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ABSTRACT

Community development is still a relatively untouched field both professionally and academically. As a profession, community development workers are still trying to understand what their role is in terms of best practices for themselves, the agency they represent and most importantly, the community they are working for. Academically, community development professionals can not rely on current research for guidance. The existing literature is marred by conflicting findings and the inability to reach agreed upon definitions of the major constructs of community development. There has been a wealth of research completed that documents the challenge in reaching agreed upon definitions of the most basic tenants of community development theory such as participation, empowerment and even community. However, very few have examined the current trends of community development from the perspective of the local people for whom professionals and academics are suppose to be representing.

Using a grounded theory methodology, this study looks at the concept of social capital from the perspective of women involved in grassroots community action in Villa El Salvador, Peru. The unique experience of seven local leaders was shared though the use of in-depth interviews. The information gathered was used to locally define the current community development buzzwords, namely social capital, and establish its role in women-led grassroots community development initiatives.

Through the grounded theory process three categories emerged from the data. These categories were: foundation for social capital, framework for community action and factors effecting sustainability. These categories provided the basis for two models for community development that relies on a strong foundation of social capital in order to begin and sustain grassroots community initiatives. The categories also examine from a local perspective the factors that affect
the sustainability of community development efforts and speak to the importance of shared
definition of the major constructs in the field of community development.

The study concludes by examining the findings through the lens of existing literature, its
contribution to social work, academically and professionally, and implications for future research.
To the Women of Villa El Salvador whose Strength and Spirit are a Lifetime of Lessons
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CHAPTER ONE
INTRODUCTION

1.1 Setting the Context

The direction of this research project was motivated by my professional experiences as a social worker. The motivation to pursue this project was inspired by the frustration of working at the micro level when the issues were clearly macro in nature. That is, it seemed an impossible task to help individual families improve their life situations when the community they were living in was unhealthy and provided a major roadblock in creating and sustaining personal change.

Early attempts at community development efforts to meet the needs of disadvantaged inner-city communities in Regina, Saskatchewan were met with further frustration when it became clear that community development in Saskatchewan adhered to top down processes, whether directly or indirectly. The programs designed to address the issues were created outside of the community and imported as "best practices" as determined by the research conducted by government officials. Indirectly, the programs developed at a non-government level have had to be altered to fit subsidy criteria set out by government level funding bodies. The results were often community development initiatives that were ineffective at meeting community needs or, were simply not accepted by the "target community".

In reviewing the existing literature it became obvious that the first challenge to addressing this issue lay in reaching agreement on the definition of the most basic concepts of community development such as, participation, empowerment and even community itself (Buckland, 1998; Couto, 1998; Fowler, 1998; Korosy, 2000). This is due, in part, to the varying levels of organization involved in community development manipulating concept definitions to meet program requirements and agency mandates.
Although there is consensus that the most effective initiatives are developed using the principles of participation and empowerment (Buckland, 1998; Couto, 1998; Earle and Simonelli, 2000; Fowler, 1998; Wilson, 1996) care had to be taken to ensure that in discussing this we are in fact, talking through the same definition.

Further, existing literature presents the concepts of social capital, as a measure of sense of community, and sustainability as a community development goal. In reviewing the existing literature it seemed obvious that the two concepts, locally defined, could have significant ramifications for social work and community development (Buckland, 1998; Fowler, 1998; Garrison and Landim, 1996; Lyons et al, 2001; van Bastlelaer, 1999). The participatory nature of social capital touches on the importance of the values and skills necessary for effective social work practice, such as, fostering participation, strengthening community networks, mobilization and empowering people and populations for change (Wilson and Whitmore, 2000).

Further, the lack of success experienced by organizations employing top-down processes of community development has been well documented and although the literature suggests the importance of local ownership in creating positive and sustainable change, the struggle for control and ownership overshadows the best practices of outside development agencies. Social work and community development, by virtue of definition, supports the findings in the community development literature in that both practices encourage the use of local definition in creating social capital, and encouraging empowerment and participation.

1.2 Study Goals and Objectives

The challenges of community development and its major constructs begin with the basics of reaching a consensus of definition among those with a vested interest in the area. This holds true for the definition of social capital, the features of social organization that facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit (Putnam, 1995). Although most adhere to the definition assigned by Robert Putnam, the
founder of social capital, there exists discrepancy about the applied definitions of such concepts as cooperation and organization.

At a grassroots level these terms are viewed through the lens of community development theory and within the practices of true participatory development in which development efforts are community driven, designed for the community by the community. This is the process demonstrated in Villa El Salvador, a shantytown outside of Lima, Peru. The citizens of Villa El Salvador had to organize to demand basic services from the government, and when government assistance was not forthcoming, they had to come up with their own solutions to address community needs (Burt and Espejo, 1995). Their efforts have given Villa El Salvador the honour of becoming a common reference point for the majority of the discussions around grassroots organizing in Peru. As well, the Villa El Salvador community development process, though undocumented, has been employed with success in other areas of Latin America and has become part of the university curricula in Lima.

In addition to its success, the Villa El Salvador process holds an added unique characteristic in that the women in the community have guided it. The strength of women in grassroots community development in Latin America is not new; women have always played a prominent role in neighborhood forms of collective action, though their importance has seldom been explicitly acknowledged (Safa, 1990). The citizens of Villa El Salvador add a special touch in that the efforts have been accomplished using what academia defines as social capital as their major source of funding for their efforts; this is reflected in their slogan, "Because we have nothing, we shall do everything." (Burt and Espejo, 1995). It is this rich source of information that the researcher hopes to tap into through the research process.

1.2.1 Study Goals

The ultimate goals of the research project were to: 1) define social capital at a grassroots level and, 2) to define the process of building and maintaining social capital through the reflections and experiences
of the women of Villa El Salvador who have played a role in the definition and development of the community, since its conception in 1971.

1.2.2 Study Objectives

Using the example of the Villa El Salvador, the project: 1) looked at local definitions for the major constructs, social capital, sense of community and solidarity, 2) examined the role of social capital in women-led grassroots community development efforts, and 3) examined a possible community development process which used the three locally defined constructs to begin and sustain grassroots initiatives.

1.3 Rationale for the Research Project

The development initiatives undertaken by the women in Villa El Salvador are unique in that the goals of their efforts take into account their roles as wives and mothers. As a collective they struggle for their rights as housewives and mothers defending human rights against repression from the state (Burt and Espejo, 1995). These groups are distinctive in two ways. First, the majority of the women who participate in the organizations and head development initiatives are among Peru's poor population. Second, the development efforts are truly grassroots in that the programs are designed for the people by the people without financial aid from the state, as in the case of the community soup kitchens in Villa El Salvador (Burt and Espejo, 1995).

These advancements have been achieved despite the glaring discrepancy in literacy levels between the country's rich and poor. In Peru, 18% of the women do not have any education and there are three illiterate women for every illiterate man (Bejar, 2002). The trend in government inspired community initiatives is to promote full employment as a basic priority of economic policy. However, given the statistics on education and literacy, it is obvious that this priority will be pitted against immediate barriers and not accessible to the population for which it has been targeted. This is due to job requirements insisting that those eligible for employment opportunities have a certain level of education
or experience in the field. With such requirements it is not realistic to expect that the country's population of impoverished and marginalized people would be able to compete in the labour market. As a result, only 45% of Peruvian women are part of the economically active population and of those half are in the informal sector of which street vendors represent a large percentage. Government programs against poverty aim at introducing women into the workforce without first developing their autonomous capacity and potential (Bejar, 2002).

Community development initiatives are often developed using top-down processes wherein community development experts are imported to promote positive and lasting change. Due to funding constraints and unrealistic deadlines, these initiatives are usually time limited and ineffective in reaching their desired outcomes (Campfens, 1997; Hoff, 1998). Community development projects that adhere to principles of grassroots or bottom up processes aim at creating opportunity for full community participation in development efforts, to empower the community to promote change for themselves and increase social capital (Campfens, 1997; Grant, 2001; Hoff, 1998; Molyneux, 2002; Mubangizi, 2003; Murray, 2000). Social capital, community wealth that is created when individuals become active with the community and with members of the community (Homan, 1998), has become not only the goal of community development efforts that are sustainable, but also a major indicator of success. Villa El Salvador, a shantytown outside of Lima, Peru has implemented a community development framework that emphasizes the importance of community participation and empowerment in its process. In turn, Villa El Salvador, a community once characterized by widespread disadvantage, has prospered and demonstrated many positive and lasting changes.

1.4 An Overview of the Research Project

Using a grounded theory methodology, this research project set out to tap into this rich source of information through the use of in-depth interviews. The inconclusive nature of current research in
community development around definitions of major constructs made the use of research methods that emphasized exploration rather than explanation appropriate. The researcher sought to find local definitions of the major constructs through the unique experiences of women in grassroots development who have demonstrated the ability to create positive and lasting change with little financial backing.

In depth interviews with seven women identified as leaders in the community since the inception of Villa El Salvador in 1971 were used to identify local definitions of current community development concepts and explore the role these locally defined concepts played in beginning and sustaining community action. Through the grounded theory research process of joint data collection and analysis, three main categories and nine subcategories emerged each with their own dimensions to further define the focus of the study.

Chapter two examines the existing literature on social capital and its role in community development focusing on links made from the women's perspective and of that done in Latin America. Particular attention is given to the lack of consensus in definition in order to make a rationale for local definitions in adhering to the basic principles of community development theory. The chapter on methodology provides a rationale for qualitative methods and more specifically, grounded theory research in this study. Grounded theory research is examined within the context of the study carried out in Villa El Salvador, Peru with attention given to the grounded theory research process as it related to this study.

The results chapter outlines the three categories and nine subcategories that emerged from the joint data collection and analysis. The three categories and their subcategories are as follows: foundation for social capital (mutual spirit of struggle, sense of community and solidarity), framework for community action (initial organizational efforts, locating community leaders and developing process) and factors effecting sustainability (community development motivators, challenges to maintaining social capital and factors for continuing development).
The dimensions and properties of each category and sub-category are further illustrated through the voices of the research participants and two separate models are developed to demonstrate: 1) factors effecting development and maintenance of social capital and 2) the interplay between social capital and community action and the factors that effect sustainability. Finally, the discussion examines the research findings through the lens of social work, both professionally, in terms of implications for community development workers and academically, in terms of avenues for future research.
CHAPTER TWO
LITERATURE REVIEW

The following chapter will begin with a review of the literature on existing theories of community development. Further attention will be given to the major concepts of these theories, namely participation, empowerment and social capital as current trends in community development initiatives. The challenges associated with community development will be examined with an emphasis on reaching a consensus for defining the major constructs. Finally, women led community development initiatives in Latin America, and more specifically Villa El Salvador, Peru will be used to illustrate the strengths and weaknesses of applying locally defined constructs to grassroots initiatives.

2.1 Community Development

Community development initiatives designed to address social issues such as crime prevention, health care and child welfare have focussed more on micro-level responses. There has been a growing realization that in order to effectively respond to the individual needs of community members, we first have to ensure that the basic needs of disadvantaged communities are being met. For many communities, the majority of community members struggle to meet the needs of its families.

For these communities, micro level response seems futile when individuals and families who have struggled to change their personal situations have to return to communities that are not healthy enough to support individual improvements. The organizations involved in community development have the shared opinion that healthy communities create healthy families and healthy families create healthy children (Bose and Acosta-Belen, 1995).
Although the goal of community development is the same for all levels of organization, the path taken to achieve the goal varies greatly between government, non-government and grassroots organizations. The outcome is often a fierce competition between different organizational levels trying to achieve the same end result in community development; all groups wanting the same outcome, but not yet reaching a consensus on how this can be achieved.

Community development literature demonstrates that current trends have made it even easier for a unified front between different organizational levels with the emphasis on social capital, participation and empowerment in community development responses (Buckland, 1998; Couto, 1998; Fowler, 1998; Lyons, Smuts and Stephens, 2001; Najam and Robins, 2000; Wilson and Whitmore, 2000). It is now simply a matter of helping those with a vested interest in community development to realize that they are playing for the same team.

In reviewing the literature it was apparent that the immediate challenge was in finding agreed upon definitions of the major constructs. Each definition differed as it related to the manner in which the organization manipulated the concept to fit their mandate. The inability to find an agreed upon definition in the community development literature for the primary constructs offers explanation for the inability for different organizational levels to connect on community development issues.

2.1.1 Organizing the levels of organization

Community development encourages the growth and connection of community assets to benefit the community as a whole. Further, community development emphasizes the importance of ownership, that community members hold primary responsibility for decision making and community action. The goal of community development is to produce self-reliant, self-sustaining communities that are able to create positive and lasting change for the benefit of its members (Homan, 1998). However, community development responses differ when comparing efforts by agencies at the government level and those at the non-governmental level. Although most
organizational levels adhere to the ideology behind community development theory, there still exist discrepancies on how to best achieve the goal of self-reliant, self-sustaining communities.

Community work at a government level often employs top-down processes that are initiated and developed by outside observers as a means of addressing the needs of at-risk communities. The aim is often seen as "promoting political stability and social-order" (Korosy, 2000, pg.281) with the community development worker striving to achieve political stability rather than social change. Alternately, non-governmental community work has traditionally been seen as promoting bottom-up processes of development with the ultimate goal of creating social change for communities seen as powerless and vulnerable (Korosy, 2000, pg. 281). However, such a stark contrast does not always exist between government and non-government processes. This contrast begins with the definition of a non-government organization (NGO), which has been examined both as "grassroots" organizations (Couto, 1998) or as intermediaries bringing to communities pre-fabricated development projects that are funded and monitored by government organizations (Buckland, 1998).

Community development literature has examined the decline of authentic NGO value systems due to the pressure of local and global competition (Couto, 1998; Earle and Simonelli, 2000; Fowler, 1998). The challenge for NGO development efforts is in striking a balance between the organizations mandate and fulfilling obligations to program funders often comprised of government level financial bodies. The result is often aid efforts that are pre-determined, time limited and compromised by agendas of government level funding bodies (Najam and Robind, 2001).

The literature demonstrates that we can no longer assume that in discussing NGO's we are talking about bottom-up or grassroots processes. As a means of addressing this issue Fowler (1998) sets out to define the concept of an "authentic NGO partnership" as an NGO that has not bought into the quick-fix development efforts of government organizations and still adheres to the value of "true
partnerships between the organization and the community. A review of the literature in this area supports Fowler's notion of the authentic NGO partnership as being the direction to take in creating development programs that are accepted by the community and create sustainable change (Buckland, 1998; Couto, 1998; Earle and Simonelli, 2000; Fowler, 1998; Lyons et al, 2001; Roberts, 2000; Wilson, 1996).

The concept of authentic NGO is characterized by development that strives for honest partnerships between the agency and the community. The partnership aims at equality among members in which "open communication brings about common goals; a shared interpretation of the causes of poverty experienced by the community; people-centered development and intervention; mutuality; and respect for community identity, position and role" (Fowler, 1998, pg.141).

In defining NGO as a partnership in community development some common themes emerge that are shared among researchers in the field of community development. This includes examining the sustainability of development efforts in employing programs that are participatory and enhance empowerment and social capital. The motivators for development by the varying levels of organization differed greatly but the outcome, although expressed differently, was similar. The agendas called for responses that could rebuild the social fabric of the community through increasing participation, creating more community level networks and improving social solidarity (Molyneux, 2002).

2.2 Existing Community Development Models

Examining perspectives on community development is not an easy task as opinions and views have changed drastically over time and are often contingent on shifting political winds and agendas. As a result, what on paper is intended to illustrate best practices and what is witnessed as an end result of community initiatives can be unrecognizable from start to finish. Community development practices began as top-down bureaucratic responses in which local participation was
seen as an efficient or effective way of achieving items on the national development agenda (Mubangizi, 2003). They have since evolved, at least in theory, to include a new emphasis on community participation that encouraged the importance of activist involvement in development by or on behalf of the people it is intended to assist. (Campfens, 1997; Gittell et al., 2000; Grant, 2001; Hoff, 1998; Mubangizi, 2003; Murray, 2000).

Current thinking in this area holds the belief that by involving local people in conversation around power, inequality and oppression would, in turn, empower people to take collective action. Through this thinking came an emphasis on local participation, empowerment and participatory learning approaches which continue to influence community development initiatives (Brocklesby and Fisher, 2003). The literature speaks to support of community development that identifies with the basic components of community development theory. However, there exists discrepancies between what is recognized as being essential to effective community development practices and the work that is being endorsed and carried out in disadvantaged communities. Further discussion will examine community development theory and the bureaucratically endorsed Sustainable Livelihoods Approach in order to see whether or not government level practices are following what is now identified as best practices in their latest approach to development.

2.2.1 The Community Development Model

The community development model, “promotes the acquisition, maturation and connection of community assets to benefit the whole” (Homan, 1998, pg.37). Successful application of the community development model maintains that members of the community hold primary responsibility for decision-making and community action. The emphasis on participation and empowerment in the community development model creates self-reliant, self-sustaining communities that are able to address identified issues, mobilize resources and create initiatives that benefit the community as a whole (Homan, 1998).
Homan (1998) suggests that there are eleven elements of community development necessary to the model. These are: build on community assets, increase individual skills, connect people with one another, make connections with existing resources, create or increase community resources, allow community to assume ownership of direction, action and resources, encourage community members to do all work possible, create positive, external relationships, build community self-reliance and confidence, create organizations that are self-sustaining and enhance the quality of life.

A successful community development foundation that incorporates the fundamental elements of the community development model creates a fertile atmosphere for initiatives and activities. However, the literature suggests a distinction be made between community development and community action (Couto, 2001; Homan 1998). Community action is local organizing efforts that occur prior to community development when disadvantaged communities first need to secure rights or opportunities that they are being deprived of. In these communities community action and community development are part of a process of change that cannot occur without involvement of both.

Community action can bring local issues to the forefront and promote initial community organization but many communities run the risk of not advancing past the conflict-oriented strategies of community action. In order to become empowered, the community has to advance past initial reaction to addressing community issues and putting forward their own agenda for change. Where initial conflict may be necessary to establish individual and community rights, the criteria of empowerment and participation can only be met with attention given to capacity building through identifying abilities and responsibilities (Homan, 1998).

Through this process communities are motivated to determine actions for change and establish a means of achieving goals using the aspects of reciprocity and self-help as fuel for local community
development efforts. The central aspect of the community development model being that
development efforts are established for the people by the people and experts in the field are put in
place simply to coordinate local efforts. The goals are self-reliant, self-sustaining communities that
will continue progressing after development agencies have been removed.

It is this end result that appealed to the government agencies in search of more effective
community development responses. Using the central ideas of the community development
model, the Sustainable Livelihoods Approach was put forward as the government level translation
of community development best practices. Although the goal was to translate best practices from
the theory behind the community development model, many argue that, at best, a very thin line can
be drawn between the two approaches.

2.2.2 Sustainable Livelihoods Approach

The Sustainable Livelihoods Approach has four main components. First, people are seen as living
within a vulnerability context. A vulnerability context recognizes that people are exposed to risks,
through sudden changes in the environment, trends over time and seasonal change. Second,
people have five main capital assets from which they can draw upon to form their livelihoods.
Together the five capital assets are used to construct an asset pentagon to assess people’s overall
asset base. These capital assets are: social capital (social networks and reciprocal, trusting
relationships), natural capital (land, water, minerals, living creatures), financial capital (savings,
cash, credit), physical capital (transport, shelter, water, energy, communications) and human
capital (skills, knowledge, ability to work) (Brocklesby and Fisher, 2003; Mubangzi, 2003). Third,
these assets are drawn on within people’s livelihood strategies. Livelihood strategies are the
choices and activities employed in order to generate a living or encourage positive livelihood
outcomes. Fourth, policies, institutions and processes are created to support people’s access to
assets and livelihood activities, as well as the vulnerability context they are part of. It is through
this final component that connections can be made between livelihood activities taking place at the local level and those occurring at a governmental level, involving institutional and policy involvement (Brocklesby and Fisher, 2003).

The Sustainable Livelihoods Approach has been given the responsibility of bridging the distance between local community development initiatives and government programs and agendas. The goal of the Sustainable Livelihoods Approach was to demonstrate the shift in development practice from the needs-based, resource-centered solutions to a focus on people, recognizing their capacity to initiate and sustain positive change. In doing this there was an expectation that development initiatives at all levels would understand the complexities of living and surviving in poor communities based on human criteria rather than measures of income, consumption and employment (Brocklesby and Fisher, 2003).

Sustainable Livelihoods Approach has been criticized for its deviation from community development thinking and practice (Arce, 2003; Bradford, 2003; Brocklesby and Fisher, 2003). This stray from the basic principles of community development theory suggests yet another top down endeavour masking the agenda of linking community level initiatives to broader policy processes within the framework of community development.

The most notable discrepancy in discussions of community development theory and Sustainable Livelihoods Approach is the absence of consideration of the usefulness of community development tools and practices for transforming Sustainable Livelihoods Approaches into actions at the local level (Brocklesby and Fisher, 2003). This has been explained by the role that international development agencies have played in promoting the Sustainable Livelihoods Approach. The effort of international development agencies to sever the ties between community development and the Sustainable Livelihoods Approach may be due in part to the fact that the concept of community is
too crude a unit of analysis to measure the nature of relationships experienced by people within and outside a community.

Again, the discrepancy in definitions of community development concepts reflects the complexity of community development practices, which may often employ similar language that holds entirely different meanings (Brocklesby and Fisher, 2003; Campfens, 1997). Although there has been a common focus on community development practices that encourage empowerment, participation and co-operation, the drive for community development to be locally situated presents a challenge to Sustainable Livelihood Approaches that are primarily externally driven to incorporate community-level methods and practices (Arce, 2003; Bradford, 2003; Brocklesby and Fisher, 2003).

With literature encouraging the collaboration of efforts among levels of organization for sustainable community development initiatives, it seems that a fundamental characteristic of Sustainable Livelihoods Approach should be the inclusion of basic tenets of community development theory. Of particular importance for the success of initiatives adopting this approach that emphasizes the growth of human and social capital is an increase in participation and empowerment of community members. The connection between community development theory and Sustainable Livelihoods Approach should be obvious. However, this would require government level organizations to place more importance on the human and social, rather than the capital.

This brings to the forefront the ongoing challenge of balancing government and non-government responses in addressing the needs of disadvantaged communities. The joint recognition of what is necessary for success of community development initiatives is clear, however, the steps taken to achieve this goals are often marred by agendas and accountability. That is, through consensus we are able to note the trends in community development practice while the discrepancies outline the current challenges.
2.3 Community Development: Trends and Challenges

Community development responses have recognized the importance of participation, empowerment and the creation of social capital to be evident in the initiatives. Through this it is believed that sustainable community development can be achieved and future generations will benefit from today's endeavours. However, the optimism of a shared understanding of current development trends is hindered by the inability to achieve agreed upon definitions of the central tenets of community development initiatives. Theses trends and challenges will be discussed in the following section and further attention will be given to the struggle for definition that plays a crucial role in community development theory and practice.

2.3.1 Current Trends in Development

The current development agenda has focused on new ways to address social and political problems by emphasizing the importance of a shared responsibility between the community and the state. The quest for partnership between local citizens and the state was not as noble as it appeared on the surface and is probably best expressed in the World Bank's 1997 Report where it petitioned for, "greater efforts to take the burden off the state by involving citizens and communities in the delivery of core collective goods" (World Bank, 1997:117). After years of employing top-down measures that encouraged dependency on development programs, the state had finally been forced by budget constraints to adhere to the participatory aspects of community development theory. The new emphasis on citizenship and participation made social capital, by virtue of state definition, a logical buzzword for new development agendas.

Through the encouragement of participation and empowerment that are central to community development theory, social capital is created and employed to further the development process at a local level. Social capital is the latest buzzword in community development circles and is used to
describe, "the features of social organization such as networks, norms, and social trust that facilitate co-ordination and co-operation for mutual benefit" (Putnam, 1995, pg.66).

Molyneux (2002) emphasizes four ways in which the concept of social capital intersects with the new development agenda. First, social capital addresses the desire for decentralization of government-funded responses through its connection to community. Social capital is the outcome of citizen participation, it is seen as the glue that holds the community together and increases citizen's desire for collective benefits (Putman, 1995). Second, the idea that communities are better able to respond to welfare and development needs is a central tenant of the new development agenda. Third, social capital places emphasis on the virtues of self-help and voluntary work to promote increased self-reliance and ownership. Fourth, through a combination of these aspects social capital is expected to reduce the costs associated with development. This is accomplished through increasing efficiency by mobilizing local resources that are freely given and thought to be sustainable because the community is working for the collective interest.

The combination of participation and empowerment to create social capital is used to further efforts that are hoped to be sustainable, that is community change that is positive and lasting. The exact relationship between participation, empowerment and social capital in creating sustainable community development is not yet known, but has captured the attention of community development workers from all levels of organization.

The literature on community development within NGO's all speaks to the importance of and relationship between participatory development, empowerment and social capital in creating sustainable development efforts. Buckland (1998) argues that community development does not begin with the implementation of a program, but with the foundation of trust built prior to program development. In order for there to be success in any of these areas or to create a true grassroots atmosphere, community developers must take the time to familiarize themselves with the
community, to learn the culture and traditions, take time to talk with community members and find out who the community decision makers are and begin to build relationships for further cooperation and collaboration.

The conclusions derived by many researchers demonstrate that community development is a process, and many steps must be taken to ensure sustainability that measures success (Couto, 1998; Earle and Simonelli, 2000; Fowler, 1998; Roberts, 2000; Wilson, 1996). The process of community development works in a continually changing environment as participation, empowerment and social capital, deemed necessary for sustainability, are formed. The process of community development begins with the workers learning about the community and the people they will be working for, which enhance the opportunity for participation by community members in the development process. This, in turn, increases feelings of individual and societal empowerment and improves social capital. Increased social capital, in turn, creates a more fertile atmosphere for participatory development, and so the cycle continues. It is this process that leads to community development that is sustainable.

2.3.2 Current Challenges

Lyons, Smuts and Stephens (2001) and Laverack (2001) sought to operationalize aspects of community development, such as level of participation and empowerment in order to measure development outcomes quantitatively. Wilson (1998) argued for qualitative research stating that in order to, “humanize the discipline of community economic development, our research must include the subjective, the intangible and the unquantifiable” (pg. 628). As well, because community development is a relatively new area of study, much of the research is directed towards examining the program evaluations of unsuccessful community development efforts by government level organizations (Kenny, 2002; Roberts, 2000; Tucker-Rambally, 1999)
Outcomes supported the shared findings of researchers in the area of community development; that participation, empowerment and social capital have a positive influence on one another. However, the research conclusions were less than enthusiastic. Although there were positive influences on community development, characterized by participation, empowerment and increased social capital, sustainable development programs were not always the result. While some researchers concluded that this form of community development was successful in achieving sustainable development (Couto, 1998; Fowler, 1998; Roberts, 2000; Wilson, 1996), others felt that even though this was a step in the right direction, for some reason or another these programs fell short of success (Bradshaw, 2000; Klingebiel, 1999; Korosy, 2000; Lyons, Smuts and Stephens, 2001). This was demonstrated in the inability of the target community to continue the program once the professional staff was removed.

The researchers who evidenced a successful sustainable development program attributed the success to the participatory quality of the program that increased empowerment and social capital (Buckland, 1998; Fowler, 1998; Lyons et al, 2001). The development programs found to be unsuccessful discussed the instability of funding (Buckland, 1998; Lyons et al., 2000; Vetter, 2001), NGO's creating dependent attachments with the target community (Earle and Simonelli, 2000; Fowler, 1998; Korosy, 2000) and not allowing enough time for the process of sustainable community development to be completed (Bradshaw, 2000; Earle and Simonelli, 2000; Lyons et al., 2001).

However, Lyons and colleagues (2001) argue that community development goes through growing pains or periods of vulnerability that challenge the successful outcome of the program. These times are found to occur at predictable points during the development process in response to a major change in a situation that the organization does not have much experience in, such as receiving funding or program expansion.
Lyons and colleagues (2001) remedy this issue by arguing that given time, the organization will rise to meet the challenges and evolve and grow as the cycle of community development continues. This presents an important point in measuring the success of development programs. Development programs are often time limited and expectations for the targeted community to develop skills necessary to manage independently may be too high.

Future research will have to continue to work within a profession that is in its own developmental stages. This means a continued effort to further define not only the field, but also the concepts needed for measurement in research (Laverack, 2001; Niebanck, 1999; Tucker-Rambally, 1999). There has been a renewed interest and appreciation of authentic NGO partnerships due to the ineffectiveness of government directed and sponsored development projects (Vetter, 2001). It is important for the field of community development to define itself and its research methods in order to self-educate and not continue the pattern of error of past efforts in sustainable development.

Regardless of the outcome, the researchers examining sustainable community development shared an appreciation for participatory development, empowerment and social capital in creating sustainable and lasting development programs. The shared premise was that the outcome of community development efforts that had its roots in theories of participation created more sustainable development due to increases in empowerment and social capital (Couto, 1998; Fowler, 1998; Lyons et al., 2001).

It is obvious the role that definition plays in the field of community development, both in theory and in practice. With the discrepancy in definition, we cannot be certain that we are sharing similar discussions about the theory and practice of community development. Although the research is less than conclusive, there seems to be agreement on the importance of participation, empowerment and social capital in community development and further attention to definition is required to strengthen discussions in development circles.
2.4 Struggle for Definition

The challenges of community development and its major constructs begin with the basics of reaching a consensus of definition among those with a vested interest in the area. This holds true for the definition of social capital, the features of social organization that facilitate co-ordination and co-operation for mutual benefit (Putnam, 1995). Although most adhere to the definition assigned by Robert Putnam, the founder of social capital, there exists discrepancy about the applied definitions of such concepts as co-operation and organization.

The challenge of defining community development concepts begins again with levels of organization involved in the development process. Traditionally, professional experts who are in charge of major decision-making manipulate, rather than facilitate development processes. It is the role of the trained expert to be knowledgeable about best practices and transfer this knowledge to communities whom by definition are unknowledgeable. This mindset has contributed to professionals viewing themselves as owners of development knowledge and having the solutions to community issues that often undermine the capacities of the local people to make their own decisions and determine their own priorities (Botes and van Rensburg, 2000; Wilson and Whitmore, 2000).

The subsequent entries will look at the many and oftentimes conflicting definitions of the concepts associated with community development: participation, empowerment and social capital. The writer will try to provide definitions that are in line with current thoughts on community development in relation to varying organizational levels.

2.4.1 Participation

Community participation in development is advocated for many reasons in its importance in the development process. However, the concept of community participation has been recognized as
one of the most misunderstood concepts in the field of community development. The concept of community participation plays a large role in understanding basic principles that guide many development efforts, yet little has been done to analyze the different forms that participation can take (Botes and van Rensburg, 2000; Buckland, 1998). Participation provides the basis for other development concepts, such as empowerment and social capital, and without a shared understanding of participation, comprehension of these additional aspects are lost.

Participatory development has been the focus of much research in creating sustainable change in impoverished communities (Buckland, 1998; Fowler, 1998; Lyons et al, 2001; Najam and Robins, 2000). Buckland (1998) distinguishes between participation as a contribution and participation as empowerment. As a contribution, participation involves community members prescribing to the community development objectives of an external agency, essentially top-down development. Participation as empowerment sees outside involvement as advocacy in supporting the community to become organized both socially and politically.

Buckland goes on to argue that many outside organizations have bought into similar minimalist approaches to participation as contribution because of cost effectiveness of importing programs that are essentially developed, funded and managed externally. However, it is a shared opinion among researchers that low participation as empowerment in the development and implementation of a program leads to low sustainability of development change (Buckland, 1998; Fowler, 1998; Lyons et al., 2001).

Under these circumstances, community participation cannot be observed as an actual attempt to empower communities to make community development decisions, but rather an attempt to sell local people on preconceived ideas (Botes and van Rensburg, 2000; Grant, 2003). In such situations, development experts often enter the community with decisions made regarding development priorities and responses to chosen social issues. Although the program is often
government funded, the expectation for community participation is nothing more than informing the community of what is going to occur and convincing them that this is what is best.

The community participation acquired through various schemes of participation as contribution have the benefit to development agencies of receiving recognition for employing what, at face value, looks like practices that adhere to community development theory. However, it takes little effort to identify the transparently top-down processes that characterize the development program that is grounded in participation as contribution. Communities that are susceptible to manipulation and misappropriation offer fertile ground for this exploitation of participation to occur. This has been evidenced in some Latin American countries where local organizations will deliberately accept co-option to gain access to much needed resources (Grant, 2003).

Participation as contribution can be examined within the context of the changing role of State and its effect on community development practices. Through the changing role of State, participation has positioned local community members in the realm of community development in varying levels, from measurable units in a theoretical process meeting economic and political expectations; as beneficiaries of programs; as contributors of labour to help complete a project; as co-opters meeting policy requirements; or as people trying to determine their own choices (Grant, 2003). The evidence supports a focus on participatory development characterized by empowerment as a means of creating development programs that are lasting and sustainable. As empowerment, community participation refers to a process whereby community members play an active role in all stages of project planning and implementation, as opposed to simply being recipients of project outcome (Botes and van Rensburg, 2000; Grant, 2003). Examined through this lens, community participation plays a dual role in neighbourhood development because of the ownership of locally driven initiatives and because they provide a measurable entity in which stakeholders and government bodies can work (Botes and van Rensburg, 2000; Grant, 2003).
Wilson and Whitmore (2000) provide further support to the idea of participation as empowerment through their approach to the development relationship called *Acompañamiento*, or accompanying the process. Accompanying the process emphasizes the importance of creating a working relationship between the development agency and the community that is characterized by sharing, mutual respect and support. This type of participation is marked by a cooperative effort that is established through shared knowledge, a common commitment and solidarity. The literature demonstrates a strong link between participation and empowerment and a further link between participation, empowerment and sustainability (Fowler, 1998; Grant, 2003; Lyons et al., 2001).

### 2.4.2 Empowerment

Social work practice, whether micro or macro, aims at the empowerment of the people social workers support. Social work in community development is no different in that it holds great importance in the empowerment of the people and communities. However, what represents empowerment to one may be quite different from what is expected from the sponsoring agency or organizations involved. Community development literature identifies empowerment as central to the success of program initiatives (Carr, 2003; Couto, 1998; Laverack, 2001; Wilson, 1996) while recognizing the challenge of operationalizing the concept of empowerment in theory and practice. The variation in the meaning of empowerment has been credited to both interdisciplinary involvement and levels of organization employing definitions of empowerment (Couto, 1998; Laverack, 2001). The differing strategies for change foster different approaches to empowerment, and within this lies a vast array of factors that lend to the definition of empowerment. Empowerment can be measured in terms of a delegation of tasks and opportunity for input or as actual decision-making power. Couto concludes that when discussing empowerment within the discipline of community development, it is often used in conjunction with grassroots groups and
services to assume "direct sociopolitical representation and full participation of its members" (Couto, 1998, pg.576).

The various forms of empowerment have been related to the disparity among community representation, participation and the strategies for change outlined by community development organizations (Couto, 1998; Laverack, 2001) or whether empowerment is seen as a process or an outcome (Carr, 2003).

Empowerment is identified as a process that progresses along a continuum: individual empowerment; the organization of small groups; community organization; and partnerships and political action (Carr, 2003; Couto, 1998; Laverack, 2001). Empowerment begins with individual identification of needs and issues. Empowerment within groups is seen as a result of the recognition that a condition, problem or need is not individual, but common and shared among others. Empowerment is furthered by the community action based on the shared issues, as community members realize their abilities and organize themselves to address the issues.

Empowerment furthers along the continuum when communities are able to change their beliefs about the causes of their powerlessness and take the steps necessary to change the condition of their lives. Empowerment continues as relationships between and among individuals evolves and is furthered as community members act on common grounds and recognize the strengths and competencies needed to create societal change (Couto, 1998; Wilson, 1996). Within the continuum of empowerment, further diversification exists through the identification of direct and indirect empowerment (Couto, 1998), as either inter-personal or contextual (Laverack, 2001) or as an outcome or a process (Carr, 2003; Laverack, 2001).

Indirect empowerment involves community members as clients receiving a service. Indirect empowerment reflects the agenda of the organization and measures success as buy in and participation in imported programs. Direct empowerment is associated with grassroots
organizations and involves a direct transfer of skills and knowledge that enable the community to deal with identified issues and problems. Through this empowerment is defined by self-determination, mutuality, and bottom-up organizational processes. Organizational involvement seeks a co-operative and voluntary relationship with the community (Couto, 1998).

Interpersonal empowerment includes elements of individual control; social capital and community cohesiveness, while the contextual elements of empowerment examine the political, socio-political and economic circumstances of community development initiatives. Interpersonal empowerment is most often associated with involvement at a grassroots level while the contextual elements focus more on the desired outcomes of higher level organizations (Laverack, 2001). Together, interpersonal and contextual aspects represent the process of community empowerment that allows communities to organize and mobilize themselves towards social and political change.

Carr (2003) suggests that the challenge in reaching a consensus for definition is dependent on whether empowerment in community development is seen as a process, an outcome or both. As a process, empowerment can be seen as a series of experiences through which community members learn to identify goals, find ways of achieving these goals and gain access to and control over needed resources. Empowerment as a process involves the collaboration of individuals, organizations and communities in meeting needs and addressing issues. Empowerment as an outcome is seen as the result or consequence of the process of empowerment suggesting a natural link to acceptance of both playing a role in the continuum of empowerment.

The role of levels of organization is obvious in the variety of meanings associated with empowerment. This difference in the various forms of empowerment can be linked to the differences among patterns of representation, assumed meaning of participation and the strategies for change adopted by the organization. The struggle for definition continues for the concept of social capital, which has commanded attention in international development circles in recent years.
2.4.3 Social Capital

Despite efforts by the World Bank and others, social capital continues to be difficult to operationalize in research and policy settings. The concept of social capital has been examined from simply a measure of civic engagement through participation in community activities (Putnam, 1995) to a central principle of participatory development in which a solid foundation of reciprocity and trust facilitates collective decision making and nurtures a community's ability to collaborate for shared interest (Murray, 2000; Williams and Windebank, 2000).

Social capital has been defined as, "features of social organization, such as trust, norms, and networks, that can improve the efficiency of society by facilitating coordinated actions" (Buckland, 1998, pg.241). Social capital measures the degree to which a community can cooperate to achieve desired results, that is, as social capital grows and strengthens, communities can more effectively participate in their own destiny.

Social capital continues to be the backbone of many development efforts in both the first and the third world (Molyneux, 2002). Supporters of social capital applaud the shift from top-down development approaches, which aim at making disadvantaged communities more economically viable while ignoring the social issues associated with poverty. Social capital to many is seen as the welcome link between social processes and government processes through the emphasis on forms of social solidarity, such as community ties and empowerment (Gittell et al., 2000; Molyneux, 2002).

The focus on social capital in development approaches has brought more attention to the importance of forms of solidarity, participation and empowerment and has demonstrated the effects, both positive and negative, of the development agencies on the communities they intended to improve (Molyneux, 2002). The basic premise being that if importance is put on social networks,
community involvement and local knowledge as a valuable development resource, then agencies are held accountable to the communities they are working for.

Social capital is seen as a positive outcome of development efforts that are participatory and aim for the empowerment of the community members. Social capital is a concept used to identify the growth and strength of trusted reciprocal relationships between individuals and their associations at all levels of policies and economy (Fowler, 1998). Evidence in the research literature suggests that social capital increases with stronger civic inter-relationships. Further, social capital enhances the community's ability to manage its own affairs (Buckland, 1998; Fowler, 1998; Garrison and Landim, 1996; Lyons et al., 2001; van Bastelaer, 1999) leading to eventual sustainability of development efforts.

Mubangizi (2003) examines social capital within the sustainable livelihoods approach suggesting that this approach focuses more on understanding the personal assets and capital capacities of a community and how they can be translated into “desirable livelihood outcomes”. Mubangizi (2003) goes on to discuss the importance of social capital as the one reliable form of capital available to disadvantaged communities to draw upon to mobilize other forms of capital and promote an acceptable standard of living. This suggests that social capital has been used as an alternative to lack of responsible governance and policy making.

Further, the emphasis on social capital places a great deal of pressure on the community to support or enable resources and improve the effectiveness of development initiatives (Dhesi, 2000; Grant, 2001; Mubangizi, 2003). With the new development agenda, considerable weight is placed on social capital to begin and maintain the other forms of capital outlined in the Sustainable Livelihoods Approach, namely human capital, natural capital, financial capital and physical capital. The advancement of all other forms of capital is seen as reliant on the relationships between
community members characterized by cooperation and shared goals that would not otherwise be possible (Grant, 2001; Mubangizi, 2003).

Examined through the lens of the Sustainable Livelihoods Framework, social capital is defined through the social resources drawn upon to advance personal livelihoods. Through this lens, the development agenda for government organizations such as the World Bank becomes all too clear as responsibility is placed on the concept of social capital for determining the process of economic growth, thus placing a monetary value on social networks of trust, solidarity and reciprocity.

As a result, social capital can be viewed as a community asset, assuming a homogenous community with common interests and shared values or community group characterized by an unequal distribution of power and the continuation of group inequities (Dhesi, 2000; Mubangizi, 2003). When social capital is utilized in place of the State's inability to provide access to basic services; such as education and health care, the participation and mobilization central to social capital become necessary to improve social conditions. Again, the issue of participation is brought to the forefront and the question of whether communities are in fact participating in a community development project remains under dispute.

However, the strength of this statement is dependent on how social capital is operationalized and whether there exists a shared understanding in the definition of social capital and the importance social capital plays in outcomes of development projects. Current research on social capital aims at diversifying the concept of social capital in order to make it more quantifiable for further research (Grant, 2001; Narayan and Cassidy, 2001; Williams and Windebank, 2000) dividing social capital into bonding capital and bridging capital. Bonding capital refers to the social cohesion within the group structure that aims at rebuilding networks that bring people closer together that already know one another. Bridging capital refers to the social cohesion that links different communities or
groups and aims at bringing people together that did not previously know each other (Grant, 2001; Narayan and Cassidy, 2001; Williams and Windebank, 2000).

This extension of the definition of social capital emphasizes not only reciprocal relationships between members of the community, but the importance of networking and developing reciprocal relationships based on mutuality and trust between the community and outside agencies. The use of social capital to fuel community action is successful to a certain point but beyond a certain threshold, excess demand on social networks may overwhelm the community leading to a breakdown in the social system (Dhesi, 2000).

Once again the importance of definition in community development comes into play in meeting the needs and agendas of both the community and outside agencies. The importance of support of outside organizations for local efforts has been a common thread in the search for an agreed upon definition and social capital is not exempt. The literature supports the use of social capital in community development efforts, but speaks to the importance of respecting the community and cultural position towards development. The preceding community development findings and concepts will be examined through local initiatives in Latin America and more specifically, Villa El Salvador, Peru where many responses to community needs have relied solely on local resources to begin and sustain community development efforts.

2.5 Community Development in Latin America

Latin America has been receiving growing attention for its role in the advancement of theory and the practice of community development. There are many examples of local citizens groups organizing to implement survivalist strategies to meet the needs of the community. Of particular interest is the role women have played in the development process. Using their traditional roles as wives and mothers, they have created responses to meet the needs of their families and children in accessing basic needs such as water, food and shelter, education and health care (Acosta-Belen
and Bose, 1995). Further, the majority of these initiatives have been developed, implemented and maintained in the absence of both financial and personal support. The experience of Villa El Salvador will be used to illustrate the community development process in Latin America and the role participation, empowerment and social capital play on creating and sustaining development responses.

2.5.1 Villa El Salvador

The city of Villa El Salvador began as a squatter settlement in a desert location south of Lima and has grown into a livable community of 600,000 people. The progress the community has witnessed through the decades is testimony to the importance of social capital, participation and empowerment in local response to community initiatives. The strength and courage of the community has been the driving force behind many local efforts. The lengthy history of accomplishments, as well as setbacks, provides a wealth of lessons to be learned by social work researchers and practitioners in the field of community development.

This determination translated into motivation for community action that the people of Villa El Salvador drew from to organize themselves to demand basic services from the government. It was this same determination they used to create their own solutions to address community issues if government assistance was not anticipated. The recognition that government support could not be relied upon led to the formation of grassroots organizations, which operated on the values of reciprocity and self-help (Burt and Espejo, 1995).

Due to the local effort and determination of the people of Villa El Salvador, the community has experienced a stark transformation from its beginnings in 1971. Today Villa El Salvador has paved roads and access to public transportation. The homes have electricity, some have indoor plumbing and many homeowners are working on developing second levels of living space. The residents of Vila El Salvador have access to education, hospitals and health care, a locally run market place
and a municipal government. The community of Villa El Salvador is decorated with trees and flower gardens planted and tended by the residents.

The people of Villa El Salvador also have plans for the future. They continue to reserve land for the university they want to build for their children (Illustration 1). They have designated green spaces for future parks and continue discussions about the city’s waste management system. They continue to plan for the future despite the challenges they have experienced in the past and expect in the future. Despite the struggles of the ever-changing cycle of grassroots organization, the community members still have what we would consider to be a romanticized view of what can be achieved at a local level.

2.5.1.1 A Brief History

On April 28, 1971, 200 families invaded a section of state owned land to the south of Lima. Land invasions, where large groups of individuals and families come to inhabit unclaimed areas of land, were not new to Peru and, like others before it, began before the actual invasion with careful organization by leaders. The invasion began with the leaders mapping out the piece of land, organizing the interested families, often current residents of the slum areas of Lima, gathering construction materials, arranging transportation, and setting an day and time for the invasion to take place.

Within days of the initial invasion, 9000 families had joined and the settlement spilled over on to privately owned land. At the time, Peru was under the military regime of General Juan Velasco Alvarado whose political commitments to Peru’s impoverished population were being tested by this settlement. Following a brief but intense period of confrontation, an announcement was made by the Velasco government to relocate the families to a section of desert land 18 miles south of Lima. The next day 3000 families were moved to create a new settlement that would become Villa El Salvador (Blondet, 1991; Burt and Espejo, 1995)
There was an initial sense of victory from the families after receiving their plots of land from the
government as they began constructing their makeshift houses out of cane matting and tarps to
keep the wind and rain out (Illustration #2). This sense of victory soon turned to dismay as the
settlers realized the uncertainty of their living conditions. Despite the lack of basic necessities such
as water, electricity, health care and education, the people were determined to make Villa El
Salvador home (Illustration #3).

Villa El Salvador shared a unique relationship with the Velasco government that was in power
during the early years of development. The attitude of the State towards Villa El Salvador was
novel in that the government had encouraged self-management and the development of grassroots
organizations that would take responsibility for community improvement initiatives (Burt and
Espejo, 1995). Through this model, the Velasco government assisted Villa El Salvador in setting
up community-owned and operated ventures that would encourage their autonomy and increase
local participation.

The surface support of the Velasco government for the self-management of Villa El Salvador was
marred by several government initiatives that were set up under the guise of encouraging
community organizing, but served the dual purpose of creating a venue for State control over
Grassroots mobilization. The result of the coordinated efforts between government and grassroots
organizations were CUAVES, the Self-Managed Urban Community of Villa El Salvador, and
SINAMOS, the National System to Support Social Mobilization (Burt and Espejo, 1995).

The CUAVES was a State created centralized governing body whose function was to oversee the
community development initiatives and represent the community before government and other
outside agencies. SINAMOS was a government agency that was in charge of guiding Villa El
Salvador’s development and creating support for the Velasco regime. It was the purpose of
SINAMOS to oversee the CUAVES and work with it to achieve the government's vision of self-management (Burt and Espejo, 1995).

There was growing dissatisfaction with the government's unhurried response to basic needs such as electricity and water. Further, repeated conflicts between SINAMOS and CUAVES over issues of autonomy lead to an increasingly critical attitude towards the Velasco regime. The result was the end of the Velasco regime and State interest in local development projects and the beginning of a five-year term for Morales Bermudez who sought to prevent the development of autonomous organizations through repression.

Over the next five years Peru experienced a major economic crisis due to hikes in gasoline and food prices, which led to a series of strikes and violent government responses. The role of the CUAVES was primarily anti-government and the leaders organized a series of marches to demand local services and protest against the ill effects of the Bermudez regime. The government response was fierce repression and recession of government support (Burt and Espejo, 1995).

CUAVES could not hold up to the pressures of the economic crisis and accusations of corruption and mismanagement weakened its link to the community. As well, the continual growth and new invasions created problems that were not easily resolved by local organizing efforts. Then came Michel Azcueta, an eventual mayor of Villa El Salvador, who was part of the initial organizing efforts and great supporter of Villa El Salvador's grassroots development process.

Michel Azcuete is given much credit for recognizing the important role of women in the grassroots development process. Through his position with the municipal government, the Popular Federation of Women of Villa El Salvador (FEPOMUVES) was formed to centralize the various women's organizations operating in Villa El Salvador. The role of women in operating the clean-up committees, the tree committee, the women's clubs, the soup kitchens and education committees was recognized and Azcuete gave his support for their grassroots participation and decision-
making (Burt and Espejo, 1995). The involvement of women in the development process of Villa El Salvador was not new. However, the recognition and support from the municipal government put the hard work and dedication of the women of Villa El Salvador to the forefront.

2.5.1.2 Early History of Women’s Movement in Villa El Salvador

There is much testimony to the strength of the women in Villa El Salvador. The women of Villa El Salvador played a major role in the organization and development of Villa El Salvador since its inception in 1971. After the disbursement of land by the Velasco government, traditional family roles were immediately assumed with the men returning to work in Lima and the women remaining in the newly inhabited Villa El Salvador.

The women quickly realized the predicament they were in within days. The men would leave for work in Lima before the sun came up and return home well after the sun set. The women and children were left in the desert community, having to walk miles in the sand to haul water back to their homes. Discussion among the women regarding the current living situation fed the determination to create a home for themselves and their families. In fact, it was the concern for the survival, and later advancement, of their families that fuelled many of the women’s efforts (Moyano, 2000).

As mentioned, the women began organizing in response to their growing inability to meet their families’ basic needs. Their recognition of their roles as wives and mothers in their community action initiatives was unique during this time due to the feminist movements that encouraged struggle for separation from traditional women’s roles (Burt and Espejo, 1995; Moyano, 2000). The women recognized their role as wives and mothers and incorporated this not only into the initiatives taken, but also the motivation for current and future community action. Together they addressed issues of accessibility such as public transport and road systems for water to be delivered. They developed responses to basic health and nutrition through the communal kitchens and vaso de...
leche (glass of milk) programs (Illustration #4) They built schools and churches for their children to attend, planted trees and organized cleaning committees. When they felt their rights as women and mothers were being violated, they organized marches to confront the current government in power.

Their strength did not go unrecognized by their families, their community, the levels of government and later the terror of the Shining Path, a terrorist group that controlled Peru and its leaders for many years. The various women's groups in Villa El Salvador were targeted for their strength and organization and suffered at the hands of the Shining Path (Moyano, 2000). The threats of the Shining Path and the loss of government support caused many women involved in grassroots community action to resign their leadership positions in Villa El Salvador. Many local groups, including the FEPOMUVES, have tried without success to regain momentum and reorganize themselves.

The unsettled political climate, economic crisis and continued poverty have had a disabling effect on local community organization efforts. The community initiatives developed by the women led grassroots organizations were designed as coping mechanisms to deal with the economic crisis that challenged the survival of the people of Villa El Salvador. However, the continuation of the recession over time has undermined grassroots efforts in Villa El Salvador, directing people towards more individualistic responses to survival (Burt and Espejo, 1995).

The community that once prospered because of the solidarity of its people and the belief that, "alone you can't be heard, but together you make a collective voice that can't be ignored" (Blondet, 1991, pg. 67), has experienced setbacks. The experience of women in the development process is now topic for debate in terms of the ideas of participation and empowerment. The survival initiatives are now reliant on handouts and the mandatory participation is now met with resentment and bitterness, rather than enthusiasm (Blondet, 1991; Burt and Espejo, 1995).
The continued hardship experienced by the people of Villa El Salvador has forced NGO’s and relief organizations to rely on handouts, which undermines local organizing efforts of grassroots initiatives. Further, the women view the government as trying to weaken community organizations through direct donations of food given to organizations for political support, bypassing those local organizations that are seen as linked to opposition groups.

The local initiatives are criticized for further exploiting women by adding to the burden of women’s unpaid domestic responsibility. Further, the required participation takes away from any opportunity women may have to secure paid employment outside of the home, relegating them positions in the domestic sphere rather than challenging the system of class and gender domination (Burt and Espejo, 1995; Moyano, 2000).

Supporters of grassroots initiatives maintain that the survivalist strategies such as the communal kitchens and glass of milk committees have brought women into the public sphere, giving them a voice to discuss community issues and become part of the movement for change. As well, their involvement in grassroots community efforts has afforded them experience in organizing, leadership and administration. Further, some women have taken their experience at a local level and advanced into positions in the municipal government.

2.5.2 Addressing the Issues

The central issues to be addressed by community development efforts are those that arose out of the growing debt crisis that affect a large number of Latin American families. The issues seen in Latin America today are a result of what has been discussed in earlier sections of this review, that of government response that has created increased reliance on programming rather than fostering self-reliance and empowerment.
In response to the growing debt crisis, many Latin American governments had set up structural adjustment programs designed by the International Monetary Fund. Structural Adjustment Policies (SAP’s) were economic policies that countries needed to follow in order to qualify for new World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF) loans and help them make debt repayments on the older debts owed to commercial banks, governments and the World Bank. Although SAPs are designed for individual countries, they have common guiding principles and features that include: export-led growth; privatization and liberalization; and the efficiency of the free market.

The outcome of the structural adjustment program, under which some countries were required to make cuts to education and health programs and privatize state enterprises in order to qualify for loans, was devastating to women and children. Rather than improve social conditions many communities experienced increased unemployment and underemployment, lowered wages, elevated inflation, the elimination of state subsidies for nutrition programs and cuts to government allotted funds for social services, education and health care (Bose & Acosta-Belen, 1995; Graham, 1991; Safa, 2002).

In the face of the economic crisis, the urban poor in Latin American countries recognized the growing need for collective action and intensified their activities in the informal sector (Blumberg, 1995; Safa, 2002). The urban poor have historically been leaders in the area of collective action where communities of squatter settlements would organize themselves to acquire basic needs, such as water and food. Further, women have always played a prominent role in these neighbourhood forms of collective action, though their role has often been minimized (Finn, 2001; Safa, 2002; Molyneux, 2002).

2.6 Women’s Role in the Development Process

The recent trend in international community development efforts has focused on sustainable community development programs to address the issues of poverty and women's roles in
development initiatives. As discussed, the literature on community development supports the relationship between local participation and sustainable development efforts. Identifying with a group, having shared values and developing trust is key to the creation of social capital. Social capital has been shown to play a role in furthering local action for change. The role of participation, empowerment and social capital in creating networks and increasing local power to influence decisions and public policies is essential to strengthening local efforts for community change (Gittell, Ortega-Bustamante and Steffy, 2000).

Further, the interplay of participation, empowerment and social capital is essential to strengthening the spirit of growth among marginalized groups in society. There has been much attention given to women-led development efforts in demonstrating the importance of these tenets in improving and creating healthy communities (Finn, 2001; Gittell et al., 2000; Safa, 1990; Molyneux, 2002). Growing recognition is being given to the fact that women are often at the center of the social capital that development agencies and government bodies are trying to capitalize in their poverty-relief and community development programmes (Finn, 2001; Grant, 2001; Safa, 1990; Molyneux, 2002).

The literature demonstrates that across borders, women defined by their low-income status often have the strongest community ties; they network with community members and community groups, they engage in reciprocal relationships with other members and are involved in community activities. They are at the heart of self-help and voluntary activities with community health, education, church and nutrition programmes (Finn, 2001; Graham, 1991; Safa, 1990; Molyneux, 2002). They demonstrate the positive outcomes of social capital through their desire to improve community conditions for themselves and for future generations.

The response of women in the community development sphere has placed demands for recognition not only as wives and mothers, but also as active participants in the public domain.
They are motivated to engage in community action by their roles as wives and mothers, since they are struggling with the inability to adequately and effectively carry out these roles. Although influenced by feminist movements, women's social movements and community participation focus on demands on the state in their struggle for basic survival and meeting the basic needs of their families (Safa, 1990; Molyneux, 2002).

At the same time, women prevalently rely on informal networks of mutual aid and support, including extended family members and neighbours. The networks created between family and friends are brought together to address community issues and help stretch family income through increased participation in the informal economy. Following the economic crisis, survival strategies that once began as informal local responses have grown and become institutionalized into formal organizations, such as communal kitchens in response to nutritional needs and community workshops to create formal employment opportunities (Acevedo, 1995; Graham, 1991; Safa, 1990; Kogan, 1998).

The ability to organize around traditional domestic roles through the community kitchens, mothers' groups and community workshops offered strength and support to collective action. While the activities were based on traditional women's roles, the opportunity to meet on a regular basis provided a base where the women could organize themselves, discuss current issues and develop agreed upon responses to community needs.

These responses were designed at a grassroots level within the practices of true participatory development in which development efforts were community driven, designed for the community by the community. This is the process demonstrated in Villa El Salvador, a shantytown outside of Lima, Peru. The citizens of Villa El Salvador had to organize to demand basic services from the government, and when government assistance was not forthcoming, they had to come up with their own solutions to address community needs (Burt and Espejo, 1995). Their efforts have given Villa
El Salvador the honour of becoming a common reference point for the majority of the discussions around grassroots organizing in Peru. As well, the Villa El Salvador community development model has been employed with success in others areas of Latin America and has become part of the university curricula in Lima.

In addition to its success, the Villa El Salvador model holds an added unique characteristic in that the women in the community have guided it. The strength of women in grassroots community development in Latin America is not new; women have always played a prominent role in neighborhood forms of collective action, though their importance has seldom been explicitly acknowledged (Safa, 1990). The citizens of Villa El Salvador add a special touch in that the efforts have been accomplished using social capital as their major source of funding for their efforts. This is reflected in their slogan “Because we have nothing, we shall do everything.” (Burt and Espejo, 1995, pg 20).

The attitude of sheer dedication and determination on the part of the citizens of Villa El Salvador demonstrate the positive outcome of the role of social capital in creating collective action for community change. However, the goal of the new development agenda adopted by government level organizations is also realized in that a set of expectations has been created about women’s role in development projects. This is demonstrated in the fact that the community development responses arose out of lack of government response, rather than the tenants of participation and empowerment that embody community development theory (Safa, 1990).

The initial assumption is that women are naturally predisposed to serving families and communities because of their desire for collective good or because they are socially enmeshed with the community through family and neighbourhood ties because of their responsibility to the future of their children. This assumption makes it all too easy to view responsibility for community projects that address social, educational and nutritional needs as “women’s work” (Molyneux, 2002).
Consequently, feminizing or naturalizing the work that women do often targets these areas for voluntary work. The focus of self-help projects and voluntary sector work of the new development agenda thus implies a reliance on women's unpaid or poorly paid labour. The projects are viewed as a natural extension of women's responsibilities for the family and community and are assumed to be cost-free to the women and the project (Molyneux, 2002).

These community initiatives that operate solely on social capital to begin and sustain them assume that the women involved are free and available for unpaid work. The challenge being that women are stretched beyond their means to continue a program that they deem as necessary for the well being of the family and the community without receiving sufficient compensation, support with childcare, or skills training they may require to obtain a paid position.

The reliance on social capital to fund the survivalist strategies demonstrated by the women in Latin America and other countries has been treated as a remedy for poverty alleviation. A lot of emphasis has been placed on the ability of social capital funded programs to act as a substitute for resources and policies (Molyneux, 2002). However, the community carried out many of these activities in the absence of other alternatives. In this light they can be best seen as collective efforts for survival developed in response to the lack of social safety net for irresponsible policies and poor governance (Acevedo, 1995; Safa, 1990; Molyneux, 2002). In the end what looks like government support of local efforts is simply apathy towards local issues and relief that needs are being met regardless of their lack of response.

2.7 Summary

The preceding chapter examined the essential role semantics play in community development practice and theory. The literature places importance on the role of participation, empowerment and the creation of social capital in sustainable development initiatives, but the strength of the findings are hindered by the inability to reach agreed upon definitions and demonstrate
sustainability in development efforts. However, local community development initiatives in Latin America have been receiving increased attention in community development circles for creating sustainable development responses that rely on local participation, empowerment and the creation of social capital to fund efforts. Villa El Salvador, Peru provides a rich example of current development trends and challenges with emphasis on those efforts that have been developed and maintained by the women in the community. It is this rich source of information that will be drawn on to further understand the role of participation, empowerment and social capital in creating sustainable development efforts.
CHAPTER THREE
METHODOLOGY

"I think metaphorically of qualitative research as an intricate fabric composed of minute threads, many colours, different textures, and various blends of material. The fabric is not explained easily or simply. Like the loom on which fabric is woven, general frameworks hold qualitative research together." (Cresswell, 1990, pg. 13).

Choosing a research design appropriate for the proposed study involved careful consideration of the study area, involvement of the participants and research site and the research methods needed to best address these issues. This chapter will begin by outlining the rationale for choosing a grounded theory methodology to address the research topic and later discuss the grounded theory process in relation to the research topic. Further, consideration will be given to the perspective of the researcher, addressing possible limitations and ethical considerations.

3.1 Rationale for Qualitative Research

Cresswell (1990) defines qualitative research as an “inquiry process of understanding employing methodological traditions for the purposes of exploring a social or human problem.” (pg.1) The study is conducted in a natural setting, creating a holistic picture through the analysis of words and detailed descriptions provided by the research participants. The outcome of the research process is to display the various dimensions of the problem or issue. Through this, qualitative methods can be an effective means to exploring and understanding the topic area, providing essential information about the research topic that could not be expressed through quantitative methods (Strauss and Corbin, 1990).

Cresswell (1990) discusses seven criteria to determine whether a rationale exists for choosing a qualitative framework. These are: the nature of the research question, the study area requires further exploration rather than explanation, the need to provide a detailed view of the study area,
the need to study individuals in their natural setting, the writing style required, time and resources and the role of the researcher in the study process.

First, the rationale for choosing a qualitative framework is supported by the nature of the research question, which seeks data that is descriptive and detailed. Qualitative inquiry often seeks to discover the how or why of an issue or problem. In the case of Villa El Salvador, the researcher sought information that would lend to the development of framework to help understand how the women of Villa El Salvador were able to organize themselves to create positive and lasting change and what the driving forces were behind development efforts despite the lack of available funding.

Second, qualitative studies are used when the research area needs to be explored. The area of community development is a relatively new area in the field of social work. There are challenges in reaching agreed upon definitions of major constructs and complex phenomena relating to the field of community development. In turn, before theories can be developed to explain the experience of Villa El Salvador and other communities demonstrating effective examples of community development, consensus must be reached regarding definition of major constructs and phenomena. Therefore, the nature of the research inquiry and struggle for agreed upon definition of major constructs suggest the need for research methods that are exploratory in nature.

Third, the lack of information available on the experiences in Villa El Salvador by way of past research and related theories suggests the need for a detailed view of the problem or issue. Although a body of research exists on community development with similarities to the experience of Villa El Salvador, research has not yet been completed that outlines the grassroots experience from the perspective of the residents of Villa El Salvador.

Fourth, as the goal of the research project is for identifying locally employed definition, this information is best gathered in a natural setting, which involves gaining access into the community and building relationships with the research participants who can offer insight and further
understanding of local definition of the identified constructs. The community of Villa El Salvador has experienced many challenges through the years due to the unpredictable political climate that has created much uncertainty for the leaders in the community, many of them women operating from a grassroots level. The political history of Villa El Salvador made it essential to dedicate time to developing strong relationships with the community and potential research participants.

Fifth, due to the nature of qualitative study, the writing style of the researcher is more literary. The researcher writes on a narrative level often including personal experiences in the finished product. In the opinion of the researcher, this was felt to be essential as the initial settlers of Villa El Salvador were seen as the experts in the development process. In order to give an accurate account of the process that unfolded the researcher had to engage a writing style that was narrative, telling the story from the perspective of the participants.

Sixth, qualitative study requires dedication of time and resources to the collection of data in the field and the joint analysis that accompanies qualitative research methods. The research project carried out in Villa El Salvador required joint data collection and analysis through repeated interviews with the same participants. In addressing many of the issues, such as language barriers and developing trusting relationships in the community, acquiring appropriate time and resources were necessary to ensure the success of the research project.

Finally, the researcher’s role is that of an active learner able to tell the story from the participants’ points of view rather than an expert who passes judgment on participants. This was especially important for the women who took part in this study. The women secured as participants for the interview process were insecure in their roles as leaders and teachers in the area of community development because of their lack of education. They looked to the home country of the researcher as being the ideal and questioned the benefit of the information they could share.
Conversations had to occur around these issues to assure the participants that the researcher was not entering the research process as an expert and felt there was much to learn from the women. Given the fit for criteria set out by Cresswell, the researcher felt the problem area was best suited for a qualitative research design. The accomplishments of the women of Villa El Salvador provided a unique experience that was best explored through a methodology that incorporated a research process that resulted in descriptive information by giving voice to the research participants through in-depth interviews and direct observation in a naturalistic setting.

### 3.2 Grounded Theory

Given the nature of the research topic at hand the researcher felt the fit with qualitative methods was logical. However, further defining the research strategy within the realm of qualitative research required time and consideration to ensure the chosen strategy best addressed the issues of the study topic. The researcher entered this process possessing knowledge of the intended area of research and examined the question within the possible research strategies.

While acquainting myself with the community of Villa El Salvador, it became apparent that the members of the community, primarily women, had found ways to address community needs without first having financial support from donor agencies. This experience contradicted examples of community development in Canada where community development efforts are often abandoned if they do not receive financial support. This led to the development of the research questions. First, how were the women of Villa El Salvador able to create change with the absence of financial support? Second, what motivated the development efforts of the women at a grassroots level?

Locating a research strategy that complemented the nature of the study topic was dependent upon three important criteria. First, the research question is guided by the information given by participants about their lives and experiences in Villa El Salvador that influenced the way in which the community has been developed. Second, the study focus implies that a process exists that
may be uncovered through the research process. Finally, the research question implies an explanatory purpose. Therefore, the research question fits with grounded theory as a research strategy in that the goal is for discovery and exploration (Strauss and Corbin, 1998).

3.2.1 Overview of Grounded Theory

Grounded theory is a qualitative research method that employs a set of procedures to develop an inductively derived grounded theory about a phenomenon (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). Grounded theory does not begin with a theory that is tested rather, grounded theory begins with an area of interest and the information relevant to the topic area is allowed to emerge through the research process (Strauss and Corbin, 1990). The premise behind grounded theory is to discover theory through data that provides, “relevant predictions, explanations, interpretations and applications” and is understandable to both researchers and laymen (Glaser and Strauss, 1967, pg. 1).

Grounded theory has its foundation in sociology, being a research model developed in the 1960's by two sociologists, Barney G. Glaser and Anselm L. Strauss. Where Strauss had a strong tradition with qualitative research, Glaser had much experience in quantitative methods (Strauss and Corbin, 1990). Although both men came from very different backgrounds their desire to create a response to the perceived need for a methodology directed at the study of human behaviour. Glaser and Strauss developed grounded theory as a research methodology influenced by symbolic interactionism and a method, “systematically deriving empirically based theories of human behaviour and the social world through an ongoing process of comparative analysis (Kendall, pg. 745).

Strauss and Corbin (1990) pose five assumptions about the nature of theory, the research process and human interactions that guide the basis of grounded theory as a methodological approach. First, the researcher must be in the field to fully understand and appreciate the phenomenon being studied. Second, theory must be linked to the data and therefore grounded in reality. Third, the
field experience for both the researcher and the research participants is continually evolving and the developing theory can therefore be modified in response to the changes. Fourth, people have active roles in shaping the meaning of events in the world they live in through the process of symbolic interaction. Finally, the task and skill of the researcher lies in the ability to be descriptive in order to capture changes, processes and variability.

Strauss and Corbin (1990) outline many factors that distinguish grounded theory from other qualitative methods. First, the main objective of grounded theory is to discover theory from data that is simultaneously collected and analyzed. Second, grounded theory research employs constant comparison, which uses a systematic process of joint collection, coding and analysis of data as its underlying methods. Third, through the process of constant comparison, grounded theory aims at verification of hypothesis throughout the research process. The continuous collection and analysis of data allows the researcher to create a number of hypotheses and verify them through constant comparisons with the data.

Despite the differing perspectives on grounded theory, three methodological procedures have remained constant. First, constant comparative analysis is key to the grounded theory process in which each incident recorded is compared to other data for similarities and differences. These are then coded and grouped through the open, axial and selective coding processes. Second, theoretical sampling is used to select research participants that may provide information rich data regarding the concepts that have demonstrated theoretical relevance to the evolving theory (Strauss and Corbin, 1990). Third, grounded theorists are required to keep theoretical notes or memos to keep track of all the categories, properties, hypotheses and questions that evolve from the analytic process (Strauss and Corbin, 1990). The methodological concepts mentioned here will be discussed in detail in the sections on data collection and data analysis.
3.2.2 The Researcher's Perspective

There are many aspects of grounded theory, which dictate the need for self-reflection on the part of the researcher in order to meet procedural criteria when conducting research. First, the philosophical underpinnings of grounded theory as defined by Glaser and Strauss and Corbin have roots in positivism. In entering grounded theory research from this position the researcher assumes an objective, neutral reality and works towards unbiased data collection methods as a neutral observer (Charmaz, 2000).

Second, the premise behind theoretical sensitivity, a key procedure in the grounded theory process, creates a link between the researcher’s personal and professional knowledge, understanding and skill in enhancing ability in generating categories, relating the categories to hypothesis and integrating the hypotheses to emergent theoretical codes. This, by virtue of definition, requires the researcher to be sensitive to personal experience, professional area of expertise and the relationship of those qualities to the data being collected (Glaser, 1992).

Further, Strauss and Corbin (1998) discuss the conflict of the expectation that researchers simultaneously rely on personal and professional knowledge and experience to give meaning to human and social behaviours and set those same characteristics aside to form new interpretations about phenomena. They resolve this issue by defining objectivity in terms of openness to hearing what participants have to say and representing them as accurately as possible. This is done through constant comparison of incident to incident to stimulate thinking at a property and dimensional level, by multiple data collection methods on the same event and by checking out assumptions with participants to ensure that they are being accurately understood (Strauss and Corbin, 1998).

Despite the techniques listed to maintain objectivity, Strauss and Corbin, recognize that achieving a state of complete objectivity is impossible and advocate for researchers to recognize how
unavoidable subjectivity will influence their research and find ways to minimize the overall affect on data collection and analyses (Strauss and Corbin, 1998). Trochim (2002) furthers this notion by outwardly stating that researchers are inherently biased by their cultural experiences and worldviews. That is, after all, what guides our desire to question problems and issues in the social world.

Resolving these issues require careful reflection on the part of the researcher to recognize the interplay between the philosophical assumptions that they adhere to and their personal and professional experiences. Further, the researcher must identify themselves within their possible bias prior to entering the research process (Trochim, 2002). Entering into the research with strong opinions regarding the role of grassroots organizations in addressing today's development goals of sustainability and social capital, I recognized instances where participant responses conflicted with my own reality. The grounded theory method of constant comparison was beneficial in addressing the areas where theoretical sensitivity may have been compromised due to personal or professional opinions. This was seen in one such example noted below:

**Operational Note #15: November 5, 2002**

After sending my first round of interviews to Peter, one of the things he noted was the strong role the church played in the responses of the women, and that this deserved further inquiry.

At this point I had to reflect on my own personal feelings towards the church because I recognized that during the interviews the women were all very deeply religious and gave much credit to the church as a major supporting body for the women. During this I had a great feeling of discomfort and recall wanting to disregard the information. However, for these women the church brought them together, helped them organize, recognized their strengths and encouraged them to achieve levels of success. For me, I believe due to my Metis heritage I associated the church and especially Catholicism with colonization and rather than sharing ideas and information an imposing of judgment, loss of culture and freedom.

With that holding me back I was ready to dismiss the role of the church in the process simply based on my preconceived notion of negative historical events.
Being brought back to the future on this, I realized that the role of the church and religiosity had to be explored further in the next set of interviews because I did not probe or reflect during the interviews.

I personally looked at the role of religiosity further and drew parallels to the role native spirituality may play in a similar circumstance and realized the essential elements spirituality lent to people during vulnerable times...hope, optimism, strength...all things recognized by the participants as being essential characteristics in the people of Villa El Salvador.

As there was minimal literary information available to the researcher on Villa El Salvador prior to entering the research site, it was felt that initial assumptions were objective and unbiased. However, maintaining that objectivity throughout the research project was challenging in that access was granted to the participants with the assistance of a local key informant and it was difficult to accommodate for the possible biases of those that aided the researcher. As well, after time and commitment was dedicated to working with one group in Villa El Salvador, it was difficult not to mix loyalty and maintain objectivity. It is the researcher's belief that although objective and unbiased data collection methods are the goal grounded theory methodology, it is not always possible to achieve and then it becomes a matter of reflection and awareness to ensure the credibility of the project is not compromised.

I entered the research process identifying with postpositivist philosophical assumptions. The goal of the research was to give voice to the participants and representing them as accurately as possible through the process. This required self-reflection of the part of the researcher to discover and acknowledge how the participants' perspective of their issues may conflict with my own (Charmaz, 2000). Within the realm of postpositivist philosophical assumptions, I further identified with the constructivist approach to grounded theory, while trying to accommodate feminist underpinnings. The constructivist approach to grounded theory encourages researchers to study people within their natural settings with the objective of a sharing of knowledge between the
researcher and participant and the goal of interpretative understanding of the participants responses (Charmaz, 2000).

The constructivist mode of knowing fits in this way with feminist epistemology. That is, the core concept of feminist epistemology is that of a situated knower. The premise being that what is known and the way it is known influences the situation or perspective of the participant. The goal is for knowledge that reflects the perspectives of the subject. Of particular importance is how gender situates the knowledge of participants (Anderson, 2002). Anderson (2002) proposes various ways people derive alternate understanding of the same experience. Of importance to the researcher in the study of Villa El Salvador are first person versus third-person knowledge and relations to other inquirers.

First person knowledge refers to the first hand knowledge of bodily and mental states and the influence this has on phenomenological facts as stated through their personal understanding of a situation. Third-party knowers are only privy to this information through interpretation of external symptoms, imaginative projection and obtaining the viewpoints of those who have experienced the phenomena first hand (Anderson, 2002).

Participants may also observe the same experience from varying epistemic viewpoints, which affects their access to available information and ability to communicate their beliefs to others. These types of situatedness affect knowledge in many ways by influencing the participants’ access to information and the terms in which they represent what they know. Epistemic perspectives influence their attitude towards their beliefs, their standards of justification and the authority with which they can lay claim to their beliefs and express them to others (Anderson, 2002).

Further, identifying perspective on the research perspective required reflection into personal bias' and how they may influence the research process. I recognized that due to my cultural and professional background I had preconceived beliefs about the study topic and needed constant
reflection on personal epistemic viewpoints to ensure that they were not guiding the research process.

3.2.3 Ethical Considerations

Cristians (2000) recognizes that although each profession has its own set of ethical guidelines, there exist four overlapping areas that relate to researchers in all professions: informed consent, deception, privacy and confidentiality and accuracy. Further, approval through the University of Calgary ethics committee required students undertaking research projects to meet similar requirements. These requirements were: an estimation of possible risks to participants, informed consent, the right to withdraw from the study, benefits, ensuring privacy through confidentiality or anonymity and storage of data. The research project in Villa El Salvador was examined within these ethical considerations and efforts were made to identify and address possible dilemmas prior to conducting the research project.

Informed consent requires meeting two essential criteria. The participants must voluntarily agree to participate and their agreement must be based on full knowledge of all aspects of what their participation entails, duration, methods, possible risks and purpose of the study. The participants in Villa El Salvador were given both written and verbal information regarding the research process. They were informed of all aspects of the research process, as well as, the option of withdrawing from the study at any time. A copy of the consent form (see Appendix A) was left with the participants to review and time was given to the participants to consider the role they would like to take in the research project. During the second meeting, the participants were given the opportunity to ask question regarding the research process and the intent of the study. Following this, the participants were then given the option of continuing with the research process or withdrawing. If they decided to continue, verbal consent was acquired.
As the research was conducted in Peru, all written forms had to be translated into Spanish (see Appendix B). Extra care was taken to ensure that the translation of the consent form accurately portrayed what was contained in the initial form written in English. This was done by having the form translated first from English to Spanish and then from Spanish to English. The researcher then spent time with the translator's going over the verbal information to be share with participant to make sure an understanding was reached between researcher and translator.

Similar care was taken to assure the participants' rights to confidentiality and privacy were maintained. Ethical considerations dictate that measures must be taken to safeguard the identities of the research participants (Christian, 2000). Efforts were taken to ensure the confidentiality of the participants by using fabricated names on all acquired materials cassette tapes, transcribed interviews and computer printouts of interviews. Access to materials was restricted to the researcher and thesis supervisor. Further, all research materials were stored in a secured locker in the home of the researcher while in Peru. When returning to Canada, the research materials were transported in my carry-on luggage; this included the laptop computer, which was secured by a password known only by the researcher. All information is now stored in a cabinet in the home of the researcher and will be disposed of when the thesis is complete.

Steps were taken to ensure the accuracy of the data collected through the research process (Christian, 2000). Extra care was taken to eliminate possible issues that could compromise accuracy during transcription of the interviews. There exists the possibility of error when transcribing interviews due to extraneous noise on the tape that hinders sound understanding of what the participants have said (Easton, McComish and Greenberg, 2000). This was a real challenge in Villa El Salvador as there were always a lot of outside noises due to local traffic and daily happenings. Interviews conducted in the participants' homes were equally as difficult because it was customary for many families to live together and there was always a lot of activity.
Addressing this required creativity and patience for both the researcher and participants. Interviews were held mainly in the afternoon as the community seemed to be quieter then and, if possible, interviews were held in the office rather than the homes of the participants. Due to the level of extraneous noise the researcher had to devote more time to transcribing the interviews to eliminate possible errors. The outside noise level made the possibility of misinterpreting or mishearing a word greater (Easton et al, 2000). In order to ensure accuracy the researcher transcribed the interviews on the same day the interviews occurred and proofread the interviews looking for possible errors in the text. The written texts were shared with the participants to make sure they had been accurately represented and provide opportunity for clarification if necessary.

3.3 Data Collection

Grounded theory methods focus on analytic strategies rather than data collection methods (Charmaz, 2000). The goal is to gather data that is information rich about the phenomenon being studied. To accomplish this, grounded theory employs the strategy of theoretical sampling, which is a process of simultaneously, collecting, coding and analyzing the data acquired. The data is then used to determine what data to collect next and where to find the information in order to develop the emerging theory (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). The data collection process involves the sampling strategy and gathering information from multiple sources from interviewing and participant observation, to journaling (memoing) to help develop the theory (Cresswell, 1998). While in Villa El Salvador, Peru the researcher gathered information through interviews and memoing of direct observations as a fieldworker, journaling daily observations, conversations and noting anecdotal comparisons. As well, memoing was used during data analysis that began with the coding of the first set of interviews using the constant comparative methods outlined in the grounded theory methodology.
3.3.1 Sampling Strategy

The goal of sampling in qualitative research is not on increasing sample size in order to generalize about people but rather, to select research participants who have experience and understanding of the phenomenon being studied and can provide data that is information-rich (Patton, 1990). Through grounded theory, the researcher is not expected to enter the field as an expert, but rather to develop a theory that could lend explanation to relevant behavior (Glaser and Strauss, 1967).

The purpose of using grounded theory was to build a theory that would lend understanding to 1) a local definition of social capital, 2) what is needed to create an atmosphere conducive to the development of social capital, and 3) what role this plays in women’s grassroots development initiatives. This was examined using the experience of women in the community involved in the grassroots development process in Villa El Salvador through its growth and development. The sample population consisted of women who were involved in and witnessed the development of the Villa El Salvador community since its inception in 1971. Through an on-going working relationship with many of the interviewees, relationships were further built with participants through community based organizations that created an atmosphere conducive to in-depth interviews. This was accomplished through day to day contact with many of the interviewees within various roles from co-workers to parents. Through this, I was able to develop close and trusting relationships with some of the research participants. MacDougall and Fudge (2001) discuss the merits of recruiting sample populations from existing groups or networks in terms of acquiring appropriate populations or access to participants who may be difficult to locate or engage. This was especially important due to the sensitive nature of the information being discussed with the population involved because of the political upheavals the community had experienced. Therefore, building a strong and trusting relationship with the participant base was essential.
As well, due to the sensitive nature of the research area, it was assumed that the subject base would be small because participants would be difficult to locate. The focus of data collection was not the quantity of participants, but the quality of information the participants could bring to the research question. The goal of the researcher was to work in cooperation with the community members, who were the expert residents, in order to draw from them possible categories and properties that could speak to potential theoretical models to the layman's actions (Glaser and Strauss, 1967).

The participants were obtained through a key informant in the community of Villa El Salvador. The key informant had been a member of the community since his youth, and was raised by an aunt who was a strong leader in the community. The key informant continued to work closely with the community and was an advocate for many women and women's groups. The researcher spent six weeks working closely with the key informant prior to being introduced to potential participants. Through this process, a strong working relationship was established and an understanding of the criteria for potential participants was communicated to the key informants (Fontana and Frey, 2002).

The principles of grounded theory dictate that theoretical sampling be used in order to identify potential participants that meet selection criteria. In meeting selection criteria it was believed that participants chosen would possess information rich data in relation to the study topic. The criteria for theoretical sampling are meant to compliment the constant collection and analysis of data, allowing for flexibility in selection criteria that fits the emerging data (Glaser and Strauss, 1967).

The study goals and objectives informed the selection criteria for participants. The study goals aimed at obtaining information on women-led grassroots community action in Villa El Salvador, informing the need for women in grassroots community action activities. Therefore, the initial
selection criteria dictated that the participants meet four requirements: 1) the participants had to be women in the community, 2) be identified as leaders, 3) be involved in grassroots community development and 4) be members since the inception of Villa El Salvador in 1971. The criteria were evolved further after the researcher had been in Villa El Salvador for a period of time. Initial teachings emphasized the incredible leadership role women took in transforming Villa El Salvador from a shantytown into a thriving community. It was felt that experiencing the development history of Villa El Salvador from the perspective of chosen community leaders would benefit the research project.

The researcher accompanied the key informant around the community and was introduced to seven potential participants in their own homes. The research information was shared with each potential participant and copies left for them to read. Each participant was given the option of contacting us at a later date to inform us if they had an interest in being a part of the study. We returned a week later and set interview dates with six women.

The sample size was not predetermined as sampling was directed by the information gathered and continued until theoretical saturation of each category was reached (Glaser and Strauss, 1967; Patton, 1990; Strauss and Corbin, 1990). Theoretical saturation occurs when no new information emerges from the data received through the research process (Cresswell, 1998).

In order to gain access to participants, the researcher needs to take the time necessary to build a rapport with the participant base so that they feel comfortable in disclosing individual perspectives about responding to interview questions. The researcher usually begins with a homogenous sample, individuals who have all experienced the action or process, to begin the data collection process, which typically involves in-depth interviews (Cresswell, 1998). In beginning the interview process with a homogenous sample, the researcher can begin to identify common patterns that
help inform the research question. As the process unfolds, criteria for research participants may expand to include those who may lend explanation to areas of incongruency. For the purposes of this research project one participant involved in the interview process differed from initial selection criteria on two levels, she was not a member of the community since its inception and she was employed by a government funded agency. The strength of her input lent to the acknowledgement of an unwritten but understood development process and opened the arena for discussion around levels of organization in the development process.

3.3.2 Participants

Building rapport with the participants came with relative ease due to the relationship already established with the key informant, who was a trusted member of the community and well respected by the women in the community. As well, when introduced to the potential participants by the key informant, one of the first identifiers he attached to his introduction of my situation was that I was a single parent and my daughter often attended the worksite. This information opened doors for personal discussions around motherhood and children, beneficial in this community where family and children were a priority.

The key informant was later asked about the reasoning behind offering that particular piece of personal information and he explained that he wanted the women to instantly feel that I did not put myself above their situations. The key informant felt in doing this we would begin the interviews on a common ground, setting the women at ease when the interview process began because he would not be in attendance when the interviews were done.

The interviews were done with the aid of translators. The translators were the directors of Cross-Cultural Solutions, the host organization I was working with. Although they worked within the community they were not part of the community nor did the participants know them. There were two translators who assisted with the interviews, one male and one female, both fluent in English
and Spanish. When conducting the interviews, the researcher was looking for discrepancies or differences in demeanor of the participants regarding the gender of the translator. However, it became clear through the content and flow of the interviews that the gender of the translator did not affect the participants. The interview questions were translated into Spanish for the participants, and responses from the participants then translated to English for the researcher. The interviews were tape recorded and transcribed by the researcher within the week that the interview occurred.

The researcher completed a total of twelve interviews over three interviews sessions. The initial round of interviews consisted of six participants. Of the six participants, five were initial settlers to the community of Villa El Salvador and one had been a member of the community for twelve years. All women were active in the community through some level of organization be it grassroots, non-government or government. Those participants who were initial settlers to the community did not have any formal education. The participant who had been in the community for the shortest time had been university educated in the field of social work. During the first two interviews, the participants requested that the meeting be rescheduled so that they had an opportunity to read over the questions. New dates were set for those interviews and copies of the interview schedule were given to all participants.

Only four participants were interviewed during the second set of interviews as two decided to withdraw from the research project claiming time constraints. This time the participants were given the option of receiving the revised interview schedule prior to the scheduled date, but declined. This was due, in part, to the trusting, reciprocal relationship that had been developed between the researcher and the participants. The interview settings were familiar to the interviewees and because there seemed to be a relationship of mutual respect the interviews flowed naturally. During this set of interviews, three of the remaining participants were initial settlers of Villa El
Salvador. All three continued to work in the community at a grassroots level and the fourth participant who had lived in the community for twelve years worked for a government organization. The interviews lasted between one and two hours.

There were two participants for the third round of interviews, both of them initial settlers who continued to work for the community at a grassroots level. One participant was unable to continue due to health related issues and the third was not interviewed as the interview schedule focused more on historical aspects of the community development efforts in Villa El Salvador. It was found during past interviews that the responses to this topic area by the participant who had resided in Villa El Salvador only a short time were hearsay rather than first hand experience.

3.3.3 In-depth Interviews

The purpose of the interviews was to open up the data beginning with general questions related to the research topic. Each question was designed to generate more specific and related questions to the research topic. Since the topic area was relatively new, the interviewers required a certain amount of flexibility in the interview process to allow freedom to explore and ask questions that would help illuminate yet focus the subject area (Patton, 1990).

The research topic was defined enough that the researcher knew the issues to be discussed, but not to the extent that the interviewer was able to design a completely structured and standardized set of questions in the topic area (see Appendix C: Evolving Interview Guide). Therefore, the topic area was often discussed with participants using a general interview guide in order to keep the interviews focused, but allow flexibility for individual perspectives and experiences to come through (Patton, 1990, Rubin and Babbie, 2001). Due to its qualitative nature, unstructured interviews were used because they could elicit data with greater depth (Fontana and Frey, 2002).

The discussions generated through the initial interviews (see Appendix C) looked at participant responses in two subject areas: 1) the historical experience leading to the development of Villa El
Salvador and 2) the process necessary to organize the citizens of the community to achieve mutual benefits, or social capital. The challenge was in casting the issues for discussion while still allowing the participants to guide the discussion with their opinions and perspectives and not influence responses with the researcher’s attitudes or assumptions (Marshall and Rossman, 1995). This issue presented itself early in the interview process and challenged the researcher to re-evaluate how the interviews were conducted in order to make them more appropriate to the style of the participants:

Operational Note #4: October 24, 2002

The first woman I interviewed was part of Villa El Salvador since its inception. She was uneducated but a very big part of some of the major development efforts in Villa El Salvador, like the comedores, the development of the structure of the community and acted as a sector leader.

It took a little while to get a groove with the interview and adapt to her communication style and word the questions in a way that was more down to earth and less academic. When I did that, the responses seemed to come more naturally for her and her style really came out. She answered questions like a storyteller, answering the questions by giving examples of how things are/were done. The information she gave was rich in data but in order to get there you have to see the forest for the trees. She was simply an amazing person who had done a lot for herself, had experienced a lot and still managed to have such optimism.

This introduces the issue of theoretical sensitivity, which refers to the personal and professional insight of the researcher to the subtleties of meaning that can be derived from the data. Theoretical sensitivity is the researcher's ability to understand the data that is given from the participants and the ability to distinguish between information that is data rich and that, which isn't (Strauss and Corbin, 1990).

The degree of theoretical sensitivity a researcher brings to the research situation is dependent on the researcher’s knowledge base informed by background literature and personal and professional experience. This may lend both strengths, in terms of understanding, and limitations, in terms of biases. This research question is initially informed by both personal and professional experiences
of the researcher. It was the responsibility of the researcher to ensure that the interview questions and the data analysis were not led by these personal and professional assumptions (Patton, 1990).

Through the data analysis that occurred simultaneously with the collection of data, patterns emerged and the researcher began to see repetition in the shared information. Saturation was tested by the researcher attempting to find instances that challenged the emergent data in order to be certain that saturation was achieved using the widest possible range of data (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). The outcome was information rich data that could be used to develop categories and properties that would guide the research process and create increased focus and direction (Strauss and Corbin, 1990).

A researcher’s skills in recognizing theoretical saturation are influenced by the theoretical sensitivity he or she possesses. Theoretical sensitivity refers to the researcher’s awareness of personal, educational and professional beliefs that may reflect on how they conduct research and influence outcome. Grounded theory research must be theoretically sensitive in order to conceptualize and formulate a theory as it emerges from the data (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). Theoretical sensitivity involves both the researcher’s personal ideals and the researcher’s ability to have theoretical insight into the area of research. It is essential for the researcher to be aware of what may or may not influence the research process and remain open to the emergence of theory through the data.

This researcher entered the research arena with a personal and professional background in grassroots community development. Personal and professional beliefs were informed by theories of empowerment and local level responses to community needs. The community development example set by the women of Villa El Salvador appealed to my beliefs concerning engagement in community development efforts. I had to take great care when gathering and analyzing data that I
did not let my personal beliefs influence the flow of the research process and, in fact, sought data that challenged responses that invoked in me feelings of camaraderie. Conversely, I had to ensure that I did not dismiss data that was not in line with my mindset on community development as being irrelevant.

Building rapport with the participants was essential in the unstructured interviews because the goal of the interview process was in understanding or seeing the situation from the perspective of the participants (Fontana and Frey, 2002). The success of the interview lies in the researcher's ability to build rapport with the participant and actively listen to the participant's responses in order to continue the flow of the interview while keeping the participant focused on the subject area. If accomplished, the researcher would ensure co-operation from the participant and enable the researcher to follow-up data collection with the participant for clarification. This was especially important for the participant base in this study, because the participants had varying levels of education and the researcher's understanding of Latin American Spanish was limited. The interview then allows the researcher to immediately ensure that a certain level of understanding is reached (Marshall and Rossman, 1995).

The quality of the data collected was dependent on many things. This participant base was especially fragile in that there was a high level of distrust for those outside the community. Gaining the trust of the participants was essential to creating an atmosphere conducive to ensuring success during the interview process. It was important to remember that gaining initial trust did not guarantee it continued throughout the project; trust was fragile and the researcher had to take care to honour the participants throughout (Fontana and Frey, 2002). Success in data collection was, therefore, dependent on the co-operation of participants and key informants used to create the sample population.
Finally, data collection for the in-depth interviews was dependent on the skills of the interviewer. The data was often subject to observer effects. Given the disadvantage of being an outsider to both the community and the culture, there may be no way to completely eliminate the changes in behaviour that can occur due to the obtrusive nature of the data collection methods (Marshall and Rossman, 1995).

In order to address this, the researcher had to dedicate time and effort into not only developing a strong working relationship with participants and informants, but in understanding the cultural differences that were attached to such meetings. It was found that the more natural the interview areas, the more at ease the participants were and this played out in the overall flow of the interviews. There were two obvious issues that affected the flow of the interview process: the location where the interview was held and the interview schedule itself.

The interviews were often conducted in the homes of the participants; the residents were known to be welcoming of visitors coming to their homes of which they were proud. In fact, on one occasion a participant was invited back to the office of the work placement agency and although there was interest and excitement about being entertained away from the participant's home, the location was found to be intrusive to the interview process.

**Operational Note #5: October 29, 2002**

*We picked up ------ for the interview today and she was quite excited about coming into the city to be interviewed at the office and joining us for lunch. She had been telling all of her friends about coming into town and when we came to pick her up there was a group of her friends to see her off and she was very obviously dressed up for the meal.*

*She appeared to be uncomfortable throughout the interview as she kept shifting and adjusting her skirt and hair. As well, the office personnel are from a different class than the participants, which is not an issue when we are all working in the field and we are in fact the helpers to the residents of Villa but, while at the office our meals were served by hired residents of Villa and with this I was not comfortable.*

*The interview did not go as smoothly as the others and there were many awkward pauses, interruptions and the length of the interview was noticeably shorter.*
I spoke with the translator following about my observations and the same concerns were shared by him. It was decided then that the remainder of the interviews would be conducted in the homes of the participants where everyone was comfortable.

The presence of the interview schedule was seen as a hindrance to the flow of the interview. The participants appeared to be overly concerned with the questions on the interview schedule and wanting time to prepare their answers for the interview. When they initially saw the interview schedule they became preoccupied and this affected the flow of the interview.

Operational Note #2: October 4, 2002

This was the second interview that was postponed so that we could leave a list of the interview questions with the participants to review before the interview. We were able to do that and then went around to the other participants and offered them a copy of the interview schedule. The participants were all thankful for this and it was agreed that we would share the questions with them prior to the interview. As well, I think that I will go into the interviews with as little in the way of distraction as possible. The information I get from the participants when the interview schedule is not a factor seems so much more natural and the participants seem more at ease.

It was decided then that when the interviews were conducted rather than have a written schedule to interfere with the process, the researcher would enter the interview with notes on the direction of the interview and respond more to the direction of the interview as it was lead by the participant.

3.3.4 Memoing

Memos are written records of analysis that vary in type and form. Memos contain the products of analysis or new directions for the researcher to explore. They can be anything from post-it notes to lengthy journal entries, but are meant to be analytical and conceptual rather than descriptive (Strauss and Corbin, 1998). Memos record the progress, thoughts feelings and directions of the research and the researcher.

Memos should begin with the initial analysis and continue throughout the research process. They evolve with the research process, growing in complexity and accuracy as the research progresses.
It is important for the researcher to distinguish between the types of memos engaged in throughout the research process to ensure that memos do not become lost or forgotten (Strauss and Corbin, 1998).

There are three main types of memos. These are code notes, theoretical notes and operational notes. Code notes contain information from the three types of coding: open, axial and selective. Theoretical notes are memos that lend to summaries of the researcher’s thoughts about theoretical sampling and other methodological issues. Finally, operational notes are memos that contain future directions for methodological procedures (Strauss and Corbin, 1998).

3.3.4.1 Journaling

Combining work placement with the thesis research project gave the researcher opportunity for direct observation of the community. Through direct observation the researcher noted instances of community organization, leadership styles and interactions and conversations had with community members. The journaling began with the commencement of the work placement, noting occurrences not influenced by the opinions and views of those who would be interviewed at a later date. The journal entries could then be confirmed or challenged by the data received during the interview process.

Initial entries were general, focusing on first impressions of the community and initial interactions with community members. The nature of the work placement allowed the researcher access to all areas of Villa El Salvador and entrance into the homes of the community members. Later entries were influenced by the data and emerging categories but still looked at instances in direct observation that either confirmed or contradicted what was being shared in the interviews.
3.3.4.2 Anecdotal comparisons

Anecdotal comparisons occur when the researcher is able to examine emerging categories and ask where he or she learned about the category. In referencing the category with her own experiences, general knowledge, readings and stories of others the researcher is able to make quick comparisons to develop the category further and become sensitized to its relevancies (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). The information offered through anecdotal comparisons can further strengthen emerging categories or offer contradictory information that will serve to open areas for further investigation during the interview process. This was evidenced on many occasions while on site at Martencitos:

Theoretical note #2: October 30, 2002

I was working in the kitchen with some of the women, talking about Villa El Salvador. They asked me if I liked Peru and I responded by saying that although I did not care much for Lima, I really enjoyed Villa El Salvador, although I could not explain why, it was just a feeling I had.

The ladies talked about the strength of the community in Villa El Salvador, how although they had nothing they had so much more because they had all of the things that came from the heart, they felt much love and had a lot of love to give to everyone, they took care of each other.

This is seen in Martencitos all the time. The old people who come to the program for meals, come because they have nothing, they do not have places to live or regular meals outside of the Martencitos program. Yet when they come, they sit together and have a small community at each table in the hall. If one person has one thing that is extra, they bring some to share with everyone that sits at the table, a cup of salsa or Ahi will be passed around for everyone's soup or one person will bring an avocado and cut it into as many pieces as there are people at the table.

The behaviour of the people at the Martencitos program clearly demonstrates what the participants speak of when they define community.

Another example of an anecdotal comparison that strengthened emerging categories was entered into the daily journal of the researcher following the first round of interviews. While working on site, the researcher engaged in an impromptu conversation with a group of ladies while we were working in the kitchen preparing the meal for the day. The
conversation was about the families of the participants in the Martincetos program. The women all spoke of their children saying that many of their children had moved away. The researcher made a comment about it being difficult to have family so far away. The women agreed that they did miss their children, but said that they never felt alone because they had such a strong community and knew that there was always someone looking out for them. This supported information gathered during the interview process with discussions around community definition, strengthening emergent categories on community-family and community-connection felt.

3.3.4.3 Role of Field Worker

Glaser and Strauss (1967) emphasize the role of the researcher as field worker in relating emerging categories to actual life circumstances. The goal of generating a hypothesis in grounded theory requires only enough evidence for suggestion, not an abundance of evidence to establish proof. As a field worker, the researcher is able to not only to relate general categories through process, but has the advantage of seeing the evidence being demonstrated by the participants during daily activities, as well as, witnessing changes that have occurred in the community using principles identified through the process of data collection and analysis.

The hypothesis the researcher begins with may seem unrelated, but as the research process continues with the levels of coding from the emergence of categories and properties to the central theoretical framework, connections are made and lines can be drawn. The dual role of field worker and researcher allows for ongoing “checking in” of the emerging perspectives that will confirm, challenge and further the development of the theory.
The pollada (Illustration #4 and #5) was an exceptional example of the residents coming together to address the needs of the people and the community:

**Theoretical Note #7: November 17, 2002**
The "Pollada" is a local effort to raise money for necessary services that the individual would not be able to afford otherwise. I have purchased two tickets for the Polladas here. What happens is the people go around selling tickets for six soles (about 2 dollars). The ticket is for a gathering which lasts pretty much the entire day and gives the people who purchase the tickets a day of music and a plate of food—a piece of chicken and a potato. The money that is raised goes to help pay for something that is urgent and necessary, like medical care. The community supports the fund raiser by buying a ticket for the pollada regardless of whether they intend on going to the function or not. Although there is no expectation that people buy the tickets, the attendance is great because the community members want to help one another.

At one pollada I attended, the cause for the pollada was to raise money to cover medical expenses for a family whose mother required many operations after a traffic accident. The pollada started in the morning and we came in the afternoon. It was set out over one section of a manzana (neighbourhood) with one house supplying music, another where the food was being cooked and chairs set out and supplied by many of the homeowners in the street. The atmosphere was very light and welcoming, the music was loud and many of the children ran around the street playing.

The pollada for this fund raiser sold about 400 tickets to raise funds. It was such a great way to see the community come together to support a member's needs in a way that wasn't charity. Those who held the function clearly worked, and worked hard to make the pollada such a success. It took much organization, co-ordination, a pooling of resources; human resources and financial resources.

The function was initiated and held by friends in the community rather than the family in need, meaning that others in the community had to recognize the needs of others and put great effort into something from which they did not personally benefit.

What motivates this outside of simple concern, respect and consideration for those that are part of the community? Everyone, whether directly through organizing the pollada or indirectly by purchasing the ticket, came together to take care of another member of the community.

It was such a great example of community and what can happen on a small scale if people come together for the benefit of its members.

### 3.4 Data Analysis

Grounded theory differs from others streams of qualitative inquiry in that data analysis begins as soon as the data collection begins (Glaser and Strauss, 1967; Strauss and Corbin, 1990). Data analysis is an essential skill of grounded theory research as the method is defined through a
process of constant comparison between and among data, through coding. Coding is the process of naming and labeling things, categories and properties. Data analysis in grounded theory involves three phases of coding. These are open coding, axial coding and selective coding.

3.4.1 Procedures for Data Analysis

3.4.1.1 Computer-Assisted Analysis

There are a growing number of software packages available to assist qualitative researchers in coding, sorting, conceptualizing and integrating data (Barry, 1998; Charmaz, 2002; Weitzman, 2002). The programs offer many advantages in coping with the large quantities of data collected during the research process. However, there has been attention given to the possible disadvantages of enlisting the aid of software for qualitative data analysis. The researcher must weigh out the pros and cons of computer-assisted analysis and resolve those issues that may challenge the integrity of the research project.

For the purposes of this study, the advantages and disadvantages of computer assisted analysis played a key role in the decision to use ATLAS.ti. ATLAS.ti is a computer software program that provides tools for data management and analysis. The program assisted the grounded theory process by providing the tools necessary to examine the data at different levels of analysis similar to the open, axial and selective coding processes, with space designated for recording memos during the coding process. As well, it provides the tools to develop visual theoretical models based on linkages created between the various levels of coding (Barry, 1998).

Advocates for computer-assisted analysis cite speed and organization as the main advantages of data analysis software. Analysis software assists researchers in examining
more complex relationships in the data, provides a formal way of recording and storing memos and offers a means of examining the data that is more conceptual and theoretical (Barry, 1998). Aside from the ease and speed of data analysis software, computer programs provided the researcher the ability to do searches using more than one code word (Charmaz, 2002). This offers some consistency to the research process in that the researcher is able to search for all the places a code was applied and see the relationship between two pieces of recorded data. This adds to the consistency of the research findings by helping the researcher see where possible data contradicts emerging hypotheses. The researcher could quickly review data assigned to a category and check to see if they belong together and support the researcher's interpretation of events (Weitzman, 2002).

Data analysis software is an effective means of representing the researcher's ideas by mapping relationships among codes and categories visually on the computer screen (Charmaz, 2002; Weitzman, 2002). Finally, computers helped the researcher consolidate the data acquired from field notes, interviews, anecdotal comparisons and memos. The ability to keep all of the information in one place offered great support to the research process (Weitzman, 2002).

The ability to keep all information housed in one space was beneficial to the research process as I shared my living space with many people. The program held all data gathered from interviews, memos and field notes in a space that was protected by password and only available to the researcher. The ability to conceptualize the information was invaluable as it made the large quantity of information retrieved during data collection
feel more manageable. Further, I engaged simultaneously in manual coding to ensure that I maintained a personal connection with the data.

3.4.1.2 Manual Coding

The biggest concern expressed about the use of computer assisted analysis in qualitative research, and especially grounded theory research, is that it removes the researcher both intellectually and personally from the analysis (Barry, 1998; Charmaz, 2002; Weitzman, 2002). Further, some feel that data analysis programs overemphasize coding, encourage reliance on computer assisted analysis and promote a superficial view of grounded theory (Charmaz, 2002; Weitzman, 2002).

Barry (1998) counters that data analysis software provides qualitative researchers with increased options for analyzing data that can only serve to benefit the research process. Further, Barry (1998) states that it is not possible to engage in the process of analysis without first reviewing and familiarizing yourself with the data. The process of constant comparison associated with grounded theory requires that the researcher be familiar with the data as complete transcripts and fieldnotes and as smaller codes and categories in order to complete in depth analysis of the data. If the investigator is dedicated to conducting rigorous and in-depth research then they will be more likely to use computer assisted and non-computerized methods simultaneously to supplement rather than confine themselves to one method.

The use of ATLAS.ti was beneficial on many levels but, as mentioned, I found that the use of the software distanced me from the data. I was aware of the possible risk of relying too heavily on the analysis of the computer and not thinking about the incidents in relation to the emerging codes. I found the experience of using the computer software made the
coding process less personal and, for that reason, I coded the data manually prior to entering the information into the computer.

I recorded field notes and memos in journals that were carried at all times so that incidents that were felt to be significant could be recorded in a timely fashion. As field work represented the majority of the time spent with the research participants, computer access was not a luxury afforded me. Therefore, the knowledge and skill of how to take and organize field notes was essential to the research process (Fontana and Frey, 2002).

As a new researcher I understood the importance of learning the skills in completing in depth analysis of data (Weitzman, 2002). Charmaz (2002) recognizes that the grounded theory methodology is often poorly understood and that the analysis provided by computer software is only as effective as the researcher's knowledge of the research method.

3.4.2 Open Coding

Open coding is the part of the data analysis that involves identifying, naming, categorizing and describing phenomenon found in the text. The researcher begins with “conceptual nothing” and ends when the researcher reveals a core category (Glaser, 1992). During open coding the data are broken down into incidents using constant comparison, a process of comparing data for similarities and differences. The process involves reading and re-reading each line, sentence and so on to find the answer to the question “what is this about? What is being referenced here?” (Corbin and Strauss, 1990; Glaser and Strauss, 1967).

There are two central goals in open coding. First, to identify labels represented by nouns and verbs of a conceptual word. The challenge of the analytic process is to identify the more general categories that the labels are part of. Second, to find adjectives or adverbs, which represent the properties of these categories. The origin of these properties and dimensions, whether from the
data, the participants or the researcher, is dependent on the goals of the research. At this stage it is important to have categories that are fairly abstract as the abstract categories help to develop theory (Strauss and Corbin, 1990).

The first step of open coding, termed conceptualizing by Corbin and Strauss (1990), involves making constant comparisons of incident to incident. When concepts, abstract representations of an event, object or action that the researcher recognizes as being significant to the data, emerge the constant comparison process is applied incident to concept (Glaser, 1992; Corbin and Strauss, 1998).

In order to manage the number of emergent concepts, Glaser (1992) proposed constant comparison of incident to incident and/or concepts to identify patterns. The pattern of many similar incidents would be given a conceptual name as a category and dissimilar events would then be a name as a property of a category. The researcher had to be aware of just labeling an act and conceptualizing a pattern among incidents.

With this in mind, I entered the process of data collection and analysis using line by line analysis looking for common themes, concepts and incidents. The information was identified and labeled using both conceptually derived codes, codes constructed by the researcher, and in-vivo codes, codes taken from the words of the participant or research site. (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). I gave careful attention to ensure that the labels given to the codes emerged from the data and were not forced by preset codes and categories influenced by my personal bias’ of the research or literature (Kendall, 1999).

The constant comparative method assisted me in maintaining a manageable amount of categories. I began the process with coding each incident in the data into as many categories as possible. As coding continued, newly emerging incidents were compared with previous incidents and assigned
to the same or different code, depending on the whether or not there were shared characteristics (Glaser and Strauss, 1967).

As the coding process continued, constant comparison switched from comparison of incident with incident to comparison of incident with properties of the category that emerged from initial comparisons of incidents (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). Further comparisons were made between the views, situations, actions and experiences of different people and the same person during different time periods (Charmaz, 2000). The initial coding process helped maintain focus on the views and realities of individual research participants, rather than assuming that personal views and realities were shared (Charmaz, 2000).

### 3.4.3 Axial Coding

Axial coding is a product of Strauss and Corbin's (1990, 1998) development of coding procedures. Axial coding is the process of reintegrating data by making connections between categories established through open coding, using a combination of inductive and deductive thinking (Kendall, 1998). Rather than look for any and all kinds of relations, grounded theorists emphasize a central phenomenon and explore the interrelationship of the categories developed during the open coding process (Cresswell, 1998). The researcher then begins to examine the phenomenon within a basic frame of generic relationships (Strauss and Corbin, 1998). These include the causal conditions that influence the central phenomenon, the context and intervening conditions that shape the strategies, and the consequences of undertaking the strategies (Cresswell, 1998).

This introduces the paradigm model, a way of organizing the data that connects subcategories of data to a central idea, or phenomenon. The goal of the paradigm is to help the researcher contextualize a phenomenon through systematically gathering and ordering data and questioning how categories of data relate to one another (Kendall, 1998; Corbin and Strauss, 1998). Further,
within the paradigm there are three basic components that guide data collection and analysis, conditions, actions/interactions, consequences (Corbin and Strauss, 1998).

The process of constant comparison continued as I looked for similarities and differences between categories and subcategories, linking those that were similar to existing categories and remaining open to newly emerging codes. The core categories were examined within the basic components of the paradigm model to help give life to possible hypotheses about the relationship between categories and subcategories. Those hypotheses were critically examined to look for instances of discrepancy between the proposed hypotheses and the data. If discrepancy existed the hypothesis were either discarded or revised with the knowledge that continual correction of data through constant comparison helps develop confidence in the data and generate further properties of categories (Glaser and Strauss, 1967).

Through the axial coding process three central categories emerged. These categories were: foundation of social capital, framework for community action and factors affecting sustainability. As well, nine subcategories were identified that further defined the three main categories. These subcategories were: mutual spirit of struggle, sense of community, solidarity, initial organizational efforts, locating community leaders, developing process, community development motivators, challenges to maintaining social capital and factors for continuing development. These can be seen in the matrix developed to illustrate the categories and subcategories that emerged through the research process, depicted in Appendix D.

3.4.4 Selective Coding

Selective coding is the process of integrating and refining the theory by choosing one category to be the core category, and relating all other categories to that category (Strauss and Corbin, 1998). The first step is in deciding on a core category that will represent the main theme of the research.
The core category evolves from the research but is still an abstraction, consisting of all the outcomes of the analytic process condensed into key words which best explained what the research is all about (Strauss and Corbin, 1998).

Strauss and Corbin (1998) outline six criteria for choosing a core category from the data. First, the category must be central. That is, all other categories must be related to the central category. Second, the core category must appear frequently in the data. Third, there is a clear and logical explanation that evolves from relating the categories. Fourth, the name or phrase used to describe the core category must be abstract enough that it can be used in other research areas, to further develop a more general theory. Fifth, as the core concept is refined through integration with other concepts, the theory is strengthened. Finally, The core concept is able to provide explanation even if the conditions vary.

Using the procedures outlined by Strauss and Corbin, I examined the data to identify the category that appeared to be central to the research. In order to do this I used a series of diagrams to attempt to find the diagram that best explained the unique development experience of the women in Villa El Salvador. The use of diagrams also helped me identify areas that needed further examination by providing a more visual look at the data. Through this, I identified "foundation for social capital" as the core category that was central to all other actions and interactions in the research process.

3.5 Standards of Verification

It has been argued that importance of verification in research can be linked with quantitative research processes, which places much importance on rigorous methods of validation that are inappropriate for the flexible nature of qualitative research (Cresswell, 1998; Glaser, 1992). Cresswell (1998) offers eight verification procedures that are derived from existing literature that can be used to address the issues of verification of qualitative research in a primarily quantitative
world. Cresswell's (1998) prescribed recommendation is that researchers engaging in qualitative methods of research employ at least two of the eight procedures to ensure the verification of their research.

First, Cresswell (1998) recommends that the researcher dedicate sufficient time for "prolonged engagement and persistent observation" (pg.201) in the field of study. Second, that the researcher employs a manner of triangulation. Third, that the researcher request the assistance of colleagues for peer review or debriefing. The role of the peer would be to challenge the investigator on assumptions made about the research process by questioning decisions made about methodology, data analysis and interpretation. Fourth, through negative case analysis, the researcher uses examples of refuting evidence to examine personal findings until all cases fit. Fifth, in discussing researcher bias in the beginning of the study to ensure that the reader is aware of the researcher's perspective. In clarifying bias the researcher identifies personal and professional experiences, and admits possible prejudices and assumptions that may affect the outcome of the study. Sixth, the researcher should engage in member checks whereby the researcher shares data, interpretations, emerging codes and conclusions made with the participants so that they can speak to the accuracy of the information given. Seventh, the written work should incorporate information that involves rich, thick description to allow the reader to transfer information to other settings. If the researcher is able to provide a detailed description of the research setting and participants the reader can make informed decision regarding transferability because of shared characteristics. Finally, the researcher should employ the use of an external audit to speak to the accuracy of both the research process and findings.

For the purposes of this study the research engaged in prolonged engagement and persistent observation, triangulation, negative case analysis, member checks and rich, thick description. The researcher examined qualitative methods of verification within the grounded theory framework in
order to establish merits of in-depth and rigorous data collection and analysis processes. Grounded theorists believe that it is the researcher's responsibility to establish verification in a study (Cresswell, 1998). The difference in grounded theory is that verification is an active part of the research process (Strauss and Corbin, 1998).

3.5.1 Prolonged Engagement and Persistent Observation

While in Peru the researcher was immersed in the community and culture of the people of Villa El Salvador. Prior to beginning the interview process I had worked within the community and attended community functions to establish relationships, gain understanding of the people and the culture and build trust between myself and those assisting me in the research process. I took any opportunity I could to involve myself in the community on a personal level. I attended community functions such as pollados, soccer games, funerals and special festivals. I would offer my assistance in activities that enabled me to become involved in group conversations to develop relationships, improve my Spanish and increase community connections.

I also involved my daughter in the placement whenever it was appropriate. Together we played with the other children on site, attended the playground and went to other homes for play dates. As well, my daughter would often attend the work site and either play with the children there or would help out with the program in whatever capacity she could. The visibility of my daughter in the community opened doors for building trust and relationships in the community.

The rationale for prolonged engagement in the community assumes that involvement in the community helps build trusting relationships with participants and key informants to assist in the process of data collection and analysis by creating less likelihood of the participants to deceive the researcher or less inclined to withhold information (Rubin and Babbie, 2001). As well, attending the community on a daily basis afforded me the opportunity to verify misinformation rooted in my personal biases or informed by participants.
Further to the benefits of prolonged engagement, I engaged in persistent observation through my dual role as a field worker as well as a researcher. The opportunity to be regularly involved in the community helped me make decisions about what was significant to the study and spoke to the local definition of social capital and its role in grassroots community action. As a field worker engaged in persistent observation, I was able to witness instances that confirmed or refuted information gathered in the research process through the actions or words of the community members. Both confirming and refuting information assisted in the grounded theory research process through either verifying agreed upon conclusions or identifying avenues that required further examination in order to reach saturation.

3.5.2 Negative Case Analysis

Through the use of negative case analysis the researcher is able to further refine agreed upon conclusions or hypotheses in light of refuting evidence (Cresswell, 1998). Grounded theory research accomplishes this through a procedure called discriminate sampling whereby the researcher asks questions related to the categories and returns to the data to look for evidence that either supports or refutes the questions, thereby verifying the data (Cresswell, 1998).

Discriminate sampling is another measure of saturation where the researcher seeks out people, places and literature that will increase opportunity for comparative analysis (Strauss and Corbin, 1998). The role of negative case analysis is essential to furthering the process of discriminate sampling and ensuring saturation of categories. Strauss and Corbin (1998) stress the importance of validation in theory building being present throughout data collection, analysis and sampling. Constant comparison requires the researcher to continually examine findings against actual data and look for instances that confirm or refute findings. Instances the challenge findings are opportunities to modify findings and begin the process of constant comparison again. Through this process investigators involved in grounded theory research are continually verifying or challenging
their data. In the end, only those conclusions and hypothesis that withstand the process of constant comparison become part of the end result.

Through the investigation, I was continually seeking instances in the community that challenged emerging categories and possible conclusions. Refuting evidence was seen as opportunity to further explore categories and strengthen hypothesis. In many situations, as was identified by Strauss and Corbin (1998) negative cases provided an important basis to furthering the research process and informing the researcher that saturation had not yet been reached.

One example of the importance of negative cases in advancing validity is evidenced in the local belief in the sustainability of grassroots organizations and examples in the community that negated personal reflections of participants and community members. All participants had spoken of local involvement as being crucial to the continuation of grassroots organizations and often cited comparisons of the two community kitchens, one locally run the other government funded, where the government funded commedore often flounders when political winds change while the community owned commedore continues. However, two examples of grassroots organizations that have become essentially defunct over the years negated the personal accounts of the participants that organizations had to be grassroots in order to be sustainable. This negative case example began discussion on local politics and factors that effected sustainability of both social capital and local action, strengthening the role social capital plays on creating sustainable community development.

3.5.3 Triangulation

The premise behind the use of negative case analysis provides the foundation for triangulation, whereby the researcher seeks out corroboration of agreed upon conclusions and hypothesis from two or more sources (Rubin and Babbie, 2001). Triangulation can involve the use of multiple sources of information, employing more than one method of inquiry to collect and analyze data,
using multiple investigators to collect or analyze data, employ different theories to corroborate
evidence or using more than one source of data, such as interviews, direct observation and
existing documents (Cresswell, 1998; Rubin and Babbie, 2001).

I drew upon the use of multiple sources of data for the purposes of this study. I gathered
information from multiple sources including in-depth interviews, observation and existing records. I
conducted in-depth interviews, recorded observations made while in Villa El Salvador and enlisted
the assistance of a local community member to acquire public records and literature on Villa El
Salvador. Through the process of constant comparison, I continually sought information from all
sources that either supported or challenged findings from information gathered from all sources. If
a negative case presented itself in one area it was used to further the research process in the other
areas. In effect, the use of triangulation of data collection methods strengthened the credibility of
the study through the combination of constant comparison and negative case analysis.

3.5.4 Member Checks

Member checks require the investigator to share research observations and interpretations with
participants to ensure the accuracy and credibility of data collection, data analysis and conclusions
(Cresswell, 1990; Rubin and Babbie, 2000). Since the grounded theory process requires the
interpretation of the participants' verbal account of events, returning to the participants to confirm or
refute data and interpretations is logical in efforts to maintain a standard of verification.

The process of interviewing and reinterviewing the same participants gave me the opportunity to
share my interpretation of the data collected and initial analysis. Each follow up interview began
with a sharing of information and giving the participants the opportunity to confirm or clarify the
data and interpretations. The use of member checks was especially important in that interviews
and transcripts had to be translated between Spanish and English. Therefore, interpretation of
data occurred not only literally, but theoretically, emphasizing the importance of returning the source to ensure accuracy.

As well, the procedure of member checks was essential in working within the community development framework with the challenge of definition to ensure that the major constructs were understood from the perspective of the participants and not influence by my personal and professional experience. It was important to the rigor of the research that in emphasizing the struggle for definition I did not rely on personal and professional assumptions to interpret data and reach conclusions. The technique of member checks helped in keeping the process of collection and analysis grounded in the data.

Further, in advancing the process of triangulation and negative case analysis, member checks allowed me to take instances that challenged information shared in the interviews back to the participants for clarification. The overlapping of the three methods of verification helped inform the saturation of codes and categories as they emerged.

3.5.5 Rich Thick Description

Through rich thick description the researcher gives the reader a detailed description of the participants or the setting, which allows the reader to make decisions regarding transferability of shared characteristics (Cresswell, 1990). In an effort to achieve rich, thick description I aimed at presenting a detailed view of the community and people of Villa El Salvador and the people through the words of the participants and my own observations. My intention in doing this was to create a body of text that readers could transfer information through shared characteristics and determine whether findings could be transferred.

3.6 Limitations

Conducting research in Peru presented the initial limitation of a language barrier. This presented not only a limitation during the work experience but, more importantly, the language barrier may
have compromised the research project. Extra care was taken to ensure that a neutral translator was chosen to help facilitate the interviews during the research process. If the translator entered into the interview process with a hidden agenda the research could be misguided. As well, it was essential to impress upon the translator the importance of confidentiality during the research process making the possibility of hiring a translator from outside the community a likely one. Enough knowledge was necessary on the part of the researcher to make sure that the translator was able to convey the appropriate meaning of the questions and clearly verbalize responses to the researcher so that the interview process is not led by a series of misunderstandings. Therefore, the researcher took language courses prior to departure to Peru for the work placement and the initial phase of the research involved living, observing and learning about the community and being immersed in the language.

Coding presented a possible limitation in that the process was subjective and could be influenced by the biases defined through theoretical sensitivity. Of particular importance was when coding was defined using concepts informed by background literature. The researcher ensured that coding was not led by pre-defined concepts, not allowing the interview to be compromised based on the assumption that the participants meaning was understood, but explored the concept further to ensure the participant perspective was fully understood (Strauss and Corbin, 1990). Again, this highlights the importance of ensuring that the communication between interviewer, participant and translator is clear.

I did not expect there to be any risks to the participants who participate in the research project. However, due to the history of Villa El Salvador and the struggles the community members had to overcome, there was the possibility that questions asked during the interview process may have been potentially upsetting and may have triggered emotional responses. If any questions asked by the interviewer were upsetting in any way to the participants, the participants were given the option
of either withdrawing from the study or not responding to the questions. If the participant continued
with the interview the researcher debriefed the participant at the end of the interview to ensure that
the participant was comfortable with their responses to the questions and with the way the
interview played out. As the participants were strong figures in the community and were well
connected to the community, I asked if they had supports to contact following the interview. Being
new to the community, I was unable to provide supports that the participants were not already
aware of.

3.7 Summary

Chapter three outlines the methodology used in conducting the research project in Villa El
Salvador. Using Cresswell's (1990) criteria, the chapter began by detailing the rationale for
choosing a qualitative research paradigm. Further, grounded theory methodology was closely
examined as an appropriate avenue of research in studying the role of social capital in grassroots
community development projects. In doing this, a synopsis of grounded theory was given by
examining a brief history of its beginnings, philosophical underpinnings and procedures.

The chapter continued on to address the issues outlined in the grounded theory methodology
regarding objectivity and personal bias. This was accomplished through an overview of the
researcher's perspective regarding philosophical assumptions, personal and professional bias and
by including possible methods to compensate for how this may influence research outcomes. In
doing this, ethical considerations undertaken to protect the research participants were detailed and
addressed.

The writer went on to speak to the process of data collection and analysis characteristic of
grounded theory including discussion on theoretical sampling, criteria for selecting research
participants, interview process and theoretical saturation. Further, the process of data analysis
was discussed in terms of levels of coding, open, axial and selective, as well as, discussion on the use of manual or computer assisted analysis.

In order to meet standards of verification this researcher examined the guidelines set out by Cresswell (1990) and attempted to view these within a grounded theory framework. In order to remedy this the researcher engaged in multiple methods of verification advocated by Cresswell (1990), namely prolonged engagement and persistent observation, triangulation, negative case analysis, member checks and rich, thick description.

The following chapter introduces the three categories that emerged from the joint process of data collection and analysis. It examines the role of social capital and sense of community in the grassroots community development movement from the perspective of seven women who were involved in the evolution of Villa El Salvador since its inception in 1971. In working with local definitions of the major operational constructs in the field of community development, a framework for community action emerges through the unique and shared experiences of the research participants.
CHAPTER FOUR
RESULTS

The objective of the interview process was to discuss with the research participants the Villa El Salvador development experience from the perspective of the women in the community to lend to the understanding of the role of social capital and sense of community in grassroots community action for development. The aim was to develop a thorough picture of not only an emerging framework of grassroots development, but also the success and challenges that accompany the process.

Through the process of data collection and analysis, three categories emerged from the data. The three main categories are representative of nine subcategories, with each subcategory possessing defining properties and dimensions. This chapter will use direct quotations from the interview transcripts to illustrate the emerging categories and sub-categories.

4.1 Foundation for Social Capital

A common theme emerged regarding necessary building blocks that created an atmosphere conducive to community action and a strong foundation for the changes that were to take place in Villa El Salvador. The women all spoke of these aspects as the backbone of their achievements and the fuel that continued their efforts despite the challenges and obstacles they had to overcome. The foundation relied upon the interplay of three factors: spirit of struggle, sense of community and solidarity. Although the three can be seen as building blocks with the strength of one leading to the achievement of the next, the continuation of all three were necessary to maintain the strength of the foundation.
4.1.1 Spirit of Struggle

Four of the women interviewed shared their experiences as wives and mothers coming from rural Peru to the city of Lima in order to improve their personal situations. In 1970-71, they came with the dream of owning land that was going to be made available by the government in power at that time. When they arrived to what would be their new homes they found a barren desert void of necessary services to meet even their basic needs. This marked the beginning of Villa El Salvador along three dimensions: having nothing, survivalist strategies and coming together. Each acknowledged the hardships they have endured but also gave credit to the strength derived from overcoming these challenges.

4.1.1.1 Having Nothing

The participants recalled fondly the initial days in Villa El Salvador, despite the fact that they had so little. They spoke of these early memories with pride, reflecting on the changes that have occurred in such a short time. The respondents spoke of the hardships they experienced and how these hardships translated into a sense of ownership and commitment as they began to acquire basic necessities through collective effort.

*It was very difficult in the beginning to live in this area, she came in and there was nothing but sand dunes. Anything that she needed she had to walk long distances, she would get into the sand up to her knee. She borrowed a stove but couldn't use it here because they couldn't get fuel so she got a new one, a one burner. It was difficult to get water, the truck would bring water not regularly and you would have to walk a lot with buckets to get the water if you needed to do laundry or to take a bath you had to pay extra money because you needed more water. Everything was very difficult at the time.*

*When she first arrived here there were only sand dunes, it was like coming to the beach and some of the people here had straw mat houses. These people are still in Villa El Salvador.*

*That afternoon she came in a truck with sixty other women, sixty housewives that had been entitled to a piece of land, and to visit where the lots were and she was*
assigned this particular lot and that is where she met some of the women who started the community work such as the commedores.

The words of one woman emphasize the tenacity of the initial settlers in Villa El Salvador. The descriptions from the women detailed a blank slate, looking for home and community in a place where neither had been established. The words also convey a sense of immediacy to address the services that were needed in order to meet their basic needs and those of their family.

The women got organized around the need to provide food for their families. Whether they could be a positive force, whether they could help the family overcome the economic situation because it was terrible at the time. Also they learned the value of getting organized, they had a lot of opportunity to deal with several issues and be successful.

4.1.1.2 Survivalist Strategies

The initial efforts were for survival; to address the barriers to meeting basic needs of food, water and shelter. The driving force came from the realization that they all shared the same needs and had similar goals. The struggle to survive forced the women together with the realization that in order to provide the basic necessities for their family, they would have to come together as a group. This is demonstrated in the historical accounts given by three women in which the women came together to address the need for water.

Nothing, they had nothing but hunger and despair, so they were forced to organize. They met with the people in the block and then they decided how they should get things they needed, how they would get the water to the block, walk many kilometers to have water in the house.

The first problem they faced was water. As the trucks weren’t coming to the neighborhood because the roads were unpaved they finally spoke and decided they were the ones who suffered because men would all leave to go to work and come home very late at night so they had to wash the clothes and wash the dishes and take care of the house, so it was them that suffered...
So, they met in the park and they started deciding what they were going to do and the husbands were off, they went to Lima at six and came back at ten or eleven in the night so there was plenty of time for the women to think what they were going to do. So finally what they did was that each of them carried the rocks and put them on the sand to let the water truck come in and eventually it happened.

The experience was taken from an individual level to a community level where the women realized that this was an issue that affected everyone and they were brought together for the first time to address their needs as a group. The experience of coming together and the power and energy created from that initial development fueled many future endeavors, including road development, building churches and schools and rallying together to acquire government support to meet basic needs.

4.1.1.3 Coming Together

The participants found the most basic way to create energy for change was to simply find opportunities to bring community members together. The act of getting people to discuss community issues gave a sense of unity in the issues they faced. The energy created through shared hardships of the community members fueled initial responses to community needs.

...getting together had an explosive force in Villa. People realized what they needed as a community and what they were lacking and found their strength in their need to bring those needs, and overcome those situations.

One you get people started, then there is no way to stop it because then they are excited and enthusiastic about it because it is a positive experience, like many things have been achieved that way, but first you have to get them started.

They usually get together when there is an issue that is up front, or some critical need that they have to address. That is what drives them together, when they need to do something, when there is a problem that is bigger than the individual they get together a lot of people and that is how they gather everyone.

People realized what they needed as a community and what they were lacking and found their strength in their needs to bring those needs, to overcome these situations.
The move from the individual to the community level was identified as an essential barrier to cross in order address community needs and create positive change. The importance of sense of community in developing community was a lesson learned early on by the women of Villa El Salvador. The spirit of struggle defined by the women led to a local definition of sense of community that was seen as essential to future endeavors.

4.1.2 Sense of Community

When asked about sense of community the participants responded unanimously about its importance in creating change at a local level. Four key characteristics emerged, which lent to a local definition of sense of community: communal benefit, participation, team effort and unification. Again, all elements seemed necessary. That is, if one element was missing or lacking, the foundation for development would suffer and the process would not progress as smoothly.

4.1.2.1 Communal Benefit

In order to achieve a full sense of community, its members had to look past individual agendas to the good of the community as a whole. The idea being that the community members were not motivated to improve their individual situations, but were motivated by the realization that working together to improve the community they lived in, in effect, improved the lives of individuals.

That is what drives them together, when they need to do something, when there is a problem that is bigger than the individual they get together a lot of people and that is how they gather everyone.

The experience of working together and the personal rewards received through the community was a driving force for many of the women to continue. Sense of community not only led to fulfilling many basic needs, but gave them a sense of identity and belonging.
A group of people that is brought together in search of the common good. A community is a group of people that you know you can count on and people that will reflect something about yourself, a number of people that you feel part of, you share things with them, they are a reflection of you and you are a reflection of them.

There is a feeling of community in Villa El Salvador and this feeling has been felt since the beginning, it is a self-sustainable community and everyone felt that their full potential was realized through this participation.

4.1.2.2 Participation

The movement away from the individual led to an expectation that all members of the community participated in the efforts for change in whatever ways they could. Participation meant that the members in some way supported the community as a whole and had a voice in the direction the development was taking. Each member was encouraged to participate in whatever capacity they were able.

They, it was very good because all of them were working towards similar objectives, if they wanted to organize a march down to the authorities everyone participated and there were no struggles within their groups, everyone went without discussion.

Total participation of each resident is important. It is true that many of the basic services have been achieved and that is undeniable and it takes more than that, one should not take things for granted. Development requires continuous and permanent participation of the other residents.

Everyone who can be in the organization participates and contributes because everyone has something to contribute.

It was not enough for the members of the community to participate in the community projects, but there was also an expectation of agreement on development goals and needs. A central aspect of the success of community action was that the community members all agreed on the direction of initiatives and action. Agreement on development goals and needs was an indication that the community was operating on a unified front.
The success of bringing community members together was in creating cohesion among residents at various levels.

4.1.2.3 Team Effort

Essential to the level of participation of the residents was that the community members felt they were participating as members of the same team. All endeavours were a team effort meaning that they shared similar goals and desired similar outcomes. It did not make sense to redirect time and energy from your personal situation and invest it in the community if the goals were not shared. This was conveyed in the descriptions of community given by two women:

*Community is a group, it is a team working to accomplish a thing that we need to be accomplished, and it is not work done for myself but work done for the good of all people.*

*If the goals are not the same then it is not a community. Villa El Salvador was called a self-sustainable community and it has been a very rich process for people from the beginning because they all felt like they had something to give and that made their lives very fulfilling. They all realized that coming from where they came from and that made the process very rich for the community and for the people who participated.*

4.1.2.4 Unification

With all other characteristics in place the participants expressed a need for a unified front. In order to achieve a sense of community, all defining characteristics of sense of community had to be in place. If all characteristics were in place, the members would feel a connection to each other and the community and this was part of the reward of dedicating personal time and efforts to the community. The words of the participants highlight three important aspects of teamwork. Namely, that the team members work together towards a similar goal and through their experience together they gain strength to continue.
Yeah, there would be no achievements unless people come together, work together.

Community means a unity of people trying to bring something up. That is what it is, people have a common goal and they get together and they join forces to get something that they need.

That is when they started realizing that it was the women that would know the history, that were facing problems and starting to fix them at the same time, so once they realized that it was almost all of them they gained strength and they learned that there was many, many things they could accomplish.

This united front was seen not only as a reward for the time dedicated to the community, but also as a necessary aspect of continuing the community development process. The achievement of unity was seen as parallel to sense of community, both essential to achieving a desired end result. The participants expressed the importance of all community members sharing similar goals and dedicating their time and energy to achieving these goals collectively. In turn, successfully achieving community goals furthered community cohesion and motivated the residents of Villa El Salvador to continue development efforts on other issues targeted by the community.

Without unity nothing would have been achieved. So, sense of community is the most important piece.

Everything that has been accomplished here has been obtained because there was a sense of community.

The united front is directly related to another aspect of the foundation defined by the women in Villa El Salvador. The experiences that lead to achieving a sense of community in Villa El Salvador also led to a characteristic that all women believed was a unique component of their experience, solidarity. Although unity in many ways represents the essence of solidarity, the importance placed on the role of solidarity in Villa El Salvador makes it a significant characteristic on its own.
4.1.3 Solidarity

The term solidarity entered many conversations around Villa El Salvador and community development. In the opinion of the women interviewed for the study, solidarity was a defining component of the unique development process that emerged from the successful achievement of initial aspects of foundation. However, solidarity among community members continues to be the driving force for many community initiatives.

Solidarity means that we all feel together in facing an issue.

And that is what solidarity is, it is the feeling that it is a problem that is not only affecting a family it is a problem felt by the whole community. And the whole community participates in it.

Solidarity, as defined by the women of Villa El Salvador, expanded the boundaries of sense of community to include the achievement of needs usually associated with a family unit. The community members view themselves as a large family and this creates an expectation that all members are cared for by the community, or family as a whole.

If women do not have solidarity around themselves, there would be no future for their children, for the community. The idea is to bring the family out.

She realized that solidarity has become a landmark for Villa El Salvador, it has decreased a lot because people have become more individualistic but when she was a council member in the second year, she had opportunity to travel to several other places and she never found a sense of community as she knows in Villa, it is like a big family.

So much, it is like a giant family. She found solidarity in the people here. This is like an extended family.

This is demonstrated time and again in Villa El Salvador by community initiatives meant to ensure the needs of the community and individual members are met. This means that the community as a whole is aware of the well being of each member and is willing to set individual needs aside in
order to assist a family in greater need. Examples of this were shared in relation to families coming
together to financially assist those stricken by illness or hardship.

Also, if someone is very ill, it used to be the secretaries in the block, dusted their old papers and brought then up because they have to go around and check in all the different blocks because they would all, the whole group, the sixteen blocks have to contribute in some way. It could be twenty cents or fifty cents whatever they have, no one will not, in some cases the families do not have any money but they will promise to contribute the next time and they do.

Such efforts are also seen in the community members undertaking projects to improve the conditions of their neighborhood in Villa El Salvador. In the following anecdotes shared by two women we see the different ways the community members come together to address needs identified by the community, and organize themselves to achieve their goals. The examples demonstrate what can be achieved when community members unite.

A major problem in Villa El Salvador today is drug use, many people are using crack and houses that people sell the stuff but also they let people in to smoke it and many people come inside the area or go outside the area to buy it. It is the neighbours that deal with the issue because they feel that it is affecting their health, it is affecting the sense of safety in the area. So, they figure they have to do something and even though they are risking consequences, the guys who are dealing the drugs in some cases have threatened them and it takes away time and in some cases they do not get proper rest because the parties go on late at night and they have to be up in the morning. They get together to out number those that are doing the stuff so that when they come to buy the stuff they tie the person up and shave their heads.

So, they started identifying what the stronger needs were. One of them was water so they knew they had to do something to get the trucks into the neighbourhood. So, they met in the park and they started deciding what they were going to do and the husbands were off, they went to work at six and came back at ten or eleven in the night so there was plenty of time for the women to think what they were going to do. So, finally what they did was that each of them carried rocks and put them on the sand to let the water truck come in and eventually it happened.

4.2 Framework for Community Action

What emerged from a simple desire to improve surroundings for themselves and future generations was a framework for community development that proved to be successful in
addressing the issues presented to the initial settlers of Villa El Salvador. Although many organizations and individuals have looked to Villa El Salvador as a positive example of community change at a local level, there is little written on the actual process used by the community members. In fact, when asked how they were able to create such change the responses were similar, they had no choice. It became clear through the stories shared by the women that the organizational process that followed evolved naturally. When questioned on the process, the women who played a major role in leadership and development in Villa El Salvador could not outline the necessary steps, but could only detail their experience through providing examples of what occurred.

4.2.1 Initial Organizational Efforts

Initial organization efforts arose out of necessity to meet basic needs. They recognized that if they did not organize themselves around the issues, no one else would. They also acknowledged that their situation was extremely fragile and what little they did have could be taken away.

They were very aware that if they didn't organize maybe someone from outside would come and feel they could throw us from this land and take it from them, they could feel that.

These initial efforts revolved around three activities, which arose from the foundation created in the early days of Villa El Salvador. These activities were: bringing people together, assigning meeting space and creating informal networks.

4.2.1.1 Bringing People Together

Bringing people together occurred during daily activities. The initial settlers would interact with one another while using public transport, hauling water or attending church. This contact with one another gave them the opportunity to discuss issues or vent frustrations
around the current living situation. The similar living conditions and struggles gave strength to the community members as they realized that they shared common concerns.

Positive part of having to take the bus is that you would have to get to know a lot of people because they were all in the same situation and would all have to take the same bus so just by sharing the line or the bus you would have to talk to people from your community.

Although the residents found benefits in communicating issues with one another and found comfort in the realization that they were not alone in their struggles, they promptly realized that in order to productively use the energy created by their informal discussions, they had to organize themselves and conduct formal meetings.

4.2.1.2 Assigning Meeting Space

Initial meetings were held in the common areas of the neighborhoods, usually the same places that were used for initial conversations regarding the state of the community (Illustration #6). Since the community was new there were no formal spaces to hold meetings and the community members had to improvise, recognizing that it was not the place the meeting was held that was important, but the gathering of people in one common area. Initial meetings were held outside in an open area surrounded by the housing lots. This was upgraded to straw mat houses and community built facilities, as the community began to grow and expand.

When they started meeting as women outside and when they began talking about the problems they faced.

There were no kinds of meeting facilities so they would meet in peoples straw mat houses just to try to start the community.

So, they started meeting with each other in the neighborhood and they met in the park that was the open space where they met and they tried to figure out what they were going to do, what they needed to do.
Through the meetings the people were able to establish fundamental community connections and links to community resources. Through these connections, the unique skills and talents of individual community members were recognized and used to further their cause. Individual community members were chosen for leadership, not based on education and professional experience, but strength and dedication to the community. Further links were made in the community to those who held professional expertise in identified areas, such as education, health care and leadership.

4.2.1.3 Creating Informal Networks

The community held members from all professional backgrounds, teachers, clergy, medical professionals and many more. The networks of women were formed locally with the encouragement of the other community members and in this the church played a special role. The community members of Villa El Salvador valued the role of the church in their families and the community. Therefore, one of the first developments to be organized in Villa El Salvador was assigning central meeting places for weekly religious celebrations. This provided an opportunity for the community members to gather once a week in a designated location. Further, the church clergy provided encouragement to the women of the community to come together around issues of hunger and nutrition.

So, every Sunday they organized so that every Sunday two or three women would have something special like dessert or something and they sold it and with that money they were able to buy beans or rice to improve the menu. This was also a way to organize the ladies, to bring them together.

Informal networks were created within the community with different roles being assigned to elected members.
So, they formed a group of ten ladies and began working as leaders of the community that is when they found out that the husbands, most of them were women and there were very few men because the men were the ones who would have to work.

So, these groups in this sector began to meet with other groups in other sectors and they started from these experiences to get to know a lot of people.

As all this struggle and all this work they began to meet with leaders from other districts from around Lima and the women organization started growing and they met with the other feminist group in Lima and they started having meetings, gathering women from all the country and they would meet together in the same meeting and receiving different kinds of training in different areas.

So they organized a group of fifty women, there were around fifty groups of fifty women each and they had to organize themselves within the groups so each of the groups had to have a coordinator.

With the creation of networks and development of smaller task oriented groups, the assignment of community leaders to act, as representatives became the responsibility of the residents of Villa El Salvador.

4.2.2 Locating Community Leaders

Following identification of needs, the community members broke the tasks down into smaller groupings and sought leaders for each. The leaders were from the community and were appointed by the community members.

*In the block someone was appointed in charge of different things, someone would be the meal taker, someone in charge of how the money was handled. There was someone for different jobs, with different responsibilities.*

*They elected particular leaders for each of the areas designated.*

The women all spoke of becoming leaders unexpectedly. They were asked to become leaders by family and community members and were unsure of their ability to do the jobs given to them. In the beginning the qualifications the community sought were time and dedication to the cause. The
development of necessary skills and abilities followed with the experience of leadership in Villa El Salvador.

Another things that happened when she first came here was that she came home one day and her mom had accepted an appointment for her to be a secretary of collecting the money that was raised

...as usual she was chosen to be the coordinator and she was so afraid because she didn’t know what was expected to do and well they told me I had to deal with the meal and stuff.

The community. They held a huge assembly with the participation of everyone and that is when they chose the leaders.

The women, regardless of prior experience and education level, were put into the positions and given the support of the community. The challenge came with challenging traditional gender roles that kept women in the home as caretakers of the family. The husbands experienced growing pains as the roles of the women as leaders took them out of the home and into the community. The women spoke of the gratitude they had for their husbands, describing them as supportive and understanding of the work they were carrying out.

The husbands didn’t want them to participate, they wanted them to stay at home but in time even the men were persuaded that their participation was important. These were really hard times, they worked a lot.

She was lucky because her husband was very understanding and he supported her participating in all these activities. She would feel approached to participate because her husband said he could not be part of all this because he had to go to Lima but he was really glad that she could.

The leadership positions in Villa El Salvador were completely voluntary in the beginning and this was seen as a major key to success. Although this was done out of necessity because they lacked the funds to pay those put into leadership positions, it was later recognized as a strength. This made the motivation of the leaders based solely on the well being of the community and the goals outlined by the community itself. Without an outside funding source they were not bound by the agendas of funding bodies and the loyalty of the leaders to the community was guaranteed.
They are volunteers, it is in the regular assemblies that they appoint the people to the position to that are all volunteer and it’s based on merit

And one of the reasons that it is so successful is because they are non paid positions and people are in because they are interested in bringing the community up, and also because everyone feels like the same commitment, the are equally involved, who face the issues that they are trying to address it is not a professional take on the issue or paid position, it is women getting together to solve problems they all feel.

The leaders in the community were expected to be dedicated to the development of Villa El Salvador and, in the opinion of the participants, the inability to give financial assistance to the leaders helped ensure the motivation of the leaders was about Villa El Salvador. Those chosen as leaders were recognized for their commitment to the community, the identified goals and their strength of character. They were perceived as honest, dedicated, optimistic and creative.

You have to be motivated, willing to be a leader, willing to lead the community, one who commits time and efforts to the common goal to achieve the common goal.

They are dedicated to keep improving and that is something that is so deeply inside themselves that they encourage and find the strength and courage to go on and for example if they want this park to be more beautiful and cleaner then we will talk to each other and motivate the women in the area.

Honesty, solidarity, unselfishness, and someone who is responsive, someone who loves the neighbor. Someone who is able to laugh, someone who is prone to happiness, hope.

The strength in the leadership and the support given by the community were cornerstones to the process of development in Villa El Salvador. The community recognized the need for positive leadership and felt it necessary that the leaders came from the community. Local leaders would understand the issues and would be dedicated to finding solutions to locally identified needs.

4.2.3 Developing Process

The community development process that unfolded in Villa El Salvador was unconscious. The community members, many of them women, only intended to find solutions to their immediate
issues. However, the positive outcome of initial efforts was so powerful that they continued to work together to achieve further goals. The more experience they gained in developing the community at a local level, the more organized and defined their efforts became. When questioned about how they developed the community, the participants could not identify an actual process, but spoke through examples. The experience appeared natural rather than forced and a pattern emerged during the interview process identifying key components of the Villa El Salvador experience. The key components of the development process included: assessed needs, problem solving, experiencing growth and feeling success.

4.2.3.1 Assessed needs

The women had been meeting informally in the community and, through initial discussions, began to recognize familiarity in the needs they expressed. The identification of shared community needs seemed to be the logical first step in improving their current situation. The needs were easily identified in the beginning and all women spoke of the importance of organizing around community needs.

So, they started talking and talking and trying to figure out how to do it and knowing that they needed a head organization but not knowing what for or how. So, they talked about what their priorities were and that was the process based on their needs, they knew where to start.

The way it began working was totally to the needs, they identified that the buses only came to the beginning of the neighborhood, so they decided that was a need. It was something that they should take care of.

The needs were then prioritized. Further to the identification and prioritizing of community needs was the understanding that the entire community was committed to the common goal. This initial step led to group cohesion, motivation and focus of community efforts.

So, they started identifying what the stronger needs were.
People get together to assess what they need and they work on their commitments.

The needs has been something that has kept them together and they keep identifying what they need now

4.2.3.2 Problem solving

After prioritizing community needs, the women began brainstorming in order to find solutions to the issues. The prioritizing of needs gave them much needed focus and, consequently, the challenges they were presented with became manageable. At a local level the women looked at what they could do to address the issues at hand. The community was organized into smaller groups and each group would focus on one issue. They would form a group to organize around issues such as health, education or nutrition and within each group a leader would be elected. The smaller group would meet to find solutions to their assigned issues.

Maybe four or five people getting together assessing a need and trying to solve that problem with particular answers or situations.

The community groups were organized in sub committees and they would be in charge of different aspects of community, with issues from different areas, for example she was part of the group working on TB.

People realized what they needed as a community and what they were lacking and found their strength in their need to bring those needs, to overcome those situations.

Through the problem solving process, the smaller group would come up with a plan meant to address and resolve the issue. Within the small group they recognized the skills and abilities of individual members and would assign tasks accordingly. It was believed that everyone had something to contribute to the cause and no one role was more important than the other.
They would hold meetings and figure out who could do different tasks, for example, men who had the ability to build stuff, who could build and had done it before would be in charge of conducting that activity and they would work one person per household. Whoever was not able to build or carry stuff would do something else, for example some would make food or drinks just to make it more livable for the long hours of work. They would usually work until ten in the night. When it was cold they would buy strong liquor for the men to keep warm and continue working.

They created two soup kitchens and they organized them in such a way that the women, every woman had to dedicate two days to the soup kitchen. One day was for shopping and one was for cooking so they helped out in two areas. There was someone helping in the kitchen every day and each of them had to dedicate one day to cook.

When all had agreed on what course of action to take and everyone was given their assigned tasks they would then carry out the plan. The women interviewed were leaders in different areas and shared similar experiences in the steps they took to find solutions to their assigned issues.

This was a school that had first to sixth grade and the parents of the school used the system of the whistle, they would call the board with all everyone with a whistle when the Sinamos truck would get stuck on the way and the materials would be stuck there. So, they would call the parents of the children going to that school to go and pick up the stuff. They would carry on their backs bags of cement, 90 pound bags of cement or sand and bring it two or three or seven or ten blocks away from the truck to the school site.

4.2.3.3 Experiencing Growth

The local efforts of Villa El Salvador created growth in the community. The issues set forth in the first meeting were addressed and the community witnessed the changes they worked to achieve. They organized around receiving water, electricity, improved community access and education and attained these goals within a relatively short time. The experience was empowering for the community as they realized that they had the skills and abilities to create desired changes at a local level. This provided the fuel to continue the process of working towards shared goals for the community.
We have managed to establish the Mesas de Comunidades Saludables y Educacion (discussion groups on healthy communities and education). We now have a prosecutors' office in VES where legal doctor deals with abuse and family violence issues. The local government administered the budget with the intervention of all the communities involved.

Within six years of the founding of Villa they had electricity and water and they are still amazed at that.

The third thing would be the Villa El Salvador industrial area and many women were dedicated to industries and to commerce and that is one thing they are proud of.

Paving roads has had an impact because people were not only able to come in and out, like have quicker access to opportunities here but people could come to Villa to buy the things that Villa people know how to make, also this helped because kid do not have to breath in dust here today which is what happened before when they did not have paved roads or streets.

They didn't have anything in the beginning. Now they have schools, they have hospitals, they have professionals who provide services, teachers and doctors and nurses.

Another major change is how these people have managed to change sand dunes into a community how they built houses on top of sand and making this beach front property into a district of lima was a major success, with lights, water and roads.

The growth experienced involved more than the creation of community infrastructure. The women were receiving a lot of attention for their continued dedication to the community of Villa El Salvador and the development of programs that were initiated and sustained at a local level. As women, they gained recognition on a local, national and international scale. They received recognition for their leadership abilities from outside organizations with goals of co-option of locally organized initiatives, pride from family and friends for the strength they demonstrated and international awards for the development efforts. They were given training opportunities from outside agencies that became supportive of their cause. Most importantly, they experienced growth as individuals and gained confidence in their ability to make change regardless of the challenges presented to them.
The other part of the success of the organization is that they got the recognition of the government and they made it possible that the government kept supporting them with food.

Women have gained a lot of knowledge and mobility in participation through the workshops and training that they have been in the opportunities that have opened up to them and they have realized that they have a life beyond the kitchens.

After that, they got more publicity and other professionals came down to observe and other lectures were organized. Through this they learned to organize themselves and organize their money better.

When these things happened they marched down to Lima, the whole community marched down to Lima. In Lima, they were scared or very respectful of the people from Villa. They said Villa has risen and they are coming so they were very powerful.

And they also learned the value of getting organized, they had a lot of opportunity to deal with several issues and be successful

Another achievement is that people realize that they are capable.

The growth experienced at a local and personal level was a high point of achievement for the women in the community. They entered into the experience with little expectation for the outcome and emerged with a inventory of accomplishments that reflected on the community, the women and individual members.

4.2.3.4 Feeling Success

Throughout the interview process it became clear that outside of the pride felt for the growth of the community, the biggest reward for their efforts was found in the changes in public perceptions of women’s roles. They had firm understanding of their ability and desire to continue to advance themselves beyond present achievements. Due to the dynamics at the time, the women were given a lot of freedom to make decisions for the community and, consequently, the positive outcomes increased public confidence in their abilities.
They have benefited from the empowerment they have achieved, they have recognized their gender rights and they have received training and accessed the workforce. ...and we remember that we are not weakened we are empowered, we are getting our strength from that.

By participating since he beginning they have been able to make progress and by realizing that they do not have to remain inside the house and do the laundry but they can also be part of the chain that keeps everything going and to do that they need to break free from the ties that used to keep women inside particular roles and they have been able to do that.

Women are becoming more aware that they have initiative. In the beginning they were not allowed to have. They believe now, they are not scared anymore. When they want to do something they just do it. If they want to run for mayor, they do.

It has been very hard, it was harder in the beginning because the husbands would not let them do anything else but they were firm and they succeeded.

The women felt success as both individuals and as a community. The growth they experienced and the success they felt as a result of that were important parts of the community development process in Villa El Salvador. Together, they were excellent indicators that the process employed was effective in achieving desired outcomes and with the growth and success that was experienced, the process would continue (Illustration #7).

4.3 Factors Affecting Sustainability

The women were in agreement that the level of social capital in Villa El Salvador had decreased over the years. They all talked of the difficulty in motivating community members to become involved in addressing issues and needs and attributed the struggle to continue community action at a local level to three areas: community development motivators, challenges to maintaining social capital and factors for continuing development.

4.3.1 Community Development Motivators

Local response to community needs was motivated by several factors. The motivation for community development could be located under three categories, namely, personal motivators, family motivators and community motivators. Further, what motivated community development
efforts was also evident in the needs identified at a local level. That is, motivation for community
development was fuelled by the desire to improve the circumstances to better meet the needs for
themselves, their families and the community as a whole (Illustration #8).

4.3.1.1 Personal

The personal motivators did not carry as much weight as the other motivators until the
women had experienced some success in their efforts in community action. The
experience for the women through the struggle, was a positive one. The women initially
identified themselves by traditional gender roles, as wives and mothers. They spoke of
having little education and no experience leading anything but their households. When the
women spoke of their leadership roles they all remembered feeling apprehensive about the
opportunity because they lacked the confidence in their ability.

So, she told her husband about this and she cried and she told him, how would I
do this. I have never gone to school, how am I going to talk to other people in the
neighbourhood when they know me.

At the time she was nineteen and the people who were allotted tasks were older, a
lot of them were housewives or people with some experience and she was so
young but that is how she began community development in Villa.

By participating since the beginning they have been able to make progress and by
realizing that they do not have to remain inside the house and do the laundry but
they can also be part of the chain that keeps everything going and to do that they
need to break free from the ties that used to keep women inside particular roles
and they have been able to do that.

However, they received a lot of support from the community and from their husbands. In
time they embraced the opportunity they had been given to challenge themselves and
were grateful for the training they were given in leadership, income generating activities
and personal growth. This training was received formally through the churches and outside
organizations and informally through direct experience as community leaders. The
opportunity to improve their personal situations was a driving force to continue their work with the community.

*Much more participation, much more opportunity, and women are no longer only participating in just survival strategies, income generating strategies, but for the welfare of their children and the family but also involved more and more in political issues and entrepreneurial activities.*

*But we learned many things, we had knitting workshops, we built this community, we built the church, we built the church with our hands, we did many things. A lot of the schools and the churches and the community sites we have built on our own, it was the women who worked with our hands to get those things.*

Further to the recognition that they had experienced a lot of personal growth was the recognition they received from their spouses. They all faced challenges from their spouses when they decided to become active in the community. The husbands struggled with the amount of time the women dedicated to the community when they were expected to be giving to their families. In time, however, they recognized the strength of the women of Villa El Salvador and this became a source of pride for the community as a whole.

*To have acknowledgement from not only their husbands but from the community that women can defend themselves, that they can struggle for themselves, they are someone that are able.*

*They first develop their self-esteem and figure out the role in their world and then participating in their community as leaders. This is something that has worked for them.*

*We are not afraid of anyone. We do not fear the police, we do not fear the government, we do not fear authorities, and we do not fear the truck that comes when we go on big marches. So, that is why maybe when we go on big marches the men say....Women go to the front of the line. So, we will not back down and they know that.*

The women made an eventual transition from being unknowledgeable in the areas they were assigned to receiving the necessary training to further themselves and the community. They understood the value of receiving training that they could share with others in order to continue growth in the community.
Another thing that really helped was that they gave lectures on nutrition because she said at the time they didn't know what was better to eat, they just did it, and they cooked what they had. So, they learned a lot and she is very thankful for that, they learned a lot about nutrition and how to make a good meal.

Women had a lot to offer, many women have participated in the health care centers, many of them have achieved some recognition with appointments to political position. They have created all that is good in Villa El Salvador.

4.3.1.2 Family

The women involved in the Villa El Salvador experience were wives and mothers. The primary motivator for the work in Villa El Salvador was to improve the living conditions for their families.

In time when they are parents and they have to deal with issues like health, education for themselves, for their children, the needs for their family to be collared or addressed, then they will realize that aspect of their lives and then they will become fully members of the community.

Because of your children, you are involved in the community.

All the different efforts what we would call survivalist strategies, groups in charge of making sure families make ends meet, it is women who activate those groups.

One of the greatest examples of community development in Villa El Salvador was the Comedores, or soup kitchens (Illustration #9). The commedores were created to help families in the areas of hunger and nutrition, which was identified as a major issue for the community. The commedores also offered a common ground for women to get together to respond to community needs as they arose.

There were two kinds of commedores, in the beginning she was involved in the commedores in the group and there were twelve women participating, they invested their own money and they cooked for everyone and in that way they were hoping to feed the children of those who didn't have enough money. All of the kids were not very well fed, that was kind of commedere, formed by the community.

The ladies, the women in the second and third sectors knew about the work the others were doing and they were in need of some support for their families so they
decided to follow Father McCarthy and with his support they found the family kitchens.

Soup kitchens or comedores were an initiative launched by community women, the idea was to enable families to just survive. That is also how the women gained their voice and roles in the community.

The family continues to be a driving force for future community commitments. The desire to improve the community for future generations plays a big role in the motivation for community action. What started as an organizational effort to meet basic needs will continue until future generations are afforded opportunities that these women have struggled to achieve.

_We have accomplished many things, but as we have walked on sand I would like my grandchildren to go to a nice university in town and be able to walk in the park._

4.3.1.3 Community

The continued growth of the community is a motivator for further response by the community. The women discussed the importance of Villa El Salvador being a self-sustaining community, a community that was not stagnant. They talk of changes they would like to see within the community from aesthetics, such as parks and waste disposal, to further development of a centralized market and a university. Their dreams for Villa El Salvador have not been reached, but they were proud of their accomplishments to date.

_The needs has been something that has kept them together and they keep identifying things that they need, now they are interested in having a better environment and are starting to solve the problem of having garbage collection, that is one thing that keeps them very on guard to try to solve that problem._

_To have a very big and organized market in its own planned space, to have green areas, to have parks and trees in the avenues, to have their own university._

_People realized what they needed as a community and what they were lacking and found their strength in their need to bring those needs, and overcome those situations._
In addition to the many successes the women felt through the development of Villa El Salvador, there were many challenges they had to overcome in order to achieve the goals they had set out. Regardless of the challenges the women faced, they spoke of the continued optimism they possessed. Central to the success they experienced was the appreciation of the challenges they faced and the creativity and tenacity they demonstrated in overcoming obstacles placed before them.

4.3.2 Challenges to Maintaining Social Capital

When asked about the challenges they faced, all women were keenly aware of the obstacles they had to overcome in order to achieve desired goals. Whether foreseen or unexpected, the women that remained faithful to the grassroot development process handled these obstacles with creativity and determination. The obstacles identified through the interview process were as follows: economic crisis, government involvement, leadership challenges and shaky foundations.

4.3.2.1 Economic Crisis

Unemployment has been a continual issue for the people of Villa El Salvador. Again, the political winds changed and the women spoke of living costs doubling almost overnight. Consequently, the struggle for survival became increasingly difficult. The economic crisis forced many community members to take on extra work in order to provide for their families. The time that was once dedicated to community development efforts now went to seeking employment or taking on extra work.

...and that is why when the political parties collapsed there was no more participation. Because of the economic crisis, people who were before very inclined to participate were unavailable because they had to look for a second or third job and they did not have the energy for the development end.

Women have enhanced their role in society, she does not want to say that it is a general statement that encompasses all women, many are still fearful of leaving the house or living under stress because of the economic situation.
The main challenge has been to keep the organization active, as it has suffered from the economic crisis and the struggle against poverty.

4.3.2.2 Government Involvement

Government involvement influenced the movement in Villa El Salvador on multiple levels. Villa El Salvador was recognized by the government for the strength of its organization, community and leadership. Their interest in Villa El Salvador was twofold. First, they looked to the leaders for possible leadership in government at varying levels. Second, investing in government funded community programs that mimicked those developed by the people of Villa El Salvador was seen as an effective means of securing public support come election time.

So, the two kinds of commedores were the community ones, created by the community, they didn't receive any support and the commedores established by the government which received and still received and still receive money.

They have the soup kitchens around the parishes and they are related to the church and they are organized that way and there are also the Grouppo De madres, the group of mothers more linked to the government in the time of Alan Garcia which was from 1985-1990 and the group of mothers received and still receive a subsidy without the food, so organizations linked to the government received money and the other organizations in terms of soup kitchens only get food.

He wanted all of the support of the people so he created the Pronna Commedores, the Pronna would support the commedore with food and money and he would get the vote during the new election.

Government involvement initially brought financial assistance to the community of Villa El Salvador. The monetary edge held by outside sources served to separate the community by bringing with it their own agenda, which was attached to the acceptance of funds. As well, the offering of financial assistance to leaders in Villa El Salvador created a shift in the motivation of community leaders from community driven goals and initiatives to the agendas of the outside agencies. The women spoke of monetary offerings taking away
from the dedication of the leaders to the community. The leaders became more focused on individual benefit and meeting the needs of the funding bodies rather than working directly for the community.

The problem started when NGO's started, began to intervene in the CUAVES, so now they have two boards of directors competing or power.

Yes, in the beginning they showed good intentions that as the needs showed, they needed bus tickets to go to the offices in Lima and other things and the NGO's started giving money to the representatives. So, everyone wanted to become representatives and that is when the problem arose.

The problem arose in CUAVES, for example, when there were paid positions was that when there is an NGO that brings an agenda, then people no longer focus on needs of the community and the motivation is seen in the person who brings the money.

4.3.2.3 Leadership Challenges

The influence of the government was felt in the confidence the community members had for their leaders. The community members did not have the same trust for the local leaders that was initially held. The women identified as leaders in Villa El Salvador received full support by the community and their efforts did not go unnoticed by outside observers. The participants spoke of the challenge of retaining leadership in Villa El Salvador due to the economic crisis and the interference of political parties seeking strong candidates to support their cause.

So, that was very good for about six years when after those six years some of the leaders started to, they weren't working as good as they used to, maybe because they started to make some money and they were not as interested in the community.

The many NGO's have spoiled what other organizations like CUAVES by offering a salary to people who are the leaders. It used to be that people would do what was needed, what was expected of them because they wanted to because it was their personal situation at stake. Now, it is more like they are, they have different expectations.
Another major challenge is the lack of confidence in the leadership for many reasons the community organizations once they have achieved the basic services like water, electricity and roads they thought they had accomplished what they wanted and people withdrew from their leadership positions. Also, because of the economic situation, everyone who had a special talent or strong enough to commit herself to any of these also had to look for a source of income.

Political parties became interested in the leaders of Villa El Salvador for two reasons. First, at an individual level they recognized the skill and ability of the leaders as being a beneficial and sought them out for paid positions within the government. Second, the strength of the community of Villa El Salvador was seen as a hindrance because they had proven themselves to be strong and independent and were therefore targeted by the Shining Path for either recruitment or submission through physical threat. As a result, strong leaders in the community either retreated or were forced underground.

The result was that the representatives started fighting against each other, they had no respect for CUAVES, they had no respect for each other and now people do not want anything to do with CUAVES, they do not want to know about it.

People were also afraid because VES was recognized as a red zone and if you were a community leader you could be singled out by the shining path.

For these reasons, the participants felt the government bodies targeted the community of Villa El Salvador and put great effort into separating the community and procuring its leaders. Promises of monetary assistance during a time of financial crisis made the transition from leadership at a grassroots level to government easy. However, leadership at the government level meant adopting the government agenda and priorities that did not often coincide with those at a local level. As a result, community members lost faith in the leaders and the effects of this was felt in the community.

4.3.2.4 Shaky Foundations

The initial paragraphs in this chapter spoke of the importance of spirit of struggle, sense of community and solidarity in building a strong foundation for local response to community
development. When questioned about the challenges that have been faced through the years, the importance of the foundation was again addressed. The women spoke about the difficulty they faced when trying to bring about change today because community members are not responsive to requests for participation. The women talked about the shift from the importance of community to increased concern for individual well being.

...people are not being responsive to the situation as they were in the past and it is a weakness in this community.

She also said that people have turned very individualistic and it is very hard for most people to figure out how they can contribute to the community without focusing on their own individual benefit.

The shift was attributed to the acquisition of community needs. The community of Villa El Salvador was motivated by the struggle for survival and the achievement of basic needs, such as water and electricity. When those goals were reached, development efforts appeared to stagnate and many people began to withdraw from their roles in further developing the community of Villa El Salvador.

It used to be easy. It used to be easier to bring people together but now that everyone has gotten their access to water and to roads, people are less inclined to participate, they feel that they do not need to get together anymore.

Something to be noted is that the organization itself has weakened because people grow selfish once they have water and electricity and they have their personal problems solved.

The decrease in public participation was also attributed to the presence of government bodies in Villa El Salvador. With the instability of the changing government powers, the people of Villa El Salvador found themselves facing challenges that were difficult to overcome, such as economic crisis and the fear of retaliation from the Shining Path, a terrorist regime that made a strong presence in Villa El Salvador.

In the beginning they counted on the leaders to teach them how to build their houses, to organize their budgets. But now with everything that has happened,
people are taking more individual positions so people are deciding things by themselves.

Once the basic services were out into place, people withdrew from the participation stand. All these are because of the Fujimori government, the shining path infiltrated to Villa El Salvador and the major organization here at the time was CUAVES so they focused on CUAVES. That also scared people out, they just decided not to participate.

4.3.3 Factors for Continuing Development

The current trend in community development is to work towards sustainability, meaning that the efforts initiated today will positively influence future generations. The women of Villa El Salvador have demonstrated community development initiatives that succeeded and continued to succeed for periods of time. Further, government initiatives that mimicked the efforts of the local program were unsuccessful in continuing over time. When asked what was felt to play a role in the continuation of service despite the challenges experienced through the years, the women's responses could be categorized under three main headings: personal characteristics, community values and variation among professions.

4.3.3.1 Personal Characteristics

The women of Villa El Salvador spoke of a mental state required to continue their development efforts. They understood that the changes they were working towards were not going to occur quickly or easily. When asked what it took to achieve goals set out for them with minimal financial resources and the challenges presented to them over the years, the general response was optimism, hope, strength and creativity.

We have the spirit and the strength to continue.

They are dedicated to keep improving and that is so deeply inside themselves that they encourage and find the strength and courage to go on.

And maybe it's because we have faith, we have hope that we will eventually get what we are demanding.
4.3.3.2 Community Values

The women realized early on that if they wanted something done they had to be ready and willing to do the jobs themselves. They had to be willing to participate in any activity necessary from developing road systems, building schools and churches and cooking for the soup kitchens. The skills needed were learned as the community grew and, consequently, they became knowledgeable in many areas of development.

Women believe that through participation they will bring about change and that is why they try to learn different things like the senior citizens and the soup kitchens and the group of mothers, they are always looking for different ways to address the same issues.

They had things to do, they had to march or they had to develop some projects or they had to discover how they were going to build the schools and they marched and they kept working. They didn't rest.

The strength of the community grew with the experience of Villa El Salvador and there was a sense of ownership among the community members. Building the community from the ground up increased awareness of the importance of sense of community and the women today recognize the role this plays in their work. They recognize that the community around them is an essential part of the family and perhaps more importantly, for the children. The women talk of feeling a strong sense of community due to the links their children have to the community through school, athletics and church. The link between the community and the children increases the awareness of the women as to the importance of having a healthy, thriving community to raise their children in.

Women have a stronger sense of community, they spend more time here and men have to work outside of the community, their lives do not happen at all times here.

Who was at the meeting with the teachers and the parents, the women. Who assumed the responsibility of organizing activities and the religion classes, the women. At the community level, who attends the meetings, it was the women in
the majority because the men had the excuse that they had just come back from work and they were tired, they would send the wives and they were tired but they would go.

Community values for the women involved in the local efforts also meant that they did not give up their independence for promises of financial assistance or in-kind donations from outside agencies. In this way they did not have to rely on others and the services were never interrupted when the political climate changed. The local responses remained for the community by the people of the community.

They were very firm about keeping their nobility, the leaders of the parishes, people like herself felt very strongly about maintaining their values, not selling themselves for food or for money and they kept their job at all times.

Women have more of a sense of community and they are more linked to the people because they have always been into details. They know what happens inside the house, they know what happens inside the kitchens, inside the schools where the kids go. So, they have more contact and that is why they can agree, that is what they would like to see.

4.3.3.3 Variation among Professions

Although many of the local efforts have been attributed to the women of the community, the women interviewed all emphasized the importance of having a positive working relationship with all players in the community. The initial response was directed towards the men in the community as the women had to initially overcome gender barriers in order to make the necessary time dedication to the community. Eventually, there was a shift where women no longer had to work against the men in the community, but came to the realization that men and women had to work together, whether physically or just with emotional support for each other.

Both, male and female. They always worked, tried to work together.

She doesn't really see the difference because men and women understand that they have to work together. She is able to see that in the grandfathers and her
own sons, when men work Monday to Friday they still help out at home Saturdays and Sundays.

A community or social role, assigned to both men and women and related to caring for community services such as housing, electricity, health and education.

Another major player recognized in the community was the church. All women reported positive involvement with the church in community development efforts. Further, a distinction was made between those efforts, which exist with the aid of the church, which encouraged participation and empowerment, and those with outside/government involvement, which were seen as furthering dependency. The role of the church has been strong in the community since the early days of Villa El Salvador. The church not only provided a central meeting place for local efforts, but also was responsible for identifying leaders and encouraging and training the residents in community action.

Because of her involvement with the catholic church she also thinks that there are lines between the catholic church and the municipal government would be solved in a major overhaul of these community efforts, the catholic church has the community and the municipality have access to a quick way to assess connections in the community, so combining those two would give them access to all major assets.

First was the church, then the community organizations and then was the municipality, city hall. There were some NGO’s that tried to get into the structure but it was going to complicate things so they only stuck to those levels and they would then work together and belong to some organization.

The church was part of the development efforts she worked a lot with the people from church. At first she would go to the mass, it was a small chapel for celebration in someone’s home and but she started established a chapel in every community and people would come more often.

There are a high number of women who are still involved in these development efforts, many of them are involved in the church not necessarily the catholic church but they all come together for the development and well being of this.

Finally, the women discussed the role of different levels of government and the influence on the community of Villa El Salvador. There appears to be an awareness of the necessity
for all organizational levels to work together to address the issues of the community. However, it is felt that the needs and responses are best addressed by the community and the members who experience that community on a daily basis. The ideal being to receive support of outside and government agencies for locally driven efforts. The women related experiences when all levels of organization were able to work together, respecting one another’s opinions and learning together.

As all this struggle and all this work they began to meet with leaders from others districts from around Lima and the women organizations started growing and they met with the other feminist group in Lima and they started having meetings, gathering women from all the country and they would meet together in the same meeting and receiving different kinds of training in different areas.

We worked around an official health plan which was jointly developed by the Ministry of Health, the health promoters, NGO’s, the municipality, the church and we focused on planning health are to meet the needs then identified.

4.4 Summary

Through the narratives provided by the research participants on the Villa El Salvador development experience, this chapter outlined three main categories that emerged: foundation for social capital, framework for community action and factors effecting sustainability of social capital. The categories and sub-categories have been used to develop two models that speak to the nature of social capital in local community development efforts. These models are: 1) A Model for Building and Maintaining Social Capital and 2) A Model of the Interplay Between Social Capital, Community Action and the Factors that Affect Sustainability. These models will be outlined and discussed in the following chapter.
CHAPTER FIVE
DISCUSSION

The outcome of the research saw the emergence of three categories that spoke to the role of women in grassroots community development in Villa El Salvador, Peru. Based on the three categories that emerged through the grounded theory process, two models are presented to speak to the development of social capital and its role in the community development process: A model for building and maintaining social capital and A model depicting the interplay of social capital and community action and the factors affecting sustainability.

Further attention will be given to the research findings in relation to the existing literature outlining congruencies and incongruencies between the literature and the proposed models. Current literature will be examined around the issues of social capital, sustainability, role of outside agencies, role of women and relationships with existing models. Finally, the chapter will conclude with a discussion on the disparities in the literature and an argument for local definition when applying concepts to community development models.

5.1 A Model for Building and Maintaining Social Capital

The researcher entered the field with the knowledge that the community of Villa El Salvador had demonstrated community development practices that were locally driven and were sustainable. This knowledge was intriguing and informed the research question from two angles: what motivated the people of Villa El Salvador to create their own solutions to community issues and how have the community developed programs sustained challenges over time?

The goal of using the grounded theory method is to reach a main category that will best represent the research question. Throughout the research process, the respondents spoke often of the
importance of creating cohesion among the community in motivating people for change and maintaining the programs created to meet the needs of the community. The core category was labeled *Foundation for Social Capital* and as the interview process continued it became clear that without a strong foundation for social capital, locally driven community development efforts were compromised.

The core category of social capital led to the development of a proposed *Model for Building and Maintaining Social Capital* (see figure 5.1) that defined the basis for which locally driven community development efforts in Villa El Salvador were created and sustained. The respondents' spoke of three key components to developing and maintaining a strong foundation of social capital to promote community action in response to the needs of the community. These components were: mutual spirit of struggle, sense of community and solidarity.

![](image)

**Figure 5.1: A Model for Building and Maintaining Social Capital**

In sharing the history of Villa El Salvador, the participants spoke of coming to the land granted to them by the government as individuals seeking a better life for themselves and for their families. The initial struggles they experienced, as individuals trying to meet the basic needs of their families snowballed into realization of greater community need as the settlers of Villa El Salvador began sharing their hardships through daily routine and communication. As they met and spoke of
personal challenges they came to realize the common ground they shared centered on strategies for survival.

The mutual spirit of survival was the initial bond that developed and defined the sense of community for the people of Villa El Salvador. This sense of community came with the recognition that in order to address the issues they required full participation of the residents for the community and not as individuals.

This realization is what the participants referred to as solidarity. Solidarity in Villa El Salvador was an essential component of the foundation of social capital in that it implied that the community was operating as a collective; a unified team struggling for the same goals. The three elements together created a solid foundation for the development of social capital, deemed necessary for developing local responses to community needs.

The accounts provided by the women of Villa El Salvador examined the essential role each element played in the creation of social capital. In fact, when discussing the challenges in local community development the loss of one element would disturb the balance required to maintain a solid foundation for social capital. One of the main similarities in the verbal accounts shared by the women of Villa El Salvador was that momentum for community change stagnated when goals were reached. The mutual spirit of struggle was necessary to spark the reaction for change by bonding the community together and making a clear focus for community goals. It seemed that in order to continue the drive for change the community needed a cause for community action.

The relationship between the three major components of social capital is one of interdependence. Although the foundation begins with a shared or common cause, the development of one leads to the development and support of the other factors. In order to build and maintain social capital, the community must always be moving towards a common goal.
Building a strong foundation for social capital was seen as critical because local initiatives were developed despite the absence of financial backing. Therefore the capital created in terms of manpower and capacity building was vital to motivate local people for community action and eventually to sustain local community development efforts. Understanding this local definition of social capital using the three indicators for foundation as descriptors led to discussion on the role of social capital in motivating a community for action and those factors that affected sustainability. The outcome was a Model of the Interplay between Social Capital and Community Action and the Factors that Effect Sustainability, which was derived from the local definition of the main components of the Villa El Salvador community development process.

5.2 A Model of the Interplay Between Social Capital and Community Action and the Factors that Effect Sustainability

The Model of the Interplay between Social Capital and Community Action and the Factors Effecting Sustainability (see Figure 5.2) has two components for discussion. First is the cycle of social capital and community action that leads to local community development initiatives. Second, identifying factors that lead to the creation of a strong foundation for social capital. These are motivators, challenges to maintaining social capital and continuing factors.

Social capital and community action are cyclical in nature. That is, social capital, as defined locally by the participants in Villa El Salvador depicted in Figure 5.1, leads to community action. Community action is defined by mutual spirit of struggle, sense of community and solidarity and the presence of all three factors lead to an increase in social capital. This cycle can continue and a community can create many positive changes. However, there are many factors that can disrupt or
challenge the sustainability of local community development initiatives that use the cycle of social capital and community action to begin and sustain it.

The important role of social capital in sustainable community development becomes apparent when examined in the context of Villa El Salvador where the residents had to rely on community cohesion in the absence of financial support. In examining the model further it becomes clear that the sustainability of local community development efforts hinges on building and maintaining a healthy level of social capital.

In the personal accounts of the participants it appeared that the process of building and maintaining social capital could be defined by three separate yet, interdependent elements. These were community development motivators, the initial experiences of the community and the incidents that gave them the drive to overcome great obstacles to make positive changes. Second,
recognizing those issues, which challenged the cohesion of the community and weakened the bonds of social capital. Finally, the factors that were seen as necessary to continue to build and rebuild social capital and progress regardless of obstacles presented. The end result was a complex design of necessary components to maintain the cycle of social capital and community action and continue local community development efforts.

In order to continue local community development efforts, the community members need to be motivated on different levels. In Villa El Salvador, initial efforts began with the desire to make improvements at a community level. As they began to feel some success, the motivation for community development shifted to include positive change at a personal level. When the community experienced accomplishments, the motivation turned inward to include families through the development of education, health care and basic needs. Later, when success was experienced for the community and families, community members were more personally motivated through skill acquisition and achievement of personal goals.

It was recognized that the dedication required for successful community development at a local level required a great deal of sacrifice. Therefore, the benefits of all sacrifices had to be experienced at a personal, family and community level. In this way, the motivators for community development were also the greatest supply of mutual support to encourage positive, local leadership, as well as, continued involvement of all members.

The focus on all levels required a stray from individualistic thinking. All efforts had to be created for the benefit of the whole community, for all families in the community and all members of the community. However, maintaining a level of selfless thinking in a community is somewhat idealistic. The dynamics of a community present challenges to maintaining a healthy amount of social capital to maintain community development initiatives. A wealth of circumstances, including
paid leadership opportunities, economic crisis and governmental shifts, can challenge the networks, which hold the community together.

When we examine the categories that have been identified as challenges to maintaining social capital we see a trend that speaks to a lack of trust in the community or circumstances that lead to a shift in thinking from the community as a whole to something more individualistic.

As well, the categories speak to the continued creation and maintenance of social capital. When any of the factors that challenged the sustainability of local community development initiatives emerged it led to a decrease in social capital and opportunity for community action to occur. The more social capital there existed within the community the more sustainable the community development efforts were.

The factors for continuing development at a local level were influenced by the personal characteristics of community members and leaders, community values and recognizing all those involved in the development of the community at the different levels (i.e. government, non-government and grassroots).

The goal in recognizing the players was that mutual respect was given for all involved with the desired outcome being a collaborative, cooperative effort. At a local level this means recognizing what the various agencies can bring to the community for support and not compromising community and personal values for the sake of the support.

The support received from outside agencies was never supposed to foster reliance and should remain supportive of the local organizations and initiatives. Further, initiatives should remain locally run and driven to ensure ownership and independence. In the end, outside support in the form of finance, training and equipment must all be things that can remain in the community after the outside agencies have removed themselves.
The factors outlined for continuing development requires an attitude of communal thinking, while still recognizing that they could benefit from support of external agencies providing needed resources and training. There are and always will be outside influences and it is the responsibility of the community to maintain their focus and direction. Further, realizing how all levels of organization can build and enhance the community and achieving a balance of cooperation and compromise that does not include a compromise of community principles and values.

Due to the complexity of the factors that affect sustainability, sustainability itself was cyclical in nature and ebbed and flowed with the changes experienced in the community in leadership, government, personal values and community dynamics. Sustainability of local community development initiatives through the creation and maintenance of social capital is not something that is continued effortlessly. It requires focus, determination and the ability to transfer knowledge and values across generations.

5.3 Comparison with Existing Literature

5.3.1 Social Capital

"Social capital lies at the heart of participatory democracy in that it facilitates collective decision making based on trust and thus nurtures an ability to collaborate for shared interests." (Murray, 2000, pg.100).

Existing literature has provided a substantial amount of support for the valuable role of social capital in community development initiatives. Numerous characteristics associated with social capital have been highlighted as positively influencing the direction of current community development agendas. The quote taken from the work of Micheal Murray (2000) emphasizes the striking similarities in the responses given by the participants in the research project and the findings in the area of social capital. Trust, participation, collective decision-making, collaboration and shared interests are just a few of the key words that are shared between social capital literature and the perspectives of the research participants.
Community development in Villa El Salvador used social capital in the absence of monetary resources to motivate their initiatives. Consequently, the experiences shared by the women of Villa El Salvador provided rich examples of previous research findings. The absence of monetary funds emphasized the importance of voluntary associations in social capital (Campfens, 1997; Putnam, 1995) especially for women in marginalized communities that were often characterized by widespread poverty. Voluntary associations are important to understanding social capital because it indicates citizen involvement at the most fundamental level. It is in this way that community members become actively involved in the decision making process and influence change in their societies (Putnam, 1995). However, voluntary associations in Villa El Salvador meant more than engaging in civic duties as in Putnam’s (1995) definition.

Following the allotment of land in Villa El Salvador there was a rapid growth of grassroots organizations and leaders who staunchly defend their autonomy by insisting that external agencies offering responses to community and basic needs first negotiate and mediate with local autonomous organizations (Campfens, 1988). These local organizations operated on principles of self-help, moral pressure and survival instinct, voluntarily contributing time and labour to bring water, electricity, roads, schools and health care to the community.

The voluntary neighbourhood organizations in Villa El Salvador were a major piece of the community development process. Initial community development efforts were driven by the expectation that in order to invoke change, all members of the community had to be willing to dedicate time and energy voluntarily to a common cause. The presence of social capital in community development initiatives enabled the community to make collective decisions around shared needs and effectively plan and implement for change (Murray, 2000).

In partnership with the concept of voluntary association is the need for communal rather than individualistic thinking. The community value of concern for quality of life, social justice and the
common good fostered a high participation level in the voluntary sector in Villa El Salvador (Hoff, 1998). Further, the opportunity to participate in the decision-making process assisted in building trust between community members, necessary for more communal rather than individualistic solutions to problems and needs (Hoff, 1998). The original settlers of Villa El Salvador still held an almost idealistic view of the selfless nature of local community development. They continue to value the characteristics of true communal thinking to the point that individualistic thinking is partially blamed for the decline in social capital and stagnation of local community development initiatives.

Voluntary associations and communal thinking touch on many of the categories and subcategories that make up the foundation for social capital derived through the grounded theory research process. The emphasis on participation, communal thinking, mutual experiences, shared goals and solidarity in defining social capital is supported throughout the literature (Campfens, 1997; Gittell et al., 2000; Grant, 2001; Hoff, 1998; Mubangizi, 2003; Murray, 2000).

However, the bulk of the literature focuses on reaching an agreed upon definition of social capital, which continues to be a struggle among community development professionals and academics. The idea of local definition has been supported throughout the literature as a requirement to achieving collaboration among levels of organization and has been suggested as a solution in the absence of reaching an agreed upon definition for operational purposes (Molyneux, 2002). Mayoux (2001) and Molyneux (2002) argue for flexibility, drawing on different forms and dimensions in defining social capital to ensure that the concept is appropriately applied to meet the needs and agendas of community development organizers. Flexibility in definition also allows for increased consideration of inequalities in resources and power that constitute the rules, norms and forms of association between genders and organization levels (Mayoux, 2001).
Attempting to pigeonhole a community into a prescribed definition presents a challenge to effective community development in that it is not representative of the unique characteristics of each community. Further, the discrepancies in the organizational definition of the variables associated with social capital, such as participation and empowerment, leave the door open for continuation of top-down development processes.

The literature also lacks information on a process of creating and sustaining social capital. Without understanding the process of building and rebuilding social capital, through local definition, it leaves community development efforts susceptible to become idle. The information shared on social capital identified an informal process to the creation of social capital, through developing a solid foundation, and sustaining social capital by reflecting on the factors that affected the sustainability of community development initiatives.

5.3.2 Sustainability

Sustainability has been the goal of community development initiatives, but clear definition of sustainable development and how to achieve it remains vague (Hoff, 1998). The concept of sustainability has strayed from initial studies, which focused on environmental sustainability to include integration of cultural, economic and political factors in sustainable development (Hoff, 1998). Diagram 5.2, factors affecting sustainability, clearly demonstrates a holistic understanding among the participants of the importance of achieving sustainability across the dimensions. The participant responses emphasize what community development professionals and researchers are now coming to realize, that the challenge in creating sustainable community development initiatives is in creating a balance between the cultural, economic, political and environmental factors in sustainable development (Hoff, 1998; Mayoux, 2001).

What appears to be missing in the sustainability equation is an increased focus on the human component. Although, this is touched on in the Sustainable Livelihoods Approach, more attention
must be given to sustainability of human capital. The positive links made between the existence of social capital in the creation of sustainable community development initiatives, regardless of focus on cultural, economic, political or environmental factors warrants further examination of the human component. The focus on social capital has created the need to re-examine the action and interactions of people in a community thus making human capital an essential building block for the employment of other forms of capital, such as natural, physical and financial capital (Arce, 2003). The results from the study completed in Villa El Salvador stray from the existing literature in that the locally defined characteristics of social capital rely heavily on human descriptors in understanding not only social capital, but also the process of achieving sustainability. The human characteristics involve both micro and macro level exploration and create a more people-centered approach to achieving sustainability. As well, the model derived from the shared experiences of the participants places sustainability of human factors in the forefront by identifying its importance throughout the process of building and maintaining social capital and achieving sustainability.

5.3.3 Role of Outside Agencies

Recognizing the importance of the human component of sustainability is further supported by existing literature in the identification of the required values of cooperation, collaboration and participation in achieving sustainability (Hoff, 1998). The opportunity for sustainability is significantly affected by the position that the varying levels of organization take in community development efforts. The bulk of current literature supports community development efforts that are characterized by cooperation and collaboration between local groups and outside agencies (Buckland, 1998; Fowler, 1998; Lyons, Smut and Stephens, 2001; Najam and Robins, 2000). This idea goes further to say that in order for sustainable development to occur collaborative relationships must be established between government, non-government and local organizations (Campfens, 1997).
The importance of community members recognizing those with a vested interest in community development and more significantly having outside agencies supporting locally driven initiatives was a key component to the process of sustainability outlined by the participants. Government support of local initiatives in achieving sustainability has received much attention in the existing literature (Grant, 2001; Mubangizi, 2003, Murray, 2000). The links to outside agencies are essential to gaining access to resources that may otherwise be unavailable to the community (Grant, 2001). However, a true collaborative effort between agencies requires clear and open communication to realize the important roles all have to play.

The women in Villa El Salvador advocated for government support of local initiatives by means of recognition for local accomplishments and realizing the expertise that exists in all communities. The experiences shared by the women evidenced a decline in community development initiatives when respect for local knowledge and ability was not visible. In the absence of cooperation and collaboration existed an air of superiority over locally run initiatives, which translated into the duplication of services and resources that resulted in stagnation rather than sustainability of development (Mubangizi, 2003).

However, when there existed true cooperation and collaboration demonstrated through mutual respect and shared goals for the community between outside agencies and locally run groups, the women acknowledged that a positive relationship could exist. These partnerships were characterized by an increase in local participation and empowerment of the community members (Grant, 2001; Mubangizi, 2003, Murray, 2000). When mutual respect was evident among the organizations, local players experienced many benefits to their services. The women were appreciative of training and work experience they may not have acquired had there not been outside involvement. With the benefit of external assistance, the women spoke proudly of
achievements they had never thought possible, such as learning to read, becoming community leaders, developing initiatives that received national and international acclamation and going on to train others.

Community members have the advantage of experience in the community over external agencies, which translates into reciprocal relationships of trust through shared values, similar motivation for change and community development goals. Their goal is to support existing patterns of social relationships that make up the community while encouraging solidarity, supporting self-management strategies and eventually improving the standard of living for the community members (Campfens, 1997). This requires communal rather than individualistic thinking, which is more easily achieved by local leaders in the community development arena because the work is more personal.

The conclusions reached concerning the role of outside agencies in community development are supported by existing literature on participatory development, which advocates for collaborative efforts that aim at community participation and empowerment of community members (Botes and van Rensburg, 2000; Grant, 2003). In this, the important role of all agencies is recognized while acknowledging the expertise of local community members in making and creating positive and lasting changes.

5.3.4 Role of Women

It is important to note that although the diagrams do not explicitly connect to gender, the responses are shared from the perspective of the women in the community and the research location was consciously chosen with the knowledge that a major portion of the labour contribution, organization and planning was shouldered by the women. The women of Villa El Salvador were the ones most directly affected by the harsh living conditions. The participants spoke of trying to fulfill their roles
as wives and mothers, trying to meet family responsibilities with the lack of basic community facilities and amenities.

The participants in Villa El Salvador also acknowledged that they could not have experienced the success they did without the support and encouragement of the men in the community. The women made the same distinction among genders, as with external agencies, in community development initiatives. That is, in order to be effective responses required cooperation and collaboration from the men in the community. Ultimately, this is what occurred in Villa El Salvador and without this support, the women do not believe they could have achieved all that they had. The women led community development and community action in Villa El Salvador while the men either joined in the efforts or offered support from the sidelines.

The role of women in community development initiatives in Latin America has been receiving growing recognition from community development professionals and researchers (Acosta-Belen and Bose, 1995; Campfens, 1998, Molyneux, 2002). Further, the current literature supports the participants views that women, because of their connection to the community as wives and mothers are highly motivated to create positive change. Further, the connection to community through daily routine and interactions initiates the creation of social capital, which is use to plan and implement for positive and lasting change (Campfens, 1998; Molyneux, 2002). The programs are found to be more sustainable because they are motivated by community values of family and children, developed for the community by the community and made to benefit future generations (Acosta-Belen and Bose, 1995; Campfens, 1998).

There has been criticism that women-led community developments that rely on social capital to begin and sustain initiatives exist in the absence of responsible governance (Campfens, 1998; Molyneux, 2002). However, the women of Villa El Salvador spoke of parallel government response
simply mimicking what had already been locally achieved resulting in the duplication of already existing programs. They spoke proudly of their achievements and the need for the recognition of local talents and knowledge, which translate into government support of local efforts. In the absence of support they were appreciative of any assistance availed to them, suspicious of possible hidden agendas and conscious not to rely on what experienced told them was unreliable.

Ideally, it is the responsibility of governments to meet the basic needs of its people, however, as is evidenced in Villa El Salvador, community members cannot sit idle waiting for government bodies to come in and address issues. If support is not forthcoming, they need to come together to find solutions for themselves and demand support for what they feel they deserve. In this way, the women of Villa El Salvador demonstrated a stray from the reliance and apathy seen in many communities to self-empowering, self-sustaining communities in charge of their own potential.

Sustainability in women-led community development initiatives can be witnessed in the continued existence of community kitchens, schools, hospitals and continued goals for the future. Where initial settlers that arrived to Villa El Salvador were forced to quit school at a young age in search of paid employment, their children have a higher education and different expectations (Nash, 1995). The locally managed community kitchens continue to run despite the absence of financial support while their government run counterparts have suffered many setbacks and are not as attended.

5.3.5 Relationship with Existing Models

As with the community development model, the models derived from the shared experiences of the women of Villa El Salvador maintains that community members are responsible for decision making and community action. Further similarities are found in the emphasis on participation and empowerment as keys to creating self-reliant, self-sustaining communities with the ability to effectively address community needs and issues (Homan, 1998).
In fact, when comparing Homan's (1998) eleven essential elements of the community development model with the two models derived from the responses of the women in Villa El Salvador around their community development process, many similarities can be drawn. Villa El Salvador shares similar values of increasing community assets and individual skills, connecting with community members and existing resources, community ownership of direction, action and resources, full participation of community members in building community self-reliance and confidence as a means of creating organizations that are self-sustaining and enhance quality of life (Homan, 1998).

The recognition of the participants of the unavoidable, yet necessary acknowledgement of outside agencies in the development process ties into the basic tenets of the Sustainable Livelihoods Approach. The models derived from the participants’ responses demonstrate local understanding of the importance of addressing the five main capital assets in forming their livelihoods (Brocklesby and Fisher, 2003; Mubangazi, 2003). However, the proposed models place far more emphasis on the importance of human capital, in beginning community development efforts and social capital, in sustaining them. The logic being that you cannot draw on natural, financial and physical capital without first drawing on human and social capital to create the other forms of capital. With this comes the knowledge that levels and forms of capital continually fluctuate based on the factors that affect sustainability.

Therefore, the proposed model incorporates the vulnerability context addressed in the Sustainable Livelihoods Approach by identifying those factors that challenge the sustainability of local development initiatives. Of particular importance is the role of outside influences on local community initiatives where the focus is more on control rather than support, thus weakening the human and social capital relied upon to sustain local efforts. This presents the alternative of combining the best aspects of the Community Development Model and Sustainable Livelihoods
Approach to create a best practices approach, which relies heavily on recognition by outside agencies of the local skills and knowledge present in every disadvantaged community.

The Sustainable Livelihoods Approach has been criticized as a tool designed to remove outside responsibility for disadvantaged communities in their shift in focus on people, recognizing their capacity to initiate and sustain change (Brocklesby and Fisher, 2003). However, the women of Villa El Salvador talk of the benefits of having distance between local community development initiatives and government programs and agendas in that it provides stability for programming that is often vulnerable to the changing of political winds and agendas.

This is apparent in the models seen in Diagrams 5.1 and 5.2, where the majority of factors that affect the foundation of social capital and sustainability of local development initiatives lie in the wake of influence from outside agencies. External agencies challenge the foundation of social capital by limiting who can participate in development, deconstructing the team atmosphere and challenging the values of the community. Sustainability is compromised by new government bodies with different agendas coming into power and withdrawing support of local initiatives that existed previously, local leaders being swayed into paid leadership positions and the general distrust that is left as a consequence to this involvement. The challenge with the Sustainable Livelihoods Approach is that it is again another example of an externally driven solution that is unable to incorporate community-level methods and practices (Brocklesby and Fisher, 2003).

5.3.6 Argument for Local Definition

Current literature speaks to outside agencies supporting local community development efforts in terms of best practices for effectively creating positive and lasting change (Campfens, 1997; Dhesi, 2000; Grant, 2001; Mubangizi, 2003, Murray, 2000). Further, arguments have been made for flexibility in defining operational concepts to more thoroughly represent the individuality of communities (Molyneux, 2002; Mayoux, 2001).
Experience has demonstrated that there is no standard recipe for change that can be applied to all communities and research is taking the profession of community development into more needs based territory that is representative of the unique characteristics of each community. The history of trial and error in trying to establish a consistent model for development with consistent definitions has only provided more support for the lack of understanding of individual community needs and the ineffectiveness of trying to pigeonhole all disadvantaged communities into one development plan.

The lack of success has paved the way to incorporating the voices of local community members into each development plan. As social workers on a micro level, we would not treat every client as we did the one before simply because the issues were similar and working at a macro level should be no different. We would expect clients to have control over their own treatment plans, to work on their issues and empower them to make positive changes for themselves.

5.4 Summary

The preceding chapter introduced the two models for building and maintaining social capital and examining the role of social capital in local community development. A Model for Building and Maintaining Social Capital and A Model Depicting the Interplay of Social Capital and Community Action and the factors Affecting Sustainability were derived from the categories that emerged from the shared experiences of the women of Villa El Salvador.

The models were examined through the lens of existing literature on social capital, sustainability, role of outside agencies, role of women and the relationship with community development models. Examined through this lens, many similarities can be drawn between the literature and the findings of this study, providing further support for the importance of social capital and local participation and empowerment in community development efforts that create positive and lasting change.
As well, as with existing literature, this study recognizes the essential role women play in community development initiatives that use social capital in the absence of financial resources, to begin and sustain programs.

However, where the literature continues to struggle in finding a shared definition of the central tenets of the existing and proposed models of community development, these findings recommend flexibility in definition, which relies on local definition in order to address the unique dynamics of each community. Further, the proposed models emphasize the importance of the human component in community development, in its focus on the need for a strong foundation for social capital to fund other dimensions of capital in the drive for sustainability.

The final chapter will use this research experience to reflect on the process of conducting a study, as well as, examine research findings within the field of social work, in terms of implications for further research and the profession.
CHAPTER SIX
CONCLUSION

The concluding chapter will examine the implications of the study for social work practice and education. Further attention will be given to proposals for future research, in terms of straying from the focus on definition and measurability to identifying a process to building and maintaining social capital and examining the role of social capital in sustainable community development. Finally, attention will be given to assessment of the study concerning the research process and the proposed models that emerged from the research process.

6.1 Implications

6.1.1 Social Work Practice

In the field of community development, this study provides social work practitioners with an appreciation for the importance of emphasizing the human component in creating social capital to fund grassroots community development initiatives that are created to benefit future generations. This is accomplished by encouraging full participation and empowerment of local residents in the process of community development from assessment of issues to the planning and implementation of programs and initiatives. Further awareness is developed for the essential role of women in local efforts that are sustainable. This knowledge, when applied, will inform social work practice by encouraging practitioners to act in collaboration with local groups, drawing on local knowledge and expertise to create responses that will continue after external resources have been removed.

As social workers in the field of community development, we must recognize that we are continually entering the community as trespassers and consciously adapt our approach to develop cooperative, working relationships based on trust and respect. In the field of community development, social workers have traditionally entered the community as paid experts representing
external agencies to implement programs and initiatives designed out of the community and imported as best practices. These have had less than favourable outcomes, resulting in the termination of programs when time, financial resources or human resources run out because practitioners have fostered dependence rather than encourage independence.

However, the study addresses this by stressing the importance of maintaining a solid foundation of social capital through shared experiences, sense of community and solidarity in creating motivation for local community development. Further, the study recognizes the role external agencies play in weakening the base of social capital when local talents are not recognized and local initiatives are not supported. This requires the practitioner to step out of the perceived expert role and use professional ability to promote community cohesion, empower local residents through capacity building and collaborate with local initiatives to promote full participation of citizens.

The study outlined several factors that could positively or negatively influence the sustainability of community development initiatives. The factors designated to either promote or challenge sustainability play an important role as they inform effective social work practice in terms of community characteristics of strengths and limitations, barriers to success for program assessment and achieving a holistic and locally defined view of the community in terms of motivators, leaders, past successes, political history, current initiatives, local knowledge and definition of the central tenets of community development practice.

This introduces the importance of local knowledge in applying local definition to community development concepts such as, participation, empowerment, social capital and sustainability. Outlining process by applying the local definition to professional jargon ensures that all involved in the process are working from a shared understanding of the primary concepts. Further, there is an advantage to social work practice in understanding local definition as it begins the process of true cooperation and collaboration of community development efforts.
The focus on interdisciplinary collaboration in promoting successful outcomes emphasizes the importance for social work practitioners to adhere to the principles of participation as empowerment outlined by Couto (1998). In this way effective social work practice in the community development field requires the practitioner to encourage, empower, participate, advocate, motivate, educate, assist, and constantly remind themselves that the ultimate goal is to be completely unnecessary. Additionally, the focus on the essential role of social capital in not only beginning but sustaining community development initiatives places the emphasis on more people-centered responses rather than band-aid measures. This shifts the focus of the social work practitioner in from a macro level, concentrating on program development and delivery, to recognizing the role that micro level skills, such as empowering and capacity building, have in creating positive change.

6.1.2 Social Work Education

The important role of social work in the field of community development is just now being realized. This studies further defines the position social work has within the field of community development, by merging micro and macro level practice. Typically, the role of the social worker was on the frontline, delivering the service developed by government organizations to meet the assumed needs of target communities. This study reexamines the importance of the frontline worker possessing the skills and abilities characteristic of effective social workers in recognizing the unique characteristics of each community while appreciating the need for external agencies in acquiring resources that may not otherwise be available to the community.

The study emphasizes the importance of humanizing human services by demonstrating that positive and lasting change is achievable with limited financial resources and increased human resources. The women of Villa El Salvador provide a rich example of the characteristics of effective social workers drawn up at the beginning of many courses such as, tenacity, flexibility and creativity and humility. The shared experiences of the women of Villa El Salvador offer many
positive lessons for novice social workers. Most importantly, the expert is not always the person with the most letters behind their name. As is demonstrated with this study, the experts were the people who shared the story and the novice simply wrote it.

This study encourages social workers to fully embrace local knowledge and open their minds to the expertise that exists in every employment or academic opportunity. It recognizes the need for commitment from all levels of community development organizations to work in a manner defined by mutual respect and trust. Through this it encourages social work students to reexamine the role of the expert as one who recognizes and draws upon the local expertise that exists within the community.

6.1.3 Future Research

This study explores the role of social capital in women-led grassroots community development initiatives in Villa El Salvador, Peru. It proposes a model for beginning and maintaining social capital by creating a solid foundation based on shared experiences, sense of community, and solidarity. It goes on to suggest that a solid foundation of social capital can create community development initiatives that are sustainable.

The community of Villa El Salvador has demonstrated sustainable community development using social capital as its major funding source and this is a valuable source of knowledge for future research. The programs were primarily led by the women of Villa El Salvador in response to the lack of response by government officials to ensure that the community was able to meet their basic needs.

The women were motivated by the desire to create a healthy and nurturing environment for their children, where opportunity existed and they could come to expect a certain quality of life. At the end of one interview, a participant was asked how they were able to begin and maintain their
programs despite the adversity they faced. Her response was to simply bring a few mothers together, have them talk about their children and their families and just watch what unfolds.

The response seemed simple and idealistic but possible when set in the backdrop of the incredible accomplishments of Villa El Salvador. Within the idealistic view of community and development held by the women of Villa El Salvador is an undefined process for building and maintaining social capital and achieving sustainability. The idea of a process of building and maintaining social capital, participation, empowerment and sustainability has not yet been the focus of current literature which has centered on achieving definition and measurability of the concepts associated with community development practice.

There is also a local community development process that the participants were all able to verbally outline in the absence of any formal education or written document on the steps taken throughout their experience. Future research can further examine the process of building and maintaining social capital, as well as, provide a more concrete and thorough description of the local community development process employed by the women of Villa El Salvador. As well, the experiences and knowledge have been shown to be transferable to other Latin American countries with similar needs. It would be beneficial to see if the experience of the women of Villa El Salvador could be transferred to disadvantaged communities in North America. Is it possible to create sustainable community development initiatives in North America using social capital as a major funder, or have we become complacent to accepting prescribed responses to unique community needs?

6.2 Assessment of the Study

6.2.1 Assessment of the Research Process

Assessment of the research process requires careful consideration of all aspects of the research project. This includes consideration of qualitative and quantitative methods and further exploration
of appropriate methodology. This also involves developing the research strategy through selection of participant criteria, developing interview schedules and data collection and analysis.

Before entering the field, with the assistance of graduate level coursework, I had informed myself on the various qualitative and quantitative methods of inquiry. Further reading was done on grounded theory methodology and its appropriateness to the study was discussed with professors and colleagues. When the suitability of grounded theory was supported, I began reading available literature from textbooks and journals to inform myself of the process. As well, while in the field I referred often to textbooks and articles for clarity.

Appropriate methodology, in terms of qualitative inquiry and grounded theory research design, were applied due to the nature of the research question, which involved uncovering a process of building and rebuilding social capital. Participants were then selected based on the rich information they could lend to the research question, placing emphasis not on the quantity of participants but on the quality of the information they could offer.

Prior to beginning the research process, I ensured that adequate time was spent with the community and participants for four reasons. First, to build an open and trusting relationship with the key informant to ensure mutual understanding of selection criteria and study goals. Second, to develop trust with research participants, many of whom I worked alongside, prior to beginning the research process. Third, to begin journaling daily observations without the influence of participant response in an effort to find anecdotal comparisons to support or refute participant responses. Finally, to educate myself on cultural values and characteristics of the community.

Interviews were conducted with the assistance of a translator, which at times compromised the shared understanding of participant responses. This required continual checking in with the participants to ensure that a clear understanding was reached through the filter of translation. The interview schedule was initially quite focused and initial interviews felt overwhelming. For this
reason, research participants requested hard copies of the interview schedule prior to the interviews. However, the following interviews were far less structured and seemed more natural; participant responses came easier because the flexibility in the interview schedule allowed for the individual needs and unique characteristics of the participants.

The data was analyzed using both manual and ATLAS ti., computer-assisted analysis software, to code, sort and integrate the data. I appreciated the ease of organization and the ability to securely house large quantities of information that computer-assisted software offered. However, I realized early on that the use of computer assisted software removed me from the data, compromising the integrity of the study. Combining manual and computer-assisted analysis of coding, sorting and interpreting the data allowed me the opportunity to remain connected to the data in an organized and integrated manner.

The joint process of data collection and analysis ensured that the analysis of acquired information was grounded in the data. The constant comparison process allowed me to note congruencies and incongruencies in the participants’ responses, field notes and anecdotal comparisons. The process of interviewing and reinterviewing the same participants meant that incongruencies could be examined to further inform the research process.

6.2.2 Assessment of the Proposed Models

The outcome of the study was the development of two conceptual models, which spoke to the building and rebuilding of social capital and the interplay of social capital ad community action in creating local community development programs that were sustainable. The models were derived from the core category of foundation for social capital.

In examining the two models in relation to the diagram of categories and subcategories, a clear delineation can be drawn between the proposed models and the categories and subcategories that emerged from the research process. The models are informed by the emerging categories and
subcategories, which are further informed by the detailed quotations from the participant responses.

The two proposed models have been supported by existing literature on many levels. The central tenets of the proposed models stress the importance of local participation, empowerment and government support of locally run initiatives in creating sustainable community development. These concepts and theoretical linkages were supported by existing literature. Further, there is still opportunity for further research within the emergent categories and subcategories.

Finally, the two proposed models for creating social capital and using social capital to initiate community development demonstrated characteristics of applicability and flexibility (Glaser, 1978). Since the core category and its defining subcategories and theoretical concepts emerged from detailed accounts of the women of Villa El Salvador, it remained representative of their experiences and insights. As well, because the models allow for flexibility by including the characteristics of each community's unique dynamics, the model remained open to modifications through application of local definition in defining community development process.

6.3 Conclusion

The existing literature speaks to the importance of participation and empowerment in motivating communities to create positive and lasting change. Further, the research emphasizes the importance of social capital in community development at a local level based on the principles of participation and empowerment. The research even goes so far as to advocate for government support of local initiatives rather than imposing prescribed responses to community needs. Further, attention is given to women in Latin American countries who have managed to create sustainable community development programs to meet the basic needs of their families using only a foundation of social capital to fund it.
However, the rich examples of effective and successful women-led grassroots community development initiatives get lost in the haze of literature using these examples as a means of reaching a consensus in definition. Their work is minimized in arguments that the programs exist only in the absence of good governance and other responses that foster reliance and complacency.

If the new focus encourages the support of local initiatives, should this not also extend to the local definitions that characterize that success of these programs that have successfully built and maintained social capital and achieved the new community development goal of sustainability?


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MacDougall, Colin and Fudge, Elizabeth. (2001). Planning and recruiting the sample for focus groups and in-depth interviews. *Qualitative Health Research* 11(1), 117-126.


APPENDIX A

CONSENT FORM

Research Project Title: Social capital: An unlimited funding source for women-led community development initiatives in Villa El Salvador, Peru.

Investigator: Brigette Krieg

This consent form, a copy of which has been given to you, is the initial phase of the process of informed consent. The consent form should give you a general idea of what the research is about and what your participation will entail. If you would like more information about the research process or study area, please feel free to ask. Please take time to read through the consent form and ensure that you are clear about the research process and expectations. If you prefer, the consent form can be read to you, after which you can sign the form or tell the researcher you agree to the information provided to you.

Description and Purpose of Research:
The purpose of my research is to use the example of community development initiatives led by women’s grassroots organizations in Villa El Salvador to explore community development from a woman’s point of view, and examine the process necessary to develop community programs and motivate people for change, in a community where program funding is historically minimal.

Procedures:
You are being asked to participate in a study that will reflect on the community development history of Villa El Salvador from the perspective of women led grassroots organizations. I am interested in hearing your experience in developing a community where one did not exist before. I would like to know what you feel were motivating factors for the initiatives, the community characteristics needed for success and the process required to create community response for positive and lasting change. I will ask that you share your story in a series of three interviews between 1-2 hours in length. The interviews will be tape recorded with your permission and the presence of a translator will be required to make sure there is clear understanding between the researcher and yourself.

The interviews will be typed on the computer following each discussion and copies of the interviews will be shared with you to make sure the information you have shared has been accurately recorded. This will be done with the assistance of the translator present with us today.

Confidentiality:
Your identity will be protected throughout your participation in the study. Your name or any identifying information will never appear on the information I collect. I want you to respond to the interview questions according to your thoughts and feelings, and not be concerned with what others may think about your responses. All taped and written information collected will be kept in a locked safety box in the office of the interviewer. Information that is stored on the researcher’s personal computer will be protected by a personal access code that only the researcher will know. Only the researcher, translator and thesis supervisors at the University of Calgary, Canada will
have access to the information collected. All audiotapes will be destroyed after transcribed interviews have been reviewed by you and found to be accurate. All computer files will be deleted three years from the time it is first collected.

Your participation is voluntary and you are free to refuse to participate at any time during the research and interview process. If at any time you decide you do not continue, please let me know and the research process will stop immediately. If you chose not to continue all interview material gathered up to that point would immediately be destroyed.

**Risks:**
I do not expect any risks to you during your participation in this study. If some of the questions are upsetting to you, feel free to stop the interview at any time or refuse to answer any questions that you do not feel comfortable with. Following the interview, we will debrief to ensure that you are comfortable with the information you have shared with me and with the way the interview has played out. If you need to discuss any of the issues further, please let me know and I will make sure you are connected with someone from Cross Cultural solutions.

**Benefits:**
The results of this study will be used as the basis for my thesis required in completing the master's program with the Faculty of Social Work at the University of Calgary, Canada. The results of this study will help the researcher understand the process necessary in creating positive and lasting change by strengthening community ties and increasing citizen participation in a community where this has been demonstrated in the strong women led grassroots organizations.

It has been argued that true grassroots development does not need monetary funds to begin or sustain it, however few communities outside of Villa El Salvador have been successful in demonstrating this. Understanding the process of building social capital provides opportunity for social workers to tap into a community's unlimited, natural resource. This creates increased opportunity for positive and lasting change because the resources remain in the community long after the funding is depleted.

Your signature on this form or verbal response indicates that you understand the information regarding your participation in the research project and agree to participate in the research project and in the interviews. You will be given a copy of this consent form to keep for your records. You are free to withdraw from the study at any time. Your continued participation should be as informed as your initial consent, so please feel free to ask for clarification or new information throughout the research process.

If you have any questions or issues concerning this project that are not related to the specifics of the research, you may also contact the Research Services Office at 1-403-220-3782 and ask for Mrs. Patricia Evans.
CONSENT FORM IN SPANISH

UNIVERSITY OF CALGARY
FACULTY OF SOCIAL WORK
Professional Faculties Building, Block A, Rm 3256
Telephone: (403) 220-5942 Fax: (403) 282-7269
Email: socialwk@ucalgary.ca

FORMA DE CONSENTIMIENTO

Titulo - Proyecto de Investigacion: Capital social: Un origen de financiamiento ilimitado por iniciativas de desarrollo de la comunidad, organizado por mujeres, en Villa El Salvador, Peru.

Investigadora: Brigette Krieg

Este forma de consentimiento, la cual que has recibido una copia, es el fase inicial del proceso de consentimiento informado. La forma de consentimiento debe darse una idea general de que es la investigación y que incluye su participacion. Si quieres mas informacion sobre el proceso de la investigacion o el Area de estudia, estas bienvenido de consultarnos. Por favor, toma el tiempo para leer la forina de consentimiento y sea seguro que estas claro acerca del proceso de la investigacion y las expectaciones. Si prefiere, la forma de consentimiento puede estar leido a usted, y despues se puede firmar la forma o decir al investigador que estas de acuerdo con la informacion dado a usted.

Descripción y Proposito de la Investigacion:
El proposito de mi investigacion es para usar el ejemplo de las iniciativas de desarrollo de la comunidad, las cuales que llevan las organizaciones de mujeres en Villa El Salvador para explorar desarrollo de la comunidad desde el punto de vista de mujeres, y examinar el proceso necesario para desarrollar programas de la comunidad y motivar la gente por cambio en una comunidad donde financiamiento para programas esta historicamente minimo

Procedimientos:
Se pregunta a usted participar en una estudia que va a reflejar sobre la historia de desanollo de la comunidad de Villa El Salvador desde la perspectiva de las organizaciones de mujeres. Estoy interesada de oir las experiencias suyas en desarrollando una comunidad donde no existia antes. lo quiero saber que crees usted eran los factores que motivaron las iniciativas, las caracteristicas de la comunidad necesario por un exito y el proceso requerido a crear en la comunidad una repuesta por cambios positivos y duraderos. Voy a pedir que se comparta su historia en tres entrevistas separadas, que duran, cada una, aproximadamente 1-2 horas. Con su permiso, las entrevistas estaran agradable y nos vamos a requerir la presencia de un traductor para segurar que hay comprension claro dentro del investigador y usted.

Siguiendo cada conversacion, las entrevistas estaran escrito a maquina y una copia dado a usted para segurar que la informacion has compartido esta agradable correctamente. Esto estara completado con la ayuda del traductor aqui con nosotros hoy.
Confidencialidad:
La identidad suya será protegida durante participación en la estudia. El nombre suyo o cualquier tipo de información que puede indentificarse nunca se aparece con la información colectada. Quiero que se contesta las preguntas con los sentimientos y pensamientos suyos, sin preocuparse de que piensan los demas. Toda la información colectada, agrabado y escrito, se quedara en una boveda encerrada en la oficina del entrevistador. La información que esta guardado en la computadora personal del investigador será protegida con un código secreto que el investigador solo sabes. Solamente el investigador, el traductor, y los supervisores del tesis para La Universidad de Calgary, Canada tendrán acceso a la información colectado. Todas las cassetes audios de las entrevistas estaran destruido después de transcripción correcto, autorizado de usted. Todos los archivos computadores estaran borrado tres años después de coleccion. Su participación esta voluntario y estas libre de negar participación en cualquier momento durante el proceso de investigación y entrevista. Cuando sea, si decide terminar participación, digame y el proceso de investigación se termina inmediatamente. Si decide parar, toda la información colectado hasta el momento estará inmediatamente destruido.

Riesgos:
No se espero ningun riesgo a usted durante su participación en este estudia. Si alguna de las preguntas se molesta, me pide terminar la entrevista o se puede negar de contestar las preguntas con que no se siente comodo. Después de la entrevista repasaremos todo para asegurar que estas de acuerdo con toda la información has compartido. Si se necesita discutir mas sobre cualquier cuestion, favor de informarme y yo puedo ponerse en contacto con alguien de Soluciones Cruzado Cultural.

Beneficios:
Las resultados de este estudio será usado como una fundacion para el tesis mio, requerido para completar un programa con la "Facultad de Trabajo Social", La Universidad de Calgary, Canada. Las resultados de este estudia van a ayudar el investigador entender el proceso necesario para crear cambios positivos y duraderos como fortaleciendo la bortdas de la comunidad y subiendo participación de los ciudadanos en una comunidad donde este mismo ha estado mostrado en las organizaciones fuertes de mujeres. Ha estado discutido que el desarrollo verdadero de linaje cultural no se necesita financiamiento para comenzarlo ni para sostenerlo, aunque muy pocas comunidades fuera de Villa El Salvador han estado exitoso de hacerlo. Cuando entendemos el proceso de construir capital social, trabajadores sociales están dado la oportunidad de absorber el recurso natural y ilimitado de la comunidad. Este se crea mas oportunidad para los cambios positivos y duraderos porque los recursos se quedan en la comunidad mucho tiempo después que se termino el financiamiento.
Su firma en este forma, o repuesta verbal, se indica que se entiende la informacion sobre su participacion en ci proyecto de investigacion y estas de acuerdo participar en ei proyecto de investigacion, tambien las entrevistas. Vas a recibir una copia de este forma de consentimiento pan los archivos suyos. Estas libre retirar de la estudia cuando quieres. Su participacion continuado debes estar igualmente informado que ci consentimiento inicial, favor de preguntar lo que quieres durante ci proceso entero.

Si tienes algunas preguntas 6 cuestiones sobre ci proyecto que no estan conectado a los especificos de la investigacion, tambien se puede contactar la Oficina de Servicio a Investigaciones #1403-220-3782 y se pide hablar con Mrs. Patricia Evans.

_____________________________
Firma del Participante Fecha

_____________________________
Firma del Testigo Fecha
APPENDIX C

EVOLVING INTERVIEW GUIDE

A. INTERVIEW QUESTIONS: SET #1: DRAFTED PRIOR TO ARRIVAL IN PERU

Interview Questions

Interviews will be conducted with female key informants in the Villa El Salvador, community development process i.e.; organization personnel, community members etc., using a general interview guide to discuss the process of building social capital and creating sustainable community development. Data will be recorded using a portable tape recorder and transcribed manually. Interviews and subsequent transcription will be done with the assistance of a bilingual translator. Coding of data will be an ongoing process while on placement to guide research and increase focus of interview questions.

The interview format will begin with a set of general questions but is expected to evolve as the research process progresses and data is collected and coded. The initial interview questions will be as follows:

♦ Please tell me about some of your early memories of Villa El Salvador
♦ What positive changes have you seen through the years in Villa El Salvador?
♦ What do you think lead to those changes?
♦ What challenges has your community seen over the years?
♦ What do you think needs to be done to maintain positive changes?
♦ What do you think helps a community to make positive changes?
♦ What holds a community together?
♦ How is community cohesion maintained?

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS : INITIAL INTERVIEW SET

Part 1: Background information

1. How long have you lived in Villa El Salvador?
2. Could you please share some of your early memories of Villa El Salvador?
3. What are some of the challenges Villa El Salvador has faced through the years?
4. What are some of the challenges Villa El Salvador faces today?
Part 2: Community Development

1. What are some of the positive changes you have witnessed over the years in Villa El Salvador?
2. What are some of the negative changes you have seen over the years in Villa El Salvador?
3. How do you think these changes have been brought about?
4. What is needed to create positive change in a community?
5. What barriers exist in Villa El Salvador that hinder the community development process?
6. What motivates the community development efforts of Villa El Salvador?
7. What resources are needed to help a community continue to make positive and lasting changes?
8. What things can happen to slow or stop change?
9. What further changes would you like to see in Villa El Salvador?

Part 3: Sense of Community?

1. What does community mean to you?
2. What makes a community?
3. Do you feel a sense of community in Villa El Salvador?
   3a. Have you always felt this way?
   3b. What changes have you seen in Villa El Salvador that have influenced your opinion?
4. How do you feel sense of community has influenced the changes Villa El Salvador has experienced over the years?

Part 4: The People

1. What characteristics are needed in the residents of Villa El Salvador to help begin and maintain community development efforts?

Part 5: Role of Women

1. What role do you think women play in creating change in the community?

Following Interview Questions that Emerged from Incoming Data

Set #2

1. How do you organize a community?
2. How do you help members of a community feel like they belong?
3. How do you create a community with a will to change?
4. How do you feed that will or desire for change?
5. Who needs to be part of the organization process during development?
6. How do you keep people interested in the progress of the community?
7. What is CUAVES?
8. How were the community leaders chosen?
9. Who chose the community leaders?
10. What made a good leader?
11. Who organized the initial meetings? How were they organized?
12. Do women still play a large role in the development of Villa El Salvador?
13. What influence did the government have on the women's movement?
14. How has the women's movement managed to move forward since then?
15. How do you think the role of men and women differ in their development efforts in Villa El Salvador?
16. What does sense of community feel like?
17. How do you build that?

Set #3

1. I have heard many people talk of the "Marches of VILLA El Salvador", could you please tell me more about the marches?
2. Why would the people come together?
   2a. How were they organized?
   2b. What were the outcomes?
3. Where do the women of Villa El Salvador gain their strength from?
4. Could you share with me some of your proudest moments as a woman in Villa El Salvador?
5. What do you feel is important for women in other communities to know who experience similar conditions?
6. I have heard many of the women talk about solidarity, what is solidarity and why is it important to women involved in development in Villa El Salvador?
APPENDIX D
DIAGRAM OF CATEGORIES AND SUB-CATEGORIES

Appendix D: Diagram of the Categories and Sub-Categories
ILLUSTRATION #1
DREAMS OF THE FUTURE

ILLUSTRATION #2
NEW HOMES ARE BUILT
ILLUSTRATION #3
THE NEW SETTLEMENT

ILLUSTRATION #4
DANCING AT THE POLLADO
ILLUSTRATION #5
THE CHILDREN IN VILLA EL SALVADOR

ILLUSTRATION #6
THE MEETING PLACE
ILLUSTRATION #7
CREATING VILLA

ILLUSTRATION #8
COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT MOTIVATORS
ILLUSTRATION #9
THE COMMUNITY KITCHEN