

**“Development from Below”:
Addressing the Needs of Patzulá, Guatemala**

by Erin Margaret Morin

A thesis submitted to the Department of Geography
in conformity with the requirements for
the degree of Master of Arts

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ABSTRACT

For decades academics and practitioners interested in development have been concerned with reversing the trend of increasing poverty in the Third World. While various theories have been advanced, and their attendant methodologies dutifully implemented, development that actually ameliorates the lives of the Third World poor has proven to be elusive. This is certainly the development experience of Guatemala.

Awareness of this “development impasse” has reactivated notions about “development from below,” by which means local people are empowered to determine and direct their own development. Critical analysis of the methodologies commonly associated with “development from below” reveals basic incompatibility with the principles of the paradigm. This incompatibility caused me to experiment with a novel methodology, Participatory Rural Needs Assessment (PRNA), which is designed to facilitate needs assessment in rural, non-literate communities in a truly participatory fashion.

I put PRNA to the test in the community context of Patzulá, Guatemala, where five months’ fieldwork reveals that the methodology indeed allows local people to analyze their own specific living conditions, prioritize their needs, and create sustainable, culturally relevant development proposals. PRNA also proved to be an effective step in Patzulá’s struggle to gain financial and other support from national and international aid agencies, some of which actually agreed to fund projects proposed by the community.

Even though PRNA was conducted in only one small rural community in Guatemala, the advantages and benefits derived from it lead me to conclude that it adheres more to the principles of “development from below” than does the rhetoric of international aid

agencies and the discriminatory development practices of such centralized, repressive states as Guatemala.

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Many thanks also go to my supervisor, George Lovell, who inspired my initial interest in Guatemala and its intriguing Maya inhabitants. His motivation, guidance, and trust allowed me to focus on a topic truly dear to my heart and then to translate my ideas from experiences in the field into words on paper. Brian Osborne and Barry Riddell have also been extremely supportive and provided the opportunity not only to develop my interests but also to enjoy my graduate years at Queen's immensely.

My gratitude also extends to the people of Patzulá, who believed in me and my ideas and had the courage to continue through months of hard work. Your smiles and enthusiasm inspired me to continue the research and your joy made it all worthwhile. Special thanks go to Pedro Lares Hernandez, my assistant and translator, whose help during the needs assessment was invaluable.

Finally, I wish to thank my family. My parents, siblings, and grandparents have always made me feel capable and urged me to persevere at whatever it is I chose to take on. Thank you for your support, love, and encouragement throughout. Most of all I want to

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ACRONYMS AND ORIGINALS

CIA	- Central Intelligence Agency
CIDA	- Canadian International Development Agency
CERJ	- Council of Ethnic Communities Runujel Junam
CCPP	- Permanent Commission of Representatives of Guatemalan Refugees
CONALFA	- National Adult Literacy Program
CONAVIGUA	- National Co-ordination for Widows of the Violence
CPR	- Communities in Popular Resistance
CUC	- United Farmer's Committee
DCG	- Guatemalan Democratic Christian Party
DCP	- Diagnóstico Comunitario Participativo
DRP	- Diagnóstico Rural Participativo
DRR	- Diagnóstico Rápido Rural
EGP	- Guerrilla Army of the Poor
EPM	- Evaluación Participativo Mutual
ERP	- Evaluación Rural Participativo
FAR	- Rebel Armed Forces
GDP	- Gross Domestic Product
IBRD	- International Bank for Reconstruction and Development
IGER	- Guatemalan Education Radio Program
IICS	- Inter-Institutional Coordinator Council
IMF	- International Monetary Fund

MDN	- National Democratic Movement
MINUGUA	- United Nations Mission to Guatemala
NGO	- Non-government Organization
OPEC	- Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries
OPIRG	- Ontario Public Interest Research Group
ORPA	- Organization of People in Arms
PAC	- Civil Defense Patrol
PADEL	- Local Development Support Program
PGT	- Guatemalan Workers' Party
PRA	- Participatory Rural Appraisal
PRNA	- Participatory Rural Needs Assessment
PRONEBI	- National Bilingual Education Program
RRA	- Rapid Rural Appraisal
SAP	- Structural Adjustment Program
SCDRYS	- Sociedad Civil para el Desarrollo Rural Replicable y Sostenible
SRAR	- Sondeo Rápido en Areas Rurales
SRP	- Sondeo Rural Participativo
SRP-MAP	- Sondeo Rural Participativo y Métodos de Aprendizaje Participativo
SRR	- Sondeo Rural Rápido
UN	- United Nations
UNDP	- United Nations Development Program
UNRG	- Guatemalan National Revolutionary Union

INTRODUCTION

On October 9, 1994 my husband Mike Morin and I left Canada for a period of travel and study in Latin America. Our plan was to head south as far as Chile. En route, one of our agreed-upon stops was Guatemala. As an undergraduate student at Queen's I had taken several courses on international development, some of which focused on Latin America. I had been particularly stimulated by geography classes depicting Maya Indian life in rural Guatemala. Four weeks, 5,550 kilometres, and twenty-one buses later, we crossed the Mexican border at La Mesilla and were immediately struck by the sights and sounds of what we now consider our second home -- Guatemala.

Two months of intensive Spanish lessons, amidst the joys and perplexities of everyday life in the country, convinced us to put aside our overland trip to Chile. We volunteered our services as qualified teachers to SCDRYS, a Guatemalan non-governmental organization. We were pleased to find out that our teaching skills could be put to good use, especially in remote rural areas. We were somewhat alarmed when we heard that SCDRYS had requested that we set up base in Patzulá, a small Maya community in the Department of El Quiché, a place where the US Peace Corps had previously been denied access (Map 1.1 and Map 1.2). We had two practical, professional concerns. The first was related to the inadvertent imposition of our Western values, the second related to the usefulness of teaching in Spanish to K'iche'- speaking children, for whom Spanish is very much a second, little-known language. We agreed to visit Patzulá and gauge the response of the villagers to the idea of Mike and me living and working there among them.

A five-hour bus ride from Guatemala City north to Joyabaj, followed by a four-hour hike up the Sierra de Chuacús, saw us arrive in Patzulá. The school turned out to be a rustic, two-room affair, with adjoining adobe structures. Awaiting us on the open ground in front of it were five hundred men, women, and children. Amidst great excitement, a *marimba* band struck up. "*Han llegado los maestros...* The teachers have arrived!", the children yelled. Two adults quickly seated us down at a table, thrust pencils and paper into our hands, and, in rudimentary Spanish, told us to register the children for school, *starting next week!* We stayed and taught school in Patzulá for the following three months. It was a decision that changed both our lives.

At first I thought of our lifestyle in Patzulá, and that of the villagers, as romantic and peaceful. People smiled and were very friendly. The weather was sunny and warm. And the violence we had heard so much about was never spoken of, nor seen. Work was shared among children, adults, and elders. People laboured without complaint. Even the fact that some of the children had no shoes and wore ragged clothing seemed easy to overlook, for they at least appeared to have enough to eat.

After the first month, however, I began to notice the more negative aspects of our isolated existence. No access to potable water, poor hygiene, and a lack of proper medical attention meant that open sores on the children's faces took a long time to heal. Their coughs never ceased, especially those of the younger ones, who had only one *huipil* or one *camisa* to wear, regardless of the weather. Girls attended school less and less as their workload at home increased. Then, one Sunday afternoon hiking back up to Patzulá from our weekend getaway in Joyabaj, we met a family we knew. Six-year old Mateo, one of

our students, was being carried in a chair tied to his father's back. After forty-eight hours of Mateo's cries, the fever that afflicted him prompted his parents to take him to the hospital in Joyabaj, for them a major decision. Now, after six hours of hiking, three down and three up, and four hours of waiting in between, the family were returning to spend the night at home. Mateo had received no treatment at the hospital. The family had been told that, without the money to buy medication, Mateo would either die by morning or pull through as his fever burned out.

Fortunately, Mateo did pull through, without the aid of modern medicine. But I will never forget the feeling of helplessness that came over me when I saw him sick on the trail, three-quarters' way up the mountain, clinging to life on his father's back. I began to ask myself "What can I do to help?" This vague, general question led to a more specific one: "What can foreign peoples, institutions, and governments do," I asked myself further, "to assist such individuals as Mateo and promote meaningful development in such places as Patzulá?" Most pressing of all was the question: "How can foreigners promote development projects that people like those in Patzulá want and really need?"

In September 1995, three months after my return to Canada, I began addressing these questions from an academic perspective, enrolled as a graduate student in a Master's program in geography. As I made my way through course readings and seminars, more questions surfaced: "What have been the dominant ways of thinking about international development? Have ideas about development changed over time? How successful have development policies been in the Guatemalan context?" Inspired by notions in the literature of "development from below," I decided to see if the theory behind a "bottom-

up” as opposed to a “top-down” approach could be applied in practice to Patzulá. I submitted a research proposal to the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) for funding, and was delighted upon receiving a six-month award. May 1996 saw Mike and I return to Patzulá, where the plan was for Mike to continue the work we started as schoolteachers while I devoted myself to Master’s research.

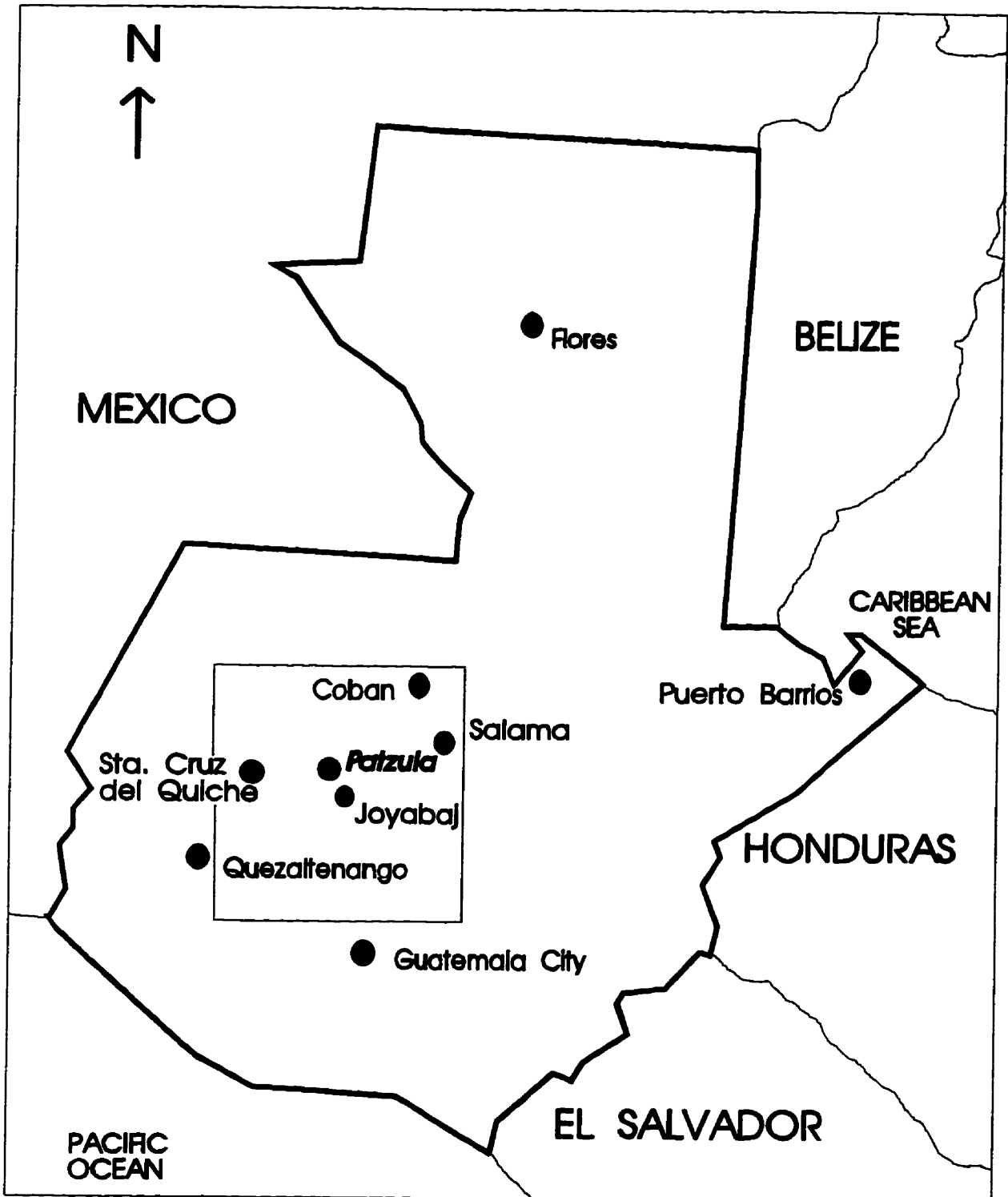
I next spent seven months conducting field research in Patzulá, aided by Mike and an assistant and translator, Pedro Lares Hernandes. “How does one *do* development from below?” I asked myself again and again. Few people had published work on the methodology of the approach and even fewer had addressed the question, “How does one *do* development from below *with non-literate societies?*” However, through the modification, integration, and enhancement of various Rapid Inquiry Participatory Methods proposed in the past, I was able to devise and implement a methodology that I considered not only appropriate, but also authentically participatory.

Thirteen months of living, studying, and researching in Guatemala have proven exciting and rewarding. I have made many close friends and learned tremendously from the experience. Most gratifying of all has been the pleasure of seeing changes take place in Patzulá, changes that local people themselves imagined, planned, and implemented. This thesis is an attempt on my part to record how the people of Patzulá came to be the architects of their own development.

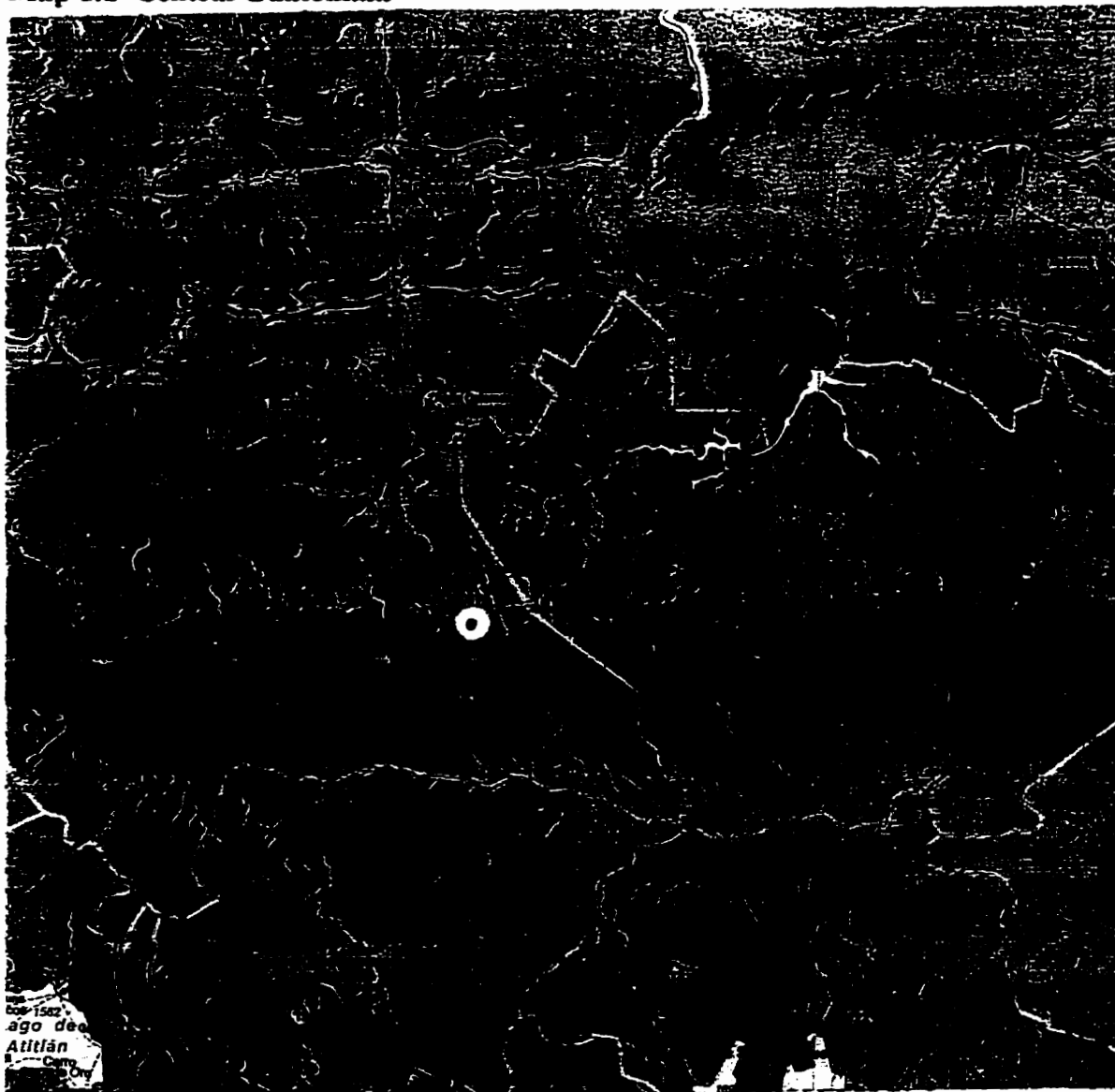
There are many ways in which Patzulá’s “development from below” could be recorded. I have chosen to record it by first allowing three people, a woman and two men, to tell the story of their own lives in Patzulá, which they do in distilled fashion in response to two

interconnected questions, "What do you wish to tell outsiders about your own life and what do you wish to tell outsiders about the community life of Patzulá?" Part One thus sets the scene in a first-hand manner no amount of second-hand musing can approximate. I next step back a bit in order to address broader issues of development theory and practice, sketching an international and national context ing an international and national context in order circumstances surrounding development in Patzulá into sharper relief. Parts Two and Three of the thesis, then, are devoted to a review of relevant literature and an appraisal of strategies for conducting "development from below," as well as discussing what development means in the Guatemalan context. After outlining what might be thought of as a theoretical, methodological, and historical framework, Part Four of the thesis documents an array of empirical findings. Here, as in Part One, the human face of development is given the attention it does not always receive in the literature, in which the people of Patzulá are encouraged to speak, then to act, for themselves.

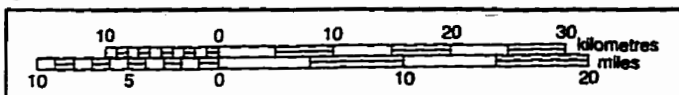
Map 1.1 Guatemala



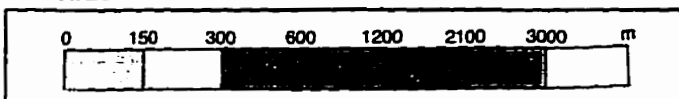
Map 1.2 Central Guatemala



Scale



Altitude



⊙ Patzulá

Source: Modified from ITMP (1996)

PART ONE

THREE VOICES

Chapter One

Encarnación

My name is Encarnación Ralios Pérez. I am forty-two years old and have three children and a mother-in-law. I am a widow. My husband died during the violence.

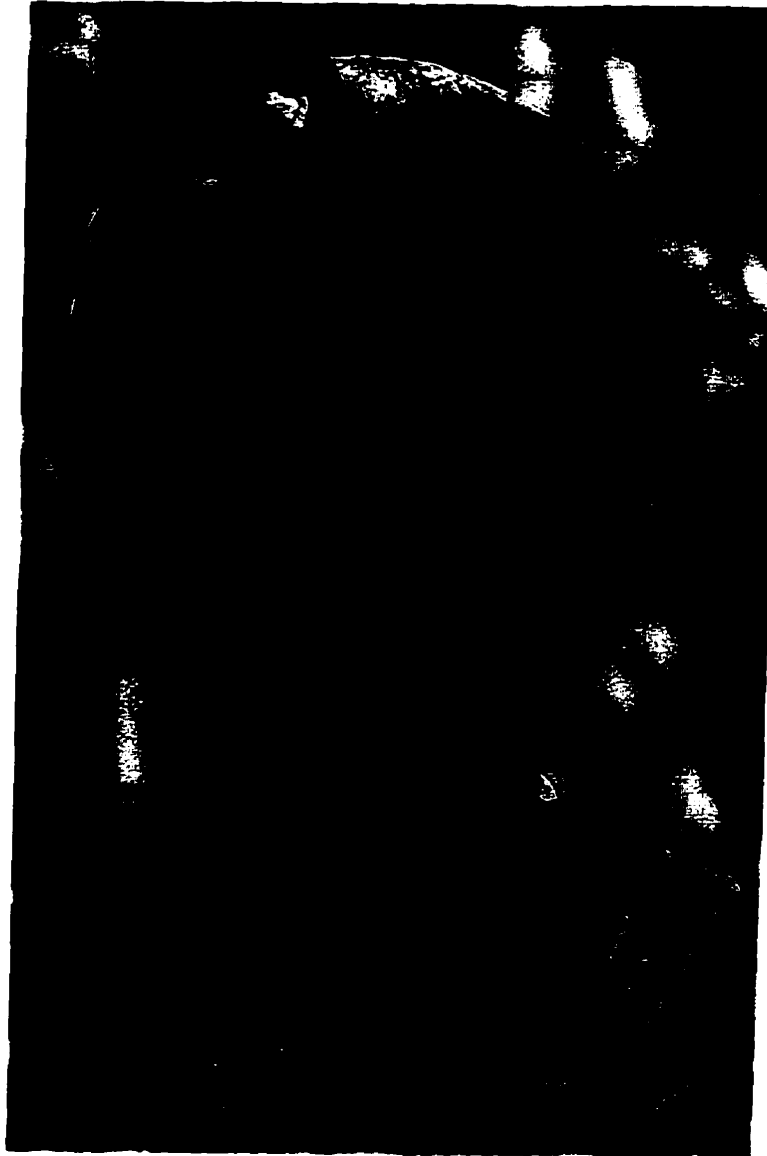


Photo 1.1 Encarnación

I was born on July 25, 1953, in Caquil, in the *cantón* of Joyabaj. My name is Encarnación because that was my mother's name. But there is another reason. My grandmother was very happy when I was born and remembered it well. She told me that she was in our house with my mother, who was in an awful lot of pain and was unable to give birth to me. My grandmother, who was a midwife, told my mother, "It is best to leave the house and maybe the baby will be shamed into coming out." So they went to a place with a pile of rocks and there I was born, quickly. My grandmother said, "We will name this child Encarnación, because this little girl is so clever and smart."

Also when I was born, my grandmother said I would grow to be a midwife myself. It is a shame this did not happen. Maybe this was less because I did not want to and more that it was not my '*don*'¹ to be a midwife.

When I was nine years old I was able to grind corn and make *tortillas*, cook, take my father's lunch to him in the fields, and be left alone in the kitchen. At this time there was no motorized corn grinder like today, so all the grinding had to be done by hand. There was no time for me to go and play with other children, not like today. Nowadays, the young girls do not want to be left alone in their houses, whereas before, I was alone all the time. Also, when I was a girl, the water was not as close to our house as it is today. We would get up at 4:00 AM, not 4:30 AM, to walk twenty minutes to the stream and thirty minutes to return with our heavy buckets full of water. We also had to care for the animals. There was always so many things to do.

¹ A spirit you are born with that guides your life.

When I was twelve years old I had other sisters who could work in the house, so when a Ladino family asked my mother if I could go and work for them, she said if I wanted to I could.

This family owned fields of sugar cane and needed help in their kitchen during the harvest. I liked this job very much. I would go to work every day in their kitchen. I would grind and make *tortillas* and *tamalitos* as well as prepare the main meals. It was there that I learned how to prepare all sorts of dishes. This family taught me well. They told my mother that they liked me very much because I was smart and learned quickly.

When I worked, the Ladino women were always kind to me. I did not sleep there and when I returned home every night they gave me the left-over food for my family. I do not remember how much I made exactly because money did not have a great value back then. I can remember at the end of the first month the Ladino women came to our house to ask my mother how much I was worth and my mother said twelve pounds of corn. This was very little for one month's work but that is what my mother asked for. Even though it was not a lot of corn, I can remember we received lots of free sugar because that was their business.

When I was sixteen, I had the idea of moving to the town of Joyabaj. I spoke with my mother about it and when she agreed I left. I started a business buying and selling tomatoes. I lived in town with my aunt.

At this time my aunt was working for an American woman who lived in Joyabaj. When my aunt left to go to the capital city she recommended me for her job. I worked from 8:AM until noon and was paid thirty cents an hour. This was a lot of money as the men

were only getting paid thirty cents a day. I think this American woman knew what was a fair and just salary and this is why I was paid so much. I gave part of my salary to my mother and kept the other part for my expenses, which included clothes, shoes, and food. I did not spend much on myself, though, as I knew my family needed it more than I did.

I worked for the American lady for five years until she left Joyabaj to return to the capital. During the time that I worked for her I had a few boyfriends, five in total. The first went to my house and asked my father if he could talk to me and my father said no. My father said the same thing to the second boy. He gave permission to the third, but this time I said no.

The fifth was to be my future husband.² Bartolo came to our house and asked to speak with me. I did not like him much but he was very persistent and was always coming by. My mother would listen to every word he said to me. It was very different than today, when the young girls are alone with their boyfriends outside the house. We were never alone; my mother was always with us, sitting next to us in the house. Finally, my father said Bartolo could marry me. I really do not know why I agreed because I did not love this man. Maybe it was because he was always at my house or because he told me he had gone to the church with a candle and prayed to a saint in hopes that I would say yes. Maybe that is why I finally agreed.

Just before I agreed to marry him I gave him my conditions. I told him that if I was a little late with his meals he could not be angry with me. I told him that I knew other men beat their wives if their food was not ready on time and that he could never do that to me. Bartolo assured me that he would never hit or mistreat me for any reason. I finished by

² Encarnación gave no account of boyfriend number four.

saying that there are husbands who look for other women, but if a man wants a good wife he must take care of her, he must buy her medicine if she is sick, and not run around with other women. If a man chases other women it will only bring garbage to the marriage. He promised that if I was sick he would buy me medicine and he would never be with another woman.

Bartolo was never able to save money. He said if he went to town with money, maybe he would meet some friends and go to the bar to drink. This is why when he got paid for work he would give me the money to save.

When I gave birth to Isabel I did not have any problems with my husband even though our child could not talk, hear or walk very well.³ Nor were there problems when Maria was born or when our third baby died. Things only changed when the violence started.

In October 1981, when the soldiers came to our community for the first time, we all went and hid in the forest. Bartolo carried five-year-old Isabel on his back and, while pregnant with Juan, I carried three-year-old Maria on my back.

We were forced many times to leave our house and hide in the woods. Many times we would climb the hill to see if the soldiers were coming. It was the best look-out.

In January 1982 some people from Joyabaj and other communities came to hide here because they had heard that the people of Patzulá and Chorraxaj did not like killing others. But when they came to hide, others quickly followed with the army and on January 12 they were here looking for those who were hiding. They gathered the community together, captured those who had been in hiding, and brought them to Xeabaj. They killed fifty people from here that day. They killed anyone they thought was a guerrilla.

³ Isabel has Downs Syndrome

There was another time when they came and killed many people. That was in March 1982, when the soldiers murdered many people from Chorraxaj and Patzulá. There is a secret cemetery just below our land where the victims of that massacre are buried.

At this time Bartolo did not go into town because if he did he would have been killed, because they said he was a guerrilla. When Juan was born in 1982 only I went to town to sign the birth documents. I brought with me the identification of Bartolo and when the secretary at the Mayor's office asked me where he was I had to lie and say it was very sad because Bartolo was very sick.

During this time, just five years after our wedding, the problems in our marriage started. I do not know why. He started seeing another woman whose husband had been killed during the massacre at Xeabaj. During the year when he had this other woman, he was living with me but he never worked. He was always angry with me and with the children. I would ask him why he was not attending to his responsibilities and why he was with another woman when he had promised not to.

The violence continued and we decided to move to another community -- Chuoloquij in Zacualpa -- but my husband did not come with us. I carried Juan, who was one month old, in my arms and María on my back. My mother-in-law carried Isabel because she could not walk very well.

My husband ended up going to the coast with the other woman. I think he met her in town before they left. He went to the plantation to work and would return once in a while. But I would always tell him, "You accepted to marry me on my terms and now you have another woman. What has happened is not fair". But I never spoke in an angry voice.

The last time he came to visit I told him that I was leaving him. I explained that I was going to find and follow my own path and that he should do the same. So, he decided to go to the coast and sell *kusha*.⁴ He left. After that I do not know what he did at the coast. People would always return from the coast and tell me he had another woman and other things about him but this was not my problem anymore, it was his.

Very soon after he left, the news came that he had been murdered. Maybe it was because he had another woman and God acted. But one thing for certain is that he died because of the war. I heard that one morning at 3:00 AM they came and took him from his house. The people in the mountains said that it was a branch of the UNRG who did the killing while other friends said it was the military. I only know that he was murdered on the coast. It was sad that they killed him; he had children, the other woman, and me. I had accepted that he had another woman and I was very sorry for everyone involved. I cried for the loss.

After his death I started to make *kusha* myself, in order to support myself and the children because I did not have any money. When I sold it I would use the money to buy the things that we needed, like fertilizer and medicine. I was in the business for about one year.

Making *kusha* was not easy. The fire needed to be very hot; there was a lot of smoke which was bad for our health, and I would get burned regularly. It was also difficult to make enough money so when I saw the other women migrating to the coast to work I decided to go as well. I gave Isabél and María to my mother-in-law and I took Juan, who

⁴ *Kusha* is the Guatemalan equivalent of "moonshine," a home-made alcoholic concoction commonly drunk by poor people in the countryside.

was still a baby, to a plantation on the coast to work for a few months. I had to do this because I had to support my family and I no longer had a husband.

Each time I returned from the coast I paid my debts and bought a small pig. After raising the pig I would then sell it when it was large and use that money to buy the things we needed. Then I would return to the coast to work some more.

When María was bigger I did not leave her with my mother-in-law anymore. In her place I left Juan with Isabél because he would do nothing but cry and bother me. María was able to help on the plantation a little bit as she could pick the coffee beans near to the ground.

Little by little I was able to improve my life. Since 1990 I have only had to spend two months a year at the coast with Juan. María now stays home and looks after Isabél and my mother-in-law.

In 1989 Pedro returned from the capital with some new ideas. Together with leaders José and Don Fransisco they talked about the needs of the community and how to improve our education. There was a group of youths that would play at my house every afternoon and Pedro taught them to use a radio education program, IGER. Others came from Chorraxaj to study as well. I was very happy as they were learning and I could sell my *arroz*⁵ and sodas.

After a while the youths approached me and asked if I would sell a piece of my land so they could build a school and make a playing field. Of course I sold them the land because I believe education is the most important thing. Maybe one day I too will learn to read and write.

⁵ *Arroz* is a hot drink made of rice and milk and spiced with cinnamon.

These last six years have been the best yet. I have a house and three cows. María helps me a lot in the house and Juan works the corn fields by himself. My mother-in-law, despite her age, helps as well. She can de-husk the corn and make clay pots. Isabel helps by washing and dressing herself as well as fetching water alone.

Today I am the president of the Mujeres Maya, which is our new women's group in Patzulá. I enjoy this work as I am able to help my community make changes. The other women enjoy the group as it is the first time we, as women, are able to make decisions at the community level. We will manage José, who is the community teacher. He will be our responsibility and the men's committee will manage the state teacher.

My advice to my future grandchildren is to study hard because education is the base of life. If we are not able to improve education then we will always be poor. I cannot read or write and when I travel to another town or to the city, I do not know where each bus is going as I cannot understand the letters. It is a shame that my daughter María never studied her letters. She still has time to learn but she does not have the desire to learn. I tell Juan to study hard because I do not want him to suffer the way his father and I did. I want him to be able to work as an overseer when he goes to the coast and not have to cut cane. If the children do not study, everything will remain the same.

My plan for the future is to improve the teaching here in Patzulá. I want the teachers to carry out their duties and teach our children well for if we can improve the education we will have development in the future. Education is the base of life. We can recover our lives through education. If the teachers do not teach, our children will be as illiterate as their

parents and there will always be poverty. I hope our children will have better lives than us.

It makes me sad to see María not wanting to study, but Juan is a good student.

I want my children and all the children of the community to study and help the community. If we are able to work together we can achieve peace. Peace signifies togetherness and together we can improve our lives.

Chapter Two

José

My name is José Lorenzo Ren. I am thirty-five years old. I have six children. Three are alive and three are dead. I am the leader of Patzulá.



Photo 2.1 José

I am a person from a rural area. My father was very much a farmer and was always thinking of ways in which he could make our life better. When I was six, my father sent my brother, Gregorio, and me to the school in the neighbouring community of Chorraxaj. We were the first students from Patzulá to study there.

At this time the teachers in the rural areas did not have many grades to teach. As well, they did not have the training to teach past Grade Three. So if a student wanted to enter Grade Four, he had to walk to town, which was a three-hour walk each way. In the school house in Chorraxaj, I was able to pass Kindergarten and Grades One and Two.

In 1970, I left school at the age of nine. I was not able to continue my education for economic reasons. I spent my days working in the fields with my father, learning how to be a farmer. I can remember spending a lot of time taking care of the animals in the fields. It was sad for me that I could not continue my studies. I missed school very much.

In the months that followed the terrible earthquake of 1976, the organization Alianza came to build a new school in Chorraxaj, as the old one was destroyed in the quake. The organization provided the materials and the community members built the new structure. It was then that I first learnt my bricklaying skills because they named me the bricklayer's assistant.

I was fifteen years old when the new school was completed and a new teacher arrived who was eager and excited about teaching in Chorraxaj. It was a long walk but this new teacher gave me a chance to continue my studies by helping with the afternoon adult literacy classes, which ran from six to eight every evening. During these classes I learned a lot, but since the classes did not have grades we did not receive certificates.

Also, at this time, the community elected me a member of the reconstruction committee to help rebuild after the earthquake. The older members of the committee came to my house to ask permission from my father to place me in the group. My father gave me permission to attend the meetings because I was very keen to go. As well, he was one

of the leaders of Chorraxaj. He told me, "Do this because this is what you must do in order to improve yourself by having more experiences and ideas." I learned a lot from that time, including how to talk a little in Spanish and how to work with people.

After serving on the committee as a member I became the secretary. We had changed the name by now to the Improvement Committee. Mateo Hernández was our guide. He had connections in the capital and at times he would go with us to certain ministries.

In 1977 or 1978 Alianza finished their work in Chorraxaj, but our committee continued. When Alianza was here they provided people with clothes, and corrugated metal for their roofs. These things were not free because if you just give things away people do not appreciate them. I can remember that we had to pay seventy cents for each piece of metal roofing and when Alianza left, we were able to decide what to do with this money. Mateo and I decided it would be best to build a road. We hired machines and all the men helped to build the road from Joyabaj to Chorraxaj. This is the same road we use today after hiking one hour down from Patzulá.

At this time I consider my life as a youth to have ended. These times were good to me as I learned to build houses, read and write Spanish, and how to work with people. It was a very important time for me and I learned a lot about the things we lacked in life.

But then, in 1978, the violence started. One was not able to do or to say what one wanted to. It was difficult to leave Patzulá. It was very dangerous. The news we were receiving was only about deaths. The radio and the priest at church said they were starting to kill. There were many rumours of people hiding in the mountains with guns.

In January 1980, on a Sunday afternoon, the guerrillas appeared in Joyabaj. I was in my house that day, so I did not hear them speak. But they gathered the people together and told them that they must fight the rich because the rich have all the money. They tried to convince the people that they would triumph because they had a huge force. They then went to the butcher for axes and then to the police station, where they broke down the door of the jail and freed the prisoners. The army base did not exist in Joyabaj at this time. The nearest soldiers were in Santa Cruz del Quiché.

The guerrillas left very quickly after their talk and the road they took was the one that we had built, the one that leads to Chorraxaj. They only passed through Chorraxaj and the next day they went to the plaza in Xecnup, which is about one hour further north than Patzulá and two hours from Chorraxaj. They went there because there were some secretive people who lived there.

In Xecnup the guerrillas made their politics and tried to win over the people. They were accepted by some, but not by all. This is where the worst violence took place in this region, because those who did not accept the guerrillas started killing their own people who were giving food and shelter to the guerrillas.

Shortly after, the guerrillas started to spread their political ideas to other communities. They came to Patzulá and Chorraxaj a few times and went from house to house talking to the people and sometimes holding small meetings. Some people accepted them and others did not. Many people did not join because fighting is against the law of God and the people of both Patzulá and Chorraxaj are very religious. Also, the people knew that the

army was chasing the guerrillas. Even though some people were for and others against the guerrillas, there was never any violence between the people of Patzulá and Chorraxaj.

I liked some of the ideas of the guerrillas. They talked of a just salary for those who migrated to the coast to work. But they also wanted to fight the rich and there were no wealthy people in the municipality of Joyabaj. What I did not like the most was when they assassinated people. It was very bad and very ugly.

The guerrillas continued with their politics and won the support of many people. They said they would fight the army and that they would win. Many people believed them because they said they had a huge force and many weapons.

The army did not like the politics of the guerrillas so they came to Joyabaj. They also did not like the politics of the Catholic Church, which they thought was made up of guerrillas as well. I can remember during Easter Week in April of 1980, when we had a religious procession through the streets of Joyabaj. One priest spoke of all the injustices that existed in our country. After his talk, he was murdered.

The soldiers of the Guerrilla Army of the Poor returned to Joyabaj in June or July that same year. Shortly after, the army came and killed many people. Another priest was killed and the church was burned.

The violence was strong and brutal. Many people, like the leaders of the communities, were unable to walk down to town [Joyabaj] to sell and buy in the market because the army was there waiting. If you went to town, sometimes you would not return because they would capture you and kill you. In Patzulá and Chorraxaj only the women would go to town to sell.

The communities started to fight each other, Indian fighting Indian with the help of the army. Because of a lack of understanding, the people were confused. They stopped respecting their brothers. They started killing and burning fields and houses within their own communities. The guerrillas took advantage during this time to gather more people for their groups.

In October 1980, the good people of Xecnup came here to Patzulá and also Chorraxaj, to hide from their neighbors, who wanted to kill them. They knew that the people from these communities were Catholics and believed in the commandment which said that we must not kill.

But when they came here so did the army. The soldiers thought that we were guerrillas. The army and others from Xecnup came and said they would kill us all. Even though there were many men, we did not want to fight. Since we did not fight back, they were able to capture those people who had come to hide here. They took them back to Xecnup and killed them there. They killed their own indigenous people.

We decided it would be better if we were more careful. So we formed groups of men in Patzulá who would take turns going and watching for the soldiers. Other men and myself would walk around the land surrounding our community and when we saw the soldiers we would tell the people, then we would all go and hide. If we did not see anyone, the people would continue working. This way they were not able to kill many people. Although this new plan seemed good to us at the time, we quickly realized that it looked bad to the military. They thought we were guerrillas because there were not as many deaths in our community as compared to all the others.

In January 1981, the time came when I was no longer able to leave. We were forced to hide in the mountains and were no longer able to work the fields. We had to think of what we could do because if the army did not kill us maybe the guerrillas would. When the army came again they accused us of being guerrillas. Once again we stated that we were not. They told us if it was true, if we were really peasants, then we had to collaborate with the military. That is when they formed civil defense patrols in our community, which we were forced to join.

The army ordered the people to select a boss for this patrol and that boss was me. They gave us weapons and ordered us to kill the guerrillas. But who were the guerrillas? There were no guerrillas in Patzulá or Chorraxaj, only poor farmers, but we had to do what they said. We had to patrol the area. Night and day we took turns patrolling in groups of fifteen men, leaving for twelve hours at a time, from six in the morning until six at night and another group from six at night until six the next morning. Every week we would take our turn.

Someone from the army would come every two weeks to give us classes. They told us we had to find, capture, and kill the guerrillas. They told us that if we were real men we would do what they said.

After six months as the boss, I resigned. Why did I do this? Because they made me leader of a group that only fights with others. I only wanted to improve my life and the lives of my neighbours. I did not want to send people to Xecnup just so they could kill. I did not want anyone to die. While I was boss, the army ordered me to send our patrol to Xecnup, but I got word to them before to warn them to go and hide. I did not want to

support any more injustice. When I quit as leader of the civil defense patrol the army hurt me but they did not kill me.

After me, there was another boss of the civil defense patrol and he was very cruel. He had many people killed. Thanks to God he is still in jail. MINUGUA visited Chorraxaj two weeks ago. The people showed them the secret cemeteries and they found a pile of bones of his victims. Because of this, he will have to stay in jail.

In 1982 the violence decreased a little. Like always, my interests lay in the development of the community. So, I contacted my friend, Señor Mateo, who was in the capital organizing the leaders of the Christian Democratic Political Party. Mateo made me a member of this group and selected me to be the general secretary for all of Joyabaj. I left one commitment to join another. At this time the military stated that anyone who was a member of the Christian Democratic Party was a guerrilla, but this was not true as we were only Catholics who wanted development for our communities. The army did not believe us and killed two of our leaders in Joyabaj. They killed Manuel in the store and nobody has seen my cousin Gaspar Pablo Ralios since the day he was taken away by the army.

At this time I was involved in politics, but only politics that could help the people. I told the people that they did not have to be members of the civil defense patrol, but they said if they quit they would be killed.

In 1984 I married my wife, who had been a neighbour, and my life improved. We had a son, and because of my fortunate past education and experiences, I have only had to go to the coast to work three times.

In 1988 we officially formed the community of Patzulá. The people decided that I would be the leader because I had many experiences with organizations. I am still the leader, but it is difficult. Most of the people are very conformist; they do not look into the future or work toward change.

In 1993 I was elected to a municipal committee. We worked very hard and obtained two projects, a road to Patzulá and a school. But we lost those projects because the people of Patzulá did not do their share of the work. They did not return the paperwork on time, so another community got the road and school that should have been ours. This bothered me very much because the people never want to do anything to make changes. For example, I am presently soliciting projects for electricity, water, and a road but the people of the community must work too to receive these projects.

In 1995 I moved to Joyabaj, where I was still involved with municipal politics. The old mayor was forced to leave and we needed another mayor. The municipal committee elected me and I was mayor of Joyabaj for the month of August. This appointment turned out to be illegal, so I had to step down when they asked me to.

I live here in Joyabaj now, but my thoughts are always in Patzulá. I continue, and always will, to help the people, but they also have to take some responsibility for their own development. They do not need gifts, they need training. The best inheritance we can give our children is education. My father allowed me three years of school for which I am grateful. Education is like a tree. At the time of planting, it gives nothing. You have to wait for it to give the fruit, and, once it produces, it will continue to give fruit for all the years to come.

I am here in Joyabaj for my children. The school is better here. The teachers come more regularly and teach better because there is a teacher for each grade. I want our children and grandchildren to walk a better road. For I have seen too many ugly sights, which I pray they will never see. Only with education can we make changes. My son will get the diploma I was never able to get. This is my dream. Our children are our future so we must prepare them wisely.

Chapter Three

Pedro

My name is Pedro Lares Hernandez. I am twenty-nine years old. I have a wife and a small child named Juanito.



Photo 3.1 Pedro (on the right)

When I was a boy I went to the distant school of Chorraxaj. I started when I was eight years old. I liked to study both K'iche' and Spanish and as I was a smart child, I learned a lot, especially mathematics. Although I did not get Grade Six, the teacher would always ask me to help teach other children.

I remember that one day I had a problem with one of my friends who had left his notebook in the school. He gave me his bag to bring to my house as he returned to the school to get his notebook. But I left his bag on the path and did not bring it home. The following day my friend's father came to our house to talk to my father about the missing bag. He insisted that I had lost it and would have to pay for a new one. My father was furious and started to beat me. That day I promised not do a thing like that again and to teach my younger brothers and sisters always to complete their responsibilities.

The same year I started school I started to sell sodas, bread, coffee, and *arroz* on the road between Joyabaj and Nuevo Chorraxaj. It was there, at age eight, that I learned about business.

Also, around this time, a family friend took me to the capital to help him buy and sell things. He did not pay me but he bought all my food. Many people could not believe my mother had given me permission to go to the big city. They would tell her all the terrible things that could happen to me, but the advantage for me was that I was able to learn where and how to buy and sell.

In 1982, when I was fourteen years old, I went to the coast with my father and brother to make money to pay our debts. At the same time my father returned with some coffee seeds and planted them on our land.

1982 also marked the beginning of the violence. The EGP, the Guerrilla Army of the Poor, started to organize themselves in the communities surrounding Joyabaj. But there were communities that did not agree with their ideas, and this is how all the massacres started. Many people died, including women, children, and old people. This was also the

time when the army organized the civil defense patrols and forced all men to patrol their own communities. I saw patrols from other communities torturing their brothers and, in January, other civil defense patrols and the military killed many people from Chorraxaj and Patzulá -- children, the elderly, and pregnant women included. I remember we ran from our house to a hill so we could see what was happening. It all happened because people had come to our community to hide from persecution. When the soldiers came the outsiders hid in the valley in a forest along a river. This was not a good place to hide as the soldiers could easily see them and murder them. That afternoon we descended from the hilltop to look at the dead because we heard my uncle had been killed. There was a long line of bodies, thirty at least. As we passed the line we heard someone breathing. Then the breathing stopped. We all stopped and tried to listen quietly until we found the one body that was still alive. It was a woman who thought we were returning soldiers so she was trying not to breathe and continued to fake her death. We started to talk with her and told her not to be frightened. We explained that we were from here and that we would not harm her. We pulled her from the pile of bodies and asked who had done all the shooting. She told us it was the leader of the patrol. We asked if she knew this man and she said yes but she was still very afraid and wounded. We took her to a house to tend to her injuries. I saw many things like this, and for this reason, as soon as I could I left to go to the coast alone.

For a time I worked on a plantation harvesting coffee and sugar cane, but at fourteen years of age I was still very young. I got sick because of the harsh working conditions. So I went to Guatemala City with one of the leaders of Chorraxaj who had previously moved

there. It was a very tough time for me as I had no money for rent, food, or clothes. My heart was always with my community in the mountains.

At this time, with the help of the leaders, I was able to study and graduate with Grade Six through IGER, the Guatemalan Education Radio. I learned many things in the capital, like speaking Spanish and what life was like in other parts of our country.

I lived in Guatemala City for three years. In 1987 I returned to my community. I was very frightened at this time because many leaders were no longer there. They had been killed because of their positions and work. I went to visit the young leaders, José Lorenzo Ren and Don Francisco Lares, to ask them what we were going to do to improve our community. We decided that education had to be improved, so we organized some youth at the house of Encarnación so that they could start studying, using the radio educational programs. Everyone was pleased, especially me because I did not want the community to continue with the same problems.

During this time the youth wanted to gain credit for their studies with the radio program so we took the list of students to the offices of IGER. Since no one had the twenty quetzales to enroll officially, we looked for an organization that could help us. But no one would pay the tuition. However, in the second year we did find one organization that helped pay for the five men to study with IGER and provide the youth with a little money to buy a small piece of land for the school. With my help, the youth also formed the Mayan Youth Development Committee, Waxakib Aj.

But we did not stop there. Jose Lorenzo Ren, Don Francisco, and I got together to talk about the future of Patzulá. Since the school of Chorraxaj was very far away, we thought

it would be best for our children if we could organize the people in this area, who were traditionally part of Chorraxaj, and join to build our own school with the help of the Catholic Directive from the church in Joyabaj. Unfortunately there were some people from Chorraxaj who did like our plan and there is still some tension between our community and theirs.

In 1990, when Patzulá was more or less its own formal community with José Lorenzo as the leader, I started a clothing business. I would buy clothes in the capital and sell them in different communities. I was always thinking of my people. I solicited a friend from Mayalán, a Maya non-government organization, and Patzulá gained training for fifteen families in the fields of health and money management. I also met a man from Germany through Mayalán who helps us with a livestock program for twenty families. For some, it gave results, and others not.

In 1991 I continued with my clothing business but I also was thinking of ways that I could continue helping my community so that there would be leaders in the future. At this time we had our school, which we had built ourselves, but the government would not supply us with a teacher. Because of this, I worked for two years with CONALFA¹ teaching adults to read and write. Unfortunately, the children were unable to attend as the program was solely for adults. This program lasted until 1995 with José Lorenzo Ren, Gaspar Lorenzo Ren, and myself teaching the classes.

In 1993, I was asked to be the president of the parents' committee, which I accepted. During this year and into 1994 my business became more prosperous so I was able to do more volunteer work for my community. There were many community activities at that

¹ CONALFA is a national adult literacy program.

time. We let it be known with some local NGOs that we needed teachers for our children. That was when we met Erin and Mike who filled this need and taught for three months. They were the first people from outside the community to live and work here.

At the end of that year there was not much business so I traveled to Belize to cut sugar cane. There I learned to cook my own food, make my own tortillas, which were made from flour, and wash my own clothes. It was a little difficult as I was far from my family and was unable to speak with the people I was with. I never knew from day to day if everyone was fine or not.

On my return I received the sad news that the Government teacher who replaced Erin and Mike had left after a month of teaching. So once again Patzulá was without a teacher. I decided it would be best to move to Joyabaj in order to improve my business and Spanish. I now live in town, where I sell clothes in the market, but every week I walk three hours to my community to visit and help.

It was then that I met a woman who worked in a restaurant in Joyabaj. Her name was Rosa and she would serve me my breakfast. After I learned she was not married I talked with her every chance I got. She told me about her life and I told her about my business. She thought it was a great idea as I did not have to go to the coast to work. Slowly she came to like me more because, as she says, I do not drink and I am a kind person. Although she was a little afraid that I was older than her, in the end she decided that age was not important. Finally my father went to see her father in Playa Grande to ask permission for me to marry Rosa. Now since my father is Catholic, he obviously wanted the wedding held in the church. But my father-in-law is not Catholic and thought it best if

we did not go to a church as it would also be cheaper. He said that all that mattered was that we were happy and together. One year later, we were overjoyed when our son Juanito was born. He is now one and can almost walk and talk.

In 1995 my business improved but I was also forced to borrow money from an individual at eight percent a month. I still pay a loan, but it is with someone else at a lower rate. It is difficult when I am forced to borrow money. I am always looking for new ways to improve my business.

At the same time the community still had their committees: *Promejoramiento*, *Padres de Familia*, *Agricola*, *CONAVIGUA*, and the *Comité de Juventud Maya*. The only problem was that there was no co-ordination nor communication between all the groups.

In 1996, like always, the community and I were worried about the education of our children. In June, Erin and Mike returned to Patzulá. Everyone in the community was very happy because they once again came to help with our school. They gathered the community and asked them what they thought of their present school and if they wanted a teacher from the community, one which they would be able to choose. The community chose José, a young man with Grade Six. Today, we think José is the best teacher in this area.

At the same time, Erin spoke with me concerning a grant she had won through the Canadian Government and she asked me to be her translator and assistant. We worked together for five months and during this time I learned a lot. For example, I am now able to conduct interviews, carry out *diagnósticos*, and write proposals for aid institutions. I went to the capital with Erin and the other leaders of Patzulá to visit various NGOs. I am

very excited as I just spoke with PADEL today and they informed me that they are able to help us with one of our projects.

Now that Rosa and I live in town, our main goal is to ensure that our son Juan will know and understand his roots so he does not forget the past. Juan will learn our complete history, where we were, where we are, and where we are going. Our dream is that Juan will be a bilingual teacher and work with children in the rural communities. This way he never forget his culture nor have his memories erased.

* * * * *

Encarnación, José, and Pedro. Three people I grew to know, and love, well.

Is it possible to connect their three voices, anchored far away in a place called Patzulá, with the language of academe, the discourse of development in particular? If so, what kind of contribution might that be?

I am reminded of the thoughts of one of my favourite Latin American authors, the Uruguayan Eduardo Galeano (1992:138): “It seems to me,” Galeano maintains, “that the possibility of contribution depends to a large extent on the level of intensity of the writer’s responsiveness to his or her people -- their roots, their vicissitudes, their destiny -- and the ability to perceive the heartbeat.”

Galeano’s words, I believe, serve as a fitting point of reference for what follows.

PART TWO

**THE THEORY AND PRACTICE
OF DEVELOPMENT**

Chapter Four

Development Theory, Development Studies, and “Development from Below”

For more than forty years development theory has been advanced, analyzed, and debated by academics and policy makers throughout the world. Most commonly discussed in development discourse have been modernization theory, dependency theory, world systems theory, and the tenets of neo-liberalism. However, when theorists began to realize that their constructions often did little to explain the real world, let alone change it, that “development” was, in fact, often directly responsible for “underdevelopment,” development theory reached what Frans Schuurman (1993) considers an impasse. In response to the impasse, the field of development studies sprang up, along with alternative ways of thinking about development. One of the concepts that emerged from reappraisal and reflection was the notion of “development from below,” which for this author represents the most useful way of getting out of the development impasse. While Jonathan Crush (1995) and M. Cowen and R. Shenton (1996) have recently charted the evolution of development thinking, it is a new book by Colin Leys (1996) that I have found most helpful in the summary that follows.

The Construction of Development Theory

Development theory is often recognized as beginning with the work of G.W.F. Hegel and Karl Marx. Although Hegel and Marx maintained different concepts of development, Leys argues that they both produced and inspired a large body of theoretical work based on understanding development as a historical process related to society as a whole.

Neglecting previous thinking about development, economists in the 1950s began creating their own theory seeking to explain how various European colonies approaching decolonization might be converted into more productive nations. As Leys notes, these economists were heavily influenced by J.M. Keynes, as well as the wartime and post-wartime practices of economic state intervention. W.W. Rostow (1960) and other economists claimed that the development of the so-called "Third World,"¹ an invention of French social scientists designed to differentiate parts of Africa, Asia, and Latin America from the "democratic First World" and the "communistic Second World," would be an imitative process whereby these countries would slowly acquire the qualities of more industrialized nations as time progressed. Economic growth was perceived as a natural process that could be encouraged by appropriate and well-timed capital inputs by the state and through the removal of protectionist constraints. Domestic savings and international aid and investment were thought to encourage the various stages of economic growth until a Third World economy reached a point at which it could then sustain itself without further inputs. Provided appropriate levels of investment were present, determined by the desired rate of economic growth, rate of population expansion, and capital inputs, development would occur and the benefits would then be enjoyed by the entire population.

This line of thinking, referred to by Leys as development theory's positivist orthodoxy, was the basis for many plans for newly independent countries and a variety of potentially independent colonies. By the end of the 1950s, however, the limitations of development economics as a theory of development became increasingly clear. As A.K. Bagchi (1987)

¹ 'Third World' refers to a variety of countries commonly perceived by the West as underdeveloped due to conditions of retarded economic, political, and/or social development.

illustrates, India's development attempts in this direction, intended to raise rural productivity and transfer labour out of agriculture and into industry, did little to improve the Indian economy.

Sociologists and political scientists in the United States were then employed, Leys observes, to examine why the Third World was not responding to positivist orthodoxy. Their response was the creation of the modernization theory. As Samuel Huntington (1968) claims, "traditional" societies could be transformed into "modern" social organizations, similar to the industrialized West, through the diffusion of capital, technological and entrepreneurial innovations, democratic institutions, and Western values.

Although Leys notes that modernization theorists were chiefly excluded from major policy decisions, they did have an impact on certain measures, particularly through scholarship programs and technical assistance. Unfortunately, the nature of these programs were biased, Irene Gendzier (1985) explains, as modernization theorists like Huntington were too closely connected with the US government and its concerns with resisting what it perceived as the global expansion of communism. Hence, all proposed development policies necessitated a capitalistic economy based on international trade, without consideration of the potential for uneven development or class conflict.

During the late 1960s, it became increasingly clear that previously assumed reciprocal benefits of international trade had not materialized. As Stan Burkey (1993) observes, issues such as population growth, health improvements, and agricultural innovations proved to be much more difficult to address than previously assumed. Recurrent

starvation, marginalization, and increased unemployment in the Third World revealed to theorists that previous innovations like the Green Revolution only led to growth without development.

Meanwhile, in the early 1960s, even before the problems of the modernization theory had become explicit, the dependency theory of underdevelopment began to receive attention. German-American André Gunder Frank (1969) provided not only a critical analysis of modernization theory but also furnished a plausible theoretical response. Frank emphasized that, as First World nations developed at the expense of urbanized centres in the underdeveloped nations, so too did these urbanized centres in underdeveloped nations develop at the expense of rural peripheries within their own nations. Not only did the concentration of economic and political power exist in these centres, but also long-term trade trends favoured them. Hence dependency theory's strategies for increasing development in Third World nations as a whole, and the underdeveloped peripheries specifically, included planning and state intervention, regional integration, and industrialization by import substitution.

Despite various factions amongst dependency theorists, Leys contends that they all reflect Hegel and Marx's original preoccupation with historical process. Historical examples were looked to by all dependency theorists to stress that socio-economic subordination, or neo-colonialism, had led to, and would continue to precipitate, the development of underdevelopment.

Throughout the 1970s, observe Charles Kegley and Eugene Wittkopf (1985), dependency theory gained prestige, especially among university students in Europe and the

Third World. Even the international development community² responded to a certain degree to these ideas, as reflected in the International Labor Office's request in 1972 for redistribution of growth and the World Bank's advocacy in 1973 of the basic needs approach.

However, although theorists who adhered to dependency theory were successful in providing a fairly realistic picture of the situation of the Third World, it soon became clear that they, too, were unable to provide an adequate theory of development that explained how development could in fact take place. In Jamaica, for example, where the socialist government of Michael Manley was strongly influenced by the principles of dependency theory, development did not occur as planned. Industrialization through import substitution, Burkey (1993) explains, was just too costly and difficult, due to the small internal market in Jamaica and the country's dependency on imported technology and production materials that necessitated foreign exchange.

Influenced by dependency theory, the world systems theory advanced by Immanuel Wallerstein (1979) argued that the world market, unequal trade, and the core's exploitation of the periphery led to the development of underdevelopment. Wallerstein extended dependency theory to include semi-periphery countries, and thus saw the development process as the incorporation of all countries within a single capitalist world system. By the 1980s, however, Schuurman (1993) notes that due to criticisms of

² The term "international development community" refers to the network of people concerned with development, including the staff of host aid countries, recipient aid country's government and non-government institutions, multilateral aid agencies, financial institutions, and academic and non-academic consultants.

Wallerstein's neglect of class analysis and the cultural and political diversity of the Third World, world systems theory lost much of its original appeal.

By the late 1970s, Joan Spero (1985) asserts, the search for a new theory had begun, in response to the lack of successful programs spawned by dependency and world systems' thinking, as well as the First World's growing recognition that, collectively, the Third World wielded significant political power. Numerous events in the early 1970s made it clear that underdeveloped nations, through control of vital raw materials, had the ability to bargain effectively with the developed nations. More than any other single event, the 1973 oil crisis, and OPEC's subsequent manipulation of oil prices, had quickly revealed the vulnerability of Western industrialism.

By the end of the 1970s, Cristóbal Kay (1993) explains, neo-liberalism had triumphed in mainstream development thinking. Neo-liberals argued that development had not occurred due to distorting economic controls, bloated public sectors, and extreme emphasis on capital formation. Governments were deemed overly interventionist, inefficient, corrupt, and parasitic. Ironically, Kay observes, neo-liberals promoted structural adjustment programs (SAPs), which required even greater state intervention to carry out reforms and halt potential social protests. These SAPs, David Slater (1995) explains, include the privatization of state enterprises, the promotion of free-trade, deregulation, and market-based development. Slater also notes that this doctrine, fundamentally rooted in previous theories of economic liberalism, was broadened rhetorically in the 1980s to include notions of good governance, participation in development, and the strengthening of civil society.

Although neo-liberal claims regarding the benefits of an unrestricted market were poorly supported with evidence, Leys points out that they did provide justification for market-oriented intervention by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF). Strategies created by these institutions to develop the Third World, Spero (1985) notes, include resource transfers through bilateral and international lending institutions, the creation of Western commercial banks, and the imposition of SAPs.

Unfortunately, throughout the 1980s, as neo-liberal policies were initiated, the income gap between the North and South continued to widen. Even though recent IMF/World Bank programs incorporated policies that try to respond to current concerns of the distribution impact and intense social costs of the SAPs, Marcia Burdette (1994:216) insists that these reforms occurred only “within the broader logic of the adjustment programs.” Adjusting countries still had to balance their budgets, expand their export earnings, pay their debts, and reduce the role and power of the state. Burdette further remarks that although SAPs became more flexible, certain monetary and fiscal requirements that they entailed remained short term in nature.

The specific effects of SAPs in Central America provide an illuminating example.

Katherine Pearson and Tim Draimin (1994:272) observe the following:

SAPs tended further to penalise the poor, as governments cut subsidies to production of basic grains in order to force land into agro-exports, reduced spending on social programs such as health care and education, cut jobs, and encouraged market forces to determine price. Orthodox SAPs also lowered tariff protection in order to allow foreign-produced goods into the country, badly damaged the manufacturing base and reduced employment.

While CIDA (1992) notes that the countries of Central America did indeed boost their exports and, in turn, their foreign exchange reserves, poverty also increased. National fiscal

deficits and inflation also climbed to record high levels. An analysis of the Human Development reports of United Nations Development Program (UNDP) between 1990 and 1994 reveals that, throughout Central America, the proportion of people living below the poverty line increased (Table 4.1). Even accounting for population growth, there was significant increase in poverty for some countries and certainly no decrease in poverty for the entire region.

**Table 4.1 Central America before and after Structural Adjustment Programs:
A Comparison**

Country	Population living below the poverty line (millions)	Population living below the poverty line (millions)
	1986	1991
Guatemala	6.2	6.8
El Salvador	1.4	1.4
Honduras	1.8	2.4
Costa Rica³
Nicaragua	0.7	0.8

(Source: UNDP 1990; UNDP 1994)

SAPs, Luz Alba Acevedo (1995) argues, place an especially heavy burden on the women of Central America. At the time that SAPs were introduced, it was assumed that increasing economic activities for women would lead to increased equity. In Central America, particularly in El Salvador and Honduras, there was an increase of women in the formal employment sector. This rise in employment was directly associated with the implementation of trade liberalization policies and export-promoting strategies that generally increase womens' participation in productive activities. However, as Acevedo (1995:68) stresses, this process of capitalist development marginalized women in Central America

³ Although data for Costa Rica were not available in the UNDP reports, the UN Economic Commission on Latin America and the Caribbean reports that by 1990 at least 40 per cent of Costa Rican families lived in poverty as compared to 25 per cent in 1980 (Pearson and Draitin 1994).

from “their concentration on the margins of the labor market, to the feminisation or segregation of economic sectors, industries, and occupations, and to economic inequality on the basis of wage differentials and other working conditions.”

In addition, C. Moser (1991) indicates that the shift in costs from the paid to unpaid economy, a by-product of adherence to SAPs, was also detrimental to women. Excluding womens’ reproductive work by defining economies in terms of marketable goods and services, and cash production, created gender-biased policies. Due to disinvestment in health, education, and food subsidies, women in Central America became even more overburdened and were forced to change their consumption patterns and make accommodations for deteriorating living conditions. Moser notes further that the SAPs had an adverse effect on the relationships within the household and resulted in a reduced share of the resources for female members.

Increasingly, despite the persistent predominance of neo-liberalism as the basis for the development community’s actions, other theorists and development workers began voicing the need to search for a new way of approaching the “development question.” As Burkey (1993: xvi) notes, despite the various theories and approaches that have been advanced over the last thirty-five years, and the variety of development projects that have been designed and implemented, “everyone who has any familiarity with the ‘third world’ knows that poverty is well and thriving, that the numbers of poor are not only increasing but their poverty is deepening.”

By the mid 1980s, Schuurman (1993) points out, development literature increasingly began to refer to “the impasse in development theory,” a disaffection also voiced within

the academy by growing postmodern critiques of what George Marcus and Michael Fischer (1986:8) identify as a “crisis of representation,” which they say stems from “uncertainty about adequate means of describing social reality.” The key issue, as Leys (1996:43) succinctly puts it, is how to create a theory of development that is “not a branch of policy-oriented social science within the parameters of an unquestioned capitalist world order,” but instead functions “as a field of critical inquiry about the contemporary dynamics of that order itself, with imperative policy implications for the survival of civilized and decent life.” The key question therefore remains: How can a theory of development be constructed that explains not only the goals and means of development but also explains *for* whom and *by* whom it is constructed?

Development studies

Based on the success of past micro-studies and a critical analysis of past development theories, David Booth and other theorists in Schuurman’s (1993) edited collection claim it is time for the development community to move away from extreme generalities and class, gender, and race reductionism. They suggest a focus on development studies, involving an expansion of field research analyzing *local* Third World social, cultural, economic, historical, gender, and ethnic activities. Diverse micro-level studies, Booth claims, combined with continued macro-level political economy analysis, will lead to better development theory, one that is sensitive both to local complexities and global political and economic realities. Booth emphasizes, as do Ron Johnston, Peter Taylor, and Michael Watts (1995:9), that the development community must deal explicitly with the local-global

dialectic and recognize that "local events constitute global structures which then impinge on local events in an interactive continuum."

However, as Michael Edwards (1989:117) observes, by emphasizing information gathering and understanding, rather than action, the development community simply continues to "contribute to the irrelevance of much of their output to the problems of the world in which we live." As theoretical interpretations of development predominate, people in the Third World continue to be treated as objects of study rather than architects of their own development. Knowledge and power, Foucault and his followers tell us, continue to be controlled by political, social, and intellectual elites armed with the skills necessary to understand the jargon-ridden language of development. Continued use of Western interpretations also devalues and underutilizes indigenous knowledge, and abstracts the role of emotion in problems of development. Finally, the voluntary or involuntary tendency in development studies for research to be directed by the professional interests of the investigator can serve to minimize the study of the actual needs of those being researched.

Rather than development studies per se, Edwards (1989,1993) advocates the spread and consolidation of participatory research, research linked to projects that facilitate the underprivileged's own development efforts. The notion of "development from below," properly implemented, can provide this all-important link.

"Development from Below"

"Development from below," Taylor (1992) contends, is rooted far back in the anarchist and populist beliefs of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Primarily advanced in the Third World, "development from below" was the product of a number of alternative

development strategies. "Development from below," Taylor points out, was also influenced by dependency theory, as well as E.F. Schumacher's (1973) ideas of "small is beautiful."

The term "below" is a territorial expression, one whose local reference contrasts with the more common perceptions of development as a "top-down" global or national enterprise. Referring to national development policies, John Friedmann (1986) notes that, traditionally, these have been concerned with spatial distributions, at both the urban and regional level of implementation. Most commonly discussed, Friedmann (1972) observes, have been classical location theory, spatial organization theory, and regional growth theory. Friedmann (1986:204) writes:

[T]he point of reference in the formulation of relevant objectives is typically the nation as a whole and its dominant class and ethnic or religious interests. National policies for urban-regional development respond only coincidentally to the particularistic wishes and desires of territorially grouped populations within the national state, wishes that reflect their special historical conditions, peculiar ethnic mixes, and specific class compositions.

In short, national policies for spatially differentiated development seldom meet the demands of regional populations.

In response to the inadequacies of traditional spatial development theories, Friedmann (1972) proposed the General Theory of Polarized Development, which sought to take into account increasing polarization in the national space economy. From this, Friedmann (1986:204) asserts,

there eventually evolved a policy position which argued for a disarticulation of the spatial system in the name of a more autonomous, inward-looking, or endogenous development for peripheral countries that were economically handicapped and weak. Initially proposed in the context of the international economy (Frank 1967), the thesis of an endogenous development was soon adapted to a new use with demands for 'selective regional closure' and a development 'from below.'

Early concepts of “development from below,” Walter Stöhr and Fraser Taylor (1981) contend, promote development through the mobilization of an area’s human, natural, and institutional resources, primarily for the satisfaction of basic needs. Programs of “development from below” focus on poverty, motivation, and control from the bottom up, not the top down, and the use of “appropriate” rather than “high” technology. Stöhr and Taylor further explain that “development from below” has an inherent distrust of the “trickle down” expectations of past development policies. Development is perceived mainly as an indigenous process, based on popular participation, ideally culminating in self-reliance. The strategy at its best, Taylor (1992) explains, is labour intensive, ecologically sensitive, and small-scale rural community based.

Friedmann (1986:211), who originally advocated the notion of endogenous development, provides the most powerful criticism of his own earlier works, as well as the work of Stöhr and Taylor, when he writes:

Now we see that for such regions the route to an endogenous development *within the mainstream of economic policy* is virtually closed. It is a viable option only for world city regions that can use their countervailing power to negotiate with global capital and with the state for arrangements favourable to themselves or, to be more precise, to their political and economic elites.

Friedmann notes further that peripheral nations are vulnerable, that their bargaining power vis-à-vis transnational corporations and the state are frail, and that “while small may be beautiful, it is also weak.”

While these observations may be true, it does not necessarily follow that development can take place only, as Friedmann contends, through “self-reliant” development for

peripheral regions initiated only through revolution. Similarly, recognition of the relative weakness of peripheralized populations does not necessarily lead to Taylor's (1992) ultimate conclusion that development can only take place from "within" -- within the capitalistic world economy without instigating radical change.

"Development from below," I believe, remains a viable option, providing that preliminary formulations of it are modified to include recognition of the role and power of large national and international institutions, without rejecting the potential of local groups to counteract the influence of these institutions. Both micro- and macro-studies are important, Long (1990) notes, as the interplay and mutual determination of "internal" and "external" factors and relationships is undeniable. Long emphasizes, however, that the central role that human action and consciousness play must be acknowledged as most essential to any understanding of social change and development. Cloke, Philo, and Sadler (1991), referring to Giddens' work, argue that individuals have the knowledge and capacity to process social experiences, devise coping mechanisms, and act upon them, even within extremely coercive situations, thus in the end modifying structures and their external reality. Thus, the belief that local people are capable of modifying their own local development, regardless of the strength and scope of recognized macro structures in their lives, must remain central to the concept of "development from below," and advocates of the idea must continue to pressure the development community to focus on development endeavours and research.

Development must not be defined according to one's own values, as Friedmann (1986) does, however utopian and noble they may seem. Development must be imagined, defined,

and implemented according to local peoples' assessment of their own reality, *based on their own values*. Although this leads to the conclusion that development may not be predetermined, a partial definition of development must include the notion of empowerment, which actually enables the underprivileged to make the changes they deem necessary. Empowerment, as Edwards (1989, 1993) defines it, is the ability of the poor and powerless to exert control over all aspects of their life that they consider important, thus facilitating "development from below."

The key component of "development from below" is participation. Although the basis of participatory research existed long before the Brazilian educator Paulo Freire arrived on the scene, it was he who was the first to conceptualize and verbalize the necessity of indigenous participation for development to occur. Focusing on the costs of underdevelopment that people have had to bear, Freire (1972) notes that development requires fundamental change in their lives and attitudes. Through participatory education, enabled by dialogue and mediated by the raising of consciousness, or *concientización*, a process is created in which people are transformed from "objects" to "subjects", from the "oppressed" to the "liberated." While Freire (1972, 1996) concedes that a more critical understanding of reality does not in itself change reality, *concientización* is a step in the right direction, allowing the oppressed to engage in political struggle for the transformation of current conditions.

Furthermore, through innovation and experimentation, Sally Humphries (1995) asserts, people acquire the necessary knowledge, skills, and self-confidence to shape their environment in ways which foster progress towards their own development goals. If people

can design, implement, and evaluate their work, Humphries believes, the potential for meeting development objectives is much higher than in situations where local people merely implement external strategies without thinking them through, in advance, for themselves.

In addition, through participatory research, Burkey (1993) states, individuals use their *local* knowledge to explore *local* solutions to complex, *locally* specific problems. Development projects are thus created, based on the ideas, perspectives, co-operation, creativity, and community analysis of perceived needs of local people, rather than generalized solutions conceived and imported from afar.

Also, through participatory research, personal constraints and emotions that determine the actions of people are exposed and explored. Subjective emotion is not perceived as unworthy of serious study, but instead analyzed to understand how it impinges or promotes the process of development.

Finally, by validating traditional, non-quantifiable, inexpensive, non-scientific modes of understanding and expression, participatory research substantiates the experiences and opinions of marginalized, subordinate groups and ordinary people who have long been excluded from the decision-making process. Thus the traditional knowledge/power monopoly by intellectual, social, and political elites is broken.

However, if participatory research is to be relevant to all people's lives in a particular community, advocates of "development from below" must heed the criticisms of Taylor (1992). As originally conceived, Taylor points out that notions of "development from below" viewed the community as a homogenous unit, willing to act together for common purposes. The paradigm must be enriched through the acceptance and explicit inclusion of

what Taylor (1992) refers to as “territoriality,” not only within the paradigm but also in practice. The concept of territoriality recognizes the importance of acknowledging both the physical characteristics of space and the dynamic social relations that occur over time within it. Taylor observes that the social relations that unfold within space determine the success and pace of any development initiative. Such contextual factors as patterns of ethnic, gender, and cultural differences, modes of political domination, and a society’s relationship with its natural environment, are deemed of vital importance to the development process. Hence, any initiative must explicitly consider the tensions and cleavages that exist within non-homogenous communities when discussing and practising development research.

By providing an alternative to traditional development views on the creation and use of knowledge, “development from below” seeks to counteract the trend of increasing poverty and exploitation in the Third World. Uniting understanding and action, through the underprivileged’s empowerment and enhanced comprehension of both local and external environments, participatory research promotes positive change determined by the people whose lives are most affected: the underprivileged of the Third World. Having identified “development from below” as the best means of practising development, we now turn to an examination of the methodological considerations surrounding its implementation.

Chapter Five

“Development from Below”: Methodological Considerations

How can “development from below” be fostered in rural communities in the Third World? Most commonly associated with the initial stages of “development from below” are numerous needs assessment techniques that promote indigenous people’s evaluation of their own particular situation. Careful examination of these methods, however, especially the extent of authentic participation, the explicit techniques they purport, and the degree of ethical considerations, reveals that conventional needs assessments are not always compatible with the principles and objectives of “development from below.” A critique of conventional means of needs assessment, augmented with insight from the literature on participatory research and experiential education, provides the background information necessary for an evaluation of the strategies I later created and implemented in Patzulá, the focus of Chapter Six.

The most common needs assessment techniques selected for review may be classified as Rapid Inquiry Participatory Methods. These include: Rapid Rural Appraisal, RRA, discussed in the literature by Chambers (1983), Conroy and Litvinoff (1988), and Conway, Husain, Alam, and Alam Mian (1988); Sondeo Rural Participativo, SRP, discussed by Mwangiru, Tomas-Slayter, and Ford (1994); Diagnóstico Rural Participativo, DRP, discussed by SUWAR (1993), Wespi (1994), and Wespi, Ulloa, and Weber (1995); Sondeo Rápido en Areas Rurales, SRAR and Diagnóstico Comunitario Participativo, DCP, discussed by PASOLAC (1994a, 1994b, 1994c); Diagnóstico Rapido Rural, DRR, discussed by PASOLAC (1993); Evaluación Rural Participativo, ERP, discussed by

WRI/GEA (1993); Evaluación Participativo Mutua, EPM, discussed by CARE (1993); Sondeo Rural Participativo y Métodos de Aprendizaje Participativo, SRP-MAP, discussed by Mascarenhas (1994); and Participatory Rural Appraisal, PRA, discussed by Beerlandt, Tollens, and Dercon (1995) and A.C.T. (1995).

Rapid Inquiry Participatory Methods, according to Michael Warner and Leroy White (1992), emerged in the 1970s in response to the weaknesses found in more traditional, generally unsuccessful, “transfer of technology” practices. RRA and its Latin American equivalents, SRR and DRP, were among the first to appear. Strategies remained essentially unchanged until the 1980s, although later techniques purported to be more participatory, among them PRA and SRP. These methodologies, and dozens of others (see Appendix 1), are being used in the guise of “development from below” and are deployed in various fields of activity, including agriculture, forestry, and health research.

Rapid Inquiry Participatory Methods exhibit the following characteristics. First, they promote the participation of local people in the study of the unique physical characteristics and social relationships of one particular place. Second, interdisciplinary teams of technical experts are employed to visit communities and, with the active participation of the local population, to collect, order, analyze, prioritize, and document local realities, eventually creating and planning viable sustainable development projects. Finally, various visual, verbal, and written techniques are utilized to obtain rapid and exact information within the self-imposed methodological time limitations of two to fourteen days.

Level of Participation

At first inspection, Rapid Inquiry Participatory Methods reveal strategies that promote full local participation in the understanding of local realities. In all of the methods, local people are consulted for purposes of gathering information, discussing plans, and establishing priorities. Further analysis, however, suggests that in all the Rapid Inquiry Participatory Methods, this level of participation is not authentic.

In the majority of these methods only local leaders and high-ranking officials, usually male, literate, and from higher economic groups, are consulted. Women, the old, and the young, and community members from lower economic groups are overlooked or ignored, usually being non-literate and thus not regarded as “capable” or “well-informed.” Communities are generally considered to be homogeneous units, devoid of ethnic, gender, cultural, and political divisions. Referring to Animation Rurale in French Africa, Richard Maclure (1995:33) points out that the desire “to foster local level input into development decision-making” often fails to take into account “the perceptions of all but the most prominent or outspoken of rural leaders.” There are, of course, exceptions to this generalization, including the work of SRAR/DCP (PASOLAC 1994a, 1994b, 1994c) and SRP-MAP (Mascarenhas 1994), which stress the importance of including women, heterogeneous socio-economic groups, and people of varying abilities in the needs-assessment process.

However, setting aside the issue of who is consulted in Rapid Inquiry Participatory Methods, further analysis indicates that participation is limited with respect to the extent to which local views are incorporated in the process. In all the methodologies reviewed,

the advice and direct involvement of outside “experts” is required. These “experts” are either government technocrats or non-government officials and generally include specialists in livestock, agriculture, and forestry. The number of “experts” required in these methodologies varies according to the numbers involved in the development plans, in some cases up to thirty for a small community evaluation (SRP-MAP). The number of “experts” desired also varies according to the percentage deemed necessary for a needs assessment in the community, which on average suggests over 66 percent of any working group must be “experts,” and only 34 percent local people.

Concerned with quality control and subsequent propagation of erroneous material, local people are generally used only to collect data, confirm information, prioritize, and then select from one of many “expert” packages designed and presented to them. Local people’s involvement in the entire process is discouraged, particularly in the areas of data analysis and project design. In a few cases, among them ERP (WRI/GEA 1993) and DRP (SUWAR 1993; Wespi 1994; Wespi, Ulloa and Weber 1995), some locals are invited to participate in the stage of data analysis. Not surprisingly, however, only those elected during the initial public meeting, usually men, are selected to participate.

In the rare cases that many local people are strongly encouraged to participate in the entire process -- see, for example, SRAR/DCP -- the strict time factor self-imposed in these Rapid Inquiry Participatory Methods impedes full participation. Research time ranges from five days in the field to two weeks, with an average of eight days. Rarely do local people, particularly those involved in subsistence economies, have the time to participate all day, every day, as required by the methodologies.

Finally, in these Rapid Inquiry Participatory Methods, the lack of specific reference to the language in which the research should be conducted is troublesome. Only two methodologies, ERP (WRI/GEA 1993) and PRA (A.C.T. 1995), even briefly mention the possibility of using translators. As many technical experts do not have training in local dialects or languages, people with limited understanding of the national official language used by these experts -- in some cases the majority of local residents -- are excluded from the needs assessment.

High participation rates, including all people of various gender, age, class, and race, are therefore not considered of primary importance in Rapid Inquiry Participatory Methods. Despite the rhetoric of these methodologies, which seeks to empower local people and their community institutions, local participation is viewed primarily as a means to an end. Along with texts promoting empowerment are open comments relaying the primary goals of participation to be simply the improvement of standard services in the community. Referring to SRP, Mwagiru, Thomas-Slayter, and Ford (1995:50) admit that participation is mainly a means of mobilizing people "for cheap and fast review of the local situation." Likewise, Wespi, Ulloa and Weber (1995) and Wespi (1994) portray participation as a resource to facilitate the implementation of external interventions, a means of providing appropriate solutions to local problems. Beerlandt, Tollens and Dercon (1995:5) argue that local participation in the form of discussion during PRA is a means of providing local people with insight into local structures and individual situations, which eventually "enables them to take charge of their own destiny." After this statement, however, Beerlandt, Tollens, and Dercon (1995:10) admit that "it is not the purpose to inquire

about the individual situation of the poorest. Moreover, it is practically impossible to involve the poor directly in these discussions.”

Certainly accurate appraisal and the acquisition of better services and resources can be seen as development; “development from below,” however, is meant to be more than this. Development involves empowerment of the local people, and participation must be seen not just as a means to an end but an essential process in itself. If true participation is the goal, then methodologies must involve as many people as possible, in all parts of the process, and to take the time required to do so.

Authentic participation, asserts Burkey (1993:35), “must involve people of varying socio-economic status, varying occupations and skill levels, varying levels of education, [and] varying levels of ambition, awareness and enlightenment.” Not only must all people be involved; they must also be involved in the entire process of assessment. Referring to his work in participatory education for adults, Freire (1972, 1996) emphasizes that local people, as analytical and creative individuals, are capable of identifying their own problems and providing and initiating solutions. To become empowered, local people must enter the participation process from the beginning, have authority over all subsequent stages of action, practice making decisions, and learn from their mistakes.

However, as Burkey (1993:208) puts it, “because of their seriously disadvantaged situation and their inherent lack of cohesion, the poor are seldom able to initiate a self-reliant development process without outside stimulation.” Rather than a team of external experts, who create change themselves, advocates of “development from below” promote the use of facilitators as catalysts for change and development. Rather than simply teach,

facilitators are used to provide educational situations which promote discussion and the multidirectional exchange of knowledge. Facilitators are used to encourage poor people to learn to listen, express and analyze their own needs, work together, and determine their own development, rather than be passive, objective receivers and implementers of foreign knowledge.

It must be noted, however, that the use of facilitators in and of itself does not necessarily produce authentic participation. *Diagnóstico Participativo Comunal* -- see Diaz (1992, 1995) -- is a unique needs assessment model that does not promote the use of experts. It serves, however, as a warning. Though a facilitator, the leader of the community, was utilized instead of experts, authentic participation was not achieved as the leader consulted but a few individuals, a group comprised of men only.

Finally, the time frame self-imposed by external experts and decision-makers in the Rapid Inquiry Participatory Methodologies needs to be re-examined. Development must take place at the time and pace set forth by the people in the local community. In order to involve all in the decision-making process during the needs assessment, the time, length, and pace of analytic workshops are best determined by the people attending them.

Techniques

The techniques used in any participatory methodology are a function of what participation means in the methodology and to what end its use is desired. Thus it may be assumed that the techniques in the Rapid Inquiry Participatory Methods are not directly applicable to "development from below." However, many excellent workshop activities provided in these methodologies are very useful and need only be modified, integrated,

and enhanced in order to conform to the principles of “development from below” and suit a field site like Patzulá.

In the Rapid Inquiry Participatory Methods, quantitative techniques are minimized and there is a strong emphasis on the value and use of qualitative interactive techniques. It is recognized that, while economic quantitative approaches help explain the macro global situation, they do not always help the researcher explain adequately the dynamic complexities of the development situation at the micro level. Freire (1972:8) puts it this way: “In order to determine whether a society is developing, one must go beyond criteria based on indices of per capita income (which, expressed in statistical form, are misleading) as well as those which concentrate on the study of gross income.” Unquantifiable problems, Taylor (1992) adds, including such things as the lack of basic human rights and valuable local historical and social information, are not readily accessible through quantitative techniques and hence must be accessed through qualitative techniques.

The various qualitative interactive workshop activities used in the Rapid Inquiry Participatory Methods help the development community, and, more importantly, local people themselves understand the complexities of rural development. The specific analytic workshop techniques used in all the methodologies include a variety of visual, written, and oral techniques, including visualization, mapping, transects, and calendars. In general, these aids allow information to be presented in such a way that local people can understand it, comment upon it, correct it, and project from it.

However, significant modification needs to be made in the text-based workshop activities utilized in all the Rapid Inquiry Participatory Methods based on the written word

and/or foreign categorizations. The inclusion of activities that require an understanding of the written word makes these methodologies problematic for use with communities whose members are non-literate and/or do not understand western categorizations of meaning. Excluding or modifying these activities not only enhances participation, but also shifts the focus away from information-gathering to improving continued dialogue among the local people.

Considerable modifications also need to be made to the instructions provided in these methodologies, regarding the use and implementation of the various activities. All of the Rapid Inquiry Participatory Methods contain instructions that are vague, complex, and contain overly sophisticated language, with the possible exception of DRP (Wespi, Ulloa, and Weber 1995), which provides mostly clear, no-nonsense instructions. Instructions, then, must be made more explicit and broken into a series of simple steps so that any layperson, specifically local facilitators, may easily access and utilize these activities.

All activities must also be modified to take into account the following considerations: the objective of the workshop, its approximate duration, the resources needed, preparation, specific steps to be taken, and a list of suggested questions to stimulate dialogue. The activities and techniques provided in the original methodologies must also be rearranged and augmented to provide the facilitator and community with a range of themes to select from, rather than isolated techniques, so that a more holistic approach may be taken.

The qualitative techniques presented in these Rapid Inquiry Participatory Methods, regarding the generalities of analytic workshops, require even greater additions and change. In all of the methodologies reviewed, explanations on how to elicit participation during

workshops was limited to a cursory line or paragraph, again with one notable exception, Chamber's (1983) book-length treatise on RRA, which does address ethical considerations in greater detail.

For information on how to stimulate discussions during analytic workshops, therefore, advice from experts on participatory research and experiential education must be reviewed. The focus of any needs assessment workshop, Burkey (1993) notes, should be dialogue, the sharing of acquired experiences and knowledge through a process of open, frank exchanges. Freire (1972, 1996), citing the different levels of consciousness and the direct relationship between emotion and motivation to act, promotes dialogue that breaks the apathy and raises local people's critical consciousness of their oppression and reality. As Freire and Hope, Timmel and Hodzi (1992) stress, appropriate questions must be asked that initiate and continue the action-reflection cycle, which in turn stimulates people to think about the basic causes of their problems, the creation of solutions, the celebration of successes, the analysis of errors (debriefing), and again the creation of solutions (debriefing).

Of particular interest to any needs assessment are the debriefing stages of the action-reflection cycle. Laura Joplin (1995:157) points out that in these stages learning from previous experiences is recognized through critical analysis of specific life experiences, articulated, and then evaluated as information is sorted and ordered according to perceptions and beliefs. "The public nature of debriefing," Joplin observes, "also ensures that the learner's conclusions are verified and mirrored against a greater body of perception than his alone. The process of reflecting on the past often includes decisions about what needs to be done next or how it should have been done initially." Through the application of

debriefing techniques during analytic workshops, the author believes a permanent process of action-reflection directed by the community outside of the workshop will eventually occur, thus empowering the people to analyze situations and make their own decisions on an on-going basis.

The key role of the facilitator, according to Freire (1972, 1996) and Hope, Timmel, and Hodzi (1992), is to create an atmosphere of acceptance, explaining to the participants that no one person is ignorant and that no one person has all the answers. The facilitator must encourage the timid to talk and the talkative to listen. During analytic workshops it is imperative that the facilitator not play a central role. As Larry Prochazka (1995) explains, the facilitator must be the “asker” instead of the “teller,” the questioner instead of the possessor of all knowledge. Facilitators in any situation, Warner and White (1992) note, must constantly review their behaviour and actions, and only provide information about issues that community members might not be aware. Nonetheless, as Burkey (1993:151) states, “the change agent can contribute to these decisions by entering into a genuine dialogue with the group, making suggestions, asking questions, drawing ideas and reflections out of the participants, directing attention to those suggestions which seem to have greater potential for realization, [and] posing problems and difficulties.”

Burkey (1993:78) also observes, however, that while one might be willing to follow the guidelines set out for facilitators, “change agents coming from outside a community will be completely frustrated in their development efforts unless they gain the acceptance and confidence of the poor people with whom they are trying to work.” The process of becoming accepted is not specific and depends on the people’s previous contact with

outsiders and the facilitator's personality. Burkey recommends living among the people, making friends, sharing burdens as well as joys, and gradually establishing a reputation as an honest, well-meaning person before initiating any needs assessment.

In addition to the necessary inclusion of discussion regarding "workshop generalities," these Rapid Inquiry Participatory Methods must also be enhanced to address the true value of interviews and their appropriate use. In all of the methods reviewed, little value was placed on interviews as they were utilized solely for specific data collection and verification. Hence, in all of the methods reviewed, interviewing technique suggestions were virtually non-existent. However, experts in participatory research provide not only insight into the usefulness of interviews, which can be applied to any rural assessment model, but also information regarding interview techniques.

Sandra Kirby and Kate McKenna (1989) argue that interviews help the researcher acquire valuable historical and social information from a variety of local perspectives. Applied to a needs assessment, topical semi-structured interviews may be used to gain considerable insight into the local development situation, allowing the facilitator to conduct the analytic workshops better.

Listening to undirected stories about the past and present, John Van Maanen (1988) explains, helps researchers recognize and understand both the logic of individual causes of action and the effects of systematic and structural constraints within which life-courses evolve. Thus, if needs assessment researchers were to conduct and reflect upon unstructured life-history interviews, they would then be able, during analytic workshops, to help the community identify patterns of past problems and reflect upon their traditions

and culture to ensure that the modes of change proposed are consistent with the society's values. Undirected tales of the past, obtained through unstructured interviews, also help the researcher understand commonly-held ideas and assumptions about the role of women, men, and children, and their relationships to one another. By listening to stories, the researcher might be able to understand better what commonly-held ideas would need to be challenged if change were to occur, information that is extremely valuable when facilitating analytic workshops.

The use of both unstructured life-history interviews and semi-structured topical interviews might also enhance the overall participation rate of any needs analysis. There are many people in a community who, for either political, economic, social, health, or security reasons, may not be willing or able to attend the analytic workshops. Interviews provide these people with a way of having their opinions and conditions expressed, either by the facilitator during the workshops, or to the greater public during dissemination.

In addition, conducting in-depth interviews during a needs assessment might help broaden the understanding and knowledge of those in power. As Miles and Crush (1993:86) note, semi-structured and unstructured interviews "help the researcher to achieve a degree of depth, flexibility, richness, and vitality often lacking in conventional questionnaire-based interviews (surveys)." Thus both semi-structured and unstructured interviews would help aid donors understand why certain needs emerged in the analytic workshops, why they were prioritized the way they were, and which strategies for change would not be appropriate for the community due to cultural norms.

Finally, Marilyn Anderson and Jonathan Garlock (1990) point out that unstructured interviews allow the reader to understand the history of a place from an emotional and subjective perspective, not simply in terms of facts and activities that have taken place. Through unstructured interviews, Ellen Basso (1995:x) observes, the reader can learn “what is significant to them [the locals] about their experiences of life, to understand the various processes whereby people define themselves and others, how they come to change their senses of who they are what the future has in store for them -- how they shape their own fates.” Such information, collected during the needs assessment, could then be passed on to aid agencies to help them attain a greater understanding and empathy for a particular community.

Once the value of interviews during a needs assessment, beyond mere data collection and verification, is properly understood, the application of semi-structured and unstructured interview techniques must then be addressed. Semi-structured interviewing, John Eyles (1988:8) states, “requires great skill on the part of the researcher who must not only be an empathetic listener but a good conversationalist, able to keep a dialogue going; and a social theorist, linking responses to meanings to a broad body of knowledge.” More difficult to obtain, unstructured life-history interviews require that the interviewee be comfortable talking without questions and capable of doing so. One must simply ask the interviewee what relevant parts of their lives they wish to discuss, and then listen. Kirby and McKenna (1989:121) stress that “listening means not being afraid of the silences,” and recommend relaxing while the interviewee takes time to think.

With regards to both types of interview techniques, Acker, Barry, and Esseveld (1991) note that the interviews should be conducted in a variety of natural settings in order to elicit a variety of answers, while the interviewee takes on different roles. They also emphasize that it is important that the interviewee know that the researcher trusts what the interviewee says. Obtaining a friend-type relationship, M.M. Fonow and J.A. Cook (1991:10) assert, leads to "higher quality of information possible as a result of mutual disclosure," and generates trust. According to F.M. Connelly and D.J. Clandinin (1990:4), "finding the words, speaking for oneself, and feeling heard by others" is an essential part of the interview process.

Finally, the qualitative technique of Participant Observation, utilized in some of the Rapid Inquiry Participatory Methods, must be addressed more seriously. The purpose of Participant Observation, Martyn Hammersley and Paul Atkinson (1995) point out, is to describe what happens in the community, how the people involved act, how they interpret their own actions and those of others, and the various contexts in which certain actions take place. Specifically, Kammen (1991:7) notes, Participant Observation is used to understand the "traditions in a particular cultural context...and determine the underlying basis of a community's or nation's sense of identity." Kammen also suggests that Participant Observation helps clarify the community's acceptable means of social change.

While this may be desirable, biased generalizations written by the researcher often lead to stereotyping and misinformation. If more information is required, personal reflections based on Participant Observation -- noted as such for their blatant acceptance of their biased nature -- may be included in any reporting required.

Ethics

The distinct lack of reference to ethical considerations in all the Rapid Inquiry Participatory Methods is also problematic. Although authors themselves may conduct ethical research, the methods they create must be changed in order to explain how ethical research is conducted. Experts on participatory and ethical research, however, do provide information on this matter. Joan Sieber's (1993:14) definition of ethics strikes me as sound: "the application of a system of moral principles to prevent harming or wronging others, to promote the good, to be respectful, and to be fair."

Some Rapid Inquiry Participatory Methodologies refer to ethical research. However, the cursory mention of ethics at the beginning of these methodologies, without specific reference to ethical considerations when conducting analytic workshops, interviews, Participant Observation/personal reflections, and dissemination, is simply not sufficient. Even SPAR/DCP (PASOLAC 1994a, 1994b, 1994c), which is the only reviewed methodology that provides more than a paragraph on ethical concerns, does not adequately cover the ethical concerns during all stages of the needs assessment.

Ethical considerations in the use of qualitative interactive techniques in community development work, Sieber (1993) notes, are extremely important, as individuals or entire communities may be harmed by the conduct, collection, analysis, or dissemination of the research. In certain rural communities, Patricia Adler and Peter Adler (1993) explain, this harm may amount to shame, guilt, or embarrassment, but in particularly violent countries it may amount to torture or death. On a more subtle level, Fonow and Cook (1991:8) mention that research "involves the personal and intimate lives of women and men, and

any intervention risks the possibility of disrupting relationships that are personally satisfying to the participants and perhaps materially necessary for survival.”

Sieber (1993:18) notes that “sensitivity and the perception of risk are highly subjective. What the research participant or gatekeeper perceives as a risk or as a sensitive matter may not be perceived as such by the investigator.” Before any research begins, therefore, the researcher must listen to and respond to local people’s fear of being involved in the research, regardless of whether or not the researcher thinks the fear is warranted. According to Kammen (1991), researchers must stress that they will help the community reflect upon its traditions and culture to ensure that any changes that it opts for, especially those that are contrary to established values, are clearly understood.

In addition to preliminary ethical concerns, specific ethical considerations must also be addressed before conducting interviews. As Miles and Crush (1993) note, researchers must concern themselves with implicit power relations of gender, race, and class inherent in interview situations. All attempts must be made to reduce the power differential between the researcher and the interviewee. By employing egalitarian research techniques, Renzetti and Lee (1993) argue, such as sharing ones own personal stories, this power differential may be reduced. However, once a caring relationship has been established, researchers must be wary that some people have a tendency to disclose a lot of information, some of which they may later regret expressing. As well, Acker, Barry, and Esseveld (1991) note, researchers must also be careful not to apply pressure and must explain to interviewees that they always have the right to ignore any question, to terminate the interview, or to discuss another topic.

Ethical concerns must also be taken into consideration when conducting Participant Observation for personal reflections. The same ethical considerations must apply as those to be utilized when conducting analytic workshops or interviews. However, the two ethical considerations that must be stressed most in Participant Observation are the issues of informed consent and privacy. It is extremely important when engaged in Participant Observation that the people with whom one is engaged understand that research is taking place. When one lives in a community, it is very easy for the people to forget that one is a researcher. Often the researcher must reiterate to the locals that research is taking place, especially if information is being recorded, and give the community the chance to ask the researcher to leave. A second important consideration is privacy. The researcher must be careful not to invade privacy, waiting to be invited to certain activities and respecting that there are certain places they are not permitted to visit.

Finally, ethical concerns must be addressed before dissemination of information occurs. Once researchers have completed their research in the community and wish to publish some information, whether to raise funds or inform other academics, they must do so in a way that is ethically proper. The way in which researchers write their findings can significantly affect the security of the people involved, the manner in which they are stereotyped world-wide, their privacy, and future policies, projects, and theories that are created by outsiders.

First, if researchers are truly concerned about ethical issues, they would do well to think twice about writing their findings in the "scientific" style most commonly found in academia. Though most work published regarding foreign communities and their

development situation is written in “scientific” form, ethical difficulties arise from the use of this style. The classic “scientific” style is very concise and replete with theoretical jargon, which makes it very difficult for the average community member to understand, even if it is translated and read to them. Unfortunately, even though most locals do not understand what has been written, they give consent to the researchers to publish the material. Pamela Brink (1993) attributes this to the fact that, as time passes, researchers initially considered strangers are subsequently regarded as friends or fictive relatives. Thus, Brink (1993:235) states, in isolated communities, “research and researcher are not part of their world-view, they do not fully understand to what they are consenting,” which can lead to the personal dilemma of what to tell and how much to tell.

However, rather than considering this a personal dilemma, when in fact people’s lives and security may be at stake, researchers can simply choose to publish their works as true to their original form as possible, such as original drawings and transcriptions of taped commentary and interviews. Laurel Richardson (1995:200) argues that stories, not scientific reports, are “the best way to understand the human experience because it is the way humans understand their own lives. It is the closest to the human experience and hence the least falsifying of that experience.” Once the locals understand what it is they are reading, they can be involved in the writing process. Original transcription drafts can be given to the individuals for verification, allowing them to modify and make changes in areas that they feel do not clearly represent their situation or culture. Even edited versions of interviews can be returned to the interviewee for elimination of falsifications, stereotyping, and/or misrepresentation.

It is important to note, however, that simply providing the information in an easily understood format is not enough to gain fully informed consent to publish. After the community members have viewed and read/listened to the information, debriefing and analysis is necessary. Debriefing and analysis, Sieber (1993) observes, is the process whereby discussions occur regarding the nature of the findings, the value of the research, its likely dissemination, and the potential ramifications for the community should it be published. As Miles and Crush (1993:75) point out, researchers “have a special responsibility to anticipate whether research findings can be interpreted and used in ways quite different from [their] own intentions.” Banes, in Hammersley and Atkins (1995:267), states bluntly that research findings carry always “the possibility of destroying the privacy and autonomy of the individual, of providing more ammunition to those already in power, of laying the ground work for an invincibly oppressive state.” Researchers must convey this information to the community and let it make a decision about what parts may, or may not, be published.

The combination of an easily understood writing style, verification, and debriefing will provide the community with the necessary tools to decide what may be published and what may not. The final reworked pieces can then be published with a clear conscience, knowing that the researcher has obtained fully-informed consent.

As this review reveals, Rapid Inquiry Participatory Methods are not, as previously assumed, fully compatible with “development from below,” at least judging from the extent of authentic participation, the explicit techniques they purport, and the degree of ethical concerns expressed. However, the information provided by participatory and

experiential education research experts regarding participation expansion, qualitative technique improvements, and ethical considerations *do* provide the basis for a better needs assessment.

Having subjected numerous procedures for implementing “development from below” to critical scrutiny, I will now discuss the methodology I devised that sought to take the above considerations into account.

Chapter Six

“Development from Below”: Participatory Rural Needs Assessment

In the belief that it is possible to learn from the procedures discussed in the previous chapter, to build on them and to improve them, I undertook to introduce the people of Patzulá, Guatemala to a means whereby they themselves carried out a form of community self-appraisal that I call Participatory Rural Needs Assessment (PRNA). The effectiveness of PRNA, which I would argue could also be applied to development scenarios similar to the one I found myself dealing with in Patzulá, hinges on the participation of women, men, and adolescents in workshop activities itemized in point form in Appendix 2. The ideas that the people of Patzulá generated in these workshops, and how they were later put into practice, I discuss at length in Part Four. Here, looking back at my role as facilitator, I will endeavour to summarize in narrative form the step-by-step procedures that lie at the heart of PRNA.

Through the use of a facilitator, PRNA helps the local population of any given place understand, analyze, create solutions to, and prioritize their specific time-place needs. Adhering to the concepts inspired by notions of “development from below,” PRNA aspires to promote the empowerment of local people through their authentic participation in all stages of the needs assessment. It is assumed that although both external and internal structures affect the lives of people even in the most remote places, individuals are, or can be, agents of social change, especially when they work together to determine and implement their own development plans.

Ethical considerations are addressed at every stage in PRNA. The methodology takes into account specifically the needs of communities where some or all members are non-literate. As such, discussion of drawings, sketches, photographs, and other such visual representations are the focus of workshops, not the written word. The goals of the workshops are not mere information gathering but, rather, consciousness raising and idea sharing, which stimulates peoples' readiness for social change. What were the steps that I followed in pursuit of these ends?

Step One: Clearance

Before I began the needs assessment process in Patzulá, the director of SCDRYS, my host NGO, met with the mayor of Joyabaj to ensure that government officials understood that I would be meeting with the community members of Patzulá. Continued personal contact with the mayor ensured that he approved of my work and that his suspicions were kept to a minimum. I learned later that the head of the army base in Joyabaj, Lieutenant Carlos Pérez Flores, had been informed of my presence in Patzulá and told of what I was up to there, most likely by the mayor himself. During an interview with Lieutenant Pérez, which I had postponed to the end of the needs assessment for fear of being associated with the army, he told me that he was disgruntled that I had not visited him before. He informed me that he would have been happy to have assisted me in the early stages of my work.

Step Two: Community Selection

When I first decided to conduct a needs assessment as part of my graduate work in geography, I thought immediately of Patzulá as a field site. As stated in the Introduction, I had previously served there as a volunteer teacher for three months, which I felt had earned me some credibility and worth in the eyes of the community.

Step Three: Finding an Assistant

I needed to find a bilingual translator, as the people of Patzulá speak K'iche', which I do not, and very few command Spanish as a serviceable second language, which I do. Immediately a good friend of mine, Pedro, came to mind (see Photograph 3.1). Pedro is from Patzulá, speaks both languages, is highly regarded by most members of the community, including women, and has a knack for getting people to feel comfortable. Moreover, I suspected that the men of the community would respond more positively to a male rather than a female interpreter. I also felt that we had struck up a good relationship and that, consequently, Pedro would feel confident enough to correct me during the workshops and provide me with alternative suggestions during all stages of the needs assessment.

Though Pedro was very excited at the job prospect, and delighted about the type of work we would be doing, it was impossible to get him to give me a quote regarding payment for his services. I finally decided to pay him the same hourly rate as a government teacher, to provide him with an expense account, and to guarantee him three eight-hour days of work a week for at least the first two months of fieldwork. For Pedro's peace of mind we both signed a binding contract.

Step Four: Initial Meetings with the Community Leader

Before the needs assessment began, I arranged a meeting with the leader of Patzulá, José Lorenzo Ren (see Photograph 2.1), in order to ask his opinion about conducting a PRNA in Patzulá and to gain permission to hold a community meeting. José was excited about the prospect of enacting a PRNA in Patzulá as he felt that he and a few other members had long shouldered the responsibility of such matters and that it was time for others to become more actively involved in the community's development. There is no doubt that José's approval triggered a very high attendance rate of over one hundred people at the first meeting that I held in Patzulá, and was a big factor in subsequent high attendance rates at the analytic workshops.

Step Five: Initial Meeting with the Community

I began the first meeting by explaining that I had been awarded a grant by the Canadian government to conduct a PRNA in Patzulá. I made no false promises regarding what the community would obtain through this process. I explained that should the community consent to conduct a PRNA, I would facilitate it for five months, document all activities, translate them into Spanish, and pay for all transportation and dissemination costs to various NGOs. I also explained that with the help of a fund previously established, some Canadian money would be put towards any development project conceived by the community, if no financial support was forthcoming from other aid agencies. My only stipulation was that this money could not be used towards development projects that I felt would directly or indirectly disadvantage any one group within the community.

During the initial meeting I invited community members to express their views regarding potential costs and security risks to those participating in, and those not active in, the needs assessment. A lengthy discussion focused on the government's violent response in the 1980s to similar activities that were perceived as subversive (see Chapter Seven). It was decided by the community members that although there were indeed risks of participating, they felt that political conditions in 1996 were safer than in previous years and that community needs were becoming critical and so had to be addressed.

I also initiated discussions regarding social difficulties that could arise, particularly those that might emerge if women become more empowered. This matter was taken quite lightly and not discussed further, which I took to mean that this was not regarded as a problem.

Finally, I made it clear that if at any time any member of Patzulá believed my work to constitute a threat to the community, I would terminate the PRNA and my husband and I would leave the community immediately.

Although I expected to absent myself at some point in the meeting so that the community could discuss these issues freely, it was clear that by the end of the meeting that all were in agreement about commencing the PRNA and that I was to stay put. Their acceptance of me and enthusiasm for my work no doubt could be partially attributed to the fact that my husband and I had already established ourselves in their eyes as *buena gente*, "good people," ones able to be trusted and place the community's interests first and foremost.

Once the decision had been made I asked community members how they wished to group themselves for the analytic workshops. Although I reminded members that they did not have to assemble according to traditional age/gender groupings, and in fact could assemble according to social and economic factors, they opted to segregate into four groups: men between fifteen and twenty-two-years of age; women between fifteen and twenty years of age; older women over twenty-one; and older men twenty-three and over. While recording the list of potential participants, the only group that at first did not appear extremely excited was the group of young women. With lots of onlookers present, I tried to encourage a few of my former female students to participate. Only after someone whispered in my ear that their mother had died recently and that they could not attend the workshops due to household duties and family obligations did I realize that I had acted, albeit unknowingly, too rashly.

Once various community members had verbally signed up, I made it clear that these age/gender groupings were not fixed and rigidly determined. I was glad I emphasized this point when a seventeen-year-old married mother quietly switched from the younger to the older women's group, with whom she clearly felt she had more in common.

I then asked each group when they wanted the workshops to take place, reminding members to review current meeting times so as to avoid time conflicts and ensure greater access for all. All groups chose to meet each week at various times. Although I was unaware at the time, the fact that the older men chose to meet on Mondays was extremely beneficial, as I learned later that the men, knowing the material to be discussed and

agreeing with the work, encouraged rather than prohibited their wives and daughters from attending their own workshops.

I next asked the groups where they wished the workshops to take place, reminding them that accessibility for all should be considered, including distance and physical obstacles such as streams made difficult to cross during the rainy season. All members elected to meet either in the school or the community hall, which also served as a place of worship. Recalling how one mildly upset community member, two months into the PRNA, suggested that I move all meetings to the school, I realize now that neutral places for some are sacred places for others.

The only matter of substance about which I feel I was somewhat remiss was not asking in advance for a list of topics to be discussed during the workshops. Rather, I asked participants at the end of each workshop to select the subsequent topic, from a list that I myself had compiled. Although the themes I chose still appear to me to be practical, it would have been better not to have taken that responsibility away from the participants.

Step Six: Analytic Workshops

Aspiring to begin the PRNA on a high, I asked participants if they wished to meet for the first time with an all-day meeting comprised of four workshops. I felt that if participants spent the whole day together, and shared a meal, it would provide them with sufficient time to get to know one another better and feel comfortable expressing their thoughts in a new social setting. With the cornfields newly seeded, and coastal plantation work at a low, people felt they could spare time for a full, all-day affair. In order to ensure

that everyone was included, I covered the food and labour costs for lunch, and asked the younger women to cook during the older women's all-day workshop, and vice versa.

During the first workshop with the older women, the small room began to fill rapidly not only with participants but also with the babies they carried on their backs, and the two-, three-, and four-year olds at their sides. I noted quickly that future older-women workshops would have to be held in the larger community hall/church, or outside in the open ground in front of the school. I also learned that it was *me* who would have to learn not to be distracted by the cries of children clamouring to be fed, not the mothers who continued to focus carefully on their work while nursing a child at their breast. My husband on occasion baby-sat young children over two years of age. In a community like Patzulá, therefore, child-care, provided by another facilitator or the women themselves on a rotational basis, would be another factor to consider.

Though groups had decided at first to meet on a weekly basis, because of unexpected events such as festivals, funerals, or weddings, some workshops were held bi-monthly, the dates of which were determined at the end of each meeting. The length of each workshop was also determined by the participants. All groups decided to meet for three hours at a time, and although many times I felt the group wished to continue talking, I refrained from extending the time, for to do so could have prevented those with limited time from returning the following week. Attendance did vary, as members fulfilled other obligations, lost or gained interest, and left and returned from work on the coast.

At the end of each workshop, on a rotational basis, I asked one group to select from a list of topics which theme they wished to explore the following week. Though initially, for

my own preparational ease, I preferred each group to discuss the same topic each week, I soon realized that this consistency carried the additional advantage of promoting information sharing among groups and parallel group development. For example, both groups of women commented that it was beneficial to have women *and* men discuss the role of women in community politics within the same week. Also, at the end of each workshop, I asked participants if they felt that the diagnostic stage was complete and if they were ready to start making project proposals. Participants were so enthused about the process that they did not opt to begin this stage until they felt all topics of discussion had been exhausted, four and a half months later.

I began each workshop by placing the rudimentary school desks and chairs in groups of three or four, ultimately creating one giant circle to facilitate discussion. Once the chairs were filled, all remaining participants sat on the floor or on the ground. When the participants arrived, I asked them to sit in groups of three or four, and halfway through I asked them to stretch and switch groups. I found this not only stimulated new conversations but also allowed for some physical activity, necessary for people who spend their entire days in constant motion in the fields or at home. Though the workshops were scheduled to begin at a certain time, most participants did not own watches and so had no notion of punctuality, save to arrive (as many did) at least an hour or so before we met. I delayed major discussions until everyone who was supposed to come that day had arrived.

The format I used to facilitate each specific workshop is outlined in Appendix 2, the purpose of which, as stated earlier, was to stimulate discussion, not to gather information. At the beginning of each workshop I reminded participants that the exact data generated

was not crucial, nor was the completion of each workshop. Hence participants did not feel rushed and were free to explore each topic thoroughly. I also insisted that participants speak in K'iche', so that they would understand the conversations taking place. This request was less readily acknowledged and harder to enforce with a few older men, who could and often did speak in halting Spanish, as they considered their ability to speak the language a mark of status and accomplishment.

Before any of the workshops began I told the participants that drawing techniques, not writing, would be used as the means to generate discussion. I explained that the process would be utilized not only because most of the members were non-literate but also because, quite often, a picture reveals an enormous amount of information and allows for the free flow of ideas and information during group presentations. In order to ensure that members were not inhibited by attempting to draw things, I myself demonstrated by sketching objects without too much concern for realistic representation. After the first workshop, with encouragement, most participants, including women who had most difficulty because they had never attended school and were unsure even how to hold a pencil or crayon, became comfortable with the technique. As the workshops continued, I was pleasantly surprised to see the reliance on drawing visual images diminish and discussion flourish without the aid of these tools, or indeed my questions and prompting.

Throughout each workshop the participants were asked a series of questions and asked to draw their responses using markers and crayons and large sheets of paper. When everyone had completed a particular task, representatives of each smaller group were asked to explain their diagrams to the rest of the larger group. Often, especially with the

large numbers in the women's group, when many presentations appeared to be very similar, I asked participants who felt their presentations would duplicate those previously discussed to wait until the next activity for their chance to present their ideas. This meant, however, that I did have to be careful in ensuring that all members and small groups took turns fairly and equally.

During and after the presentations I asked many questions and encouraged the other participants to do the same, thus promoting general discussion on any given topic. I encouraged Pedro, my assistant, to modify my questions so that appropriate questioning modes within the community were adhered to and questions were properly understood. Often Pedro would reword my questions by using analogies and metaphors to promote greater understanding of certain abstract concepts. Only when one member monopolized the conversation or significant tensions surfaced did I feel it was necessary to intervene to refocus the conversation or address the dilemma directly by asking the opinion of other participants. I encouraged Pedro to do the same, and we both felt that we succeeded in not manipulating the conversations ourselves or allowing them to be manipulated by others. Only once, during an older women's workshop, did I find myself overemphasizing an issue that only I seemed to find problematic, the fact that all major community committees were directed and attended by men only. I had to suppress the urge to focus further questions on the matter.

Throughout the workshop, I encouraged participants to analyze their diagrams and the past experiences they represented. For example, many times I asked participants to discuss the correlation between various depictions of poverty and the actual root causes of

poverty. I also asked participants to analyze and identify historical patterns in order to determine what factors they would like to change in the future. Regardless of the depth of their analysis, in order to promote confidence building, especially among women unaccustomed to voicing their opinions in public, I focused on congratulating the participants on their insight.

Only when it became clear that all participants were lacking certain information pertinent to the analysis, on a subject that I myself could contribute something to, did I provide facts in a manner I perceived to be as neutral as possible. These interventions were rare, as generally there was at least one participant who had greater knowledge on a specific topic than others in attendance, including myself, and was willing to share their thoughts. Although my lack of expertise regarding many of the themes discussed helped me play the role of passive inquirer and attentive listener, there were times when I found it difficult not to state an opinion, such as when one member suggested placing urine on the fields to serve as fertilizer.

Throughout each workshop I recorded both the simultaneous K'iche'/Spanish translations of the discussions and photographed the diagrams each group produced. I then transcribed these discussions as well as all final group conclusions.

Step Seven: Intermittent Communal Meetings

The intermittent communal meetings that I asked the community to plan every month in addition to their regular community meetings served particularly well in facilitating discussions and sharing ideas raised during the various select analytic group workshops. Having witnessed numerous communal meetings in which only rarely did women and

young people speak, I was delighted when the womens' groups and young men's group asked to convene prior to the first community-wide meeting, in order to practise presentations *before* the communal meeting took place. This proved to be very effective, and the process was repeated before each communal meeting.

So as not to interrupt the free flow of these intermittent meetings, I instructed Pedro not to translate from K'iche' into Spanish for me. Most of these intermittent meetings were very successful. Pedro did explain that after certain meetings, however, some tension and conflict had arisen when the women expressed their attitudes and intentions. Pedro was extremely adept at encouraging all to speak and we both felt that by opening the lines of communication during these meetings some degree of tension was reduced and conflict outside of the meetings was less likely to occur.

Step Eight: Semi-Structured Topical and Unstructured Life History Interviews

I sought to conduct interviews with as many people in the community as wished to speak, especially those who had provided their names to Pedro throughout the five-month period of fieldwork. In addition, Pedro and I studied this list to determine if we had included people from different social, age, economic, and gender backgrounds. As the very poor and the very old were particularly lacking on our own initial list of interviews, we approached certain people in these categories and requested their permission to conduct interviews.

Before each interview I clarified its purpose with the interviewee. I explained that through the interviews I felt I could better facilitate the analytic workshops, provide the community with a written record of its history, and furnish it with a means of giving

information to aid agencies that would allow such institutions to understand Patzulá better. I also reviewed the potential security risks of being involved in an interview, asked for informed consent to record the interview, and explained that I considered information confidential until given the right to disclose it. Finally, I explained to each interviewee that he or she had the right at any time to skip questions, change the topic, or stop the interview entirely, for whatever reason.

After my first attempt at an unstructured interview with a Maya shaman, in which I began by asking, “What do you wish the people outside of Patzulá to know about your life and the story of the community?” the interviewee divulged only his name and birthdate. It was immediately obvious that only few people would be comfortable with *this* kind of questioning! I therefore changed my strategy and began a semi-structured interview in which I asked questions related to a specific topic, in this case what Mayas call *costumbre*, religious rites and conventions, and then waited for the discussion to flow in a way that seemed natural. The interview soon became more of a conversation. Once I had finished putting things to the shaman, I asked Pedro to continue by asking his questions.

After this experience, Pedro and I would compile a list of topics to discuss with each individual on our list. Before each semi-structured interview, I did not work out the exact wording and sequence of the questions but rather, tailored the wording and order of questions to each particular interviewee. After a few semi-structured interviews I noticed that Pedro, normally an extremely outspoken individual, often asked only a few questions. As I felt strongly that the community be represented by its own members, I asked Pedro to begin all subsequent interviews, and I myself would ask questions last, ones that I thought

aid-agencies would deem important. This worked extremely well as Pedro asked all sorts of questions I could never have dreamed of asking, and thus often put an entirely different spin on the subject under discussion than I had anticipated.

In the end we conducted five unstructured interviews and eighteen semi-structured ones. The five individuals involved in the unstructured interviews were comfortable speaking without prompting and had been asked months in advance for an interview. During both the semi- and unstructured interviews, I refrained from asking questions and always provided commentary and personal reflections when the interviewee asked for it. This helped to create the conversation-like atmosphere we hit upon first time around, as opposed to a frigid, formal, question-and-answer interview.

Throughout all interviews I had Pedro provide oral Spanish translations every two to three minutes. At first I recorded both the K'iche' and Spanish and insisted that Pedro repeat every word the interviewee said. As I transcribed the first two interviews I realized how incredibly time consuming this practice was, and how repetitive the words appeared to be. Latterly I recorded only Pedro's Spanish translations and asked him, as he had insisted previously, to translate most of the commentary but to omit repetitive sentences. At this time he explained to me that since information was transmitted orally and not literally in Patzulá, people often repeated information three or four times in order to ensure that the listener would not forget what was most important. This new process proved to be somewhat less time consuming and I felt I did not lose information that the interviewee felt was important.

Once I had transcribed an interview, I afterwards footnoted the questions Pedro and I had asked and edited the interview into a shorter, two-to-five-page summary. Pedro then returned to each individual interviewee, twenty-three in total, and, as he read the Spanish version, orally translated it back into K'iche' for verification by the interviewee. At this stage all agreed to have their interviews published, and all but one were more than happy to have their names and photographs accompany their commentary. In this regard I was quite fearful, but in response to my concern, especially about those who had spoken in detail about the years of violence, all insisted that it was time their story was told and circulated to the outside world. Upon returning to Canada I compiled the interviews with their matching photographs into a ninety-eight page manuscript, *Las Voces de Patzulá*, which was sent to Patzulá in May 1997 (see Appendix 3). The community plans to photocopy and to sell the manuscript, keep ten copies of it in the school for students to examine, and to make extra copies to leave with NGOs they visit in the hope of soliciting funds for projects.

Step Nine: Personal Reflections

Each day I kept a journal in which I wrote up my thoughts about the day's events, usually facilitating workshops, watching and listening to people, and informally conversing with friends and acquaintances.

I planned originally to make a public record of my journal, but I decided against this in the end. I became increasingly uneasy that people would not have the opportunity to comment on the journal prior to its being made public, so I decided to hold on to most of my thoughts for the self-reflective parts of this thesis.

Throughout the thesis, my personal reflections and observations are presented, as in this chapter, through use of the first person singular. I acknowledge that these reflections or observations are neither impartial nor value-free. In Part Four I try to balance my personal assessment with those of others who also participated in the PRNA in Patzulá.

Step Ten: Proposals

After four and a half months of deliberation, all four workshop groups decided that they were ready to put their proposals on paper. This stage was an ideal wrap-up to the needs assessment as it was a means of summarizing into concrete potential projects everything that had been previously discussed. It also provided the community with a form of presenting their thoughts to aid agencies, in addition to the transcripts and photographs of each workshop, in a manner that was concise and clear.

The specifics of the proposal workshops are outlined in Appendix 2. Essentially, each group was asked to create a number of proposals, prioritize them, and then decide which ones to pursue in greater depth. In general, each group settled on three proposals. I had simplified proposal forms I had seen previously at various NGOs, but even my modified questions appeared difficult initially for most participants to grasp and respond to as they often dealt with abstract concepts or unfamiliar language. Pedro and I spent a long time explaining the concepts and reasoning behind each question. Ironically, while the response to these proposals by various NGOs that purported to work with grass roots groups was very positive, all of them remarked that the written proposals prepared by the groups were too simplistic and that they would have to hire an expert to rework the details.

During a subsequent meeting I asked each group to present the two or three proposals they wished to pursue. I proceeded to question the community as to whether it wished to pursue only one of these proposals or whether it wished each group to pursue their individual proposals. Pedro and I had discussed previously our apprehension that if only one proposal was chosen for the whole community, most likely the men would control all subsequent stages. Admittedly, I asked Pedro to speak his mind should his opinion be asked, and hence, the community's decision to pursue individual group proposals was somewhat manipulated. At this stage I also asked each group to reflect upon the community's culture to ensure that any social changes they opted for, particularly those contrary to established practices, were clearly understood and accepted by all. It appeared, however, that I was the only one concerned with this matter.

Step Eleven: Dissemination

I first translated the PRNA results, including transcripts, diagrams, and proposals, into a 130-page document I call the *Diagnóstico de Patzulá* (Appendix 3). Next I asked Pedro to check that the contents of this document indeed reflected the community's thoughts and ideas. I then asked the leaders of each of the four groups, previously selected by the group members, if they wished to begin disseminating their information and soliciting funds and support. I explained that I would pay for all transportation, food, and photocopying costs. After the two youth leaders had gained approval from their parents, all four group leaders, together with Pedro and myself, set out for Guatemala City, where we thought we would be most likely to be successful in seeking potential funding. I had gathered several NGO addresses and had asked Pedro to do the same. As this was the first trip to the

capital city for all four group leaders, I felt somewhat like a mother hen as I explained how traffic lights worked, what purpose an elevator served, why the boys should not stare at women in mini-skirts and high heels, and how to use a knife and fork at the restaurant. We not only spent a memorable day laughing at all the new sights and sounds but were also encouraged by our first visit to an NGO. At Redd Barna, an international NGO that Pedro had arranged for us to visit, the director listened intently to the four presentations which Pedro translated into Spanish. He expressed congratulations to all four leaders for the hard work revealed in their 130-page document and promised to pursue the funding matter soon. The group leaders were not only excited by his words of encouragement but were also impressed by the fact that he honoured their visit by serving them donuts and tea, both of which they had never tasted before. It might also have been the first time the director himself had seen sugar sprinkled not in a teacup but on top of a donut.

The second stop was less successful. I had arranged a meeting with PADEL/Socodevi, a Guatemala NGO associated with CIDA. The director in charge of funding for the El Quiché region was quite abrupt and spoke initially only to me. When I explained that I was there merely for moral support, she turned to the others and asked which of them could actually speak Spanish. After three not-so-subtle attempts to get us to leave, I finally interfered and asked why it was that her institution desired to work with grass-roots organizations when she was so insistent that the groups provide “expertly written” project solicitations, a \$3,000 dollar “pre-project” engineer survey, and legal documentation regarding the status of their group as a “legal entity.” Undeterred, the group carried on

and visited four other NGOs that same day, and numerous others subsequently, each time gaining more and more confidence to speak about their proposals in a bureaucratic setting.

The *Diagnóstico de Patzulá* was photocopied twenty times, and left with the community for future visits to other NGOs. Pedro and others continue to contact NGOs and disseminate the PRNA material generated by the community.

* * * * *

So much for fieldwork methodology. What can be said about the development context that PRNA endeavours to address, if not redress? What, historically, has been the development experience of Maya communities like Patzulá in relation to the Guatemalan state? A look at a bigger, more complex picture is clearly in order before actually turning to the impact and outcomes of PRNA efforts discussed in Part Four.

PART THREE

**DEVELOPMENT IN GUATEMALA IN
HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE**

Chapter Seven

Maya Communities and the State

In order to understand better what the Participatory Rural Needs Assessment (PRNA) undertaken in Patzulá means in local terms, the present-day circumstances and development prospects of the community must first be placed in historical perspective. Such a perspective reveals that most of the Guatemalan government's economic, social, and political policies, for the most part long condoned if not supported by the outside world, have had a detrimental effect on the country's indigenous population. The relationship between Maya communities and the state, when viewed alongside the impact and outcomes of the PRNA discussed in Part Four, suggests that development initiatives on the part of international aid-granting bodies be directed more towards working at the local level than through official government channels.

Two distinct ethnic groups, Mayas and Ladinos, comprise in roughly equal numbers almost the entire population of Guatemala, today estimated at about eleven million people (Lovell and Lutz 1997). Ladinos are those Guatemalans who have some European ancestry, follow a western lifestyle, speak Spanish as their principal language, wear western-style clothing, and usually (when asked) choose to identify themselves as Ladino. Mayas are those Guatemalans who associate with one of the twenty-two different indigenous groups in the country, speak a Maya language, wear traditional styles of dress, and usually (when asked) choose increasingly to identify themselves as Maya (Smith 1991; Warren 1994). According to SEGEPLAN (1992), the majority of rural inhabitants in the western highlands of Guatemala are Maya, living in roughly 19,000 small, dispersed

settlements of less than two thousand people. How, in the form of such visible, palpable communities as Patzulá, have the Maya of Guatemala come to survive?

Conquest and the Colonial Experience (1521-1821)

The arrival of forces led by Pedro de Alvarado in 1524 marked the beginning of the Spanish conquest of Guatemala, an invasion that unleashed a series of dramatic changes in the lives of all Maya peoples, including those in even the most remote rural communities. Despite flight to the mountains after defeat on the battlefield, the Maya were unable to escape the reach of Spanish conquerors and the Old World diseases they inadvertently carried with them. Smallpox, measles, typhus, and mumps, along with institutionalized exploitation, astute Spanish manipulation of divisions within the native ranks, and culture shock, eventually led to the subjugation of the Maya in most parts of Guatemala and a precipitous decline in their numbers (Crosby 1986; Lovell 1988, 1992; Lovell and Lutz 1994, 1997; Lutz and Lovell 1990).

Maya territories were divided and rearranged into colonial administrative units in order to facilitate Spanish imperial objectives, foremost of which was the centralization of human resources in order to provide labour and tribute. Under the policy of *congregación*, villages and hamlets were consolidated, leading to the forced resettlement of Maya populations into concentrated, church-dominated centres known as *pueblos de indios*. Laws were then established requiring *pueblos de indios* to furnish goods and services and to make available up to one-quarter of their male labour force for low-paid work outside their communities, for as often as twelve weeks per year (Lovell 1988, 1990; Lutz and

Lovell 1990). These *encomiendas*, *repartimientos*, and the new living arrangements they were an integral part of severely disrupted long-established patterns of Maya culture.

Spanish exploitation of Maya labour and resources, however, proved to be an irregular source of wealth, due to demographic decline and constant native flight from the oppression of life in *pueblos de indios*. Thus while Mayas were forced to adapt to all sorts of Spanish cultural practices, including Christianity, the forward motion of conquest always encountered some form of resistance. This was particularly the case in the mountain region in which Patzulá is situated, the Sierra de Chuacús, and in the Sierra de los Cuchumatanes farther north (Lutz and Lovell 1990). Whether the Maya in these areas were exceptionally resistant or whether the isolation of the northwest highlands was perceived as less economically and ecologically attractive, the presence of the conqueror was not so noticeable. Cultural and biological assimilation in these parts, therefore, was minimized, with the native population stabilizing and eventually increasing in number. In addition, Indian communities held on to much of their land and the age-old ways of their ancestors, among which the retention of Maya languages was perhaps the most crucial.

Early Independence (1821-1871)

Although less dramatic, early independence marked a period of continued change in rural Maya communities directly attributed to state practices. Increased tensions between top peninsular Spanish officials and Creoles, persons of Spanish descent born in the New World, ultimately led to Guatemalan independence from Spain in 1821 (Lovell 1988; McCreery 1990; Smith 1990a). In the immediate post-independence years, Guatemalan national politics were controlled by the capital city elite of the colonial period. Liberal

programs in the 1820s and 1830s, under the leadership of Mariano Gálvez, began legislating reforms that included revamping the legal system to abolish protectionist mechanisms, the suppression of the power of the Church, direct taxation, and the promotion of private purchases of public and communal lands (McCreery 1983; Smith 1993, 1990a; Woodward 1990). Although these reforms were believed by the Creoles who advocated them to benefit indigenous peoples by exposing them to modern ideas and influences, most Maya communities lacked the resources, education, and political savvy to know how to function in this new world order.

Tampering with the colonial order of things, coupled with the perception that the Liberals were somehow responsible for the cholera epidemic of the 1830s, led to a massive popular uprising by Rafael Carrera in 1835. Despite claims that Carrera represented only the interests of the merchant elite of Guatemala City (see McCreery 1983), this dictator of peasant origin was actually viewed at the time as a promoter of rural Maya interests of the time because of his conservative bent to preserve the old colonial order.

Carrera's Conservatives, by reestablishing certain colonial practices and institutions, hoped to guarantee socio-political stability. Most importantly, Carrera reversed Galvez's assimilationist plans, arguing for paternalistic protection of the culturally, politically, and economically distinct Indians (Smith 1990a). Reinstating the Laws of the Indies as they applied to Maya populations, measures were taken which included the provision of interpreters in the courts, the creation of a *Junta Protectora de los Indios* (Indian Protection Council), and the appointment of a special land judge for Indian disputes

(McCreery 1994). Thus the rural Maya were provided with the means of retaining existing landholdings, and, hence, some of their traditional ways of life.

In spite of Carrera's socio-political conservatism, this era represents the beginning of profound national economic changes that gradually affected the rural Maya. The completion, in 1856, of a new and relatively inexpensive transportation axis, the Panama Railroad and connecting shipping lanes, along with favourable world market conditions and growing recognition that Guatemala was an ideal country in which to grow coffee, resulted in the crop emerging as an important export (McCreery 1983, 1994). Although at first minimal, wage opportunities for the rural Mayas on coffee plantations, combined with government-supported tribute and labour-draft reductions, began to change Maya communities in even the most remote regions. The development of a regional marketing system, local product specialization, and economic expansion were all direct by-products of native involvement in the emerging cash economy (Smith 1993). Significant class differentiation within indigenous communities started to develop, as some Mayas were drawn away from exclusively agricultural endeavours and began to earn money, while others did not. In time, Maya communities were to be radically altered, becoming internally divided and less cohesively resistant to future state depredations.

Early Plantation (1871-1944)

In response to growing rural Maya independence and restricted access to their labour on account of the protective paternalism of church and state, prosperous coffee growers began in the 1860s to lobby for change (McCreery 1983). Vicente Cerna, Carrera's successor, was ousted in the Liberal revolution of 1871, when it became obvious that he

was unwilling to meet demands for more labour, better roads, restricted credit, and wholesale trade. Profound and mostly negative social and economic changes within rural Maya communities during the early plantation Liberal era were a direct result of government-endorsed capitalistic expansion.

The new Liberal regime, inspired by an ideology of progress, positivism, social Darwinism, capitalism, and free trade, was clearly distinguished by its “quest for development,” a term historian David McCreery (1983:13) defines as “the acquisition, as rapidly as possible, of the readily apparent characteristics of modern, that is, North Atlantic, society.” Attempting to integrate Guatemala into the world economy, President Justo Rufino Barrios reversed Carrera’s policies and actively introduced policies aimed at moving Guatemala away from feudal agrarian traditions towards export-oriented capitalistic agriculture. The Barrios reforms, in short, encouraged the development of modern infrastructure and technology, particularly in relation to the plantation economy.

The Liberal government’s drive towards modernization, directly and indirectly, targeted the appropriation of Maya land as well as Maya labour. Liberal reforms demanded that communal land be subdivided among community inhabitants and privately titled. Maya communities were given the opportunity to do this, but lack of understanding and communication between them and policy implementors resulted in extensive tracts of land being transferred to enterprising Creoles and Ladinos more attuned to Liberal ways of thinking (Carmack 1990; Lovell 1988; McCreery 1994). Rapid land acquisition by non-Mayas was accelerated by the now widespread belief that Guatemala was destined by nature to become a “coffee republic.” The Liberal regime’s encouragement of domestic

and international investment, the latter particularly by German and Swiss interests, resulted in even greater loss of traditional Maya lands in order to create and maintain coffee as Guatemala's principal export. By the first decade of the twentieth century, Maya communities had lost about half of the lands they traditionally claimed during the colonial period (Smith 1993).

Liberal modernization policies also led to an assault on Maya labour. The need for intensive labour during the coffee harvest led the plantation oligarchy to exercise their control over the highly centralized state to ensure measures were taken to procure a steady supply of cheap workers (Lovell 1988; Smith 1993). In 1876, the state employed outright coercion through *mandamiento*, until debt peonage was legalized in 1894. In 1934, a less direct form of labour exploitation was established through the creation of vagrancy laws, which required all persons with less than a certain minimum amount of land to work as wage laborers for big landowners.

The appropriation of Maya land and labour, in addition to government-sanctioned initiatives such as inviting the American-owned United Fruit Company to set up banana operations, led to diminishing agricultural self-sufficiency in Maya communities. Increased poverty, argues McCreery (1994), soon followed, as did a steady deterioration in the quality of rural life.

The Democratic Decade (1944-1954)

The ten years between 1944 and 1954 marked an era of continued change for the rural Maya, most of which, according to Handy (1994), may be considered positive. In 1945, a democratically elected government took power, led by Juan José Arévalo. Under Arévalo,

the government helped establish the first rural cooperatives, carried out improvements to the educational system, promoted Maya languages, enforced work codes, abolished forced labour laws, legalized unions, and encouraged rural labour movements (Lovell 1988; Simon 1987; Wearne 1994). Various political parties were also created, local and national offices were made elective, and political parties extended to Maya municipalities and rural villages (McIntosh 1974; Wearne 1994). Then, in 1952, after Arévalo had handed over the presidency to Jacobo Arbenz Guzmán following another democratic election, an Agrarian Reform Law was passed. This law allowed for the expropriation of unused and under-utilized land owned by massive estates, in the hope of stimulating a more productive and equitable agricultural system. Compensation to land owners was procured in the form of agrarian bonds, determined by the declared tax value of the property expropriated.

During this time, Wearne (1994:15) tells us, “one hundred thousand families received land, many rural Maya won control of their own towns and villages for the first time, and labour organisations brought enhanced bargaining power.” Most importantly, the reforms of Arévalo and Arbenz convinced many Mayas that social change was possible -- Davis and Hodson (1982) say it heralded a “rural awakening” -- which ultimately laid the foundation for all sorts of community initiatives in the 1960s and 1970s.

Despite social and political reforms, however, the Arévalo-Arbenz era did not represent radical reform and change to the national economic system. As Adams (1990) explains, no national plans were made to abolish the capitalistic system, which was merely stabilized through a free wage system, as market forces, rather than the state, supplied labour to the plantations. As their numbers, from the 1940s on, began to increase in size

dramatically, rural Maya became more and more dependent on seasonal migration to plantations in order to obtain money to make ends meet. The cycle of increasing poverty within the rural Maya communities was thus maintained (Smith 1990b, 1993). The Arevalo-Arbenz era may therefore be regarded as a period of both negative and positive changes within Maya communities.

Pre-Civil War (1954-1978)

In June 1954, Arbenz and his democratically elected government was overthrown by Colonel Carlos Castillo Armas and other disaffected ex-military officials. Castillo Armas was not only supported internally by members of the national armed forces and Guatemalan elite but also by the US Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), which sought to preserve American business interests in Guatemala and to halt what it perceived, under Arbenz, as the spread of communism.

In addition to re-instated military authority, new Guatemalan economic policies, clearly laid out in a scheme proposed by the *Consejo Nacional de Planificación Económica*, were implemented. As designed by the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD), Guatemala's *Blueprint for a New Life* called for a five-year neo-liberal development plan (1955-60) based on First World ideology and world view -- a unified global capitalist economy regulated only by private institutions (CNPE 1957). Facilitated by 550 million *quetzales* in foreign investment -- the Guatemalan *quetzal* was at that time on par with the US dollar -- the national government began focusing primarily on the creation of conditions conducive to private enterprise. Government meddling in other areas of economic activity was deemed unnecessary and thus minimized.

Two decades later, the negative effects of these government policies, particularly on the rural Maya, were clearly revealed in a study conducted by the US Agency for International Development (AID 1979), which indicated both ethnic economic disparities and the increasing real rural Maya poverty status by 1977 (see Table 7.1).

Table 7.1 Guatemalan Poverty Chart: 1977

STRATA	Urban and Rural Families		Urban Families (Ladino)		Rural Families (Maya)	
	Average Income (\$US)	%	Average Income (\$US)	%	Average Income (\$US)	%
Lowest	35.40	13.6	--	--	35.40	20
Low	59.80	27.3	--	--	59.80	40
Medium Low	117.70	26.7	124.50	20	101.40	30
Medium	197.90	13.2	197.20	20	199.20	10
Med. High	307.60	9.6	410.20	30	--	--
High	975.90	6.4	975.90	20	--	--
Highest	2,597.20	3.2	2,597.20	10	--	--
	250.80	100.0	611.60	100	81.30	100

Source: General Secretariat of the National Economic Planning Council, Projects Unit, October 1977, cited in AID (1979)

This table reveals that the average Maya income in 1977 was \$81.30 (US), a striking comparison to the average Ladino income of \$611.60 (US). This table also illustrates how the majority of Guatemalans in the higher income brackets are Ladino, while the majority of Guatemalans in the lower income bracket are Maya.

Furthermore, with a rural employment rate of only 42 percent, and a national average of arable and potentially arable land at only .41 hectares per rural person, more rural Maya males were economically compelled to sign up as agricultural workers, earning less than US \$1.00 a day (AID 1979).

Davis and Hodson's (1982) study reveals that landholding disparities had also increased, that more and more Maya families were forced to scrape an existence off their tiny plots (see Table 7.2).

Table 7.2 Landholdings in Guatemala

Size of Farm Units -hectares	No. of Farms	Percent	Surface - hectares	Percent
Less than 0.69	250,918	41.1	60,871.1	1.5
0.69 to 6.99	296,654	48.7	608,083.2	14.7
7.00 to 45.00	49,137	8.0	774,974.3	18.4
45.01 to 902.00	13,158	2.1	1,793,618.6	42.7
More than 902.00	477	0.1	955,921.6	22.7
Total	610,344	100	4,193,468.8	100

Source: Davis and Hodson (1982: 45)

In addition to the economic indicators of the time, comparative health and education statistics between Ladinos and rural Mayas in the 1970s illustrate increased absolute and relative poverty for the Maya. The average life expectancy for Ladinos by the 1970s was 54.3 years, while the life expectancy rate for Mayas was 49.9 years. Similarly, child mortality rates for the Maya were almost twice those of Ladinos. Comparative and absolute education statistics also reveal that, by 1973, only 34 percent of primary school-age children in rural areas attended school, while 70 percent of the school age children in urban areas attended school. Moreover, the average age of a Grade Three Maya student in a rural area was twelve, meaning that it normally took five years for a Maya student to complete the first three grades of schooling successfully (AID 1979).

Although the international community's support of the Guatemalan government's economic and social policies may be seen as misplaced and detrimental to the rural Maya, other forms of international support may be viewed as having long-term positive effects.

After the overthrow of Arbenz, Archbishop Rossell y Arellano was given permission to initiate a rural development program known as *Acción Católica*, "Catholic Action." Catholic Action was a lay religious movement designed to re-establish Catholic orthodoxy and prevent local revolutionary activity in rural areas, as well as to deter the spread of Protestant evangelism. Spanish priests belonging to the Order of the Sacred Heart were invited to El Quiché; Spanish Carmelites and Italian Franciscans were invited to Sololá; and American Maryknoll missionaries were invited to Huehuetenango (Adams 1970). Rather than reaffirming the status quo, however, the arrival of these enlightened foreign clergy marked a historic turning point in the relationship between Maya communities and the state.

Besides attending to spiritual needs, priests soon became involved in the social and economic affairs of their Maya parishioners. A rapidly increasing population, combined with rising land values following the boom in commodity prices, had forced the rural Maya to look for ways to remain sustainable on their ever-decreasing plots. Thus, aside from religious service, missionaries became involved in agricultural training, literacy classes, health issues, and basic education. Most important of all, priests and nuns encouraged the development of agricultural, consumer, and credit cooperatives (Davis and Hodson 1982; Lovell 1988; FUNCEDE 1995).

After the demise of Arbenz, the arrival on the political scene of the Christian Democratic Party, the *Partido Democracia Cristiana de Guatemala* (DCG), in many ways bolstered the work of the Catholic Action movement. The DCG was first established as a bulwark against communism, providing a middle ground between the

leaders of the 1954 coup, the right-wing National Democratic Movement (MDN), and the communist Guatemalan Workers Party (PGT). By 1964, however, the DCG also began to embrace a more progressive “developmentalist” position and slowly increased its support in rural Maya areas. Similar to the Catholic Action movement, the DCG encouraged cooperatives and Christian-oriented trade unions, managing to secure international funds from institutions like AID and the US Peace Corps (Wearne 1994).

By 1967, 145 different cooperative associations could count on the participation of 27,000 members; by 1975, 500 associations were supported by 32,000 family representatives. These internationally funded local movements had a major impact not only on Maya political attitudes but also on agricultural techniques, marketing strategies, and community self-confidence, particularly in the western and central highlands where the majority of cooperatives and credit associates were located (Davis and Hodson 1982; Lovell 1988; Wearne 1994).

With the help of these institutions, the rural Maya began investing their plantation wages in local ventures such as trading and land improvement, eventually creating viable alternatives to seasonal migration (Lovell 1988; Smith 1993). The cooperatives, Arias (1990) notes, also provided new avenues of credit and savings. In addition, Wearne (1994) reports, chemical fertilizers were introduced, increasing yields and allowing diversification into cash crops which enabled some villages to develop better paid specialized industries. During this time, nearly \$54 million in US AID disbursements were sent to Guatemala, most of which funded the rural development movement and helped it to blossom (Davis 1983; Davis and Hodson 1982).

Crucial in all this was the process of *concientización*, or “consciousness raising.” Stimulated by the efforts and example of international missionaries, teachers, and health workers, and by Maya leaders themselves promoting awareness of human rights and economic justice, poor people in the Guatemalan countryside increasingly became aware of their abysmal quality of life and began to press for change (Arias 1990; Wearne 1994). *Concientización*, coupled with growing self-assurance and greater understanding of the world through radio broadcasts and ease of travel, marked what could have been an era of real rural power relative to the state.

Though indirect, the development of these cooperatives, enhanced by international support, also had some detrimental effects on Maya communities. First, the decision made by Maya individuals to join cooperatives affected the internal structure of their communities. Though many rural Mayas did join cooperatives and link up with Catholic Action, other more conservative Mayas refrained from joining or aligned themselves with the Protestant evangelical camp (Wearne 1994). Conflict soon arose within communities. By giving young Mayas educational, monetary, and organizational powers through their involvement in Catholic Action *directivas* (councils), the power of traditional Maya religious leaders and political elders was challenged and irreparably disrupted (Sem Gutiérrez 1996; Walters 1996). Smith (1993) also notes how the growing entrepreneurial class, comprised of traders and petty commodity producers backed by international support, also disrupted power relations and increased tensions within Maya communities.

Second, and most importantly, as Maya communities became more self-sufficient, seasonal migration to plantation areas started to decline. Tensions were exacerbated by the

1976 earthquake, which prompted rural Mayas to stay in the highlands and focus on rebuilding their communities rather than migrate to work on coastal plantations. Matters reached a breaking point when cooperatives solicited, and obtained, reconstruction assistance directly from international agencies, thus usurping the traditional power of the government and the elite ruling class to organize, manipulate, and profit from such measures. The stage was then set for a major confrontation between Maya and state interests.

Civil War (1978-84)

By 1978, hitherto random, periodic attacks by the state security forces on people whose actions and beliefs were viewed as subversive -- foreign missionaries, Catholic Action leaders, and radicalized Catholic Action members of the newly formed *Liga Campesina* (Peasant Group) -- became more systematic and generalized. Traditional landowning elites, more powerful than ever after the commodity boom of the 1960s and 1970s, were determined to block Maya community enterprises from obstructing national capitalist development (Williams 1986). On May 29, 1978, the Guatemalan army opened fire on more than one hundred Kekchí Indians during a peaceful protest in Panzos over the government issue of exploration permits on Maya land. By perpetrating what has since been referred to as the Panzos massacre, Guatemala's military government, supporting the interests of an elite few at the expense of an impoverished majority, and backed by an American-trained and American-equipped national army, essentially declared war on its own people, especially its Maya peoples.

Counterinsurgency attacks against perceived “communist threats” under the regimes of General Romeo Lucas García, General Efraín Ríos Montt, and General Oscar Mejía Victores focused mainly on rural communities in the highlands to the north and west of Guatemala City. The army targeted those areas where Maya political organizations were most developed, where self-help groups and cooperatives were numerous, and where outside assistance and influence was strongest (Davis and Hodson 1982; Smith 1993). One foreign missionary working in Guatemala at the time provides the following testimony:

The Mayan Indians were just beginning to make improvements in their lives. They were organizing groups to use economic power in the same ways that people of any free nation are able to do. Then the war began, and they discovered that to improve their lives, to organize into groups and establish better commercial networks, are actions which are punishable by torture and death (Davis and Hodson 1982:6).

Particularly at risk were people involved in leadership training, religious movements like Catholic Action, and health promoters. The year preceding the Panzos massacre, sixty-eight cooperative leaders were killed in the Ixcán region, forty in Chajul, twenty-eight in Cotzal, and thirty-two in Nebaj (Davis and Hodson 1982). Hundreds of thousands of other innocent people, children and elders among them, were killed in the years of terror that followed. One village teacher, an aid worker recalls, was “shot and killed on the school grounds in front of all the children” (Davis and Hodson 1982:9). My husband and I tried not to think of an incident such as this when we were teaching in Patzulá, having been assured by the community leader that he would watch out for us, and warn us of any suspicious activities by either the guerrillas or the army.

By 1980, nearly half of all rural development programs, primarily those of Catholic Action, had been either substantially reduced or terminated. One aid worker describes the situation thus:

Our organization was unable to continue working in Guatemala once the pattern of violence became clear and relevant to us. We could no longer put local people into positions of leadership and responsibility because they ran a high risk of being killed. The government informers (*orejas*) compiled a death list of the leaders, teachers, the educated, and the most successful farmers and merchants in each village. These were the people with whom we worked. We could not, in good conscience, continue to jeopardize them by continuing our development programs (Davis and Hodson 1982: 16).

The years of violence are well documented by various sources, among them Payeras (1983), CSARC (1983), Menchú (1984, 1995), Jonas, McCaughan, and Martinez (1984), Simon (1987), Montejo (1987), Carmack (1988), Anderson and Garlock (1988), Manz (1988), Smith-Ayala (1991), Hooks (1993), Stoll (1993), Harbury (1994), Falla (1994), and Lovell (1995). Details include accounts of the burning and looting of more than 440 Maya communities, the destruction of property and belongings, the killing of livestock, and setting fire to fields where crops grew. By 1985, an estimated 150,000 Maya had been killed, another 35,000 to 40,000 "disappeared", over 200,000 children orphaned, thousands of women raped, and countless other people physically and mentally tortured. The slaughter of non-partisan, defenseless people in the name of "anti-communism" makes little objective sense when so few Maya knew or understood, let alone agreed with, Marxist principles (Lovell 1988). Many commentators have thus been moved to conclude that the war represented not just a fight against "communism" but a deliberate program of

ethnic or racial “cleansing,” that it was as much a pretext to destroy Maya populations as to protect the economic and political *status quo* (Menchú 1984, 1995; Warren 1993).

Of the one million people the Catholic Church reports to have been internally displaced in the early 1980s, many sought refuge in the forests and mountains surrounding their communities, wandering for days and months searching for shelter and food. Besides Encarnación, José, and Pedro (see Part One), I once spoke about this with two other people from Patzulá. Petrona Ordóñez, a fifty-five-year-old widow, had this to say:

We had to leave our houses and sleep in the forest under the trees; if we didn't go the military would kill us. We left the houses to hide when we heard the military coming. The little ones were the first to run and hide, us last. We feared that they had come to kill the children, old people, and the women. This went on for three years. The last time, when they burned our house, corn, and belongings, we went to live for good higher up in the mountains.

Miguel Alonzo, a sixty-year-old, told me:

When the military came we ran in all directions. They killed our animals, burned our furniture, the roof of our house, our clothing, even our documents to the land. They also killed people. I ran because I did not want to be killed. They came many times and I had to run rapidly, criss-crossing through the trees so the bullets would not hit me. We hid in the forest and it was hard; but I did not want to die.

Some people also successfully eluded state repression by forming self-sustaining, clandestine communities, the so-called Communities of Popular Resistance (CPR). In addition, many people fled to Guatemala City, as did Pedro Lares Hernandez (see Chapter Three), abandoning their traditional clothing and language in order to “ladinoize” and stay alive. Some even fled beyond Guatemala's borders, at least 150,000 to Mexico, 7,700 to other Central American countries, and well in excess of 200,000 to the United States and

Canada, where today between 800,000 and 1.2 million Guatemalans are thought to reside (Jonas 1996, Warren 1993; Nolin Hanlon 1995).

Others reacted in a more overt fashion, joined the guerrillas, left for the mountains, and fought back with arms. Tomás, a former member of the *Ejército Guerrillero de Los Pobres* (EGP), the Army of the Poor, once told me:

I felt it was time to stop lifetime after lifetime of manipulation and exploitation. The army's mass killing of my people was the last straw. I fought for what was right -- freedom, equitable land and salary distribution, free medicine, and the same food for all.

After the burning of the Spanish embassy, occupied peacefully by members of the *Comité de Unidad Campesina* (CUC) in 1980, it is estimated that between 250,000 and 500,000 rural Maya from the highlands joined one of the four guerrilla factions operating in the country (Arias 1990:255). In addition to the EGP, these groups included the *Organización Revolucionaria del Pueblo en Armas* (ORPA), The Organization of People in Arms; the *Fuerzas Armadas Rebeldes* (FAR), The Rebel Armed Forces; and the *Partido Guatemalteco de Trabajadores* (PGT), the Guatemalan Workers' Party, all of which together eventually formed the umbrella movement known as the *Unidad Revolucionaria Nacional Guatemalteca* (URNG), the Guatemalan National Revolutionary Union.

To combat opposition, the army began initiating its own "development and security" plans to neutralize guerrilla strategies and "stabilize" rural populations. These included the creation of civil defense patrols, known by their Spanish acronym as PACs, "model" villages, and President General Ríos Montt's "civic action" programs, all of which represented, even by Guatemalan standards, an extreme militarization of civil society.

Civil defense patrols were established by the army in 1982, compelling male villagers between the ages of eighteen and sixty to patrol the countryside and locate and destroy guerrilla forces (Lovell 1988; Warren 1993; Perera 1993). Repeated indoctrination and psychological manipulation, Jonas (1988) points out, convinced many Maya that they were participating on the “right” side. Civil advisors, trained in both psychology and local dialects, were used to teach the rural Maya the army’s “interpretation” of the origins of their poverty and why it was so important to kill the guerrillas before they destroyed what little the villagers had (Pérez 1996).

In order to ensure that participation in the patrols continued and that social control was maintained, informers were hired (Manz 1988). Maya community solidarity was thus eroded, fear augmented, and distrust among villagers enhanced. Increased starvation also occurred within the communities as men were forced to neglect fields during civil defense duties (Lovell 1988; Wearne and Calvert 1989; Handy 1992; Wearne 1994).

In addition to organizing civil defense patrols, “suspect” communities were resettled and regrouped into 33 “model” villages, effectively cutting vital food, shelter, and moral links between the guerrillas and rural Maya inhabitants (Wearne and Calvert 1989; Warren 1993; Wearne 1994; Wilson 1995). In these model villages, every aspect of life was controlled by vigilant government troops (Manz 1988). Mobility was restricted and thought was manipulated through education programs aimed at political and national ideological indoctrination. Traditional rural Maya culture was further disrupted as the Maya were also forced to live in nucleated clusters, often living some distance from their crops and animals.

Militarized zones were also increased and Inter-Institutional Coordinator Councils (IICS) created, giving the commander of each military zone full authority over all development programs. The army, in essence, viewed development and counterinsurgency as inseparable, and so even government development institutions were subordinated to army councils (Jonas 1988; Wearne 1994). Despite the false promise that these institutions included "community participation," by 1984 Maya civil authorities had in effect been rendered powerless.

This system of community monitoring was reinforced by the work of S-5, the army division of Civilian Affairs and Community Development, and the much feared G2, a military intelligence network concerned with "civic action" (Wearne 1994). Ríos Montt's "civic action" programs tied development and security issues together under the banners *frijoles y fusiles*, "beans and rifles," and *techo, trabajo y tortilla*, "roof, work, and food." The message was abundantly clear: "comply and be fed, equivocate and be killed" (Lovell 1995:60). The suppression of development programs and international relief projects, along with the profound militarization of civil society, was thus an attempt on the military's part to bring to an end the rural awakening of which many Mayas had been a part.

Civilian Rule (1985-1995)

The return to civilian rule, so Jonas (1988) and Manz (1988) claim, was arranged by the military to appease international criticism of Guatemala's appalling human rights record and to obtain foreign aid. It is difficult to dispute this claim for, despite the rhetoric, civilian presidents from Vinicio Cerezo Arévalo to Ramiro de León Carpio were unable to

take power away from the military (Jonas 1988; Perera 1993; Lovell 1995). This period of protracted maintenance of the military state can also be marked as an era of continued negative change in rural Maya communities, directly attributed to Guatemalan state policies.

Militarization of rural Maya areas was maintained, despite cessation demands by Maya unions and groups. PACs, for instance, were simply renamed “voluntary” civil defense patrols (Handy 1992). More overtly, continued military power was seen in the escalation of Maya human rights violations, even during the presidency of former human rights ombudsman De León Carpio. Assassinations and attacks of prominent leaders of various Maya groups and popular organizations continued, as well as assaults on returning Maya refugees (Van Lier 1997). The assassination in 1990 of anthropologist Myrna Mack Chang, who worked among Maya groups in zones of conflict, and the massacre of Maya refugee returnees at Xamán in 1995 are but two examples among many of repression continuing through the first half of the 1990s.

Rural Maya poverty also continued, indeed deepened, in the 1990s, due to government economic and health policies. From 1980 to 1990, as indigenous needs increased as a result of the violence, the state cut all sorts of social programs even as it was advancing some in the wake of its military victory over the guerrillas; Guatemala in the early 1990s ranked as the world’s fifth lowest country according to social program expenditure in relation to GDP (Wearne 1994), with a UN study revealing that 85 percent of Guatemalans live in poverty, 70 percent of them in a state of want described as extreme. Not even the renewed migration of between 500,000 and 700,000 men, women, and

children as seasonal plantation workers could alleviate the overall situation of chronic Maya poverty.

Rural poverty is also reflected in health statistics published in the early 1990s. As Wearne (1994:12) notes, by the 1990s life expectancy for Ladinos had risen to sixty-four years. However, for rural Mayas it had actually decreased to forty-seven years, a full seventeen years lower than the figure for Ladinos. Despite the national reduction in child mortality (under five) from 128 per 1,000 in 1980 to 102 per 1,000 in 1990, in rural Maya areas, child mortality remained well over 100 per 1,000. In addition, although the national malnutrition rate for children by the early 1990s was noted at 37 percent, rural medical vaccination workers stated that 76 percent of the Maya children in rural areas were malnourished, 41 percent severely so. These statistics are not surprising, considering continued biased government expenditure in the early 1990s, which privileged urban, largely Ladino centres, as illustrated in Table 7.3. This system of social allocation is especially skewed when one remembers that over 60 percent of Guatemala's population, primarily Maya, continues to live in rural areas.

Table 7.3 Rural/Urban Government Health System Biases

Item	Rural	Urban
Access to running water	42.6%	91.8%
Total health resources	30%	70% (Guatemala City)
Doctors	20%	80%
Nurses	44%	66%

Source: Adapted from Wearne (1994)

Throughout this period, lack of land for rural Mayas also continued to be a major problem, despite government promises to improve the situation. Eighty percent of

Guatemalan farm holdings, mainly Maya, utilize only ten percent of the land, while two percent of farm holdings, the largest ones, continue to take up over 67 percent of the arable land (Perera 1993). Land reforms were hampered due to lack of credit and technical assistance, despite efforts such as those led by Andres Girón to acquire land for the rural poor (Jonas 1988). Without government land reform programs and with a population growth rate of 3.2 percent, Stoll (1993) points out, pressure on the land in rural communities increased further, as plots were rapidly subdivided to accommodate an increasing number of heirs.

Government education policies are also discriminatory, neglecting rural Maya needs and affecting the quality of life in Maya communities considerably. By widening the education gap between rural Mayas and urban Ladinos, the former's chances of becoming important players in national political, economic, and social life are further reduced. The comparative education levels shown in Table 7.4 provide information about disparities in the early 1990s.

Table 7.4 Comparative Maya/Ladino Education Levels

	Education Level			
	Achieved (%)		Not Achieved (%)	
	Maya	Ladino	Maya	Ladino
Kindergarten	25.24	27.71	74.76	72.29
Primary	33.05	74.03	66.95	25.97
Medium	6.80	26.70	92.20	73.30
Superior	.86	8.85	99.14	91.15
Literate	30	70	70	30

Source: Alfredo Tay Coyoy, *Análisis de la situación de la educación en Guatemala*, cited in PRODEN (1995).

SEGEPLAN's (1992) report also indicates that it took double the time for rural Maya students to complete their grades; urban students completed six grades in seven years, while rural students took fifteen years to complete them.

Low levels of Maya attendance and achievement at school can also be attributed to a number of other policy factors. First, during an interview with the Regional Supervisor of Education in Huehuetenango and El Quiché, it was explained to me that national policy objectives dictated that rural schools were only built and staffed every four kilometres, regardless of impassable rivers or mountains. Second, even when schools were established, a number of other obstacles prevented Maya children from achieving appropriate levels of education. Mayas often could not attend because school hours interfered with the timing of daily chores and migratory patterns, the financial burden of buying books and uniforms was too high, the language of instruction (Spanish) was not understood by many, and the curriculum (entirely urban-oriented) was largely incomprehensible and irrelevant.

Through a new national education policy, PRONEBI (National Bilingual Education Program), bilingual education increased from 1.1 percent to 3.6 percent in 1992 (SEGEPLAN 1992). However, this still did not meet the demand of 50 percent bilingual education, especially in high monolingual areas like Alta Verapaz (95%), Sololá (85%), Totonicapán (85%), San Marcos (80%), El Quiché (80%), and Huehuetenango (85%) (SEGEPLAN 1992). Hence, it is not surprising that in Huehuetenango and El Quiché, comprised largely of non-Spanish-speaking Maya peoples, only fifteen percent of Maya students obtained a Grade Six level education in 1994 (PRODEN 1995).

Throughout this period, the international community's support of these detrimental military, economic, social, and educational state policies was limited. However, the international community did minimally support newly formed Maya groups such as the Council of Ethnic Communities Runujel Junam, CERJ, which advocated democracy, justice, and dignity for Mayas, and CONAVIGUA, the National Co-ordination for Widows of the Violence (Wearne 1994; Torres 1995). The refugee return process was also supported internationally by the Permanent Commission of Representative of Guatemalan Refugees (CCPP), assisting in the return of approximately 3,700 refugees by 1994 (ICCHRLA 1995; Nolin Hanlon 1996).

Peace and Development at Last?

Since 1995, the collective power of Maya peoples in Guatemala has been increasing gradually in relation to the state, as reflected in the effects that both the Maya nationalist movement¹ and the Maya popular movement² are having on cultural politics. With the signing of a "firm and lasting" peace accord on December 29, 1996 that ended thirty-six years of civil war -- see Appendix 4 for a chronology of the peace process -- some Maya demands, such as the demobilization of civil defense patrols, are finally being met. Rural Mayas are gaining strength, courage, and some economic support to help combat previous state policies.

¹ Represented mainly by literate students and intellectuals, community based professionals, and members of local NGOs and cooperatives, this group is concerned mainly with the maintenance of traditional Maya customs, knowledge, and language (Smith 1991).

² Symbolized by Rigoberta Menchú, this group traditionally goes beyond concerns with Maya culture to the defense and promotion of Maya human rights, land disputes, class struggle, and resistance (Smith 1991).

Polarization between the more politically motivated Maya popular groups and the more culturally oriented Maya nationalist groups is diminishing on account of the mutual desire to forge a strong common voice. A new "rural awakening" may again be discerned. Signs of it are apparent everywhere, but I was able to record one particularly important manifestation of it when I interviewed a Maya woman called Mejía towards the end of my fieldwork. She told me that her recent work on Maya education, undertaken in association with Rigoberta Menchú and the foundation Rigoberta established in her murdered father's name, helped her plan and get started a Maya cultural association in Joyabaj, Maya Kat. Maya Kat is presently working on several projects, including youth and women's education and the creation, in Joyabaj, of a Maya owned and operated pharmacy.

Now that peace is said to prevail, I ask myself, will Mayas like Mejía be allowed to pursue the development options *they* know are best for them? Can they achieve their goals without incurring the wrath of the state, as was the tragic fate of those who enacted programs closely resembling "development from below" in the 1960s and 1970s? Might it one day be possible for the international community to redirect aid disbursements so that they actually are administered by the people who need them and are not siphoned-off or manipulated by central state authorities?

These are difficult, challenging questions, ones to which satisfactory answers are not always possible. Increasingly, the only response that makes any sense to me is to recall what I heard the people of Patzulá say again and again: "What choice do we have? Doing something is better than doing nothing." What they decided to do to improve their lot, and how they went about it, I turn to next.

PART FOUR

**THE ARTICULATION OF
DEVELOPMENT IN PATZULÁ**

Chapter Eight

Community Self-Assessment: Coming Up With Ideas

Despite the considerable antagonism that the state has shown, especially during the late 1970s and early 1980s, to Maya communities intent on forging their own development, my experience in Patzulá leads me to believe that, against all odds, the will to organize and work towards such ends is alive and well. The PRNA discussed in Chapter Six was designed to have the people of Patzulá articulate their own development needs and to look to each other for appropriate solutions. Here, after a summary of meeting arrangements, I report on what ideas they came up with.

In total, eighty-eight workshops and twenty-three interviews were conducted in Patzulá during the five-month period I acted as facilitator for the community's self-assessment of its needs. Prior to initiating the PRNA, the participants divided themselves into four age/gender groups. Young women between fifteen and twenty years of age met as the *Comité Ishkip*, the "Girl's Committee," while their elders, twenty-one or over, convened as *Mujeres Mayas*, "Maya Women." Young men between fifteen and twenty-two years of age met as the *Comité de Esperanza*, the "Committee of Hope," while their elders, twenty-three or over, convened as the *Comité de Hombres*, the "Men's Committee." Respectively, the attendance rates of each group were 45 percent, 58 percent, 23 percent, and 26 percent, which is to say that, on a regular basis, women were about twice as likely to attend meetings than men. Time expended with the four groups, during weekly or bimonthly analytic meetings, amounted to some 120 working hours in total (see Appendix 5).

During our workshops, conversations were translated from K'iche' into Spanish for me by my assistant. I later transcribed the tape recordings of these conversations, after which my assistant would read them over to verify that they reflected accurately the content of the original K'iche' discussion.

During the twenty-three workshops that each group undertook, many themes were discussed and elaborated upon. The following are synopses of the results from six of those workshops, concentrating on four topics; the environment, education, local economics, and health.

ENVIRONMENT I

During the first analytic workshop, I asked the four groups to draw a map of Patzulá. All but the *Comité de Esperanza* had considerable difficulty with this request. Having previously attended school, only the young boys had developed the conceptual tools necessary to envision and translate their entire surroundings onto a two-dimensional piece of paper. A few of the boys were also familiar with map symbols and legends, having taken geography classes with me the previous year. Although precise representation was not the focus of the workshop, Diagram 8.1, generated by the *Comité de Esperanza*, does in fact furnish a realistic sense of the community's layout, with the sole exception of relief and topography. Patzulá to the *Comité de Esperanza* looks something like this:

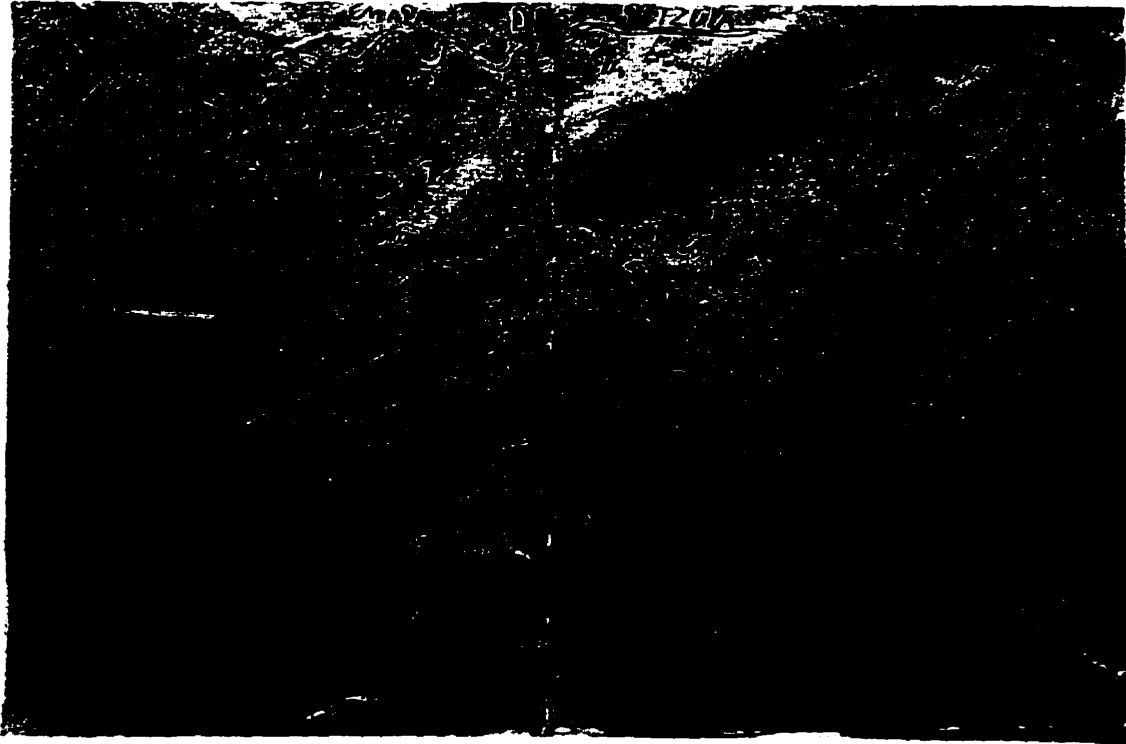


Diagram 8.1 Patzulá (According to the *Comité de Esperanza*)

As the *Mujeres Mayas* were overwhelmed at the prospect of providing an image of their community in its entirety, I suggested that they draw only their own dwellings and those of a few neighbours. This lowered their level of anxiety immediately and they got down to business. The *Mujeres Mayas* were also disposed to depicting Patzulá contextually, as illustrated in Diagram 8.2, which situates Patzulá in relation to its surrounding communities. The few literate women in the group delighted in being able to

write down on paper the names of the communities depicted. Patzulá to the *Mujeres Mayas* looks something like this:



Diagram 8.2 Patzulá and Surrounding Communities

The originals of the two maps shown above were then attached to the wall of the school room. The maps served to instigate discussions regarding the social and physical attributes of Patzulá as well as its immediate environs. Table 8.1, overpage, is the combined results of a discussion with all four groups, in which I asked participants what features or characteristics Patzulá did or did not possess.

Table 8.1 Features and Characteristics of Patzulá

We Have:	We Do Not Have:
<p>houses, community buildings a river the earth vegetables (a few people) trees a small football field a school beans family, neighbours horses, cows and pigs (a few people) chickens (the majority of the people) grass corn footpaths birds grenadine trees (a few people) apple and avocado trees (a few people) flowers</p>	<p>electricity drinking water water near the houses a health clinic a market outhouses public washing places a road a church a school kitchen a bridge an irrigation system</p>

The purpose of this discussion was to focus the groups' energies on what resources were available to them for community development and to help the participants begin to think about which of the things that they desired or "did not have" were really necessary and central to Patzulá's improvement. The following comments, made by the *Mujeres Mayas*, illustrate their insights into nature and the environment, insights that most aid institutions do not credit them with having:

The natural resources we need most are (1) water, which is much part of life that, without it, there is no life; (2) trees, without whose wood we could not cook our food; (3) soil, without which we could not cultivate our land; and (4) the sun, which gives light for us and the plants to live. Human threats to the environment include people who burn the trees, people from other communities who buy the rights to our water, and man-made insecticides and chemical fertilizers that poison and damage our earth. Environmental threats include harsh rains that ruin our new seeds, high winds that blow our crops over, hurricanes that ruin our plants completely, and frost which freezes both our plants and ourselves.

ENVIRONMENT II

During this workshop I asked all groups to step outside of the school room where we were meeting and, on the first horizontal space of their page, sketch the distant horizon and all they saw appearing on it. Diagram 8.3 (below) was made by the *Comité Ishkip*, and the environment as they saw it is readily apparent in the top horizontal space.



Diagram 8.3 Transect of Patzulá (According to the *Comité de Ishkip*)

I then asked each group to analyze the problems that they perceived in what they had sketched in the top space. I did not, as is suggested in traditional needs assessment methodologies, ask the participants to divide their paper into various vertical segments, categorizing each into agriculture, housing, people, soils, and so on. Without an imposed

western template, I was delighted to note that the participants were able to view and analyze their environment *as a whole*. The young girls' group had this to say about

Diagram 8.3:

We have a school, but there is only one teacher and he comes late most of the time. We have houses that are old and in bad repair. We have crops, but they are infested with worms. We have to buy corn from the outside world because we cannot grow enough to sustain ourselves throughout the year. We cannot grow enough corn because there is not enough flat ground to plant. We have fruit trees, but the birds eat the fruit in the trees and the dogs eat the fruit that falls to the earth, like avocados. The trees provide wood, but not enough. We have grass, but there is not enough for the cows to eat. Chickens and pigs, when they fall sick, usually die, because we cannot feed them. People also become sick because they do not eat properly and because they do not have vegetable gardens. Lack of clean drinking water only adds to these problems.

Most important in this workshop, as with all others, was trying to inspire the participants, in my role as facilitator, to visualize not only the problems of Patzulá but also the opportunities that lay before them, to encourage them to think in terms of "homegrown" solutions. Uninhibited by conventional answers or those that so-called "experts" purported, the young girls' committee examined the diagrams and determined solutions that would work well in Patzulá. The following are excerpts from their presentations, and include observations that can be identified in the third horizontal space of Diagram 8.3:

We can plant more trees so that later on there will be more wood and organic fertilizer from the leaves so that we do not have to buy as much chemical fertilizer. We can solicit various organizations for a health clinic and training for local health promoters so that there are fewer sick people. We can solicit another teacher so that the younger children can gain a proper formal education. We can improve agricultural techniques so that there is more corn for people and the chickens. We can [also] plant more grass so that there is more for the cows, and the cows will then give more milk for the people to drink. We can gather cow waste and collect it in one spot to make organic fertilizer. We can put up scarecrows so that the birds get scared and do not eat the fruit in the trees. We can start a garden.

As four groups, in essence, presented similar analyses. Their analyses, I would contend, are both insightful and practical, constituting a realistic, feasible starting point for any aid agency truly interested in enacting “development from below” by drawing upon concrete, local initiatives.

EDUCATION

Of all the workshops focusing on education, the one all four groups claimed was the most useful was the workshop in which they analyzed the formal educational system in Patzulá. At the beginning of this workshop I asked participants to draw what they thought were the main problems of the school. Diagram 8.4 below is an example provided by the *Comité de Hombres*.

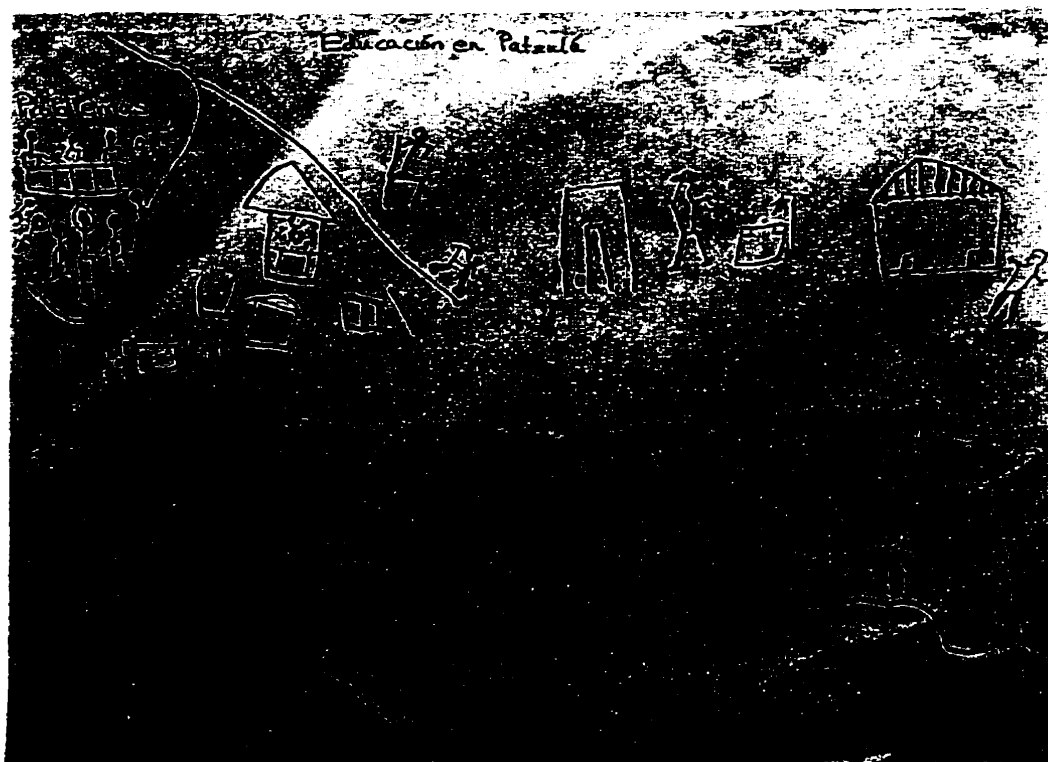


Diagram 8.4 Formal Education in Patzulá (According to the *Comité de Hombres*)

In the top horizontal section the “problems” of the school are represented. These include: lack of teachers, or one who is punctual and reliable; lack of furniture, books, pencils, outhouses, drinking water, sufficient classrooms, a school kitchen, and snacks at break time; and, finally, lack of a cement patio at the school entrance where the mud gets very deep during the rainy season. In Diagram 8.4 the students are shown sitting around in a circle, doing nothing, or playing football. They are waiting for the teacher to arrive, while the teacher is shown cycling around town, in Joyabaj, below Patzulá.

Again, the purpose of the workshop was for the participants to determine where their opportunities and solutions lie. As illustrated in the lower horizontal space in Diagram 8.4, among other things, the participants drew community members meeting with the Supervisor of Education in Joyabaj, asking for more teachers, and diagrams that represent the community’s joy at the prospect of training a community member as a teacher.

As formal education was seen to be such a pressing concern, the participants opted to discuss the matter in detail during one of the intermittent communal meetings. Table 8.2 is a summary of what the collected group, consisting of members of each of the four groups, discussed and focused attention on. Their analysis was later presented to Joyabaj’s School Board offices.

Table 8.2: Education in Patzulá

Education in Patzulá		
Problems	Opportunities	Justification
There is only one government teacher.	Solicit the Ministry of Education for three teachers.	There are 84 school-age children in Patzulá.
The state teacher does not come every day.	Have more communication with the municipal education supervisor. Obtain a list of when teacher reunions actually take place.	The state teacher only taught 11.5 days in the month of June 1996.
There is no school kitchen.	Solicit money to build a school kitchen and help with the construction.	The children need energy to study.

LOCAL ECONOMIC SYSTEM

To get this particular workshop going, I started by making an analogy with the human body. I explained how if one part of our body is chronically sick, the entire system will eventually shut down and we become seriously ill. I then explained that we could analyze their economic system, part by part, so that the entire system could then be discussed as a whole. I asked participants to draw, in a central square on their page, a diagram of their home. This image represented all things found in that house. I then requested that the participants draw, in the semi-circle on the left, all items that were brought into their homes from outside sources. The *Comité de Esperanza's* example, Diagram 8.5 below, was used to present all incoming items they either bought or bartered for: corn, sugar cane, beans, medicine, organic fertilizer, fabric to make clothes, men's clothes, soap, onions, tomatoes, potatoes, chickens, salt, chili, axes, and machetes.

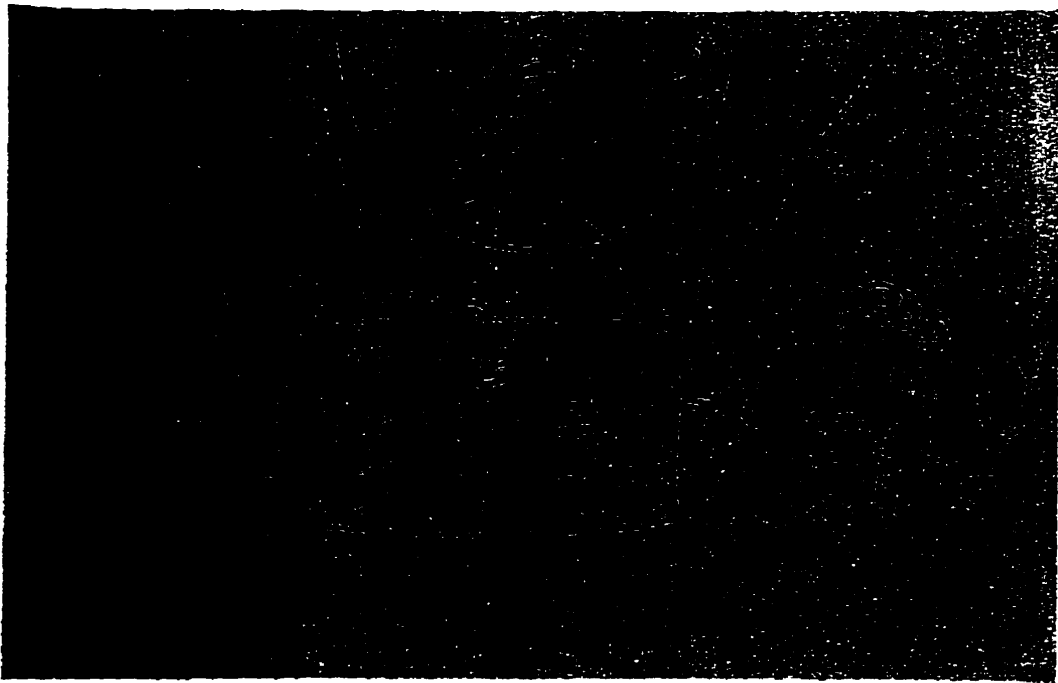


Diagram 8.5 Patzulá's Economic System (According to the *Comité de Esperanza*)

As the participants presented these diagrams, Pedro acted as a “human scale,” with participants placing various sized rocks in a bucket in his left hand to represent the cost of each incoming item. The same procedure was repeated with all items that were sold by the people of Patzulá, illustrated in the semi-circle on the right-hand side of Diagram 8.5. The *Comité de Esperanza* explained that they sold coffee, grenadines, apples, avocados, pigs, chickens, coriander, cheese, cows, and peaches to neighbours as well as at the bi-weekly market in Joyabaj. When questioned, they also remembered that they sold their labour -- that of men, women, and children -- for cash at the coast each year. During this stage Pedro began to “level out” a bit as rocks were placed in the bucket in his right hand to represent cash from outgoing commodities and services. At the end of the exercise, however, Pedro was still tilted decidedly to the left.

For the final task, I asked participants to draw diagrams representing all items that they produced for self-consumption, represented in the top semi-circle of Diagram 8.5. These items include corn, trees, beans, apples, sugar cane, eggs, chickens, coffee, and cheese. When I asked the young men what they saw happening in diagrams such as these, encouraging them to comment on the imbalanced manner in which Pedro was standing, they replied: “This system does not work very well. We earn very little from what we sell but when we buy things they are very expensive.” I then asked them what they could do to improve this system. They responded as follows:

We could make organic fertilizer in place of the chemical fertilizer we buy. But it never seems to be enough because there is not enough time to keep making it. We could make a garden and not buy the vegetables, but there never seems to be enough time. We could buy material and make our own clothes, if we had training.

This workshop, I confess, was not one of the most upbeat. I reminded the participants that more insight and ideas would come to them in the following months, and turned to a more generalized discussion. It was interesting for me to note that, though all agreed that it would be best to increase the number of items they produced for self-consumption, all were adamant that they should remain living and working in a market economy once described by anthropologist Sol Tax (1953) as driven by “penny capitalism.” Intrigued, I asked why. One participant’s plain response affected me deeply: “We too want a piece of the pie,” he said. “We too want to be rich. But most importantly, we want to put shoes on our children’s feet and provide medicine for them when they fall sick. To do this we need to be part of a cash system.” At this point I realized that it was my view that was naive and idealistic, for the people of Patzulá clearly realize that they are part of a larger economic context and simply want to improve their position *within* this system.

HEALTH I

I began each of the workshops on health by asking participants to draw the food they ate each day. I then asked them to draw the food they ate only every so often, each week or two, every six months or , at most, once a year. I then asked them to make a list of items they had never eaten but wanted to try. Diagram 8.6 and Table 8.3 overpage are what the *Comité de Hombres* came up with, with the table itemizing the four temporal/horizontal levels of the diagram.

Diagram 8.6 What We Eat in Patzulá (According to the *Comité de Hombres*)

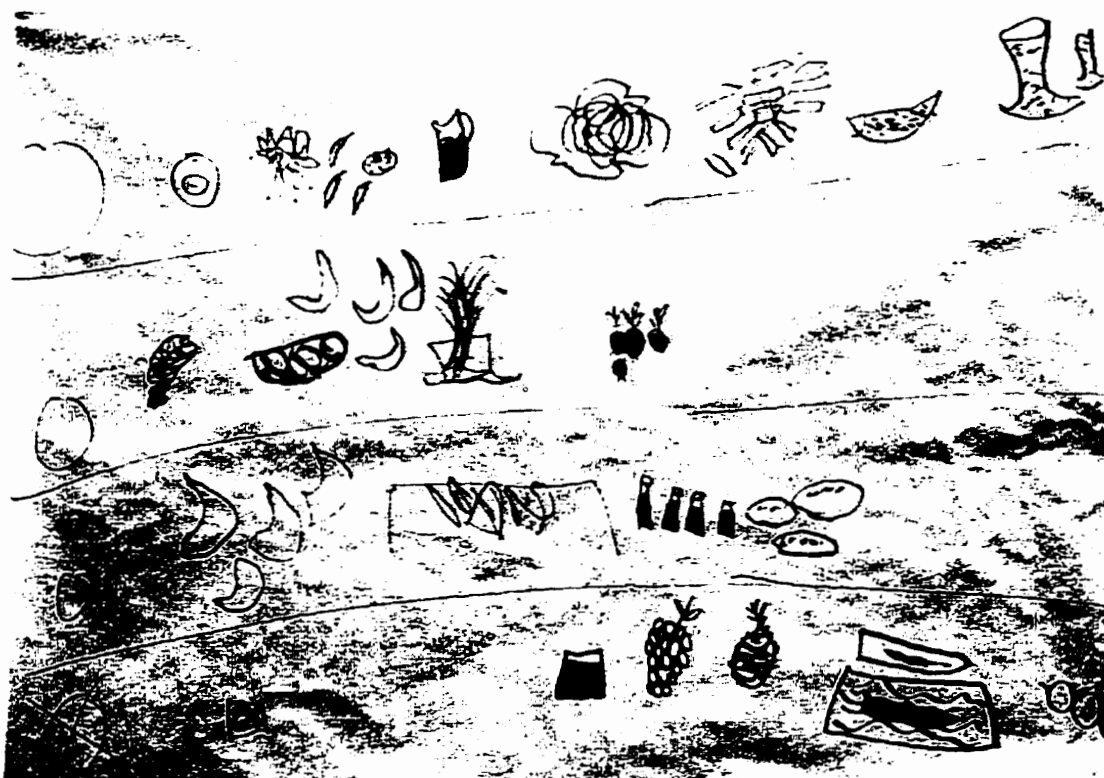


Table 8.3 What We Eat in Patzulá (According to the *Comité de Hombres*)

Each day	tortillas	wild herbs	chili	coffee	beans	salt	water
Week or two	cheese	rice	bananas*	potatoes	noodles	radishes	
Six months or year or so	meat chicken	sugar cane pork	beer	sodas	fish local alcohol**	porridge	
Never, but want to try	sardines hamburger	fruit juice in a can grapes		pineapple	Pollo Campero*** cake		

* and other fruit and vegetables in season: squash, peaches, apples, tomatoes, cabbage.

** on special occasions and as medicine.

*** the Guatemalan equivalent of Kentucky Fried Chicken.

After all the mini-groups in the *Comité de Hombres* had presented their diagrams, the following conversation ensued:

Erin: *What is missing in your diet?*

Man 1: Cheese.

Erin: *Why do you not eat cheese?*

Man 2: Most people do not have cows, so we must wait our turn to buy cheese from neighbours who do have cows.

Erin: *Why do so few people own cows?*

Man 1: Cows are very expensive. Sometimes when we buy a calf we must sell it quickly to cover other costs. For instance, now we must sell our cows because the chemical fertilizer is very expensive and so is corn. Our own corn supplies have run out.

Erin: *Do you know what foods give you energy and vitamins?*

Man 3: Radishes and carrots and rice drinks, but we do not always buy these.

Pedro: *Why do you not buy vegetables?*

Man 4: After we have bought extra corn and medicine, there is not enough money left over.

Erin: *Who here has a vegetable garden?*

Man 2: None of us. There is not enough time. We have too much work with the corn. Besides, what would happen if we plant vegetables and our corn crop has a bad year? Then we would have to buy more corn. It is better to plant more corn.

Erin: *Is it possible to save money to buy more food by using organic fertilizer instead of the expensive chemical fertilizer?*

Man 5: Manuel has already tried working two patches of land with organic fertilizer. Last year he did not get good results. This year, however, it is normal. Perhaps next year it will be even better.

Man 6: Urine is also good as a fertilizer. We save ours and it works well on the crops.

Erin: *Is there still space to plant more crops like vegetables?*

Man 3: Yes there is some, but we have not prepared it yet. Each year we must go to the coast to work on the coffee plantations, so we do not have much time.

I would recall this conversation periodically, especially after listening to colleagues working in development in the El Quiché region discuss how important it was to “teach these ignorant souls good nutrition and how to eat properly.” Many times I had to refrain

from laughing, or chastizing them in frustration. I could not help but feel that it was my colleagues who were ignorant, not the indigenous themselves, who opted for a minimally nutritious corn-based diet rather than starvation.

HEALTH II

During the second health workshop, we discussed the major illnesses prevalent in Patzulá. I began this workshop by asking participants to draw and present in sequence the major illnesses in the community, their perceived causes, and the treatments commonly used. Diagram 8.7 is an example from the workshop with the *Mujeres Mayas*, with a literal translation recorded below of their oral presentations. It is important to note that, as with the young women's workshop, the older women tended to speak only of men's and children's illnesses. Only at my bidding did the *Mujeres Mayas* focus on their own illnesses as well.

Diagram 8.7 Major Illnesses in Patzulá (According to *Mujeres Mayas*)

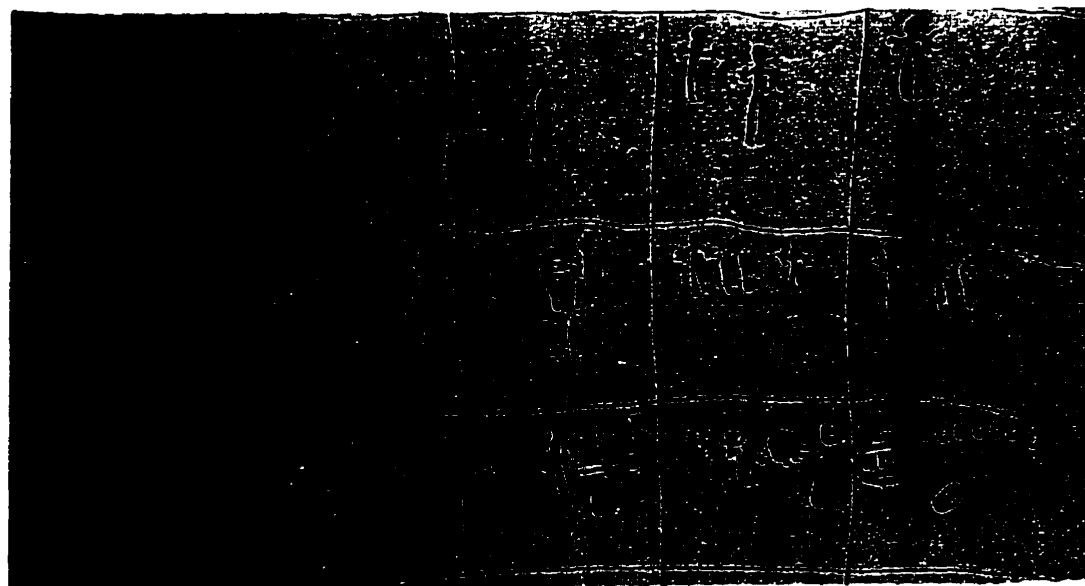


Table 8.4 Major Illnesses

<i>Las enfermedades</i> (Illnesses)	Children with spots, diarrhea, and vomiting	Pregnancy	Malnourished people	Menstruation: extreme weariness
<i>Las causas</i> (Causes)	Parasites: the mother does not have enough time to care for the children all the time and the children eat many things off the ground, play with animals, and play in dirty water. The children also lack personal hygiene.	When we are pregnant we are very delicate. This comes from too much work, the men not helping enough, not enough food, and the children coming so quickly that our bodies do not have enough time to recuperate.	Not enough nutritious food, a lot of work, no breaks.	We must still work hard when we have our period: up at 4:00 AM to carry water and grind the corn, then wash clothes, carry the lunch to the men in the fields, and so on. We also do not eat enough and are ignorant as to how to care for our bodies.
<i>Los tratamientos</i> (Treatments)	Garlic, a pill called <i>padrax</i> , herbs, and plants.	Pills and injections.	Chemical pills and natural plants.	Herbs.

After these sobering presentations the following conversation took place:

- Erin:** *Which do you use more, natural plants or chemical medicine?*
- Woman 1:** We use chemical medicine more.
- Erin:** *Why do you not use more of the natural plants that I am told grow in this area?*
- Woman 2:** We no longer have much knowledge about which plants are best.
- Erin:** *Do you know what type of medicine they are giving you in the pharmacy?*
- Woman 3:** No. We go to the pharmacy and ask. The pharmacist knows what we need.
- Erin:** *Do you have confidence in the pharmacy attendants?*
- Woman 4:** Yes we do. We go to the pharmacist who speaks K'iche'.
- Pedro:** *Do you ever go to the hospital?*
- Woman 5:** Sometimes. But they do not give us medicine and we must then go to the pharmacist and buy specific medicine which is usually very expensive.
- Woman 2:** When we go the doctor he does not ask us many questions and we do not understand him. He only writes and nothing else.
- Erin:** *Who gets sick the most?*
- Woman 6:** The children. Many die. Sometimes when they are born they are already dead because the mother is very delicate and does not have much food. Sometimes they die soon after they are born.
- Erin:** *What opportunities can you think of?*
- Woman 7:** We could solicit a person who knows things about health to tell us why the people here get so sick.
- Woman 8:** We could try and have someone in the community train in health so they could be responsible for the sick people in the community.
- Woman 7:** We could solicit a course on which plants are most curative so we did not have to buy the medicine.
- Woman 9:** We could have someone tell us how to prepare foods that have a lot of vitamins for energy.
- Woman 10:** We could solicit medicine and keep it in a safe place and look for one person to attend to the medicine.
- Pedro:** *Do you have any other thoughts?*
- Woman 11:** Sometimes we do not wash our hands and fruit before we eat. We should because they have micro-organisms.
- Woman 12:** We should boil our water for eight minutes. But this is very difficult at home when we do not have enough wood. And in the coffee plantations it is impossible to find pure water.

The anger and frustration I felt as I listened to this conversation repeat itself over and over in my head later that night was focused directly at those aid institutions in the Joyabaj

area that spend thousands of dollars on outhouses for the local people. Did they never listen to the very people they claimed to be helping?

Project Proposals

At the end of four and a half months, each group began working towards producing proposals that articulated the community's views regarding the best means of future development in Patzulá. The *Comité de Esperanza* created a youth education project, a sewing project, and an education grant project to allow students to study beyond Grade Six. The *Comité de Hombres* designed a store cooperative project and irrigation project proposals. The *Comité Ishkip* spelled out a chicken project and a sewing project, while the *Mujeres Mayas* designed a bread project, a teacher program, an infant eatery, and a cow project. Some idea of the amount of detail included in these proposals is provided in Appendix 6, which concerns the *Mujeres Mayas* cow project.

What happened when these project proposals were later presented to NGOs with a view to having them funded? Were the people of Patzulá's ideas ever put into practice? The impact and outcomes of the PRNA form the subject of my final chapter.

Chapter Nine

Community Self-Assessment: Impact and Outcomes

Before the advent of its PRNA, Patzulá had very little contact with, and support from, the Guatemalan state and the outside world beyond. Limited linkage and assistance came in the form of state services provided ten kilometres away, in Joyabaj, a three-hour hike down the mountain. These services included access to a public road linking Joyabaj to the national road system, first constructed as far as Joyabaj in 1928; washing and potable water facilities, also constructed in 1928; and postal and telephone communication services, established in 1949 (DGC 1961, 1973; FUNCEDE 1995).

More recently, in 1965, a public school was started in Joyabaj and a public clinic and medicine dispensary opened seven years later. However, due to the enormous distance through dirt footpaths, and lack of money to pay for commonly prescribed drugs, most residents of Patzulá rarely use these health services. Waiting times are also a factor in the under-utilization of health and other services, as these facilities are used by the residents not only of Joyabaj but also by those of surrounding settlements, a joint population of over 56,000. In an interview with the hospital statistician, Héctor Jiménez Soto, it was explained to me that out of the five doctors whom the hospital employed, only one or two actually work at any given time. In addition, none of these doctors or nurses, with the sole exception of a night nurse, speaks the local language, K'iche'. Thus only people confronting the most severe health situations, like Mateo and his family mentioned in the Introduction, risk the lengthy walk down to the hospital in Joyabaj from Patzulá, knowing all the time of the

likelihood that they will not be able to understand what doctors or nurses tell them, or be able to pay for any drugs that are prescribed.

It would be incorrect to assert, however, that prior to conducting the PRNA, the people of Patzulá did not try to enlist outside assistance. The community did successfully solicit government funds in 1990 to pay for school construction, after the people of Patzulá offered to transport the materials and to build the school with their own hands and expertise. Since then, the community has also obtained the services of one government teacher for at least two months each year. Patzulá was also successful in soliciting some support from non-government sources during the last ten years for such initiatives as (1) the fees for six male youths to enroll in a two-year radio education program; (2) a half-day training course in health and money management for fifteen people; and (3) finances to buy a small plot of land for the school. It would *not* be incorrect to assert, however, that only minimal outside assistance was solicited before the PRNA gave the people of Patzulá a more focused and feasible development agenda.

Impact of the PRNA on Community Mores

Eight committees existed in Patzulá when PRNA was initiated. Six of the eight were one hundred percent male-directed and attended. One of these committees, the Religious Committee, included women as participants. Only one committee, CONAVIGUA, was oriented primarily towards female needs and was exclusively supported by women. Although CONAVIGUA is highly regarded both nationally and internationally, group meetings in Patzulá were rarely attended due to fear on the part of local women of being associated with an overtly political organization. Furthermore, local interest in activities that

were centred not on poverty alleviation but on anti-government demonstrations was decidedly low.

In addition to the regular meetings held by the eight committees, monthly community gatherings were also convened in Patzulá which included presentations by committee presidents and commentary by adult male attendants. If women or youths attended these meetings, they seldom contributed to discussions and debate.

Discussions of women's issues were usually limited to short conversations between female family members and close female neighbours, either within their homes or briefly after church. Although young males had the opportunity to socialize more than their female counterparts, on account of a daily soccer scrimmage most evenings before dinner, their concerns and opinions were also seldom heard at traditional community or committee meetings.

With the creation of the four groups, organized in terms of age and gender, members of the community had the opportunity to get to know one another better. This was a particularly important change for the women who participated in the PRNA, as many individuals were, at best, only acquaintances prior to the establishment of these meetings. Without having gone to school, or having attended committee meetings or sporting events, and living up to ninety minutes apart, women residents of Patzulá simply had not had many opportunities to develop close friendships with other women in the community.

Through the initiation and progression of the workshop meetings, involving the *Comité de Esperanza*, the *Mujeres Mayas*, and the *Comité Ishkip*, most participants began to socialize and feel more comfortable in each other's company. Eventually, as communication

within the groups improved, and members felt more disposed to express their opinions, the participants in these three groups began openly sharing their ideas on selected topics. This increased communication and exchange of ideas was most noted among women participants who, at the community level, began to share advice on topics such as female health management and household administration. Through their work, these three groups in particular were able to acquire greater decision-making skills, both as individuals and as a collective. It was decided, early on, that decisions would be made through democratic hand votes or colour-coded secret ballots, contrary to the traditional mode of consensus, through which prominent adult males ultimately influenced decision-making in Patzulá. The ability to shape the outcome of a particular conversation, even if it was only regarding the group's name, helped raise individual confidence levels. This, in turn, only grew as individuals practiced speaking out in front of one another and having their remarks analyzed, and commented upon, by others.

Collective group confidence was also raised in these three groups as they saw their fellow members, having practiced before or during workshop meetings, speak out during intermittent communal community meetings and be heard by the adult males. Increased power of these groups, through greater inclusion in the community decision-making process, was further augmented by their successful solicitation of project funding. As a group responsible for several new projects, the *Mujeres Mayas* in particular increased their power in the community without diminishing that traditionally enjoyed by men.

Specific group benefits also extended to the adult male group, though not quite as dramatically as with the three groups mentioned above. The youngest members of the

Comité de Hombres, not previously elected members of traditional committees, remarked that it was important for them finally to be heard by their elders during group discussions. However, they also remarked that they still did not feel their voice was listened to sufficiently as their group had opted to make decisions according to the traditional consensus mode, thus effectively maintaining elder adult decision-making authority.

In addition to the positive human, social, and political developments that specific workshop groups claimed to have experienced, people cited other benefits from having been involved in the needs assessment. First, all participants reported that they had increased their analytical skills through the process of critical needs evaluation, prioritization, and the creation of viable solutions specific to their community. This was clearly reflected in the community being able to distinguish between its promotion of a non-sustainable electricity project prior to the PRNA and its creation of all sorts of sustainable proposals at the end of the needs assessment, involving livestock, irrigation, and education.

Second, participants claimed to have increased their general knowledge, which they concluded had come about through mutual learning during the workshops. This knowledge, participants reflected, was then extended outside of the workshop as participants shared information during community meetings and through other venues. For example, one group member conducted a workshop in his home, explaining to other community members how to create and use organic fertilizer.

Furthermore, participants reported that they also experienced an increased understanding of how to deal with outside national and international aid organizations, which they then shared at community meetings. Visits and discussions with the various

organizations, participants said, helped them realize which institutions were most likely to be interested in their development situation, which institutions were most likely to fob them off with false promises, and which institutions, despite the rhetoric of their publicity campaigns, were basically just not interested in rural communities such as Patzulá.

Finally, participants claimed they felt more empowered to change their current community situation. This was reflected in the community's much-debated decision not to accept from a local NGO unwanted concrete outhouses that required the user to remove and dry the feces in the sun before placing them on crops in the fields. Though extremely fearful that future aid would not be forthcoming, participants explained that their analysis had concluded that this system would not work well at the high altitude of Patzulá, and their increased confidence allowed them to request assistance for a different project that they themselves originally had applied for. Enhanced empowerment was also reflected in the decision to replace the state teacher and request the services of one more dedicated to the job, especially one who could converse better in K'iche'. This initiative was pursued even in the face of thinly veiled threats from the Ministry of Education Municipal Supervisor. Despite bureaucratic noises to withdraw funding for *all* future teachers, representatives from Patzulá traveled six times to make their case to school authorities in Santa Cruz del Quiché, who took their lobbying seriously and who eventually secured them a new teacher.

There were, it must also be said, some negative consequences from conducting the PRNA in the community. In addition to the school issue discussed above, another related one evolved as community members became more aware of their constitutional education

rights and felt more empowered to change their education system. Meetings with the Education Supervisor, with whom they had hitherto met only once a year, began occurring monthly on account of Patzulá's request that its teacher teach more than three mornings a week, eight months a year. Conflict increased as certain members of Patzulá, for the first time, initiated regional meetings with neighbouring communities to confront the Education Supervisor directly about the common problem of teacher unreliability. When the Supervisor responded by simply saying that teachers would be removed from all communities if protests did not cease, all parties involved except Patzulá backed down. Though, ultimately, Patzulá's teacher was replaced in January 1997, and other neighbouring communities are currently urging Patzulá to help them repeat the process in their own communities, hostility from the Education Supervisor continues.

Increased tension in certain parts of the community can also be linked to the results of the PRNA. As noted before, community issues prior to the PRNA were in the main decided upon by elder male leaders. During the PRNA, these traditional relations were disrupted as women and youth gained more power through their own activities. Though this issue was not discussed openly during the workshops, my assistant Pedro speculated that domestic abuse *may* have increased during and after the PRNA as women began voicing their opinions more freely. Pedro, while delighted that women had taken the enormous step of registering their group legally in the municipal offices in Joyabaj, was also worried that this might be perceived by partners and spouses as a move to usurp their traditional authority to determine the course of community politics and development.

Tension also increased between Patzulá and neighbouring communities as a result of the PRNA. Prior to the PRNA, there had been residual tension between Patzulá and some neighbouring communities dating back to what happened during the violence. Unexpectedly, this tension increased during the PRNA as surrounding communities became jealous of the special treatment afforded to Patzulá. Though this never escalated into anything more than neighbourhood gossip, there is always the possibility that something negative may arise in the future because of this jealousy.

Finally, though community members never said so, I suspect that the length of time invested in the PRNA may have been a source of frustration for some. Even though it was participants themselves who determined the structure and pace of the process, some of them may have been frustrated at the lack of immediate benefits. In addition, other community members may have opted not to participate due to the fairly extensive, although dispersed, time commitments.

PRNA Outcomes

In the wake of the PRNA, the development prospects of Patzulá changed for the better as national and international NGOs committed funding, in whole or in part, for several of the project proposals created in the process.

In August 1996, SCDRYS, a Guatemalan NGO, established formal ties with Patzulá and initiated a food program through SHARE. Since then, pregnant mothers and children under two years of age receive monthly food supplements paid for by only minimal sums of money. In addition, a free agricultural service has been put in place by SCDRYS, which provides Patzulá's farmers with sound professional advice concerning planting schedules

and seeding techniques. Also in August 1996, PROC, another Guatemalan NGO that provides medicinal plant training, offered to come once a month to Patzulá, allowing three community members the opportunity to learn, practice, and share natural medicine techniques.

In September 1996, Prodeq, an international NGO, provided SCDRYS with money for a rural outreach adolescent education program. Patzulá was selected as one of the ten pilot communities to initiate this program, thus receiving bi-monthly training workshops for young people based on their program of choice. To date, workshops for the *Comité Ishkip* have included female health education, confidence building, and embroidery. The *Comité de Esperanza's* workshops have included carpentry and Spanish lessons.

In October 1996, the Guatemalan School Project, a Canadian group working through the auspices of OPIRG, committed itself to funding a kindergarten teacher for another year. Until October 1998, therefore, Patzulá will have two teachers instead of just one.

In November 1996, PADEL/Socodevi, despite my feeling that an earlier meeting with them had not gone according to plan, agreed to provide funding to the tune of 100,000 *quetzales* (\$25,000), a considerable sum of money in the community context of Patzulá, for the *Mujeres Mayas'* cow project outlined in Appendix 8. This funding will provide every household in Patzulá with its own cow, which means not only milk and cheese to drink and eat but also, plenty of droppings with which to make organic fertilizer. That same month, the Guatemalan Health Ministry included Patzulá in a rural outreach pilot project, which means training three promoters from the community in basic health care prevention and curative techniques. By January 1988, the people of Patzulá will have

a local option for health services rather than neglecting health issues or traveling down the mountain to have them unsatisfactorily dealt with in Joyabaj.

Also in November 1996, CONALFA, a Guatemalan government adult literacy institution, agreed to reinstate a community literacy program in Patzulá, which started in January 1997. The adults in Patzulá once again have the opportunity to practice reading and writing in Spanish, three afternoons a week. Finally in November, INCAP, a Central American regional institution, agreed to provide free sewing lessons for the young men's and young women's sewing project, if sewing machines were acquired.

In January 1997, PRIN, an American NGO, agreed to support the womens' bread-making project to the tune of 9,000 *quetzales*, some \$2,200, thus providing Patzulá with the opportunity to create and sell goods for cash. PRIN also agreed to include Patzulá in their monthly mental health weekend workshops. Since March 1997, Gaspar Lorenzo Ren and Encarnación Ralios Pérez have been attending these workshops and are increasingly capable of dealing with community members struggling with terrifying memories of the violence. This program, which pays participants Q300/\$75 a month, has also provided Gaspar and Encarnación with a means of earning money for doing what they have always done, help others in their community.

In February 1997, PRONEBI, a Guatemalan government education institution, finally agreed to substitute the Spanish-speaking teacher who taught only three mornings a week with a more responsible bilingual one nominated by the community. This placement, combined with an extra community teacher through the Guatemalan School Project, resulted in a school attendance increase from forty-two in 1996 to eighty-two in 1997,

much to the joy of most community members. In the same month, ACT, a German NGO, provided furniture for Patzulá's school and agreed to provide funds for a small loans program. Notice of other support from previously contacted aid institutions is still pending. Pedro continues to send me monthly letters noting the response from the NGOs he contacts each month, specifically their positive reaction to the *Diagnóstico de Patzulá* (see Appendix 3), even if they are unable to provide funding.

The above outcomes are considered, in large measure, to be a direct result of the creation and dissemination of the *Diagnóstico de Patzulá* (see Appendix 3). Participants now realize that the information provided in this document, when presented during community visits to interested NGOs, reflect well on the time, energy, and thought that the people of Patzulá have expended thinking about development issues. It is also increasingly recognized in Patzulá that NGOs, because the community itself has created the projects detailed in funding submissions, view this way of doing things as more appropriate, culturally relevant, and sustainable.

While the current political situation in Guatemala, with the terms of the peace accords now slowly being implemented, has undoubtedly been conducive to the financial and logistical support of Maya communities, it would be too simplistic to correlate development initiatives directly with the peace process. All the institutions that have decided to support Patzulá after the PRNA was conducted have been operating in the Quiché area for some time and their international fund increments are not expected to be injected into Guatemala for another year or two.

Despite some negative ramifications of conducting the PRNA, the participants, the leader of Patzulá, Pedro, and I myself all believe that it has led to positive economic, human, social, and political development for the majority of community inhabitants. Most importantly, we all feel that the PRNA has given the people of Patzulá the skills necessary to continue this process of positive community development in the future.

CONCLUSION

I began this thesis with the question, "What can I do to help?" The question was asked in the community context of Patzulá, Guatemala. I conclude the thesis by asserting: "Empower the people of Patzulá with the means of analyzing their situation and telling us about it, then take seriously what they have to say about how to improve it." After reviewing various theories of development, and the effects that their implementation has on underprivileged rural communities, it soon became apparent that what the literature identifies as "development from below" offers the most promising avenue of putting theory into practice.

I then asked myself, "How does one do development from below?" After reviewing the Rapid Inquiry Participatory Methods commonly associated with the practice of "development from below," it became equally apparent that I would have to improvise established procedures in order to take into account genuine community participation, the use of appropriate self-assessment techniques, and an ethically sound research strategy. The fact that most people in Patzulá are non-literate influenced considerably the nature of community self-assessment. Drawing from previous needs assessment procedures, participatory and experiential education techniques, teacher training courses, and my own imagination, I came up with a methodology that I thought would be most attuned not only to the tenets of "development from below" but also the social, economic, and political realities of life in Patzulá. I call the methodology Participatory Rural Needs Assessment (PRNA).

Next came the challenge of actually conducting the PRNA in Patzulá. While some meetings worked out better than others, on the whole, execution of the methodology unfolded rather well, with the support and enthusiasm of all participants, my assistant Pedro, and my husband Mike. I took great pleasure in watching the members of the four groups involved in the PRNA communicate more openly, exchange their new knowledge, and plan for the future. My delight was further enhanced when the groups began receiving word that one or other of their projects had been accepted by an aid-granting institution, that they would be able to implement, at last, their own plans for development.

I found saying good-bye to the community extremely difficult. Although I knew the community had successfully completed the PRNA and was ready to move ahead without me, I knew I was going to miss being part of the process. Once back in Canada, however, monthly letters from Pedro have kept me informed of the community's progress, and how little need there now is for me to be in Patzulá.

At a distance, the more generalized question resurfaced regarding how institutions and governments far more powerful than I am can help implement locally meaningful development in more than just one tiny, underprivileged, rural community in Guatemala. I conclude that the international community would first have to be convinced that PRNA addresses the needs of places like Patzulá far more than most nationally imposed development programs. I next conclude that funds would have to be channeled to rural NGOs in order to help them train facilitators in PRNA. Though this process appears quite straight-forward, my own experience proves otherwise.

In the wake of my work in Patzulá, six NGOs in the El Quiché area asked me to conduct a PRNA workshop for their employees. After volunteering my services, five saw fit *not* to implement or to utilize the methodology. Two of them, Prodeq and Intervida, actually claimed that their programs, pre-determined by foreign financial supporters, could *not* be modified to incorporate projects that communities themselves need and want. One institution, the Ministry of Education in Joyabaj, after asking me to train their eighty-five rural teachers on how to facilitate a rural needs assessment and then consolidate their findings into a report, admitted months later that the information had literally been thrown in the garbage, and that a new report had been written omitting the information generated by the PRNA. Only one institution, the Ministry of Health in Joyabaj, actually began implementing the PRNA in fifteen pilot rural communities. From this experience I further conclude that if the international community does in fact start channeling more aid money towards grass-roots initiatives like PRNAs, it is essential that funds be directed towards NGOs that truly wish to empower local, underprivileged, rural people, not ones that merely pretend to do so.

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Sem Gutierrez, Father Rudy (1996) November 31, Joyabaj, Guatemala.

Walters, Terisa (1996) July 21. Development Center, Joyabaj, Guatemala.

C. Conferences Attended

Educación Maya. Conference sponsored by the Asociación de Centros Educativos Mayas del Nivel Medio. Quezaltenango: Guatemala, May 24-26, 1996.

Managing the Peace: Building Consensus on Economic Reforms in Guatemala. Conference sponsored by the Canadian Foundation for the Americas (FOCAL), Chateau Laurier Hotel Ottawa, March 20-21, 1997.

Guatemala at a Crossroads: A Dialogue on Democratic Development and Peace. Conference sponsored by the Canadian Foundation for the Americas (FOCAL), Sheraton Hotel, Ottawa, October 4-5, 1995.

Latin America and the Caribbean Towards 2000: Continuity and Change. Conference sponsored by Canadian Association for Latin American and Caribbean Studies (CALACS), Ministry of Government Services, Toronto, November 9-11, 1995.

Guatemala at the Crossroads - Challenges for Peace. Talk sponsored by Project Accompaniment, and the Jesuit Center, Toronto Board of Education, Toronto, March 13, 1997.

Latin America in the year 2000. Workshop sponsored by the Ontario Co-operative Program in Latin American and Caribbean Studies (OCPLACS) Holiday Inn, Kingston, March 22-23, 1996.

Refugee Return, Power and Transformation in Guatemala. Workshop sponsored by the Centre for Research on Latin America and the Caribbean (CERLAC) and the Centre for Refugee Studies (CRS), York University. Toronto, October 12-14, 1995.

D. Workshops

Diaz, Guillermo (1995) Rapid Rural Assessment Workshop, Joyabaj, Guatemala

APPENDIX 1

Methodologies with a Focus on Participatory Development and Rapid Appraisal (since 1970)

AEA	Agroecosystems Analysis
AR	Animation Rurale
BA	Beneficiary Assessment
DELTA	Development Education Leadership Teams
D&D	Diagnosis and Design
DPC	Diagnóstico Participativo Comunal
DRP	Diagnóstico Rural Participativo
DRR	Diagnóstico Rapido Rural
EPM	Evaluación Participativo Mutua
ERP	Evaluación Rural Participativo
FPR	Farmer Participatory Research
FRS	Farming Systems Research
GRAAP	Groupe de recherche et d'appui pour l'auto-promotion paysanne
MARP	Methode Accelere de Recherche Participative
PALM	Participatory Analysis and Learning Methods
PAR	Participatory Action Research (Investigacion-Accion Participativa: IAP)
PD	Process Documentation
PRA	Participatory Rural Appraisal
PRAP	Participatory Rural Appraisal and Planning
PRM	Participatory Research Methods
PMD	Participatory Methodology Development
RA	Rapid Appraisal
RAAKS	Rapid Assessment of Agricultural Knowledge Systems
RAP	Rapid Assessment Procedures
RAT	Rapid Assessment Techniques
RCA	Rapid Catchment Analysis
REA	Rapid Ethnographic Assessment
RFSA	Rapid Food Security Assessment
RMA	Rapid Multi-Perspective Appraisal
ROA	Rapid Organisational Assessment
RRA	Rapid Rural Appraisal (Sondeo Rural Rápido: SRR)
SB	Samuhik Brahman
SRAR	Sondeo Rápido Areas Rurales (Diagnostico Comunitario Participativo:DCP)
SRP	Sondeo Rural Participativo
SRP-MAP	Sondeo Rural Participativo y Métodos de Aprendizaje Participativo
TFD	Theatre for Development
TFT	Training for Transformation

Source: Lammerink and Wolfers (1995)

APPENDIX 2

These workshops plus a brief introduction were originally published in Morin (1996)

Una guía para hacer diagnósticos participativos en áreas rurales.

Workshop Topics:

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Appendix 2 continued ...

THE PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT

1. Maps

Objectives

- provides a fast visual demonstration of information concerning the use and location of natural resources and local conditions
- provides a visual representation of local problems and opportunities for use later during project planning
- reveals the relationships between the community and other villages, towns, and cities
- helps determine what the local people believe are important physical attributes in their community

Duration

- 2.5 hours

Resources

- large sheets of paper and coloured markers

Preparation

- agenda
- an example of a map from another place, made by the facilitator
- prepare a large sheet of paper, as shown below, with many horizontal lines (Chart A)

WHAT EXISTS	WHAT DOES NOT EXIST

Steps:

1. ask the participants to assemble in groups of 3 or 4 and give each group one large piece of blank paper
2. explain that each group will create a different map depending on its experience
3. on a large piece of paper demonstrate what a common map looks like (do not use one from the same community)
4. explain that each group is responsible for making a different map and that it will be given 40 minutes to make any one of the following:
 - a map of part of the community - 3 to 4 houses with animals, trees, etc.
 - a map of the community - including houses, rivers, school, etc.
 - a map of the area - the community in relation to 4 or 5 other communities
 - a map of the greater area - the community in relation to other communities, towns, and cities
5. ask each group to present its maps
6. then ask the group as a whole to examine its maps and tell you what items exist in their community
7. as the group explains each item, ask a participant to come to the front of the room and draw on Chart A a diagram that represents the item
8. repeat the process asking the group what items do not exist in their community
9. facilitate a discussion using the following questions as guidelines:
 - What information can we realize by looking at these maps?
 - What information can we realize by looking at this chart that explains what does and does not exist in the community?
 - Which resources are abundant and which are cheap?
 - What is threatening the environment?

THE PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT

2. Transects

Objective

- to see what interaction there is between the physical environment and the human activities
- view the range of different conditions, problems, and opportunities for each different area or ecosystem

Duration

- 1.5 hours

Resources

- large pieces of paper and color markers
- portable desks and chairs

Preparation

- agenda
- prepare a large sheet of paper, as shown below

Earth	
Problems	
Opportunities	

Steps

1. ask the participants to assemble into groups of 3 or 4
2. ask the participants to go outside with their chairs and tables
3. explain that each group must look in a different direction (for example one groups looks east)
4. on your own piece of paper, in the space marked 'earth', draw a line that represents the horizon to the south and all the objects seen on this horizon - trees, cows, houses, etc.
5. ask the participants to make their own diagrams of the horizon they are facing and what they see
6. explain to the participants that they have 10 minutes
7. remind them to draw everything they see or know is there (it is important that all elements on the earth, including people, be noted)
8. when they are done, ask the participants to go inside
9. explain that they now have 15 minutes to fill in the space marked problems with diagrams that represent all the problems they see in the space they have already filled marked 'earth'
10. have each group present their problems
11. explain to the participants that they have 15 minutes to look at the problems and fill in the space marked 'opportunities' with diagrams of all the opportunities they can imagine to improve the problems
12. have each group present their opportunities
13. Facilitate a discussion using the questions below:
 - Which of these opportunities seems most realistic?
 - Which of these opportunities will fix the most problems?

COMMUNITY ACTIVITIES

Thematic Calendars

Objective

- to obtain a resume of all the activities in the community
- to determine the relationship between activities during the same time periods
- use later for project planning

Duration

- 2.5 hours

Resources

- large sheets of paper and coloured markers

Preparation

- agenda
- prepare a chart as shown below on a large piece of paper (one per group) with 3 to 4 extra horizontal lines on the bottom

Theme		Jan.	Feb.	Mar	Apr	May	Jun.	Jul.	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec
Climate													
Sickness													
Migration													
Festivals													
Animals													
Agriculture													
Education													
Economy													

- sometimes it is difficult for participants to use charts and some explanation may be required.

Steps:

1. ask participants to assemble in groups of 3 or 4
2. as you read aloud each theme ask the community members to fill in the space provided beside the themes with diagrams that they think represents that theme
3. ask them to add any themes which may be missing on their charts
4. have each group use diagrams to indicate what happens in each month or season for each theme
5. have each group present their charts
6. Facilitate a discussion using the following questions as guidelines
 - What conclusions can be made from the chart you have created?
 - Is there any relationship between various activities in the same month?
 - What are the problems?
 - What opportunities exist?

HEALTH

1. Nutrition

Objective

- the community can reflect on their nutrition and how they can improve it

Duration





- 2 hours

Resources

- big pieces of white paper for 2 activities and markers

Preparation

- agenda
- make a piece of paper like the one below (Chart A)

Steps:

1. hand out one large piece of blank paper for each group
2. ask the participants to make groups of 3 or 4
3. ask the participants to make a diagram of a typical land plot in their community and the things they grow on it
4. ask each group to present their typical land plot (place the papers on the wall)
5. pass out Chart A
6. ask the participants to fill out the first line with diagrams that explain what they eat every day
7. ask each group to present these diagrams
8. ask the participants to fill out the second line with diagrams that explain what they eat each week or every 2 weeks
9. ask each group to present these diagrams
10. ask the participants to fill out the third line with diagrams that explain what they eat every 6 months
11. ask each group to present these diagrams
12. ask the participants to fill the fourth line with diagrams that explain what they have never eaten and/or would like to try
13. ask each group to present these diagrams
14. Facilitate a discussion using the following questions as guidelines
 - Where does your food come from? What do you know about good eating habits?
 - What foods are missing in your diet? Where can you find these foods? Who has a family garden?
 - Do you eat a lot of fruit and vegetables? If no, why not? Where do your vitamins come from?
 - How many mothers breast feed? - until what age?
 - How many of you smoke? Who drinks alcohol, what type do you drink, and how often?
 - What effect does the alcohol have on your health?
 - Do each of you have sufficient land to produce the necessary food for your family?
 - For how much longer will you be able to produce sufficient food for your family?
 - Do you know what you have to do to your land to produce more?

HEALTH

2. Major Illnesses

Objective

- to look at the health problems of the community and different ways to resolve them

Duration

- 2.5 hours

Resources

- large sheets of paper and coloured markers (for two activities)

Preparation

- agenda
- prepare a chart as shown below on large paper (one per group) (Chart A)

		1	2	3	4	5
Illnesses						
Causes						
Treatments						

- this chart may be used later when discussing prevention
- sometimes it is difficult for participants to use charts and some explanation may be required.

Steps:

1. ask participants to assemble in groups of 3 or 4
2. ask participants to draw in the space provided, beside the word 'illnesses', a diagram that represents this word
3. repeat this procedure for 'Causes' and 'Treatments'
4. ask them to complete the first horizontal line in the chart with those illnesses which are most common in their community
 - you are able to change this to focus to more specific illnesses; for example, the 5 most common illnesses found in women. This works well with women, as often they are more likely to talk only of their husband's and children's illnesses.
5. ask the groups to present their illnesses
 - ask who is sick most often
6. give each group another piece of paper
7. explain that each group has 15 minutes to draw their houses and those close by. Tell the participants that they have to imagine they have a special camera that is able to look through walls so they can draw inside images of the houses as well (for example - clothes, beds, fire, food storage)
8. now give another 15 minutes for the groups to fill in the second horizontal line on 'Chart A' with pictures of the causes of each sickness (explain that sometimes the causes are found inside their homes)
9. ask each group to present the causes of the illnesses
10. ask the groups to complete the third line in their chart with images of treatments used for each illness
11. ask each group to present the treatments of the illnesses
12. facilitate a discussion using the following questions as guidelines
 - What do you use more - natural or chemical medicine? Which treatment works best?
 - What do you want to learn regarding health issues?
 - Do you visit doctors, hospitals or pharmacies? Why do you go to each place?
 - Do you know what type of medicine is given out at pharmacies?
 - Do you have confidence in doctors, hospitals, pharmacy workers?
 - Who looks after the mother and children while the mother is giving birth?

EDUCATION

1. Formal Education: School Assessment

Objectives

- to look at any problems that might exist in the school and opportunities that exist to make improvements
- to get the community more involved in their school

Duration

- 2 hours

Resources

- large sheets of paper and coloured markers

Preparation

- agenda
- using a piece of large paper, prepare one of the following charts for each group (Chart A)

problems with the school
opportunities with the school

- using large paper, prepare only one of the following chart, to be used in front of everyone (Chart B)

Education		
Problems	Opportunities	Justification
1.		
2.		
3.		

Steps:

1. pass a copy of Chart A to each group
2. ask the participants to form groups of 4 or 5
3. explain that each group has 20 minutes to fill in the first column with pictures of different problems that exist within their school
4. ask each group to present these diagrams
5. ask the participants to look at the first line and in the second line make diagrams that explain all the opportunities
6. ask each group to present their new diagrams
7. place Chart B on the wall in front of everyone
8. ask the participants to draw, on their own paper, a circle around the three problems they consider the most grave
9. ask the participants to decide, as one large group, what the three most grave problems are (this generally takes a lot of time depending on the community's method of decision making). Ask a participant to draw these three problems in front of everyone on paper 'B'
10. ask the participants to explain the various opportunities that exist to resolve each of these three problems - ask a volunteer to draw these on Chart B
11. ask the participants to explain the various justifications for implementing these opportunities - ask a volunteer to draw these on Chart B

EDUCATION

2. Formal Education: Curriculum Assessment

Objectives

- to understand why the people send or do not send their children to school
- to understand the school problems more specifically and the opportunities that exist to improve the school situation

Duration

- 2.5 hours

Resources

- large pieces of paper and color markers

Preparation

- agenda
- prepare a large piece of paper similar to the example below, with 6 horizontal lines (Chart A)

Potential School Curriculum

Steps:

1. have a discussion to introduce the theme using the following questions as a guideline:
 - Who sends their children to school? - Why?
 - What do they learn at school?
 - Have you visited the school during class hours? If yes - What did you see? If no - Why not?
 - How many times a year does the teacher evaluate your children? - Is that acceptable?
 - How do the children use what they learn?
 - What grade would you like to see your child attain?
 - Who does not send their children to school? - Why not?
 - Who does not send their daughter after grade one? - Why not?
 - What happens to the work or family if the children go to school?
 - What things have to change in order for you to send your children to school?
 - What type of teacher do you want and what qualities do you think are important in a teacher?
2. hand out Chart A
3. ask the participants to fill the six spaces with diagrams that explain what they want the teacher to teach, for how long, and why
4. ask each group to present their diagrams
5. have a concluding discussion using the following questions as guidelines
 - How can you realize these changes?
 - What is stopping you from realizing these changes?
 - Why have these changes not been made in the past?

EDUCATION

3. Formal Education: Teacher Evaluation

- to be done with children who go to school

Objective

- to see how many hours a day and days a week the teacher actually teaches in the school

Duration

- throughout the school year

Resources

- large pieces of paper, color markers, and a watch

Preparation

- make a large calendar for the school children with all the months of the school year

Steps

1. ask the parents which ones would like to have their children participate in monitoring the teacher
2. explain to the selected students how to fill in the form - how they must each day fill in the daily square with red if the teacher attended the school, and in pen mark the time that school started and the time that school ended. On days that the teacher did not teach, they must fill in the daily square with black.
3. provide a watch for these children
4. ask the child to present their findings to the community at monthly meetings
5. ask the students to ask the community members if they notice any significant positive or negative changes

EDUCATION

4. Non-Formal and Formal Education: Historical Review

Objectives

- to look at the history of formal education
- to identify significant past events in the educational history of the community, in order to identify past trends, errors, and successes

Duration

- 1.5 hours

Resources

- large sheets of paper and coloured markers

Preparation

- agenda
- using large paper, prepare one of the following charts for each group

Date	Event

Steps

1. ask the participants to form groups of 3 or 4
2. ask the participants to draw their school and/or informal educational history of the community
3. facilitate a discussion using the following questions as guidelines
 - When did the school start?
 - Who built the school?
 - Where did the children study before there was a school?
 - How many teachers were there in the past?
 - How many are there now?
 - Who teaches?
 - Who taught before there was a school?

EDUCATION

5. Informal Education: Youth

- to be done with the youth

Objective

- to see what type of education youths, who do not attend school, would like to receive

Duration

- 1 hour

Resources

- large sheets of paper and coloured markers

Preparation

- agenda

Steps

1. ask the participants to form groups of 3 or 4
2. tell the groups to explain, through pictures, what type of school they would create and what would be taught if they had the money to do so
3. tell the participants they have half an hour to do this
4. ask the each group to present their diagrams
5. facilitate a concluding discussion using the following questions as guidelines
 - What opportunities exist to make this school a reality?
 - What factors may hinder making this school a reality?

ECONOMY

1. Social/Economic Strata

Objectives

- to detect where the poor are within the system and who they are
- see the distinction between the poor, average, and rich families
- to ensure that projects are planned in such a way that the benefits are not felt by just one group to the detriment of another
- preparation for Economy #2 (a future workshop)
- see the changes through time to help plan for the future

Duration

- 2 hours

Resources

- large pieces of paper and color markers

Preparation

- agenda
 - make a piece of paper with a horizontal line and on one side draw a person very slim and on the other side draw a person very large
-

Steps

1. ask who in the community is the most poor
2. ask who in the community is the most rich
3. ask the participants to mark on the line where they consider themselves relative to the richest and poorest person
4. ask the participants to make groups of 3
5. explain that group number one is going to draw the house of a person very poor, that group number two is going to draw the house of an average person, and that group number three is going to draw the house of someone rich (there will be repetition depending on the number of groups)
6. remind them to demonstrate what kind of walls the house is made of, what kind roof there is, what animals they have, etc.
7. ask each group to present their diagrams
8. facilitate a discussion using the following questions as guidelines
 - Why is this person poor? - Is it only bad luck?
 - Why is this person rich? - Is it only good luck?
 - Who would like to be like the rich person?
 - Do the rich people do harm to the poor people? How?
 - Do the rich people do good to the poor people? How?

ECONOMY

2. Local Economic Situation

Objective

- to examine the local economy and look for solutions

Duration

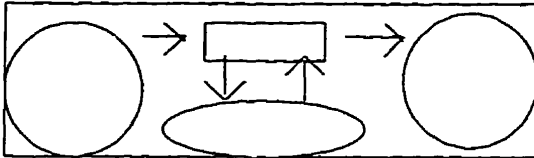
- 3 hours

Resources

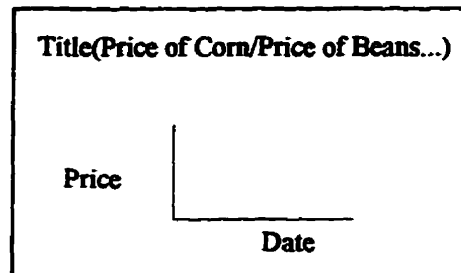
- large pieces of paper and color markers
- two buckets and many rocks of varying size

Preparation

- agenda
- copies of paper A shown below



- copies of paper B shown below for tendencies



Steps

1. ask the participants to make groups of 3 or 4 and give each group a copy of paper A
2. tell the participants that they have 10 minutes to fill the rectangle in the middle of their paper with diagrams of their house and land
3. when they are done tell the participants they have another 15 minutes to fill the circle to the left with diagrams that explain all that they must buy for their house and land
4. put numerous copies of paper 'B' on the wall
5. ask the people what items they buy the most and put this item as a title on paper
6. ask the people how much one pound/metre etc. cost 20 years ago, 15 years ago, 2 years ago etc. (mark these on paper 'B') - repeat with various items the people must buy
7. explain that these will be used later for further discussion
8. tell the participants they have 15 minutes to fill the circle to the right with diagrams that explain all the things they sell (including manual labor)
9. choose a volunteer and put a bucket in each hand of the person)
10. ask the people what they have to buy and whether it is worth a heavy rock or a light rock (place the rocks in the bucket in the left hand as the people explain)
11. ask the people what they sell and whether it is worth a heavy rock or a light rock (place the rocks in the bucket in the right hand as the people explain)
12. ask the people if this system is equal or not (normally the bucket on the left weighs much more)
13. tell the people that they have 15 minutes to fill the circle below with diagrams that explain everything that they produce but also consume (place the finished papers on the wall with the tendencies)
14. ask the people if their system in total is good or not and what problems there are in the system
15. ask the people whether it is easier to make money to buy new things or to work to produce items for self consumption
16. give each group a piece of white paper
17. ask the participants to make diagrams that explain what opportunities there are to change the system
18. ask each group to present their diagrams

POLITICS

1. Internal Committees

Objectives

- to see what organizations and committees exist in the community, where there is repetition, which are the main committees, and which committees are most effective.
- to see who are the principal leaders in the community

Duration

- 2 hours

Resources:

- large pieces of paper, color markers

Preparation:

- agenda
- following the examples below, provide each group with two large pieces of paper.

Chart A

Institution	Representative	What the institution does in the community

Chart B

Committee	Representative	What the committee does in the community

- with some groups that have not had much experience in community participation, it may be better to simply use one sheet with both committees and institutions together

Steps:

1. ask the participants to make groups of 3 or 4
 2. tell the participants they have 20 minutes to fill their paper with diagrams and/or words
 3. ask the translator to explain the various categories
 4. ask each group to present their diagrams
 5. facilitate a discussion using the following questions as guidelines
- **Regarding Committees:**
 - What are your thoughts regarding these two papers?
 - Why does Committee X appear to do the same things as Committee Y?
 - Is there anything that can be done to improve this internal system?
 - Can anyone participate on these committees? Why or why not?
 - How many women participate in these committees? Why?
 - How many women are representatives on these committees? Why?
 - Do you know a lot about each committee? Why or why not?
 - **Institutions**
 - Which institutions help the most and least?
 - How can you get the most out of these institutions?

POLITICS

2. Establishing a New Committee

Objective

- to see the selection process for presidents of committees and names of new committees

Duration

- 1 hour

Resources

- nothing

Preparation

- agenda

Steps:

1. Facilitate a discussion using the following questions as guidelines
 - How do you wish to select the name of your new group or committee?
 - What name do you want for your group?
 - What type of president or representative do you want?
 - How do you wish to select the president/representative for your group?
 - How can you cast a secret ballot if you cannot read?
 - Why did so many of you not vote by hand?

POLITICAL HISTORY

3. Political History

- depending on location, this activity may be difficult to do with women. For example, in areas where women are customarily moved from their native village to that of their new spouse, knowledge of local history may be limited.

Objective

- to identify significant past community events in order to analyze the historical patterns and successfully plan for the future.
- avoid repetition of past errors.

Duration

- 1.5 hours

Resources

- large pieces of paper and color markers

Preparation

- provide each group with a large piece of paper containing one single horizontal line in the middle
- if specifics are needed, and no one in the group can write, this activity can be done on the wall with all participating and the facilitator writing dates and events

Steps:

1. ask the participants to form groups of 3 or 4
2. hand out the paper with the horizontal line for each group
3. tell each person that this line represents time with the present being on the far right
4. tell the participants they have 45 minutes to mark points on the line with dots and diagrams below and above that signify important historical events in the community
5. ask each group to present their diagrams
6. facilitate a discussion using the following questions as guidelines
 - What can you learn from your history?
 - What events do you wish to repeat?
 - What events do you not wish to repeat?
 - What do you have to do in the future to assure that what you want to happen will happen?

POLITICS

4. Women's Politics

- to be done with women

Objective

- to see what the women think about the community political system, including the problems, benefits, and opportunities

Duration

- 1 hour

Resources

- nothing

Preparation

- nothing

Steps:

1. facilitate a discussion using the following questions as guidelines
 - Which committees are most important in the community?
 - How many women participate on these committees? Why?
 - If only men participate on these committees - Why? Does this mean that only men make community decisions?
 - Who decides or how is it decided who can participate on these committees?
 - Does this system seem appropriate to you?
 - What type of decisions are women capable of making?
 - How have your husbands and fathers reacted to you participating in this group of women?
 - Do you wish to continue working as a group of women?

POLITICS

5. External Politics

Objective

- to examine what outside forces affect the community in order to analyze the problems and opportunities

Duration

- 1.5 hours

Resources

- large pieces of paper and color markers

Preparation

- pieces of large paper for each group with simply the name or rough diagram of the community in the middle

Steps

1. ask the participants to make diagrams that explain the outside forces, both negative and positive, that affect the community
2. ask each group to present their diagrams
3. facilitate a discussion using the following questions as guidelines
 - What can you do and what opportunities are there to ensure that the positive forces that affect the community continue or increase?
 - What can you do, or what opportunities are there, to reduce or eliminate the negative forces that affect the community?
 - What services do you have in the community?
 - What are the priorities of the government?
 - Which communities obtain the services of the government?
 - Which people in the community obtain the services of the government?
 - What does the community have to do to ensure changes in the future?
 - Do you like how the government works?
 - Do you pay taxes?
 - Do you help the nation in any way?
 - Do only those who pay taxes have the right to services?
 - Is there corruption in the government?
 - Are there laws against corruption in the government? Do these laws work?
 - What do you wish the government would do in the future?
 - Are you prepared to actively lobby the government?

* these questions are highly dependent on the extent to which the local community and groups are aware of local and national politics

MIGRATION

Objectives

- to explore the group's thoughts regarding migration to agricultural centres or other locations in order to obtain work
- to exchange ideas regarding the problems and opportunities of migration

Duration

- 1 hour

Resources

- large pieces of paper and color markers

Preparation

- a large piece of paper for each group that says 'Migration' in the middle
- one large piece of paper with a word the facilitator feels evokes a lot of feelings i.e. their home town

Steps

1. ask the participants to collect in groups of 3 or 4
2. ask how many in the group migrate seasonally for work
3. explain to the group that they are going to do an activity called 'rain of ideas'
4. explain that you are going to show them an example of how this activity works
5. place the piece of paper with the name of your home town on the wall
6. spend 3 minutes drawing pictures that represent your home town - work quickly and do not pay attention to how your diagrams look
7. spend 1 minute explaining what each diagram means to you
8. explain that each individual in the group will share the same paper but draw their own diagrams representing what 'migration' means to them
9. tell the participants they have roughly 20 minutes to do it
10. ask each group to present their diagrams
11. facilitate a discussion using the following questions as guidelines
 - Where do you go?
 - How long do you go for? Why?
 - How much money do you make?
 - What costs are there?
 - What happens when you return?
 - What happens if you do not migrate to work?
 - What happens to your fields and homes when you do migrate?
 - What do you have to buy when you return?
 - Does your entire family migrate?
 - If you did not have to migrate to work what would you like to do?

OCCUPATION

Objectives

- to examine what the average person in the community does every day
- analyze the differences between the typical women's, men's, and youth's day
- to look for ways to make one's work day more efficient or equitable

Duration

- 1 hour

Resources

- large pieces of paper and color markers and two small pieces of paper the size of postcards

Preparation

- one piece of large paper with the title 'Responsibilities of the _____ (i.e. women) (Paper A)
- make a chart, following the example below, for every group (Paper B)

Responsibilities of _____ (men/women etc.)	
Morning	Afternoon
4:00	1:00
5:00	2:00
6:00	3:00
7:00	4:00
8:00	5:00
9:00	6:00
10:00	7:00
11:00	8:00
12:00	9:00

- for those groups that cannot read numbers it may be easier to simply have categories like 'before breakfast', 'morning', 'afternoon', and 'night'
- if there are major differences in activities throughout the year one season only may be chosen

Steps

1. hand out Paper B
2. ask the participants to make groups of two
3. tell the participants they have 25 minutes to fill the spaces with diagrams that explain what they generally do during the various times.
4. stress this is a generalization - if this concept is too difficult you may ask the group to simply draw their activities from yesterday
5. place the pieces of paper on the wall
6. tape to the wall the paper marked 'Responsibilities of the _____ (Paper A)
7. ask the participants to tell you what responsibilities they have throughout the day
8. have a volunteer draw these responsibilities on Paper A in front of everyone
9. place a piece of small paper over one particular responsibility
10. facilitate a discussion using the following questions as guidelines
 - What would you do if you did not have to ...(for example wash dishes)
 - Do you want to change the number or extent of the activities you do in a day?
 - What opportunities are there for change?

ASPIRATIONS

Objective

- to examine what the participants think of their future, what they wish their future to be, and how they can accomplish their dreams

Duration

- 1 hour

Resources

- large pieces of paper and color markers

Preparation

- prepare for each group, on large pieces of paper, the following:

Past	Present	Future

Steps

1. ask the participants to make groups of 2
2. ask them to think about when they were 4 or 5 years old
3. ask them to make diagrams in the space marked 'past' that represent their memories when they were young
4. explain that they have 15 minutes
5. ask each group to present their diagrams
6. ask them to think about their lives now
7. ask them to make diagrams in the space marked 'present' that represent their lives today
8. explain that they have 15 minutes
9. ask each group to present these diagrams
10. ask the participants to think about what they wish their lives to be like 5-10 years from now
11. ask them to make diagrams in the space marked 'future' that represent how they wish their lives to be in the future
12. explain they have 15 minutes
13. ask each group to present these diagrams
14. facilitate a discussion using the following questions as guidelines
 - What do you have to do to ensure your dreams will come true?
 - What may obstruct you from reaching these dreams?

OVERVIEW

Objective

- to provide an overview of the basis of all problems discussed
- to provide an overview of all thoughts during the previous months, including the opportunities that exist

Duration

- 2 hours

Resources

- large pieces of paper and color markers

Preparation

- prepare one large piece of paper, following the example below:

Problems	Causes	Basic Causes
----------	--------	--------------

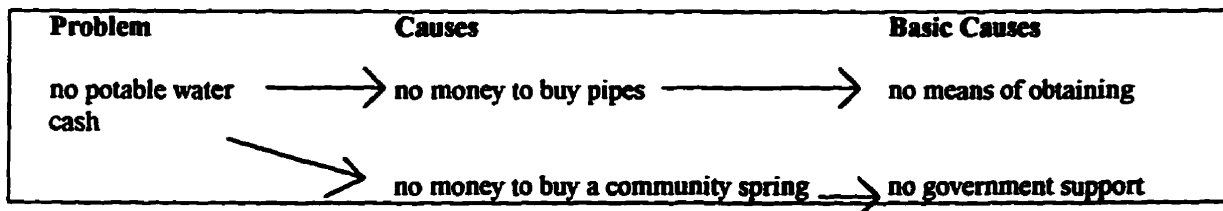
Action

- place the paper on the wall in front of everyone

Steps

1. ask the participants to explain, after much time together, which problems appear to be the most important to the group. Have a volunteer draw these problems in the space provided
2. ask the group to explain, item by item, what the causes are of each problem (generally there are several causes suggested for each problem). Have a volunteer draw a line stemming from each problem to a diagram or series of diagrams in the space provided under 'causes'
3. ask the group to explain, item by item, the basic causes of the causes (again there are usually several) Again, have a volunteer draw a line stemming from the causes to a diagram or series of diagrams in the space provided under 'basic causes'

For example:



4. facilitate a discussion using the following questions as guidelines
 - Which causes and/or basic causes appear to repeat? (circle causes and/or basic causes that repeat with the same color)
 - What are your priorities now?

PROPOSALS

1. Introduction

Objective

- to begin the mental creation and written documentation of development project proposals to be submitted to national and international, government and non-government aid institutions

Duration

- 3 hours

Resources

- large pieces of paper and color markers

Preparation

- on a piece of large paper (one for each group) draw the following with six horizontal lines. (Paper A)

Proposals

- on a piece of large paper (one for each group) draw the following. (Paper B)

What	
Why	
What do you know	
What do you need to know	

Steps

1. ask the participants to make groups of 3 or 4
2. pass each group Paper A
3. ask the participants to draw, in the six spaces provided, diagrams of the 6 proposals which they want most
4. ask each group to present their diagrams
5. ask the people which of the projects they want to elaborate upon
6. ask the participants to form groups of people who want to work on the same project
7. pass each of these groups Paper B
8. ask the participants to fill in the spaces provided, with diagrams. Have the translator/assistant explain what is meant by each category
9. facilitate a discussion based on the following questions as a guideline
 - Where can you find the information you need?
 - Who is in of charge of looking for this information?
 - What will happen if these people neglect to obtain this information?

PROPOSALS

2. Completion

Objective

- **finish the proposals**

Duration

- **3 hours**

Resources

- **copies of the solicitation forms provided on the following page**
- **pencils**

Steps

1. **ask the participants to arrange themselves in the same groups as before, according to the proposal they wish to work on**
2. **ask the following**
 - **Which groups have someone who can read and write?**
 - **Which groups do not?**
3. **If none of the groups has someone who can read and write, the whole group must determine which proposal to begin with. The facilitator must then go through the list of questions and fill in the blanks according to the responses**
4. **If there is someone in the individual groups who can write, ask her/him to begin, and provide help if needed**

* Note the following form was designed by the author. The outline may need to be modified according to each specific organization's requirements.

PROPOSALS

Project Name _____

Group or Committee Name _____

Location of Group or Committee _____

Who is in the group? _____

What does the group do? _____

What do you want? _____

Why do you want this project? _____

Where will this project take place? _____

When do you expect this project to begin? _____

How will this project function?

Activity	Date	Necessities	Cost

What advantages are there to this project? _____

What are the potential problems of this project? _____

What abilities do the group members possess that will help them implement this project?

What do you need to know to realize this project? _____

Has this type of project been tried in the past? If so, what happened and what would you do differently? _____

Who is going to gain from this project and what are they going to gain? _____

Is this project sustainable? _____ If yes, how? _____

Will this project directly or indirectly harm anyone? _____

How will this project change the culture or social structure of the community? _____

Will this project help the most poor of this community? How? _____

Will this project diminish or increase the dependency of the community on external resources? Why? _____

Will this project help increase the abilities of the participants for use in the future? How ?

Will this project harm the natural environment? If no why not? _____

APPENDIX 3

Publications in Spanish

Morin, Erin (1996) *Una guía para hacer diagnósticos participativos en áreas rurales*. Guatemala, SCDRYS.

- a 40-page, single-spaced, Spanish document outlining how to conduct a Participatory Rural Needs Assessment (PRNA) in non-literate communities. This manual provides information regarding details to consider before conducting a PRNA and provides specific instructions on how to facilitate 23 different thematic workshops.

Morin, Erin (1997) *Las Voces de Patzulá*. Guatemala: SCDRYS

- a 98 page, single-spaced, Spanish document compiling 23 in-depth interviews, with matching photos, of people of Patzulá from various age, gender, and socio-economic backgrounds. Aside from the five unstructured life-history interviews, topical interviews focus on education, health, the rich, the poor, agriculture, alcoholism, animals, Mayan religion, art, disabilities, Catholicism, economics, housing, midwifery, music, the war, politics, language, and dress. For *Las Voces de Patzulá* the interviewee's commentary in K'iche' and simultaneous Spanish translation from each interview were taped by the author. After the author transcribed and edited the oral Spanish translation, the translator/assistant returned to the interviewee and read an oral K'iche' version of the edited Spanish interview transcript for verification before publication.

Morin, Erin (1996) *Diagnóstico de Patzulá*. Guatemala: SCDRYS

- *Diagnóstico de Patzulá* is a 130-page, single-spaced Spanish document that compiles the transcripts and diagrams from the 88 different workshops facilitated by the author in Patzulá during a five-month period. The 23 thematic workshops, outlined in Appendix 2) were conducted with 4 different groups: women aged 21 and over, men aged 23 and over, young women aged 15-20, and young men aged 15-22. These workshops represent 120 combined working hours (see Appendix 5).
- This document also contains the twelve project proposals which the four groups created, including: a youth education project; a sewing project; an education grant project to allow students to study beyond Grade Six; a store cooperative project; an irrigation project; a chicken project; a sewing project; a bread project; a teacher program; an infant eatery project; and a cow project.
- For the *Diagnóstico de Patzulá*, the oral K'iche' to Spanish translations from each workshop were first taped by the author. The author then typed the Spanish translations and photographed the group's diagrams. Finally, the Spanish transcripts were verified by the translator/assistant and published.

APPENDIX 4

Chronology of the Peace Process

October 1987: During the administration of Vinicio Cerezo Arevalo, the Guatemalan National Revolutionary Unity (URNG) with a government delegation meet for the first time ever in Madrid, Spain, in compliance with Arias peace plan, signed by the Central American presidents in February 1987. Further talks do not prosper, however, and the civil war heats up.

March 1990: The **Basic Agreement for Peace by Political Means**, also known as the Oslo Accord, is signed in that city. The document contains a timetable for conversations between the URNG General Command and the different sectors of society, leading to negotiations between the URNG, the government, and the army. The accord designates Monsignor Rodolfo Quezada Toruño as mediator of the peace process and solicits the participation of the United Nations observer.

May 1990: Meeting between the URNG and political parties in El Escorial, Spain.

August 1990: Meeting between the URNG and the Chamber of Agricultural, Commercial, Industrial and Financial Associations (CACIF) in Ottawa, Canada.

September 1990: The URNG meets with religious sectors in Quito, Ecuador.

October 1990: In Metepec, Mexico, the URNG meets separately with representatives of labor unions and the grassroots movement, and with representative of the academic sector, cooperatives and medium and small business. The central premise of these and the earlier meetings with diverse sectors of civil society is that any political resolution of the armed conflict must address the root causes of the war.

April 26, 1991: The **Mexican Accord** is reached with the government of Jorge Serrano Elías. It contains procedures for the peace negotiations and an 11-point agenda that includes economic, social, political, and military issues. Despite the agreement, negotiations bog down.

May 25, 1993: Serrano attempts to take dictatorial powers, putting an abrupt halt to his term in office and the peace process.

January 10, 1994: In Mexico City the **Framework Accord for the Resumption of the Peace Process**, is signed with representatives of the Ramiro de León Carpio government. It is based on the Mexico Accord, and calls for input from civil society in the development of future accords. Monsignor Quezada is removed as mediator and the United Nations named in his place.

March 29, 1994: Also in Mexico City, the **Global Human Rights Accord** is signed, to go into effect immediately, and a timetable for further agreements is set. Under the human rights accord, the government pledges to respect human rights, to dismantle clandestine repressive structures such as the death squads, and to allow international verification of the agreement by the U.N. Mission.

April 1994: The **Assembly of Civil Sectors (ASC)** is established with Monsignor Quezada at its head. The ASC's role is to make non-binding proposals to the negotiating table on topics on the agenda that address political, social, and economic issues, rather than the operative aspects of the peace process.

June 17, 1994: The parties sign the **Accord for the Resettlement of the Population Displaced by the Armed Conflict** in Oslo, Norway. This agreement stipulates the promotion of an integrated development strategy for the displaced, and calls for a technical committee with representation from these populations to oversee implementation.

June 23, 1994: The **Accord on the Establishment of the Commission for the Historical Clarification of Human Rights Violations and Acts of Violence which have Caused Suffering to the Guatemalan Population** - also known as the "Truth Commission" Accord - is signed in Oslo. This accord provokes widespread disapproval, since in it the parties agree that the Truth Commission will establish institutional rather than individual responsibilities for war crimes and that it will not pursue legal action against the offenders.

November 21, 1994: The U.N. Verification Mission (MINUGUA) is officially established in Guatemala and verification of compliance with the human rights accord begins.

January 21, 1995: The Catholic Church pulls its representatives, including Monsignor Quezada, from the ASC, a blow from which the assembly never fully recovers.

March 31, 1995: In Mexico City, the parties sign the **Accord on the Indigenous Peoples' Identity and Rights**, which calls for constitutional reforms that redefine Guatemala as a multicultural, plurilingual, and multiethnic state. The agreement also pledges official recognition of the nation's indigenous languages, their religions, and their political and legal structures. And the government promises to end all forms of discrimination against the Maya, Garifuna, and Xinka peoples. This is the last accord signed under the De León administration. The transitory nature of that government and the complexity of the issues under discussion prevent the successful culmination of the peace process before the end of the year as envisioned in the January Framework Accord.

March 19, 1996: In separate declarations, the URNG and the new Alvaro Arzu Irigoyen government announce a halt to offensive military actions and counterinsurgency operations while the remaining points on the peace process agenda are debated.

May 6, 1996: The **Accord on Socioeconomic Issues and the Agrarian Situation** is signed in Mexico City. Although the agreement includes provisions for participation by

communities in planning their own development, credit and savings assistance for small and medium businesses, a revised land registry, and land bank, many Guatemalans are disappointed with its contents, particularly the absence of land reform.

September 19, 1996: The Accord on the Strengthening of Civilian Authority and the Role of the Army in a Democratic Society is signed in Puebla, Mexico. Among its more important provisions are the restriction of the duties of the armed forces to the defense of the nation's sovereignty and the protection of its borders. Under the agreement, repressive structures such as the Civil Defense Patrols (PACs) and the Presidential Military Guard (EMP) are to disappear, and the army's size and budget are to be cut by one-third.

October 28, 1996: Peace talks are briefly suspended after a rebel commander of the Revolutionary Organization of the People in Arms (ORPA) -- one of the four armed groups that make up the URNG -- is implicated in the kidnapping of a wealthy Guatemalan. To hasten the resumption of the talks, the URNG offers to move up discussions on permanent cease-fire, and ORPA leader Gaspar Ilom resigns from the negotiating table.

December 4, 1996: A definitive cease-fire, which also sets out the timetable for the demobilization and disarming of rebel forces, is signed in Oslo, Norway.

December 7, 1996: The parties sign the Accord on Constitutional Reforms and the Electoral System in Stockholm, Sweden. This document brings together the constitutional reforms contained in earlier agreements and advises reforms to the electoral system that included ceilings on campaign funds, monitoring of party finances, and allowing armed forces personnel to vote.

December 12, 1996: The Accord on the Basis for the Incorporation of the URNG into Legal Life is signed in Madrid, Spain. This agreement provides for financial aid, scholarships, training, housing, and health care for URNG members to facilitate their return to civilian life. It also includes a controversial amnesty for both rebel and army combatants.

December 29, 1996: In Guatemala City, the parties sign the **Accord for a Firm and Lasting Peace**, officially ending the war and activating all previously signed agreements. Earlier in the day a timetable for implementing the peace accords is signed.

Source: CERIGUA (1997)

APPENDIX 5

Workshop Attendance Records from June-Sept. 1996

Women

	Name and Age	26-June*	9-Jul	16-Jul	23-Jul	31-Jul	7-Aug	20-Aug	4-Sep	17-Sep	30-Sep
1	Catarina Hernandez Mejia (22)					X		X	X	X	
2	Catarina Juarez (premeria) (50)	X	X	X	X	X	X		X		X
3	Catarina Juarez (segundo) (45)	X	X	X	X	X	X		X	X	X
4	Dominga de la Cruz Benito (28)			X		X	X	X	X		X
5	Dominga Gomes Chicay/Xical (24)			X					X		
6	Dominga Alvares Ciprian (22)		X	X	X	X	X		X	X	X
7	Domingo Lares Hernandez(24)						X				
8	Encarnacion Gomes Ambrocio (35)		X				X		X	X	X
9	Encarnacion Gomes Lares	X						X			X
10	Encarnacion Ralios Perez (41)	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
11	Encarnacion Gomes Lares (20)						X	X	X	X	X
12	Fermina Lopez Tipaz (55)								X		X
13	Francisca Soliz Gutierrez(35)					X	X	X	X	X	X
14	Francisca Pablo Miranda (40)	X	X		X		X	X	X	X	X
15	Francisca Hernandez (59)	X					X			X	X
16	Isabela Pablo Hernandez (22)	X		X		X	X			X	
17	Juana Ciprian Gutierrez (45)		X	X					X		
18	Juana Lorenzo Ren (32)									X	
19	Lucia Juarez Gutierrez (38)	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
20	Maria Albarez Ordoñez (30)								X	X	X
21	Maria Alvarez Ortiz (45?)	X								X	
22	Maria de la Cruz Juarez (30)	X									
23	Maria de la Cruz Meranda						X	X	X	X	
24	Maria Peres (35)		X				X		X	X	X
25	Maria Peres #2 (91)				X		X		X		X

*=8-9 hours long
All remaining 3 hours long

APPENDIX 5

Workshop Attendance Records from June-Sept. 1998

Women Cont.

Name and Age	26-June*	9-Jul	16-Jul	23-Jul	31-Jul	7-Aug	20-Aug	4-Sep	17-Sep	30-Sep
26 Maria Pablo Soliz (30)						X			X	
27 Maria Ralios Hernandez (36)	X	X	X	X		X	X	X	X	X
28 Maria Ramos Lorenzo (34)							X	X		
29 Maria Izquin Alonzo (30)	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		X	
30 Marlina Lares (49)		X	X					X		X
31 Marlina Juarez Larjos (29)						X	X			
32 Micaela Lorenzo Gabriela (38)	X	X	X							
33 Micaela Soliz Juarez (27)			X							
34 Petrona Hernandez	X	X	X							
35 Petrona Juarez Mendoza (40)							X		X	X
36 Petrona Lopez Lopez					X		X			
37 Petrona Ordones (42)									X	
38 Ramona Tzep (33)	X	X	X	X	X			X	X	X
39 Ramono Perez Zetino (28)							X	X		
40 Tomasa Juarez (35)		X		X	X	X		X		X
41 Tomasa Ralias y Ralias		X								
42 Tomasa Ramos (35)		X	X	X				X	X	X
43 Tomasa Velasque Gutierrez (50)	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		X	
44 Tomasa Velasque Soliz (60)			X	X				X		
45 Tomasa Zacaria	X	X								
46 Manuela Gomez Ambrocio (40)									X	X

*=8-9 hours long
All remaining 3 hours long

APPENDIX 5

Workshop Attendance Records from June-Sept. 1996

Young Women

Name and Age	28-June*	9-Jul	17-Jul	24-Jul	31-Jul	7-Aug	21-Aug	4-Sep
1 Bartola Albares Ralios (17)	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
2 Catarina Juarez Larlos (16)	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	
3 Catarina Ralios Juarez (16)		X					X	X
4 Dominga Juarez Juarez (16)			X	X	X			
5 Juana Albarez Ordonez (20)	X		X	X	X		X	X
6 Juana Ambrocio Gomez(13)			X	X	X			X
7 Juana Juarez Miranda (17)			X	X	X			
8 Juana Pablo Hernandez (18)			X	X				X
9 Maria Albarez Ordonez (30)	X			X			X	X
10 Maria Benito Lopez (17)			X	X	X	X	X	X
11 Maria de los Angeles Hernandez (17)	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
12 Maria Lorenzo Ramos (14)	X							X
13 Maria Zetino Lorenzo (18)	X							
14 Micaela Lares Gabriel			X					
15 Tomasa Ambrocio Gomes (17)			X	X	X			X

*=8-9 hours long
All remaining 3 hours long

APPENDIX 5

Workshop Attendance Records from June-Sept. 1996

Men

Name and Age	25-June*	8-Jul	15-Jul	22-Jul	31-Jul	6-Aug	20-Aug	3-Sep	16-Sep	1-Oct
1 Antonio Juarez Lares (40)	X	X	X	X		X	X	X	X	
2 Cruz Hernandez	X									
3 Cruz Lares (54)									X	
4 Encarnacion Lorenzo Ren (27)	X	X								
5 Gabriel Zetino Ralios (44)		X	X	X	X	X	X		X	X
6 Gaspar Alvares Ortiz(42)	X	X	X	X		X	X	X		X
7 Gaspar Lorenzo Ren(24)	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		X
8 Gaspar Tzep Ramos (36)		X					X			
9 Gaspar Tzep (26)			X	X		X				
10 Gregorio Lorenzo Ren (38)							X	X		
11 Juan Albares Ordones (33)			X						X	
12 Jose Ambroico Mendoza (25)							X			
13 Lucio Juarez Gutierrez (30)	X		X	X				X		
14 Manuel Juares (34)				X	X					
15 Manuel Mejia Ambrocio							X			
16 Manuel Tipaz Juarez (23)	X	X	X							
17 Martin Juares		X	X					X		
18 Martin Juares Gutieres (29)	X	X	X	X		X				
19 Pedro Amrocio de la cruz (34)				X			X	X	X	
20 Domingo Alvarez Ordones				X		X	X			
21 Tomas Ralio Ralios			X				X			

*=8-9 hours long
All remaining 3 hours long

APPENDIX 5

Workshop Attendance Records from June-Sept. 1996

Young Men

Name and Age	18-June*	8-Jul	15-Jul	22-Jul	31-Jul	7-Aug	20-Aug	3-Sept
1 Cruz Lares Gabriel (22)	X	X		X		X	X	X
2 Hilario Tipaz Juarez							X	X
3 Juan Zetino Lorenzo (18)	X	X						X
4 Julio Lopez Alazo (22)	X	X	X	X				X
5 Manuel Pablo Hernandez		X						
6 Pablino Zetino Lorenzo		X	X	X				
7 Pedro Albares Rallos (14)	X	X	X	X		X	X	X
8 Pedro Ambrose			X					
9 Santos Lares Hernandez (19)	X						X	
10 Tomas Ralio Juarez			X					
11 Tomas Lares Hernandez							X	

*=8-9 hours long
All remaining 3 hours long

APPENDIX 6

Cow Project Mujeres Mayas (Women's Group of Patzulá)

Who are you:

- Mujeres Mayas - committee of women in Patzulá
- President : Encarnación Pérez Ralios, Others: 51 members

What do you do:

- look at the problems in Patzulá, analyze them, and look for some solutions

What do you want:

- cows - we would like one cow per house in Patzulá

Why:

- if we have cows we can obtain organic fertilizer and not have to buy as much chemical fertilizer which is very expensive
- if we have cows we can obtain milk and cheese for our children and family to improve their nutritional intake and the health of our families
- if we have cows we can use the organic fertilizer to start a vegetable garden near the houses

Where:

- in Patzulá - one cow per family (there are 47 houses and 72 families)

How:

- the NGO would give each family money to buy a cow. The family would then take care of the cow from two to five years. The first born calf would then be returned to the NGO, sold for the NGO, or passed on to a neighbouring community to continue the process.

Activity	When	What do you need	How much	What does the NGO gain
Plant grass between the corn	Sept. 1996	old grass	-----	
Clean the grass	each month	the men of Patzulá	-----	
Build adequate lean-tos for the cows to sleep (1)	July 1997	help from the men and materials to construct the lean-to	-----	
Buy the cows (2)	Aug. 1997	money	72 000	
	(3)		(1000 x 72)	
Feed the cows	Aug. 1997...	grass and water	-----	

Activity	When	What do you need	How much	What does the NGO gain
Make organic fertilizer (4)	Aug. 1997....	materials from the cow dung	-----	
Vaccination and training on how to manage cows	2 times a year for three years	cow expert	13 836 (5)	
Reproduction	Aug. 1998...	a bull	40	
Make cheese and milk	May 1999...	help from people in the community that already know how	-----	
Sell the extra milk and cheese to other communities	May 1999...	-----	-----	
If the first calf is sold	Aug. 2000..	-----	-----	112 500 (6)
Total			Q85 876	Q101 566 (7)

(1) so that it is easier to collect the cow dung

(2) there are 72 families in Patzulá, we want a cow for all regardless of whether they have participated in the needs assessment

(3) the cows are less expensive during this time because many people must sell their cows to buy corn as their supplies dwindle

(4) we have already received training on this topic from SCDRYS

(5) 1997 - 25 each vaccination x 2 x 72 + cow expert's time 30 = 3630

1998 - 31.25 (25 x 25%) x 2 x 72 + cow expert's time 40 = 4540

1999 - 39 (31 x 25%) x 2 x 72 + cow expert's time 50 = 5666

(6) -1562 x 72 [-each cow costs 1250.00 in 1998 (1000 x 25%), each cow costs 1562.00 in 1999 (1250 x 25%) - etc.]

(7) 112 500.00 - 10% from deaths (72 x 10% = 7 cows x 1562 = 10 934.00)

112 500.00 - 10 934.00 = 101 566.00

Advantages

- in July 31, 1996 we obtained training on how to make organic fertilizers with cow dung
- less of us will migrate to the coffee plantations because we will have to leave behind someone to look after the cow - the children would then be able to go to school for the whole year

Potential Problems

- there may not be enough grass - however - in the dry season when there is not much grass we will use corn leaves

What abilities do you possess to do this project?

- we know how to plant grass
- some of us know how to make cheese and can teach the rest
- we know how to take care of animals
- some of us know how to buy cows and can teach the rest of us

Have you tried this in the past?

- no

Who is going to gain from this project and what are they going to gain?

- the children and our families are going to gain better health
- the earth is going to gain because we will be using less chemical fertilizer
- the community will gain a little money because they can sell the extra cheese to neighbouring communities
- the community is going to gain because with the cows less people will migrate to the coffee plantations and more children will then go to school which will help the future development of the community
- the community will gain because they will save money by not buying as much chemical fertilizer

Is this project sustainable?

- yes

Will this project harm anyone?

- no

Will this project help the most poor?

- yes - this project is for every family

Will this project diminish or increase the community's dependence on external resources?

- diminish

Will this project help the people develop their abilities for the future?

- yes - we will learn how to sell and how to manage cows

Will this project harm the natural environment?

- no - this project will help the earth by using more organic fertilizer and less chemical fertilizer

What will the recipients do to help with this project?

- we will construct a place for the cows to sleep, we will buy the cows, we will give food to the cows, and we will take care of the cows