short or long term.

To accomplish this main objective I will present, first, a brief review of how the idea of CSPs evolved since its appearance in late 90’s and how spread this CSA is nowadays. As empiric data, I will present a sample of cases of poverty reduction initiatives implemented in the region to analyze whether or not is it possible to find a CSA on them and what type of interactions are established if any, with other sectors. The sample is integrated by:

- 5 cases selected in 1998 by UNDP and World Bank as success experiences of the Program ‘Alliances for Poverty Reduction’ implemented in rural areas². There will be a

² The Program selected 100 cases as ‘success stories’, the 5 selected cases here are those that were highly

review of the current situation of the initiatives more than a decade after.

- And 4 cases selected in 2006 by the Social Enterprise Knowledge Network³ (SEKN) as innovative social actions.

In the second chapter, review of the social capital theory will be done focusing in the applicability of the concept in rural and less-than-democratic areas. Finally there will be an assessment of the results found, connecting the empiric evidence with the academic debate in order to bring some conclusions and recommendations regarding the role of a CSA in rural poverty reduction strategies in Latin America.

focused in rural poverty and some of them were included in the final 'top ten' list by UNDP and WB.

³ SEKN is a network of ten business schools in Latin America and Spain interested in the social enterprises phenomenon. The initiative was fostered by AVINA -a private foundation- the David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies, the Harvard Business School and supported by the Inter American Bank for Development. The total selection was 40 cases. The 4 cases presented are those more focused on rural poverty.

Chapter 1

Latin American Experiences

During the 90's, the state-centered, quasi-democratic, or dictatorial model faced its major crisis in the region. Even when differentiated –especially in Central America- this period in the region could be described as a transition from a state-centered political and economic structure to a more democratic and liberalized systems, in different styles but all of them according to the guidelines of the Washington Consensus. The results of following these recommendations were diverse: from the creation of new channels for democratic participation to historic economic crisis deepening the inequalities in the region.

Two of the main instruments of this transition were privatization and decentralization. In conjunction both represented the opening to private initiative in the economic and political arena and local participation. Poverty reduction and social development then included the recognition of a shared concern and responsibility among public and private actors and therefore, coordination between them and a decrease in the antagonism that had prevailed in the region was expected.

Public-private partnerships in the poverty reduction field are regarded to be able to ‘mobilize resources, reduce risks, and contribute to the economies of scale in production’ (Helmsing, 2000), the expectation is that partnerships can produce additional outputs beyond the sum of the resources provided by each ally, that otherwise could have not been produced by isolated actions. Other additional benefits of the synergies are: more effective use of public and private resources (Fiszbein and Lowden, 1999), better targeting of the poorest population, improved understanding of the causes and effects of poverty and therefore better solutions proposed.

Different definitions of the concept of partnership have emerged but some of the main

characteristics are (Hordijk, 2001):

- Each member of the partnership is a principal actor by itself so is capable to make its own decision without consulting a superior authority.
- The relation among the actors is expected to be for long rather than short term purposes based on a formal or informal agreement.
- Each ally collaborates with resources that can be economic, institutional, human, physical, intellectual or socio-cultural.
- The result of the partnership must be concrete actions
- Implies shared responsibility of the outcomes
- Should be serving a 'public interest' (Baud, et al 2001)

For the purposes of this paper the concept of partnerships to be evaluated must include governmental, business and civil society actors⁴.

Some pre-conditions required to achieve the development of a partnership (Hordijk, 2001) are the existence of a 'mutuality of interest' among the actors as well as certain trust and 'mutual accountability'. A more or less symmetric relation among actors is also identified as an important element to create a successful partnership. Fiszbein and Lowden (1999) identified the need of an institutional framework allowing if not promoting, collaborative actions among the sectors, this refers for instance to enable public entities to engage in this initiatives without major bureaucratic impediments. In the case of private actors it makes reference to fiscal incentives and for CSOs formal recognition and legal personality.

⁴ The reason for this is that alliances between public agencies and *only* CSOs or *only* private companies even if those are focused on poverty reduction usually have a very different nature from those including the three sectors. The literature around partnerships including only two sectors – CSOs- government and firm-government partnerships– is extensive and aimed for a different debate than the one to be addressed here.

The 'CSPs for poverty reduction' Program from UNDP and the World Bank was aimed to support the creation and strengthening of partnerships delivering services to the poor, creating employment opportunities or increasing productivity of the poor and promoting a participatory design of public policies (Fiszbein and Lowden, 2009). After some years of executing the program, the best practices were selected to learn from experiences and difficulties presented. After this first evaluation, no institutional effort was done to follow up the results, the program stopped activities and it was substituted for a different initiative⁵, even when support to this type of partnerships remains.

The cases selected here are those originated or executed mainly in rural poor areas: Peasant Cooperative Los Jurios in Argentina; Isla Talavera- Dual Education for a Better Life also from Argentina; National Center for Rural Training CENPUR of the Tomas Katari Polytechnic Institute IPTK in Bolivia; Wood Productive Development Center of Caldas (CDPM) in Pensilvania, Colombia; and the case of Chalatenango Environmental Committee (CACH) from El Salvador (See Annex I for case profiles).

Some of the concerns expressed by the Program Committee regarding the future perspectives for the CSPs model were the potential difficulties to negotiation ability regardless political and economic shifts that can stress the 'mutuality of interests'. Another aspect was the possibility that local based initiatives could struggle to scale up and remain limited in size and impact. And finally, the fact that most of the successful stories came from countries and areas with relatively high levels of social and economic development, although focused in poor sectors, and targeting mainly urban poor.

⁵ The new approach is called 'Inclusive markets' that are markets 'that provide enabling environment for poor people as entrepreneurs, wage employees and consumers' the agency has now the Growing Inclusive Markets (GIM) initiative.

Any of the initiatives presented here was created explicitly by the Program; most of them were launched no more than ten years before; the initiatives neither depended completely on resources from the Program but rather those had differentiated resource sources.

1.1 Poverty Reduction Partnerships Thirteen Years After

From the five UNDP-WB case studies selected, four of them are still operating. The only case where there is not enough evidence to affirm that the initiative is in function is the Peasant Cooperative Los Juries (See Annex I case 1). This small-scale cotton producers' cooperative in Argentina was identified as a relevant actor to foster the development in Los Juries rural community in 1998, if it has not disappeared at least apparently is not any more a relevant institution on the region. Los Juries community is going through a critical period of decadence where migration, poverty rates and health problems have been scaling up in the last years due the lack of land productivity and water contamination.

What can be differentiated in Los Juries Cooperative compared to the rest of the case studies are two main aspects: first is the finding of evidence indicating that the partnership was not so strong in terms of agreement among the actors from the very beginning, one of the cooperative leaders declared in another research done in the same year when the case was selected as successful: *"I believe that this government is not interested in changing things. They want poor people to continue being poor, and if possible to get poorer because that way they have secure votes and no one speaks out, and if someone does challenge them they buy him off with a political job or they find another way to shut him up"*. The second differentiating fact is a 'macro' level aspect, namely the emergence of the soy production at the core of the agricultural policy in Argentina during the last decade. Industrial soy plantations crowded out the public and private investment in other crops like cotton: it is calculated that around 160,000 peasant families in the last decades have left and sell their lands to industrial and agricultural companies to become poor migrants in urban areas. One main learning from this

case is that conciliation or at least the no completely clash of interests among the sectors is a strong determinant of the partnership sustainability. In the case of Los Juries, the ability or willingness to negotiate was lost, and the peasant's organization was not strong enough to create a contraposition.

Counterbalancing this argument, is remarkable the experience of the Chalatenango Environmental Committee (CACH) in El Salvador which was selected as the best one in the country (See annex I case 5). CACH has become one of the stronger voices in the environmental field at national level. CACH has held strongly contradictory positions towards public policies at national level, being the most relevant case the cancellation of the 'El Cimarron' Hydroelectric Power Project in the Lempa River. The fact that the Committee was able to hold such a position and still remain integrated shows how the organization became a credible and valid actor at local and national level. One of the most evident differences between Los Juries and CACH is that the cotton peasants had certain role of 'beneficiaries' of the alliance with no strong organizational capacities inside the cooperative. This weakness was replaced by an external actor, the private consultancy which was in charge of managing and attracting the public and private investment for the cooperative. In contrast, CACH has its main support in local CSOs and groups that were already organized and constituted before joining CACH. When the agreement with the national level public agencies was lost, the Committee relied in the local authorities support, as well as in local and international CSOs.

The next case analyzed is the National Center for Rural Training (CENPUR) of the Tomas Katari Polytechnic Institute (IPTK) in Bolivia (Annex I case 3). The Center trains young people from rural and indigenous communities in the Potosi Department in the fields of health, agriculture, rural building and municipal public administration. The CENPUR has now more than 2.500 graduated students; some of them became social leaders in their communities and in

the Chayanta province. The academic prestige of the institution is nation wide well known and they have developed a pedagogical methodology called technical-socio-political formation. The project has strong interaction within sectors; however, the main 'engine' of the CENPUR is the IPTK with external entities as supporters rather than allies.

Comparing this case to the Wood Productive Development Center of Caldas (CDPM) another training and enterprise development center in Pensilvania, Colombia (Annex I case 4); CENPUR has scaled up in impact while CDPM, has remain or probably decrease in relevance. Until 2000, CDPM had supported the creation of around fifty local micro enterprises in the wood sector and nowadays its main function is the technical training. However, the community development in Pensilvania is being led by a combination of initiatives, and organizations from public and private sector where CDPM is not necessarily the central one. Local people remark the fact that Pensilvania has institutions that other municipalities with the same or larger population do not have (Giraldo and Gómez, 2007). The Dario Maya Foundation - one of the members of the initial partnership and the social branch of the private companies supporting the initiative- is one of the major actors in regional social development. The disparity in the impact between CENPUR and CDPM can be related to the fact that CENPUR was launched by the IPTK a CSO with the support of other sectors while CDPM was part of the strategy for the development of the wood local industry initiated by the municipality major at that time.

The last case reviewed is Isla Talavera (Annex I case 2) where a number of productive projects for income generation were promoted by the only local primary school in the community. The school is still an educational center but also an active promoter of social enterprises. It has an important role in the locality, especially with the students and their families, how ever it cannot be considered as the main development strategy for the island; the project still seems to be working in a short-term basis without a broader long-term strategic plan.

From the experiences of CDPM and Isla Talavera, is observable that both of them are relevant promoters of social well-being in their contexts, however, have not scaled up significantly in size neither in impact; in contrast the CACH and CENDUR cases have managed to remain as a local relevant actor but also to spread the impact beyond its local territories.

A characteristic shared in all the cases still in function, is the ease to identify the actor or sector, being the main leader and decision-maker. Even when holding interactions with other sectors, those additional actors function as supporters of the project. It is hard to say if in 1998 the cases selected had a stronger nature as CSPs or it was just the fact that the cross sectoral component was overstressed for being the central topic of the program. Even with that, all the cases reviewed demonstrate a strong component of interaction and collaborative approach with the rest of the sectors and agents in the local reality as a key aspect of their missions.

1.2 Innovative Social Actions

In 2006, the Social Enterprise Knowledge Network⁶ (SEKN) published the results of a collective research project to present cases of innovative social actions to reduce poverty executed in Latin America and Spain by outstanding CSOs and private companies involved in the generation of ‘social value’. The selected organizations recognized the development of collaborative relations with local actors as one of the key components to increase the possibilities of success, the credibility of the organization among the local community and to facilitate the viability of the enterprise (SEKN, 2006). SEKN considers the ‘strategic approximation to the stakeholders’ management’ (See Freeman, 1984) to allow the knowledge of different points of view, needs, and

⁶ SEKN is a network of ten business schools in Latin America and Spain interested in studying, disseminate and teaching the social enterprises phenomenon. The initiative was fostered by AVINA -a private foundation promoting leadership for sustainable development among CSOs and private sector in Latin America - the David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies, and the Harvard Business School with the support of the Inter American Bank for Development. <http://www.sekn.org/es/>

potential contributions from different actors. The review of these cases was relevant to the main research question of this paper, because unlike the UNDP-WB cases, this experiences were not selected because of its cross sectoral nature but because of the outstanding results on the development field – according to SEKN - without considering if those had or not partnerships or agreements with actors in other sectors⁷. (See Annex II for case profiles)

The networking approach of CSOs, especially in South America is broadly recognized on the field for being better developed compared to Central America and Mexico. Reviewing the selected experiences, it is evident that in all of them strong interactions with other sectors are present. Special mention deserves the case of the *Fundação Abrinq pelos Direitos da Criança e do Adolescente* (Annex II case 4) , the ‘social branch’ of the Brazilian Association of Manufacturers of Toys ‘ABRINQ’. The Foundation’ actions are covering most of the extensive Brazilian territory, including poor and excluded rural regions, including in all of their programs and projects a strong component of alliance with other sectors and actors from communitarian to international level⁸. This and the rest of the SEKN selected initiatives were found to have different allies for each program or project within the same organization, in a logic of specialized objectives supported by specialized allies.

⁷ However is important to recognize certain bias in the selection towards those foundations and organizations closer to the private business sector considering that the SEKN network is integrated by private business schools; though this was not an explicit element while choosing them.

⁸ In the nine major programs currently implemented by the Abrinq Foundation in the fields of health, education and social protection for child and teenagers, more than 14 public agencies, 945 private business, 10 care and justice public institutions for young law-breakers, 14 major CSOs, 10 municipalities and 1.577 volunteer health professionals around the country are involved and collaborating for the same mission not only as donors but as executors and supporters of concrete strategies.

Chapter 2

Social Capital as Explanatory Framework

The existence of the CSPs for poverty reduction and the relevance of the participatory approach for development in rural areas have their theoretical background on the theory of social capital. This concept emerged by the recognition among social theorist and international development actors of the fact that poverty should be defined, and fought, beyond its economic connotations.

The concept has been defined from social sciences, economy, sociology and political sciences perspectives. One of the most recognized is the definition by Putnam (1993) as: “features of social organization, such as trust, norms, and networks that can improve the efficiency of society by facilitating coordinated actions”. At the same time, the generation of social capital and equal distribution of it have been related to positive social and economic outcomes helping to overcome poverty (Davis, 2004; Putnam, 1993). Following this logic, rural communities with a higher social capital index are less likely to be poor (Lanjow, 1998). CSPs are considered to promote the generation of social capital, and helping to reduce poverty through coordinated actions based on the argument stating that local actors - community leaders, local government officials, civil society activists, farmers and entrepreneurs - know best what does and does not work within their communities (UNDP web page).

Coleman (1988) defines social capital as a variety of different entities integrating some sort of social structure that can facilitate certain actions. For Coleman the key components of the social capital are trust, information provision and the ability to execute effective sanctions. While for Putnam horizontal relations based on trust and shared values are better to promote economic development, Coleman affirms that vertical relations based on authority can be more effective than horizontal relations for specific purposes.

As the academic debate evolved, different types of social capital were defined: bridging and bonding (Putnam, 1993; Narayan, 1999). Bonding refers to social networks and interactions between homogeneous groups of people, and it implies the exclusion of those not belonging to the homogeneity. Bridging in the other hand, are the social networks and interactions among heterogeneous groups. In this way researchers and policy makers found an explanation of why does the intensive networks among the members of poor communities do not have the predicted result of economic development: poor communities do need not only solidarity among their members (bonding capital) but also connections to other external groups with different conditions and assets (bridging capital). Based on this, solidarity among the poor helps to ‘survive’ while interaction among poor and non poor can actually bring ‘development’. Different combinations of bonding and social capital are responsible of the wide range of outcomes observed in interventions for development (Woolcock and Narayan, 2000)

2.1 Four Perspectives of Social Capital

Woolcock and Narayan provided a map of the different conceptions of social capital, classified in four perspectives that allow a better observation of the main streams in the academic debate: the communitarian view, the networks view, the institutional view, and the synergy view.

The *communitarian* approach equates social capital with the readiness in a society to engage in groups and organizations, and therefore social capital can be measured by the quantity of clubs, organizations and groups at local level (Putnam, 1995). One of the main criticisms to this view is the lack of recognition of social organizations that can also be harmful for communities as gangs or drug cartels (Rubio 1997).

The *networks* view identifies both horizontal and vertical relations among people and organizations (Coleman, 1988). This is an element shared with the synergy view, however, the

difference is the notion of the ‘double-edged sword’ potential of social capital, brought by Granovetter (1995) meaning that if social capital and the networks can provide useful services to foster efficient development, this ties can also put limits to efforts to improve efficiency as the result of some sense of commitment and obligation with other actors or norms embedded in the community. Kozel and Parker (2000) highlighted that networks among the poorest sectors of the society are related to solidarity and risk management while networks among no poor actors serve as strategic actions in the pursuing material interest. This means that “networks of the poor play defense, while those of the no poor play offense” (Woolcock and Narayan, 2000)

The *institutional* view represented by North (1990) and Tandler (1997) pointed out that the vitality of community networks and civil society is largely the product of the political, legal, and institutional environment, in other words, macro level factors that are not defined at local level. If the proper institutions and frameworks are not present is less probably that social capital can be generated and support efforts to overcome poverty.

Finally, the *synergy* view has three main agreements: first that neither governments nor societies are inherently good or bad and therefore interactions between public and private actors can be either positive or negative for social development. Second, the conviction that “states, firms, and communities alone do not possess the resources needed to promote broad-based, sustainable development”; therefore there is a need of CSPs. “Identifying the conditions under which these synergies emerge (or fail to emerge) is a central task of development research and practice” (Woolcock and Narayan, 2000). Finally the authors from this stream (*World Development*, 1996) consider the state as the most important and problematic actor to facilitate positive development alliances, according to them it is also an essential component because it “is best able to facilitate enduring alliances across the boundaries of class, ethnicity, race, gender, politics, and religion”. This synergy view is the one which better matches the conception of social capital behind the

UNDP and World Bank approach based on the emphasis on the crucial need of alliances among actors and also the highlight of the government as the most conflictive but necessary actor to foster this partnerships. The conception of government as the best actor to guarantee the long term permanence of the alliances among social groups requires implicitly a developed democratic context in order to guarantee that public agents do actually go beyond politics and class identifications. This can be a theoretical weakness based on the fact that strong democracy and long term vision in government cannot be taken as given in rural, Latin American contexts.

2.2 Social Capital in Latin American Rural Areas

Woolcock and Narayan recognize the implicit requirement of democracy and good governance of the social capital theory in order to achieve the economic prosperity and social order predicted. Therefore, they observe, “when a society's social capital inheres mainly in primary social groups disconnected from one another, the more powerful groups dominate the state, to the exclusion of other groups”. Such societies, they add, can be found in Latin American countries visible in the fact of the existence of large excluded indigenous rural populations in a latent conflictive context (Woolcock and Narayan, 2000). While these networks can benefit some groups, some other can remain isolated and being affected negatively. Davis (2004) affirms that “an unequal distribution of social capital can lead to social and economic outcomes that are both unequal and inefficient’ and ‘the concentration of critical social capital in the hands of a privileged minority has acted as a barrier to entry into business by the majority of the rural population (...)”.

Bebbington (1999) provided an analytical framework for analyzing rural livelihoods in terms of their sustainability and their implications for rural poverty in Latin America giving attention to the importance of social capital as an asset through which people can have access to new resources and actors. He proposes to understand poverty in terms of access to resources, those

resources or assets can be identified as: produced (economic), human, natural, social or cultural capital. It also includes the need of understanding poverty not only in a material sense (as means of surviving) but considering how does the access to different assets or capitals provide poor people with the ability to make decisions, interact in society and even more to “reproduce, challenge or change the rules that govern the control, use and transformation of resources” (Giddens, 1979). He relates this notion to Sen (1997) when noticing that “the possession of human capital –for instance- not only means people produce more, and more efficiently; it also gives them the capability to engage more fruitfully and meaningfully with the world, and most importantly the capability to change the world”.

Bebbington found that as a result of the macroeconomic shifts occurring in Latin American the 90's, much of the rural-agricultural livelihoods were not longer 'viable' for the new models of economic growth centered in efficiency. Therefore, neither government nor social development actors found attractive or justified to invest in the productive capacity in rural-agricultural areas. The option then was to support those communities with social programs to alleviate poverty and help them in the transition to a new type of economy.

The key challenge for rural policy from this perspective is “to enhance peoples ability to access and defend resources, transform them into income, and access institutions and organizations in the spheres of market, state and civil society in such a way as to –again- facilitate resource access, defense and transformation” (Bebbington, 1999).

2.3 Poverty Reduction and Conflict: Alliances in Less-Than-Democratic Contexts

Social capital theory recognizes that helping the poor gaining access to formal institutions and a more diverse stock of bridging social capital ‘may entail altering social systems that are the product of longstanding cultural traditions or of powerful vested interests’ (Woolcock and

Narayan, 2000). However, there is still an understatement of the ‘rawer’ questions of political economy and violence in the social capital discussion (Bebbington, 1999). When social capital theory expect public agencies reacting to development efforts in a collaborative rather than in a repressive manner, important burdens are put to the theoretical logic when compared to reality.

Fox (1996) developed a ‘political construction’ approach to counterbalance the fact that most of the social capital literature is focused on societies governed by political democracies by proposing an alternative explanation of the social capital generation in ‘under less-than-democratic conditions’ and he did it by observing a number of community development groups in rural Mexico. He points out that in these contexts, the emergence of social capital is uneven as a result of cycles of interaction between state and societal actors which involve stages of conflict as well as cooperation. During the cooperation times, some social capital is created and the challenge is to maintain it during the conflict periods until the next cooperation time –political window opportunity- comes. This process explains, according to Fox, “why such different patterns of state-society relations can coexist simultaneously within the same nation-state: redoubts of persistent authoritarian clientelism can coexist with new enclaves of pluralist tolerance, as well as large grey areas of ‘semi-clientelism’ in between”. He also found that while local social organizations can be rich in bonding capital, it have been seen as crucial for their capacity to scale up and consolidate to have external linkages providing binding capital, some times from outside the country, in order to overcome authoritarian or non democratic conditions.

Chapter 3

Limits and Potential of Coordination among Sectors

Based on the results from the review of the case studies, as well as the explanatory framework provided regarding the theory of social capital in this final chapter I will elaborate some observations linking both previous sections.

Coming from the analysis of the case studies, it is possible to bring some observations in the sense of ‘practical learning’ useful when initiating or maintaining a cross sectoral alliance. Three main aspects can be emphasized: first, that for a successful alliance to be, it is important to have or to build basic organizational capacities in each of the actors involved. This will ensure the possibility of create synergies among actors and not only compensatory schemes were no additional capacities are developed and the ‘strongest’ one is just pulling the ‘weakest’. As it was observed in the case of Cooperative Los Juries, the peasants relied, not fully but considerably, in the organizational capacity of the external consultancy, and most probably when the consultancy did not found any more an interest on the alliance the peasant cooperative did not have the minimum tools to ensure its permanence.

A second aspect to highlight is the relevance of integrating alliances with different sectors but also in different levels, for instance with public agencies at municipal, state, and national level if possible. In case that some contradictions of interest appear at one level, the public support do not necessarily is lost altogether and can be partially substituted with another level of agencies. In Pensilvania, Colombia (case 4) the project was initially promoted by the Municipality, for political reasons, they did not had the support at state level but they managed to ‘jump’ this level and make agreements with authorities at national level. CACH in El Salvador (case 5) has struggled to ensure support with the national Ministry but is strongly linked to local and regional authorities. This is an expression of the horizontal and vertical dimension of the networks stressed by the

network view authors, recognizing that some times in order to accomplish horizontal bottom up strategies, certain aspects require specific horizontal bottom up interventions.

A final remark related to practical learning is based on the fact that in most of the cases it is possible to find a clear actor or sector leading the initiative. Actors from other sectors most of the time play a supporting role as allies only in the overall strategy or in specific actions. Then, the notion of ‘partnerships’ as three sectors equally involved and committed in the same project has been harder to accomplish. One explanation for this could be that the costs of executing a strategy with a cross sectoral approach are lower in terms of decision-making and sustainability if there is a clear actor or sector full-time committed with the sustainability and permanence of the project and finds in other sectors the additional support to scale up in impact or efficiency. Each sector has its very own nature, final goal and agenda, and actors will get engaged with those projects better fitting these elements in a permanent manner and then expand their functions by collaborating in other projects as well. This is the reason of why the term ‘cross sectoral approach’ rather than ‘partnerships’ is more suitable for this type of alliances. The cross sectoral approach is maybe less intense in interaction and horizontality but it also implies more involvement and coordination than just traditional public relations. True partnerships can for sure be successful but probably are easier to hold for short-term or specific goals.

3.1 Bonding and Bridging through Partnerships

Is possible to identify in the reviewed cases the generation or strengthening of trust relations, collaboration and coordination that can be expressions of social capital and potentially become useful components to overcome poverty or improve life quality in these communities.

Usually community bonds and solidarity are found to be stronger in rural rather than urban areas, even if poverty remains. Some of the declarations from local people from Los Juries (case 1) and

Isla Talavera (case 2) reflect this⁹:

"Our community is very tranquil. There is no violence (...). The violence here is poverty." - Local at Los Juries

"Around here we help each other out. We all get together and make *empanadas* to raise money for the community center, or if I'm out of sugar my neighbor will give me some." – Los Juries habitant

"Living in poverty isn't pretty, but to be a poor person is nice because we help one another," "We of the island have fewer problems: we are poor, but happy." – Men at discussion group in Isla Talavera

Related to the role that can be played by these communitarian alliances, the local school case in Isla Talavera provides an example: In 2008 the region, including the Talavera Island, faced a serious problem of uncontrollable fires affecting more than 70,000 ha in the Delta. During this time with dense smoke that made difficult to breathe and see, only three from 120 students stopped going to the Martín Miguel de Güemes School. Those days when the school ferry interrupted their services for security reasons, the kids were brought to school by their families in canoes. The teachers declared that most probably kids could not have food guaranteed at home therefore they could not cancel classes. (See Sousa, 2008) This reflects the role of the school as a 'safety net' where community can rely, especially in critical times. In both cases –Isla Talavera and Los Juries - the type of networks have more a 'bonding' function, fitting also the Kozel and Parker (2000) observation regarding the role of networks among poor actors which usually have risk management and defense functions. This also explains why in the Isla Talavera case, the impact of the initiative has remain local in scope but sustainable and intense on its connections both to the students' families and to the community in general supporting the school' projects. In this cases, not scaling up should not be considered as a failure necessarily but as part of the nature of the initiative. Of course, there is anyway potential to build on bridging capital that could actually help on providing the school with a more strategic plan for their actions. In the other hand, Los Juries case unfortunately is an example of what Fox (1996) observed in the

⁹ Extract from Cichero, Feliu and Mauro, 2002.

Mexican indigenous communities, where strong networks of solidarity have not been enough to overcome poverty and those remain isolated from economic and social development.

In El Salvador, the CACH Committee has brought some benefits to the member organizations. Support is provided among the members while executing its own projects and the better knowledge of 'who is doing what' has improved the coordination by not overlapping programs. Improved positioning and credibility among the community and recognition as an important interlocutor at departmental and national level has been achieved also.

Among the cases reviewed from the SEKN selection the programs and strategies are based on bridging capital where valuable assets are connected to rural areas and projects that otherwise would not be reachable for them, it is hard to think how in which other way a Quilombola kid in rural Brazil would have direct support on protecting his or her rights from the European Union or how does a housewife in Juchitan, Oaxaca could get some money for her handcrafted fabrics from the Rockefeller Foundation. These strategies based on private, public and social actors use their social, economic and human assets, first to convoke a broader network of actors with additional assets to then channel them to local based organizations or entrepreneurs. The main challenge for the bridging models to reduce poverty is to guarantee that the channeling of resources is accompanied by a process to strength or create bonding capital in the local community so better use of the assets can be reached. Many good intentions to 'pump in' new assets without being sure that the local habitants do already have the skills to protect their assets and transform them into better livelihoods through the decisions they make (As Fox 1996 suggest) result in fruitless social investment discouraging social investors and giving only temporary solutions for poor people. Following this, social capital has a double role in the poverty reduction strategy: both as precondition and objective. If the initial context to develop a cross sectoral alliance for poverty reduction lacks of the basic requirement of social capital -

willingness to collaborate, trust, coordination, matching interest- then the objective should be ‘down graded’ in order to first create adequate conditions and attitudes to start a more ambitious strategy. This also helps to create a process where a small success motivates the community to step up for larger challenges, rather than losing faith on the possibility to overcome poverty.

Reducing poverty in Latin America, as in other regions, does not only require increasing assets but also creating a framework to get access and produce them in a more equitable basis. Deep inequalities in the region exist, among other complex reasons, because large part of the population is excluded from the possibility to even try to generate their own assets. A declaration from the Regional Director of the World Bank in Latin America (World Bank and Mideplan, 1997)¹⁰ can be quite revealing in this sense: “To the extent that the poor have no money or land or businesses, they have nothing left but their personal abilities, therefore the best investment we can make is in training. The only property or asset of the poor is their ability to work, therefore, education increases their ability to increase their income”. Reading carefully, this logic is missing—intentionally or unintentionally – the possibility for the poor to get access to different assets besides their labor and wages. Some sort of status quo is proposed by not modifying the fact that ‘poor have no money (to invest), or land or businesses’ but only wages. Giving equitable access to resources require consensus primarily, but at some points imply also conflict of interest; the lack of a true rule of law adds another major impediment to advance in this goal. This is why broad alliances for poverty reduction are easier to achieve in less controversial or critical fields – as health, education or culture as the case of ABRINQ Foundation - compared to potentially conflictive ones - transparency and access to information, human rights, human trafficking, labor conditions, or natural resources protection as the CACH case-. Those critical fields do also require to include a CSA with specific characteristics. Education, health and culture strategies to reduce

¹⁰ Myrna Alexander. Regional Director until early 2000’s, then Director of Sub regions in L.A. and now representative of the WB in Argentina.

poverty can also reach a point where controversies and conflict of interest can appear according to how 'deep' or structural the transformations wanted by the alliance are.

Regarding the main research question of how relevant is the CSA to reduce poverty, based on the results found, partnerships and alliances among actors especially in rural areas appear as crucial in efforts for poverty reduction as tools to improve the efficiency and impact. These alliances are sustainable over the time if certain conditions are found including adaptability and mutuality of interest. One of the reasons justifying this approach is that dynamics in rural communities are intensive in terms of interaction among sectors related to the compact arena where those take place. The broader the agreement found among the relevant actors, without losing execution ability, the possibilities of sustainability will be higher. The scarcity of resources is another strong motivation to sum assets and resources in order to have a stronger or broader impact. Isolated actions based on own resources can result in ineffective and expensive initiatives with a limited contribution to the final goal.

How ever, the CSA in efforts to reduce rural poverty is a tool and not an end, the conjunction of efforts do not automatically will generate better results; the results will be defined by the specific characteristics of the alliance and how does it is managed. CSPs are considered to belong to a single category in nature and are being promoted regardless their specific characteristics. From the cases reviewed it is evident that there are differences among the partnerships that also make a difference in its outcomes. It would be interesting to develop some sort of classification of this cross sectoral alliances for poverty reduction according to different aspects: which assets do the actors have and provide to the alliance , which is the decision-making power of each actor and therefore which is the potential of the alliance to become into another actor at national level; to what extent does the interests among actors match each other and to identify in which aspects those might collide.

Finally, social capital is an additional element in the efforts to reduce poverty and foster development. The concept provided the valuable notion of recognizing that the poor people do not need only money or material assets but a broader set of skills and abilities that imply a more complex social process not measurable in economic terms. It also brought to the debate the importance of the involvement of the poor communities themselves in contrast to the traditional bottom up solutions. However, it is important not to lose sight that the main objective is to reduce poverty and not to build social capital. Too much effort has been done so far and money has been invested in 'generating and measuring social capital' when there is still so much room of improvement in the impact measurement field in quantitative and qualitative terms, to evaluate current traditional-orthodox and not traditional efforts of reducing poverty which at the end is the main source of learning for improving the livelihoods of poor and rural communities.

Conclusion

This work was aimed to answer if cross sectoral partnerships generate social capital and therefore reduce poverty in a more efficient way than isolated efforts from one sector. Nine cases from the UNDP-WB Program of 'Cross Sectoral Partnerships for Poverty Reduction' and the SEKN compilation of 'front-line' strategies to reduce poverty were presented reviewing the background context, the main actions and programs executed, and the presence of interactions with other sectors. It was found that alliances among actors especially in rural areas are crucial in efforts for poverty reduction as tools to improve the efficiency and impact of poverty reduction strategies. The cross sectoral approach can be sustainable over the time if certain conditions are found including adaptability and interest agreement. The interaction among sectors in rural areas generate and is based on bonding and bridging social capital which is a pre condition and permanent component needed to scale up the impact of poverty reduction strategies

Appendices

Annex I

Success cases selected by UNDP and World Bank Review 1998-2011

Note: Due the word limit restrictions, detailed profiles of the initiatives in 1998 and 2011 are available upon request.

Case 1

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| Country | Argentina |
| Case study | Peasant Cooperative Los Juries |
| Organizations / sectors involved | Cooperative Unión Campesina Ltda. (civil) Cooperativa de Trabajo 'Consultar' (private-civil) Manutextil S.A. (private) National University Santiago del Estero Provincial government of Santiago del Estero National Social Development National Secretary Agriculture, Fisheries and Food National Secretary Inter American Development Bank |
| Profile in 1998 | Small-scale cotton production cooperative integrated by around 530 families. They shared costs and infrastructure for production and commercialization. The cooperative results were considered to increase the income for the peasants, improve living conditions and reduce migration rates. |
| Current situation | <p>Just one or two years after this case were presented as a success story by the WB and UNDP, the soy production had an unprecedented expansion and nowadays Argentina is the 3rd world producer. The agricultural policy in Argentina since then had been focused in this crop production crowding-out other type of plantations including cotton that now is imported. It is calculated that around 160,000 peasant families across the country in the last decade have left and sell their lands to industrial agricultural companies. Much of the land in Los Juries is owned by large conglomerates, however there are still some small-scale cotton producers</p> <p>The scarce water at Los Juries has 10 more times arsenic than the proper level for human use. Most of the people are affected by the Chagas disease because of the contaminated water and skin dryness.</p> <p>The most recent information regarding the Peasant Cooperative Los Juries was in 2004.</p> <p>The same year that the case was selected as success story by UNDP and World Bank, 1999, another study was carried out – in March 1999- but published in 2002 also by the World Bank (Cichero, Feliu and Mauro, 2002) There story of Los Juries and the Peasant Cooperative shows the strength of this communitarian organization, however the perception of the Cooperative members to the local public and private sector is completely different from that one in the 'success case': <i>"Technology</i></p> |

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| | <i>generates unemployment because it brings machines", "What they want is for us to be some kind of slave." , "Before, you could buy everything. It has been years since I bought a chair; I can't buy clothes. There isn't enough money for food. We eat every day, but only at noon, not in the evening."</i> |
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Case 2

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| Country | Argentina |
| Case study | Isla Talavera- Dual Education for a Better Life |
| Organizations / sectors involved | School num.25 Martín Miguel de Güemes (public education) SIDERCA now TENARIS (private steel pipelines producer) The Campana Municipality The Council for Family and Human Development and the Direction of Culture and Education of the Buenos Aires Provincial Government. |
| Profile in 1998 | The project started as workshops to instruct the students in agricultural and farming skills as a way to recover the lost abilities in the community of land working for auto consumption food production, employment generation and to improve the dietary habits among the families of the students. The local school functions as the point of delivery for a range of government services, including transportation, employment, food, education, birth control information, and vocational training. |
| Current situation | The school Martín Miguel de Güemes continues working with the model of Dual Education which basically means the students and professors stay at school for 8 hours daily. Some of the projects developed by the school in the last years are the installation of water filters in the students' homes, support to the electricity cooperative with funds, bullfrog breeding for exportation, beekeeping project and production of rabbit meat for auto consumption. The orchard for pedagogic purposes is still in function and now it counts with a water system to improve the efficiency of the plantation. The students count with a nutritional program to detect and treat malnutrition or other illness. |

Case 3

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| Country | Bolivia |
| Case study | National Center for Rural Training CENPUR of the Tomas Katari Polytechnic Institute IPTK |
| Organizations / sectors involved | National Center for Rural Training CENPUR (society) Tomas Katari Polytechnic Institute IPTK (society) NOVIB-Holland Provincial government Local Catholic Church Health and Education National Ministries Local private companies German Agro-Action organization, UNICEF, FAO Holland |
| Profile in 1998 | CENPRUR trained until 1998 more than 870 young men and women coming from rural and indigenous communities as Technicians in health, agriculture, rural building and municipal public administration, the |

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| | compromise from the students is to work in favor of their home communities a least for two years. Trained students graduated from CENPRUR provide their services as professionals in most of the IPTK projects. In the Chayanta Province, it was registered an increase on income, improvement of production systems as a result of the program |
| Current situation | CENPRUR has now more than 2,500 graduated students. The CENPRUR keeps their strong practical approach and what they call integral technical-socio-political formation. IPTK had added to its educational and health services a human rights action line and ecologic management. In 2000 CEPAL recognized Pensilvania as a remarkable experience in local development. The project still has a strong cross sectoral approach mainly with the public sector and other foundations and social networks at international and national level. |

Case 4

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| Country | Colombia |
| Case study | Wood Productive Development Center of Caldas (CDPM) in Pensilvania, Colombia |
| Organizations / sectors involved | Pensilvania municipality National Integrated College of West Caldas IES CINOC National Service of Learning – SENA Local companies – Pro Oriente Company Ltda. and Maderas de Oriente S.A. Dario Maya Foundation (CSO) Organization of Ibero American States (International public agency) |
| Profile in 1998 | In 1988 the municipality proposed to develop the CDPM to make the wood production and reforestation the main economic force for the town and to recover the forest affected by coffee plantations and cattle rising. CDPM trains technicians in the area of design, transformation procedures and machinery maintenance. It also functions as micro-enterprise incubator providing to woodworkers and artisans training in administrative, costs and commercialization issues and offers credit and commercial consulting during the process. |
| Current situation | CPDM nowadays is to training technicians specialized in different aspects of the productive change in the wood industry. The Center also transforms the sawmill waste into decorative products. In 2000 CEPAL recognized Pensilvania as a remarkable experience in local development The Dario Maya Foundation has developed a shoe and clothes productive project, berry commercial farming project and bakery. The educative and technical formation centers attract people beyond the municipality, citizen participation is high compared to other rural communities with 70% on voting turnout rates, in the capital there is 100% coverage of electricity services and 95% in rural areas and the |

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| | health services are available almost in the entire territory. They still face poverty problems but not in extreme poverty and the unemployment rate is below 10%. |
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Case 5

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| Country | El Salvador |
| Case study | Chalatenango Environmental Committee (CACH) |
| Organizations / sectors involved | The permanent group integrating the CACH board involved 8 different public entities and civic organizations while the total number of members involving and participating in certain activities and projects was 30. The group consisted in local CSOs, local authorities and entities, security and police organizations, peasants, artisans and small farmers' organizations, and international agencies for development. |
| Profile in 1998 | It is an area affected by the armed conflict in the 80's with a polarized context in the communities. In 1995 when ADEL-Chalatenango (civil organization) and PRO-CHALATE (public program) called for the creation for the CACH with the purpose to join all the local public and private entities oriented towards environmental protection and recovery, to establish direct contact and to coordinate efforts in a cooperative forum. They made the Departmental Environmental Development Plan 1996-2000 among other actions. |
| Current situation | CACH continues its activities and in 2009 the Committee was "re launched" proposing a new scheme of action including four commissions: economic transformation, environmental management, human development and incidence in public policies. In November 2010 they presented the new Departmental Plan for Environmental Management and Human Development. CACH has been the pioneer in the proposal of the Payment for Environmental Services to the communities in Chalatenango for the value of the water resources, biodiversity and other environment services provided an innovative approach to environment preservation. In 2005 the rate of poverty was 37 and extreme poverty 17.7 |

Annex II

Innovative social actions selected by SEKN Review 2006-2010

Case 1

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| Country | Argentina |
| Social enterprise | Fundación Crear Vale la Pena (FCVP) |
| Profile and main actions | Artistic formation and training to promote social development among social sectors with low resources. These actions take place at communitarian cultural centers. |
| Interaction with other sectors (not including relations just as donors) | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Oil Company OXY (Now Sinopec Argentina Exploration and Production, Inc.) supported the development of two communitarian centers (Nuestro Lugar). • The Latin American Network of Art and Social Transformation signed an agreement with the Pan American Health Organization targeting child autism. • FCVP participates in the 'first project for Common Value Creation in Art and Dialogue for Local Development' to foster cultural development as engine for local economies through public-private management. • It has alliances with 6 other artistic and cultural foundations and initiatives at local and international level. |

Case 2

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| Country | Argentina |
| Social enterprise | Arcor Foundation |
| Profile and main actions | Corporative foundation of Group Arcor leader in world production and South American exports of candies. The foundation is focused in childhood education. It does so through the support and promotion of educational projects carried out by organizations articulated in communities across the country. |
| Interaction with other sectors (not including relations just as donors) | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The program <u>Community Education Opportunities (CEO)</u> works with the Inter American Foundation and three foundations as local partners. • The <u>Initiative Together for Education</u> is integrated by Arcor Foundation, Minetti Foundation (by the Minetti Cements company) and Nicolas Foundation (local CSO) one of the action lines of this Initiative is: "Articulation and inter-sector alliances focused on the institutionalization of associative practices around educational issues and policies. • <u>Local Educational Actions Initiative</u> launched by the foundations and member companies of the Argentina Nodo of RedEAmérica. Arcor, Acindar, Standard Bank, Minetti, Telefónica foundations (private companies) and the Shell Argentina company carry out this initiative supporting the associated local management of projects to |

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| | improve the educational opportunities for kids in the community. |
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Case 3

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| Country | Argentina |
| Social enterprise | Acindar Foundation |
| Profile and main actions | Executes and support several projects in the fields of education, environment, health, security, and social promotion. The Foundation is the ‘social branch’ of the leader steel company in the country, Acindar S.A.; the programs are developed in communities where the company has industrial plants and in more regions through alliances with other organizations. |
| Interaction with other sectors (not including relations just as donors) | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The program ‘<u>Teaching Update Seminars</u>’ in mathematics, physics and chemistry is implemented in alliance with the Buenos Aires Technological Institute (private university). • The program ‘<u>Potenciar</u>’ has as objective to strength the networks in small communities in the Buenos Aires province to foster communitarian development through strategies linking private, public and civil society initiatives. The program is developed in alliance with 3 CSOs and 8 private companies. • Program <u>Local Educational Actions</u> in the provinces of Santa Fe y Mendoza, executed in alliance with one Foundation and 4 private companies. • The ‘<u>Strengthening Links</u>’ program was aimed to improve the articulation among high-school, university and labor market. It was an initiative of teachers, business leaders and students at Villa Consitucion. Supported by San Andres University (private). • The Foundation and the Garrahan Pediatric Hospital (public) have a program for <u>Paper Recycling</u> • There are at least other 9 programs in collaboration with other non-profit Foundations. |

Case 4

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| Country | Brazil |
| Social enterprise | Fundação Abrinq pelos Direitos da Criança e do Adolescente |
| Profile and main actions | The Foundation has the mission to defend the rights of the child and adolescent by means of social mobilization. Its main work areas are health, education and social protection. The foundation is the ‘social branch’ of the Brazilian Association of Manufacturers of Toys – ABRINQ – a non-profit class entity that officially represents the industry of the toy sector. |
| Interaction with | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u>Mayors Friends of Children</u> It counts with 14 public |

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| <p>other sectors (not including relations just as donors)</p> | <p>agencies as partners and 5 private agencies.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u>Business Friends of Children</u> Until 2010 there are 945 Empresas Amigas da Criança. • <u>Programa Nossas Crianças</u> the program transfers funds from individuals or business to civil society organizations that provide services to low resources kids and their families. • <u>Youth Justice Project</u> aims to reduce violence and improve the attention given in 10 care and justice public institutions. The partners of the project are public and private institutions • <u>Programa Criança com Todos os seus Direitos</u> for indigenous groups and 'quilombolas'. The partners of the project are 8 civic organizations co-funded by the European Union. • <u>A Primeira Infância Vem Primeiro</u> The program seeks to engage strategic social actors such as private enterprise, representative forums, CSOs, media and education. • <u>Projeto Escola no Campo</u> The project is led by Abrinq, Syngenta a major agri-business working in sustainable agriculture and the Education Secretariat in São Paulo. • <u>Programa Adotei um Sorriso (Adopt a smile)</u> It counts with 1.577 volunteer independent health professionals • <u>Projeto Rir e Educar (Project Laugh and Educate)</u> It promotes and provides services for dental care for children and teenagers in 10 municipalities in conjunction with Oral-B (private) |
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