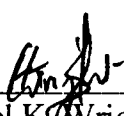


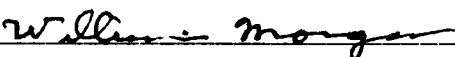
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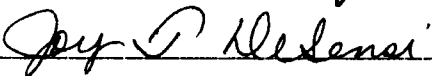
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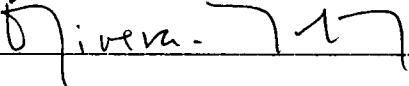


Handel K. Wright, Ph.D., Major Professor

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Accepted for the Council:



Associate Vice Chancellor and
Dean of The Graduate School

**LEARNING EXPERIENCES OF
RURAL GUATEMALANS ENGAGED IN
FORMAL SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT TRAINING**

A Dissertation
presented for the
Doctor of Philosophy Degree
The University of Tennessee, Knoxville

D. Rosemarie Mincey

December 1997

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DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated
to the *campesinos* of Guatemala.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I have a great deal of appreciation for those who helped make this study possible. My gratitude goes to my committee chair, Dr. Handel K. Wright, and to my committee members, Dr. William Morgan, Dr. Joy DeSensi, and Dr. Oscar Rivera-Rodas, who offered me their time, attention, scholarly input, and support. I am honored to have worked with them, and I have found their professionalism unparalleled.

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Each of these people and groups have my unending gratitude.

ABSTRACT

People living in rural areas throughout the world often face a great deal of impediment in obtaining a formal education, and this is the case in parts of Central America. Educational opportunities are often interrupted or halted altogether because many children must work in order to help provide waged or nonwaged labor as contribution to the survival of their families. Illiteracy rates are often high in such areas, and when children in these locations become adults, their already low educational opportunities decrease dramatically.

This study examines the perceptions of educational experience of 20 Guatemalan *campesinos* (rural persons) who were participating in a popular education, formal social development program. Conducted on the campus of Rafael Landívar University in Guatemala City, Guatemala, the study explores the structure of the university's CAPS (*Centro de Autoformación para Promotres Sociales* [Training Centre for Social Promoters]) program, an adult education program that employs the teaching/learning methodology of noted educator Paulo Freire. Using Freireian methodology, the program instructs its participants in grassroots organization and social development.

In this qualitative study, principal data collection methods were in-depth interviews and participant observations, with 20 interviews with 10 male and 10 female CAPS program participants providing the principal data that were analyzed for the study. The interview participants ranged in age from 16 to 62. Observations of the CAPS classes and the interactions of the participants, both inside and outside of the classroom, were documented. Analysis of the data

yielded the following principal themes: education, community, and the CAPS program.

Findings indicate that, with the exception of several participants who are currently attending formal schools, all of the participants had their formal educational pursuits interrupted or ended due to several prohibitive factors: large families, the need to help contribute to their families' subsistence, and economic difficulties. Almost all participants indicated a desire to have acquired more formal education, in addition to feeling that better educational opportunities will be key in helping their children and future generations have a better life. Grassroots organization, community activism, and sharing what was learned in the CAPS classes with their communities were identified by the participants as being particularly significant.

Implications for further research include the possibility of studies conducted with *campesinos* who are organizing groups and movements within their communities and who do have access to social development programs such as CAPS. This study also has significance for other inquiries into populations of marginalized and/or isolated people in similar circumstances who do not have an equitable access to the social resource of schooling.

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LIST OF TERMS

<i>campesino</i>	(Spanish) In English, this word generally translates to "rural person," or "peasant," but "person of the fields" is its most common association in the Spanish language.
CAPS	(Spanish) <i>Centro de Autoformación para Promotres Sociales</i> (Training Centre for Social Promoters)
conscientization (consciousness-raising)	Paulo Freire's concept of empowerment by using one's resources and capabilities to change one's view of reality; this is done by using critical reflective skills and analysis.
<i>huipile</i>	(Spanish) An embroidered and/or woven blouse that is the top part of the traditional dress worn by many indigenous groups in Guatemala.
<i>ladino</i>	(Spanish) A word in the Guatemalan context that signifies nonindigenous people, culture, and society. It was the also the language of the Sephardic Jews of Spain.
<i>mestizo</i>	(Spanish) In Latin American societies, persons of mixed European and indigenous descent.
NGO	non-governmental organization

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

CONTEXT

Due primarily to geographic isolation and depressed economic circumstances, poor formal educational conditions worldwide are more likely to be evident rural communities. This situation in turn has had limiting consequences upon the political and economic opportunities of rural population segments located in these areas. In addition, people who are denied opportunities for educational attainment are often expected to function and compete within societies with those who have more formal education.

Inadequacies in formal educational systems worldwide include substandard buildings, sparse facilities, lack of materials, and poor teacher quality or a lack of instructors altogether. These factors have often added to the depression of cognitive and economic development of persons where this educational situation exists. While education is a potential means of advancing to a better life, educational inequality has often served as a tool to perpetuate social inequality. Bureaucratic misevaluation, neglect, and mislabeling of ability, combined with low expectations, affect the sociopsychological circumstances of public and school communities (Ballantine, 1993). Because educational institutions frequently involve psychological and physical separation from their children, parents without formal education themselves may be suspect of these

environments and, thus, do not stress formal schooling. In many poverty-stricken areas of the world, formal schooling is frequently impacted or halted for children because of economic barriers. When these children become adults, schooling opportunities become even more scarce.

With a population of roughly 10.5 million, Guatemala is the most populous of the six Central American nations. It is the wealthiest in terms of natural resources and attracts enormous investment aid from the U.S., Canadian, European, and Far Eastern multinational corporations. However, wealth in Guatemala is grossly unequally distributed, in terms of both economic and social resources. Over half of Guatemala's total population is comprised of Mayan-descended indigenous¹ persons who, as a group, are disproportionally poor; per capita, they have the lowest income in the overall Central American region (Perera, 1993). A 1991 study revealed that 90 percent of the rural highland population lives in a state of extreme poverty and Guatemala is second only to Haiti in infant mortality rates in the Western hemisphere, with 52.2 deaths per 1000 births (World Factbook, 1995).

One group where the country's socioeducational inequity is highly evident is within the *campesino*² population. As subsistence agriculture is so

1 While the word "indigenous" may refer to a population born in any geographic location, "indigenous," as used for the purposes of this study, refers to those who are "Indian" or who identify themselves as "Indian" in Guatemala. I use the terms "indigenous," "native," and "Maya" interchangeably throughout the dissertation because several of the participants and others refer to themselves with these various terms. Because I believe strongly in the importance of self-identification and I am not a part of this indigenous Guatemalan population, I think it is important to refer to persons as they choose to identify themselves.

2 *Campesino* (Spanish) translates in English to "rural person" or "peasant," but "person of the fields" is its most common association.

vital to personal and familial survival, most *campesino* children must work and consequently do not make it past the third or fourth grade. Government statistics in 1987 noted that 2.3 million children (one-fourth of the country's total population) do not attend school regularly, if at all. Guatemala's population constitutes the least educated nation in Central America (UNICEF, 1991). A 1990 literacy estimate noted that only 55% of Guatemala's population over the age of 15 are literate (63% of these being male and 37% being female; World Factbook, 1995). Malnutrition is rampant in some rural areas, and it is estimated that at least 20,000 people die yearly of hunger. It is maintained that "the majority of Guatemala's four million children receive no protection at all, not even for the most elemental rights" (*Central American Report*, 1990).

The issue of land has long been a great source of contention in Guatemala, where 2.1% of the population own 62% of the country's productive land; *campesinos* have long been forced to work the land for extremely low wages (e.g., \$1-3 U.S. per day). Historically, *campesinos* have been subject to a capricious and unstable economy and market, and wealthy landowners have always had the power to affect the political climate. Several 19th and 20th century presidents of Guatemala implemented forced labor policies and systems of debt peonage, forcing *campesinos* to work on the *fincas*³ (farms) owned by landowners. From 1873 onwards, indigenous and *campesino* lands were confiscated by the government in order to meet the demand for coffee production; land that was either communally owned or unused was seized and

3 While the word *finca* may refer to a farm of any size, when referred to in context with *campesinos*, *finca* generally connotes large farm maintained through the physical labor of a number of under or low paid workers who do not own the farm (similar to a plantation system of operation).

sold to the highest bidder. In 1940 then President Jorge Ubico instituted the Vagrancy Law, which forced all landless *campesinos* to work at least 150 days a year. Occasional land "swaps" have taken place where indigenous or *campesino* owners have been "traded" barren land or given small tracts of unproductive *finca* property.

Protests against such unfair agribusiness practices have traditionally been met with swift, violent repression from the military, and this situation continues today. This land issue, tied up in a complicated web of politics, the interests of wealthy landowners with oppressive labor policies, the class discrimination, and the racism that many *campesinos* face have made Guatemala a nation with a history of social, civil, and political strife.

In the 1980s, the Guatemalan military began a campaign of institutional and political violence and "relocation" operations devised to subjugate native and poor rural communities and suppress rural development movements. The ensuing violence depressed the agrarian economy, divided families, and blocked delivery of health and education services throughout the country. In a nation marred by human tragedy and more than 40 years of brutal dictatorships and civil war, it is Guatemala's poverty-stricken rural population that has paid the heaviest toll. The social subjugation of this population is reflected in their low degree of formal educational attainment. As Chomsky (1994) has asserted,

Today, Guatemala is a country on the edge. The terror continues as the people struggle for the land and to make their voice heard above the clatter of conservative landowners and right-wing politicians...there are serious obstacles ahead as the right-wing military leaders, who have done so much to the soul of the Guatemalan people, still control the army. (p. 31)

Chomsky rightly observes that the military, at the bidding of the landed, moneyed oligarchy, has long controlled the daily life of Guatemalans. While in Guatemala, I saw what a large role the issue of land plays in the lives of *campesinos* and what an on-going struggle life is for them regarding land: who owns it, who works it, and who does or does not have access to it. This, as much as anything, is a contributory factor in Guatemala's educational dilemma. When one must work and can find work, attending school often becomes easily overshadowed.

Because of strong rural community resistance and guerilla movements, recent development efforts in Guatemalan public education have sought the redirection of government educative resources from urban *ladinos* to rural native populations. Despite this, the government essentially appears to be offering only superficial educational appeasement without changing the fundamental situation. Primary schooling (or basic education) has been emphasized, while secondary education, because it is more complex and offers persons more decision-making control, and because of its closer ties with an older student population and economic development, has decreased (Lynch, 1987). By creating and maintaining a situation where persons receive only basic (or even no) formal schooling, the government ensures that this educationally disadvantaged group is basically put in a position of only having access to service or physical labor and low wage jobs. This inadequacy and inequality in educational availability for the rural Guatemalan population has had debilitating effects upon this populace and aids in keeping this group mired in a situation of cognitive, academic, and economic tension and distress.

IDENTIFICATION AND NAMING OF POPULATIONS IN GUATEMALA

In speaking about Guatemalans, it is important to consider and utilize the descriptions that are used for the identification of groups in the country. There is a small population who inhabit the Guatemalan island of Lívíngston who are known as “Garifunas” or “black Caribs,” but the main subsets are those groups that comprise what are referred to as the indigenous and *ladinos*; these two groups are the most pervasive. For the purpose of clarification and in order to set the cultural and ethnic context of the study, some explanation is needed about how different groups are identified in Guatemalan society. An overview is given in the following sections.

Garifunas

Garifunas, a proportionally small ethnic group (also known as Garinagus, Black Caribs, or Black Guatemalans), are persons of indigenous/Caribbean descent who live primarily on one Guatemalan island, Lívíngston, and in southern Belize. Because of their small number, geographic location, and cultural singularity, Garifunas are often not covered in descriptions of Guatemala. Tracing their ancestry to Africans who came to the region either as escaped slaves or who were shipwrecked in the Caribbean, Garifunas today have distinct language and cultural traditions that are a blend of African, Mayan, and European influences. Garifunas may speak Spanish, their traditional language (a type of Creole), or English; culturally, they share more in common with southern and eastern Belizeans than with either the indigenous or *ladinos* that inhabit the rest of

Guatemala.

Indigenous Guatemalans

There are roughly over six million indigenous Mayas today throughout Central America, and Mayas comprise the single largest indigenous group in Latin America. While Mayas live in Mexico, Belize, and Honduras, the majority reside in Guatemala. The Maya in Guatemala live primarily west of the capital in the western highland areas, locations that were the scene of much of the violence of the country's civil war.

According to Woodard (1997), Guatemala's long history of civil strife, and particularly its nearly 40 year civil war, have occurred because

Most of the country's problems stem from the exclusion of the Mayan Indian majority from political, economic, and social life. Mayans make up 60 percent of the population, but control a tiny fraction of the wealth. Without access to schools and health care, 70 percent are impoverished and between 80 and 90 percent are illiterate. (p. 1)

Since the time of contact with their Spanish colonizers, the Maya have been marginalized within Guatemalan society. As the dominant culture has structured the social scheme of the country, indigenous people have little opportunity to maneuver out of their placement on the fringes of society. Most work as low paid migrant labor, and largely comprise the *campesino* population.

The indigenous people of Guatemala are often recognized by their clothing. Traditional indigenous clothing, such as the *huipile* (an embroidered and/or woven blouse that is the top part of the traditional dress) include in their design a visual code that conveys information about the wearer's age, social status, ethnicity, and home village. Many indigenous women wear *huipiles*; while

originally thought to be Mayan in origin, *huipiles* are now thought by some anthropologists to have originated after the Spanish Conquest. With the advent of the plantation system, landowners are thought to have used the various *huipile* patterns (more than 200 today) as a method of identifying those who "belonged" to the property of a particular landowner. Because each village has its own design, soldiers who were of indigenous descent could easily identify, detain, or kill women from areas that had been designated by the military for assault. Village-specific customs have also eroded due to migration and displacement. In spite of the many changes the indigenous culture has endured, however, there is currently a substantial reassertation of indigenous ethnic pride and racial identity, so much so that this is often referred to as the "Maya Renaissance." There are currently attempts to "recover" aspects of indigenous culture that have been considered "lost" or that have eroded over time with changes brought by the civil war. The peace process has aided in this, lending indigenous communities a space for greater examination and expression of their own customs and traditions.

"Ladinos"

Other than those who identify themselves as indigenous (see footnote 1), the term used to refer to the other main grouping is *ladino*. As Grandin & Reeves (1996) put it, *ladino* "in the Guatemalan context connotes nonindigenous culture and society" (p. 106). The term *ladino* is complex in how it has operated both historically and currently, and has several meanings.

Ladino (also referred to as the Judeo-Spanish language) is also the

traditional language of Sephardic Jews, a form of 15th-century Spanish. During the Spanish Inquisition, in an effort to more readily assimilate Jews and Moslems into Spanish culture, the use of the Spanish language was promoted to eradicate the Arabic and Judeo-Spanish languages within Spain. This policy was to be extended to the new colonies in the Western Hemisphere. However, in Guatemala, which even today is one of the most linguistically diverse countries in the world and the most diverse in the Western Hemisphere, the crown's language scheme was not implemented. During this time, as Moore (1989) notes:

The local Catholic clergy felt that it would be better to convert the Indians in their own languages. If the Indians did not understand Spanish, it would cut down on outside influences, and make the Indians dependent on bilingual priests in dealings with the government. (p. 2)

The internal division that so many indigenous languages provided was used to the advantage of the Spanish, who were then in a better position to exploit indigenous groups as a large labor force.

In the New World, *ladino* became a reference to those indigenous persons who could speak Spanish. In other words, indigenous persons who could understand Spanish came to be identified as those who could, in essence, be "bicultural" and, who were, therefore, more suspect to both Spaniards and indigenous people by virtue of their dual language capability. The distinction between those who are of Mayan descent and those who are *ladino* is therefore not racial or ethnic, but cultural and economic. "In fact, almost all *ladinos*," Moore (1989) maintains, "have some Indian blood, and some are completely descended from Indians. *Ladinos*, can, and often do, physically look like Indians, but they will not be considered as Indians" (p. 2). Because nearly all

Guatemalans are considered to be of indigenous descent, either directly or indirectly, there is no real racial hierarchy; social stratification is seen much more in terms of class. Britnall (1977) notes that "what matters in distinguishing Indian from *ladino* is immediate descent and cultural characteristics such as language and dress" (p. 20). While not being of full European descent (or white), *ladinos* were in essence able to establish themselves in the position of whites through social dominance. Historically, *ladinos*, because of this distinguishing language ability, were able to use this to their advantage by gaining dominance over the indigenous populations, becoming figures of authority. Britnall (1977) goes on to point out that

Ladinos were automatically in contact with the larger Guatemalan society through their competence in the national language and customs. . . .Indian ignorance of the national language and culture was guaranteed through the social segregation of the two groups which was manifested in the *Ladino* avoidance of friendships and mixed marriages, and through an effective *Ladino* monopoly on local "public" education. (p. 173)

Because Spanish was the national language, *ladinos* developed a virtual monopoly on access to social resources and a head start in schooling, and *ladinos* were able to acquire power through the marginalization of the indigenous population. This social segregation continues today throughout Guatemalan society.

Over time, the term *ladino* became simplified in its widespread usage as a term that connotes anything "non-indigenous," although the term can still be construed in several ways. Those who comprise non*ladino* society, or those who are "Indian," also may today use *ladino* in a derisive manner for those who reside in larger cities, work in cities, do not wear traditional dress, or have taken

on the cultural characteristics of *ladinos*. In some places, *ladino* is used as a reference to someone who is "crafty" or "sly." While *mestizo* (a word most readily used in Latin American societies to refer to persons of mixed European and indigenous descent) does not have the historical political undertones that *ladino* does, and although both terms connote mixed race, *ladino* is the word that is most used in reference to non-indigenous society in Guatemala, and it is the word that will be used in reference to the governing and dominant culture in Guatemala for the purposes of this dissertation. Not all people who live in rural areas in Guatemala are poor nor uneducated; but when a "rural" population is referred to in this study, it will be in reference to those persons who are marginalized (primarily class and economic wise) and live in rural areas.

Guatemalan society overall seemingly operates on two levels in many different aspects: *indigenous* and *ladino*, rural and urban, poor and wealthy. Several characteristics of Guatemalan culture will be provided in the following section in this context.

"Dos Mundos"

Indigenous persons and *ladinos* alike often refer to Guatemala as "*dos mundos*" (two worlds). Guatemala, both physically and culturally, is a country of stunning contradictions. The two cultures that form the *dos mundos* have each borrowed from the other, but have maintained a distinct separateness. As Calvert notes (1985)

Nothing is more complex in Guatemala than its cultural tradition . . . the basic division is between the *ladino* and Indian cultures, although there is, nevertheless, a close relationship between the two. Even for the *ladinos*,

the Indian culture of their country is emotionally significant as it is one of the main sources of national identity, and the major writers and artists of the country have tried in various ways to reconcile their two very different heritages. (p. 49)

In many instances, indigenous persons have had to imitate *ladino* customs in order to have greater social participation. As a young Kekchi *indigena* from Cobán, Antonio Pop Caal, as quoted by Jonas & Tobias (1974), asserts

For too long we have dreamed about being ladino, and not only because we understand their mediocrity, but above all because we are convinced of our own value and of our origins. Yes, it is true that many of us are disguised as ladinos, but we have done this against our wishes. If we had not accepted this disguise, we would not have gained access to the centers of instruction, employment, and public office. (p. 15)

One of the most identifiable aspects of indigenous culture are the garments, and part of the “disguise” of the *ladino* culture that has been appropriated by indigenous persons mentioned by Pop Caal is that of Western dress; even clothing in Guatemala can quickly become a complex issue.

The danger of wearing traditional clothing is not nearly as widespread as in recent times. While there is currently, as mentioned earlier, a “resurgence” in the popularity of traditional dress, many more men are seen in Western dress than women, and more women are adopting *ladino* dress because of the growing prohibitive costs of making traditional clothing, for as Barry (1992) states, “wearing *traje* [traditional dress], though it continues to be a source of cultural affirmation for many indian women, represents an economic burden. It costs at least \$75 to make a complete outfit - about a quarter of the annual per capita income for most Guatemalans” (p. 218). Because indigenous men often are more exposed to the dominant culture, “this has left women as the primary bearers of

cultural identity” (p. 219). Some women, however, are increasingly expressing a rejection of *traje*, as this is a “choice of indian women who want to *modernizarse* so as not to remain trapped in what they see as a confining and oppressive past” (p. 218). While the more isolated communities do retain more traditional customs, Barry asserts, “when an indian man or woman decides, for example, not to wear *traje* to avoid attracting military attention or to improve his or her chances of landing a job, the choice is hardly a free one” (p. 219).

In addition to the cultural expression of clothing, the marginalized segments of the Guatemalan population have several creative methods of expressing themselves. Graffiti in many geographic locations is a strong tool for political and cultural expression. Cartoons, in addition to graffiti, play an important role in expressing resistance. Cartoons are effective disseminators of information, particularly because such a great number of rural persons are illiterate. Political symbols and slogans of opposition may be seen throughout the country, in urban areas on buildings, and in rural areas on shacks, and even on trees and rocks. Plaques, photos, and crosses make up shrines that are seen in both urban and rural areas as monuments to the dead.

While neither “Indian” nor *ladino* are homogeneous classifications and the “*dos mundos*” of Guatemala at times blur and overlap, it is the indigenous culture of Guatemala that provides the country with its most readily distinct, identifiable cultural images.

As illustrated, Guatemala has a long and complex ethnic and cultural history. With the ethnic setting of Guatemala now presented, the focus of the following sections of this chapter will turn to examining the CAPS program,

whose participants are the focus of this study.

CAPS

It is difficult for poor rural Guatemalan children to obtain formal education. Although there are even fewer formal learning opportunities for poor, rural adults to either begin or further their education, there are some organizations in Guatemala designed to help *campesino* adults. One such program is CAPS (*Centro de Autoformación para Promotres Sociales* [Training Centre for Social Promoters]) at Rafael Landívar University in Guatemala City. Landívar University is named for Father Rafael Landívar y Caballero (1731-1793) and is a private, Catholic university.

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

This study is designed to examine the perceptions of educational experience of Guatemalan *campesinos*. In particular, the study explores adult students' reactions to the CAPS program, which is based on Freireian methodology, and examines the participants' perceptions of its efficacy for their communities. (The Freireian technique will be reviewed more extensively in Chapter II, "Review of Literature").

The CAPS program is administered at the university through the Jesuit order of priests, lay religious workers, and consultant professors and workers. As most of the *campesinado* participants' educational experiences are community-

based and informal, the formal learning environment of a university is a new experience for them. For some participants, this is their first exposure to any type of formal educational setting. In the interviews conducted with the participants, their perceptions emerged about what knowledge is considered valid and valuable within Guatemalan village communities, how they feel about their participation in this program, and how they plan to use and share the knowledge they gain in the CAPS classes in their village communities when they return home.

RATIONALE

The purpose of this study was to explore the learning experiences of participants in formal social development classes and ascertain how they view their involvement and experience in a program such as CAPS. This is significant, as there is a need to create an awareness of the perceptions of student participants in progressive and popular education in order to facilitate an understanding of the issues confronted by the participants beyond statistics or "official" statements issued by development or aid programs. Many persons in the U.S. are not aware of the socioeducational system of Guatemala, and not many educational studies about *campesino* adults exist. What is known is about the educational system often involves basic education or the formal schooling of children. What I sought to do in this study is to find out more about the informal schooling of adults through their own views, and to shed light on the educational perceptions of the marginalized *campesino* group.

In addition, the study was designed to examine how the Freireian methodology is implemented in this program as a conduit for social justice. To do this, it was necessary to examine the participants' perceptions of whether they view the program as successful in preparing them to undertake social change in their communities.

I was particularly interested in the manner in which the kinship systems and community learning structures affect both informal and formal educational acquisition. Family position in the system of social stratification has a close relationship to educational achievement of students; socioeconomic structure often affects what education is possible, who has access to it, and, due to constraints, at what age formal education is likely to end. Because *campesinos* have faced considerable sustained social marginalization and oppression, their opportunities for formal educational attainment and their ability to participate equitably in their country's social, political, and economic structures have been severely curtailed. It is for these reasons that programs, such as CAPS, are needed and need to be explored.

THE CAPS PROGRAM

History of the CAPS Program

With its primary mission being to undertake the basic training of leaders who would learn to carry out important tasks for needed rural community improvement, this program, begun in 1966, was designed to develop an alternative adult education outreach program for rural Guatemalan citizens.

CAPS attempts to reach the most marginalized persons in rural Guatemalan society. The program works primarily with the *campesino* population of 10 Guatemalan departments (the counterpart to states in the U.S.). Much of the CAPS student population is under- or uneducated farmers who are trained within the program to be "social promoters,"⁴ and a large portion of the student population is indigenous.

The reasons for the establishment and maintenance of the CAPS program include the *campesinos'* marginalized placement in the economic, legal, political, and social structure of Guatemala; continued subordination of women; racial discrimination, and the widespread and deeply felt indigenous-group distrust of outside groups and organizations. CAPS activities are aimed at training and preparing the community leaders to be, in essence, disseminators of change. Through the program, rural Guatemalans participate actively in achieving their communities' well-being. The program provides the technical know-how for the creation of better conditions for the *campesinos* and allows them to obtain opportunities for social progress and development without discrimination. Instead of imposing *ladino* classroom practices, the program employs transformative adult education techniques to create a learning situation wherein the *campesino* is more empowered through reflection about her/his culture.

CAPS is designed to deal with particular issues that influence *campesino* life. Structurally, CAPS is comprised of technical, training, and extension sections. The Technical Team is comprised of specialized staff in the areas of Human

4 "Social promoters" are those persons who, after attending CAPS classes, return to their respective communities to engage in sharing social development ideas and activities with others.

Conduct Experience Laboratories, Group Dynamics, Organizational Development, Cooperativism, Policy, Community Development, and Development Sociology. The Training Department gives courses in Group Dynamics, Human Conduct Experience Laboratories, Organizational Development, and Human Relations Consulting; offers technical assistance to national and international development institutions; and creates, reviews, evaluates, and continually updates curricula for the courses. The Extension Department follows the progress of the promoters who have returned to their respective communities. Follow-up is given by the rural advisors through personal visits to the graduate promoters in the departments, municipalities, towns, villages, and settlements. Other activities include consciousness-raising and remotivation courses in the municipalities, project counseling and supervision, and liaison services among groups of social promoters and the public and private authorities in their respective regions.

The following introduction was written by Father Pablo Espinoza, S.J., the Administrative Director of CAPS, in a 1994 Rafael Landívar University publication and illustrates the CAPS philosophy:

Twenty-eight years ago, a group of good Guatemalans started the difficult task of forming human resources mainly in our abandoned rural areas, with the purpose of initiating advancement possibilities for planned social change.

Many perhaps have been the right guesses, but many have been the wrong guesses too. But from them, we have learned to achieve what is positive. We have had many critics trying to manipulate our human philosophy; however, as in any matter, we are subject to diverse opinions, and that is good.

Here, we are trying to accompany with seriousness, objectivity, and efficacy answers to the diverse inquiries of hundreds of thousands of *campesinos* who have understood their human value, their dignity, and their right of having a greater participation within the sociopolitical life of our country.

...

Our effort implies our hard work, the serenity and great collaboration of our *campesino* brothers and sisters.

Our program includes

- Integral training
- Basic organizational development
- Planning and executing socioproductive projects and basic community infrastructures
- General guidance for development
- Inter-institutional coordination

With these distinct conceptions comes the need to support national development that principally impacts the forgotten areas of our country.

We know that our efforts are small compared to the large needs of our patient but suffering people in many spheres including social, economic, cultural, and political areas. However, we are working with our faith and civil obligations to attempt to soften the harsh and tyrannical consciousness that does not want to share.

We would like to thank all of the people who have been part of our team, to the *campesinos* of the 105 Guatemalan villages we helped and members of other sister NGOs with whom we coordinated action in the rural countryside and our colleagues with whom we share our point of view, our vision, our realizations, and our blunders.

We continue our labor, supporting those least favored, with the solidarity of all the people's hopes when they reclaim their rights, but also when we fulfill our obligations. We hope the people's hunger for justice will not end.

As may be seen from these comments, CAPS is focused on helping the *campesino* community in a number of ways. While believing that their methodology has been unpopular with successive right-wing governments and the moneyed class, CAPS organizers feel that their work is important enough to continue in the face of obstacles. One feature that the CAPS program has had on its side that has helped its survival through decades of severe political strife is that it is a formal organization that operates through the auspices of an established university. In spite of this, the program's leftist foundations have not always sat well with the right-wing governments that have been in place since the program's inception; during the mid-1980s, several CAPS workers in Guatemala

City "disappeared"⁵ and have never been found. One CAPS teacher told me in an informal discussion that because of their work in social development, their occupation is "of course always dangerous, because this is Guatemala." However, there are signs of promise: a lessening of tensions between the left and right political factions in an on-going peace process has made the situation "much better than before." The December, 1996, signing of the long-awaited Guatemalan peace treaty and increased international focus on human rights violations in Guatemala have helped to lessen repression of leftist individuals and organizations as well.

CAPS Adult Education

Rather than traditional instruction techniques, the methodology used by CAPS employs intergroup experience as a function of creating personal learning enrichment. The program is Freireian in its technique and is based upon the precept that any person, regardless of educational or social status, possesses ideas and a culture worthy of respect. Each participant, it is believed, has not only something to learn but also something to teach others. Because the overwhelming majority of the students are subsistence farmers and cannot be away from their homes for extended periods, basic periods of instruction within the CAPS programs are generally from one week (in Guatemala City) to three months (longer classes are usually conducted within the villages themselves).

5

The "disappeared" refers to the abduction of people by their political "enemies" during times of political crisis, and who have not been seen since the time of their abduction. This also refers to a situation that has taken place in several Latin American countries other than Guatemala, and is most identified with the political crisis in Argentina during the 1970s.

The program also works with people from the local communities to accommodate different languages and dialects when necessary.

The teacher functions as the group facilitator, with the students forming a teaching and learning educational unit; creativity, spontaneity, discovery, initiative, and criticism are stimulated through dialogue. Cooperation within the group is used to illustrate the importance of community coordination, as well as the significance of group dynamics and organizational development. Self-evaluation and an emphasis on reflective personal experience are used as a basis for the critical examination of problems and solutions.

CAPS Departments

Geographically, CAPS works primarily in the Western Highlands and Eastern areas of Guatemala in 10 departments. The Eastern departments include the departments of Santa Rosa, Jutiapa, Zacapa, and Chiquimula. Here, much of the population is almost completely *ladino*, and the popular occupation of men here are that they are "*vaqueros*" (cowboys). Huehuetenango, San Marcos, Quetzaltenango, Totonicapán, Sololá, and Quiché comprise part of the Western Highlands area. This area partially borders Mexico and contains the highest concentration of indigenous population. I was told by a CAPS teacher that prohibitive costs are the reason that CAPS cannot work with all of the 22 departments of Guatemala.

CAPS relies heavily on the work of consultants who work in the individual departments and communities. Consultants in general are responsible for six communities. CAPS participants are usually chosen by the consultants

after working with them for a time. The departments where CAPS works may be seen in Figure 1.1, and the participants are brought in from these departments; the classes take place in the capital, Guatemala City, at Landívar University. The courses are free of charge for the participants, but the participants often lose income for the time they are away from their farms and work. Although the classes are always for no more than a week, each day of income is important for *campesinos*. The average formal schooling level of the students is third grade.

Father Espinoza, the CAPS course administrator, told me that problems the program occasionally faces are that some participants do not maintain responsibility for their follow-up duties in the communities, and alcoholism is a major concern in some communities. However, on a more positive note, CAPS is attempting to recruit younger participants to impart to them the importance of education, including the fact that they have the moral and legal right to be educated, and is also attempting to incorporate more courses that address the concerns of women, as women are gaining a more significant role as wage earners in Guatemala.

Because CAPS is a part of Rafael Landívar University, which is a private institution, the program does not receive any monetary support from the state. CAPS receives support from NGOs (nongovernmental organizations) such as the Inter-American Foundation, and from several international organizations, particularly from those located in Holland and Germany. CAPS also works in conjunction with IGER (*Instituto Gualtemalteco de Educación Radiofónica*, or Guatemalan Institute of Radio Education), a nationwide radio program that

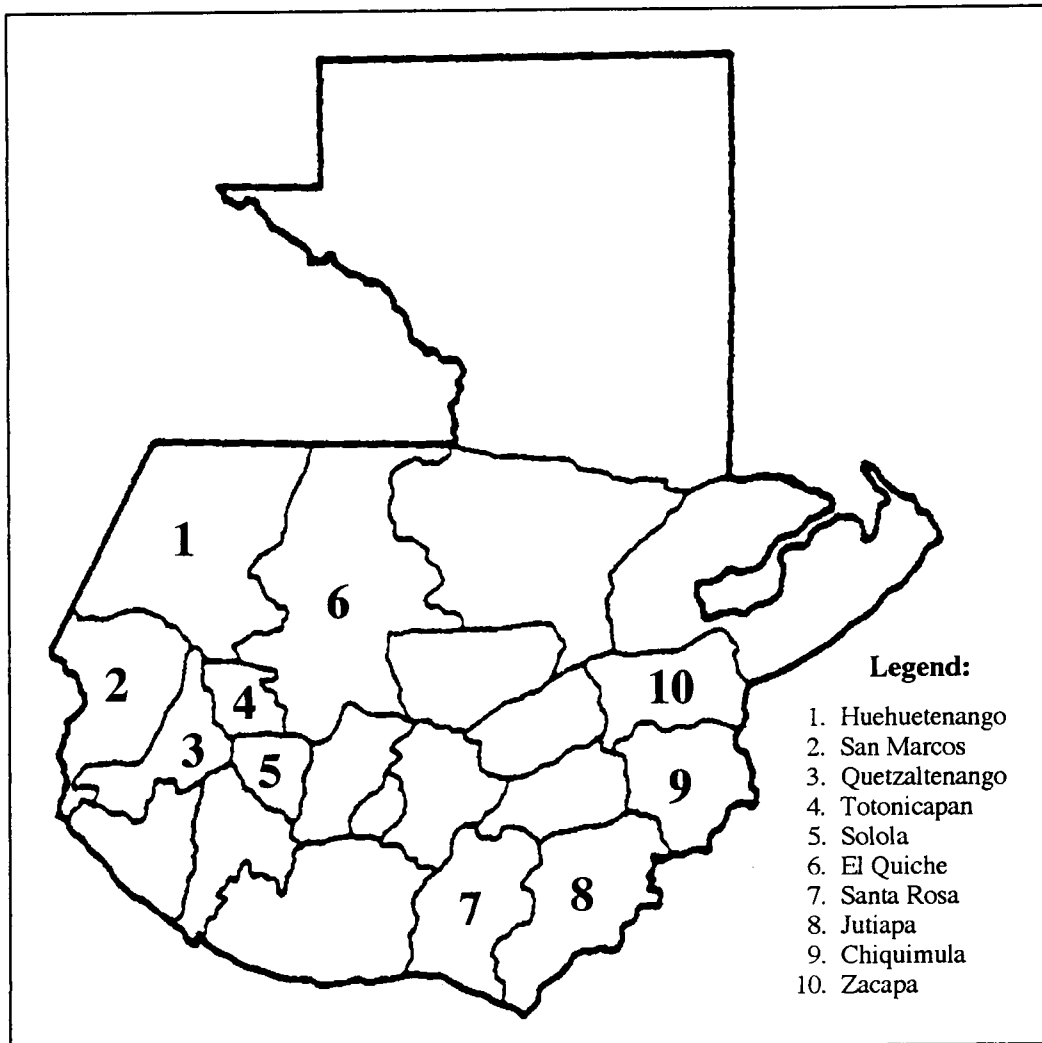


Figure 1.1. Departments in Guatemala Where CAPS Works

teaches literacy in the Quiche, Kakchikal, Mam, and Kekchi languages.

CAPS Participants

Those selected by CAPS to be social promoters are persons who work either as farmers or otherwise within their communities, and who are considered and accepted as leaders by their communities. Students receive introductory classes that enable them to learn more about the "national reality"⁶ of their country and the importance of their place within Guatemala's historical and contemporary national structure. In order to obtain the best performance from the promoters, CAPS makes an effort to have the graduate promoters join groups or organizations that exist in their community and, thus, extend the educational benefits to other community members associated with these groups. CAPS also aids the participants in improving the organizations to which they already belong.

The recruitment of candidates is conducted by extension workers in their respective areas. The extension workers know and study each community and choose those persons who meet conditions of leadership and acceptance within the community. The candidates are chosen by a process of the extension workers' visits to the communities, groups and organizations, and in meetings with various local authorities. Chosen applicants are then interviewed. The academic courses are structured around the participants' group needs and

6 While the term is open to contention, "national reality," as it is used in the CAPS program, means information regarding the social, political, economic, and educational factors that affect, especially in a negative, marginalizing manner, the living conditions and day-to-day activities of Guatemalan *campesinos*.

expectations; therefore, each course is generally different. While participants may come from different departments, they are grouped together for courses because of similar issues and needs.

Once they have received their initial training and preparation, the promoters require follow-up and counseling, which is conducted by the Extension Department. Continuous assistance to the social promoters is given throughout the country. This, however, requires a permanent team and a means of transportation capable of traveling on dirt roads, rugged terrain, and through high mountainous areas. The Extension Team is made up of nine members who engage exclusively in this task. Given the limited number of Extension workers, the large number of promoters, and the vastness and steepness of the terrain, the Extension Team also trains some social promoters to assist as extension aides.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

INTRODUCTION

The guiding interest that led to the development of this study was a desire to explore the CAPS students' perceptions of learning and experiences in participating on a formal level in social development classes. There are few studies concerning the learning experiences of Central American *campesino* adults. This review of a selection of relevant literature places the context of this study within the realm of works dealing specifically with cultural and educational anthropology, especially works dealing with the indigenous population of the Americas and the Mayan population of Central America, and Latin American rural and educational development. The theoretical underpinnings of transformative adult education will be examined, particularly through the works of Jack Mezirow and Paulo Freire.

Cultural and Educational Anthropology

Perhaps one of anthropology's greatest contributions to the social sciences is its holistic approach to examining culture. As it is so comprehensive, it readily resists being secured to one definition. Kroeber and Kluckhohn (1952) identified over 160 definitions of culture. One recent definition of culture by

Ferraro (1995) asserts that culture is

Everything that people have, think, and do as members of a society...everything that people have refers to material possessions; everything that people think refers to those things they carry around in their heads, such as ideas, values, and attitudes, and everything that people do refers to behavior patterns (author's italics, p. 16)

In addition, anthropology has recognized that there are cultural universals found throughout the world (Kluckhohn, 1962). In all societies, processes have been developed for systems of economics, marriage and family, education, government, religion, and communication. While this study will touch on many aspects of culture, its main focus is on one of them, namely education.

One social process that cultural anthropology has been able to greatly illuminate is educational anthropology. Eddy (1985) notes that "contemporary educational anthropology is primarily the outgrowth of social and cultural anthropology as it developed during the 1920s" (p. 6), and educational anthropology has focused much attention on how people learn. Learning affects all people, as Wolcott (1982) maintains:

Every normally-endowed, normally functioning human is engaged life-long in a constructive and effortful process to figure things out sufficiently well to develop a personal life-style and live out a unique life within some linguistically and culturally bounded system(s). (p. 35)

Culture is acquired globally through the process of learning, or by cultural transmission. In Western cultures, one of the most utilized means for the transference of culture has been through formal schooling. This has subsequently led to a growth within the discipline of anthropology to include the subfield of educational anthropology, and through the development of this subfield, the

relationship between anthropology and education may be seen. In an article in *Anthropology and Education Quarterly*, Singleton (1984) has asserted that "anthropologists should look at schools as modern rituals, curriculum as myth, and education as cultural transmission" (p. 13). Educational anthropology has aided in offering recognition and clarification of the causes of educational disparity, in addition to calling attention to the practices that may be used within formal classrooms to reinforce the status quo of teacher-centered outcomes. Wolcott (1982) points out that anthropology could make a significant contribution to teaching "if it could help teachers develop a proprietary interest in the natural (and very social) process of human learning and help educators shape a learning-centered rather than teacher-centered" learning environment" (p. 30).

Historically, whenever European cultural practices have been able to subsume other cultural practices, formal schooling has been an effective tool for this dominant culture transference as well as for acculturation and assimilation.

Wolcott (1974) maintains that

anthropologists refer to the modification of one culture through continuous contact with another as acculturation. Often one of the contact cultures is dominant Not infrequently, the situation of dominance leads to a relationship which breeds antagonism on the part of the dominated group.

Antagonism rises rather expectedly out of feelings that one's own cherished ways are being eroded and lost or that one's ethnic group belongs to a have not class. Antagonistic feelings may be aggravated by the attempts of members of the dominant society to hasten the process of assimilation. Frequently antagonisms are aggravated by a contradiction between the ideal of assimilation and the reality of prejudicial treatment accorded to minority groups within the dominant society. (p. 412)

The subjugation of the dominated group is demonstrated within the realm of

education. Arnove's (1980) model of world-system analysis generated a "dependency theory" to illustrate the symbiotic relationship of society and education. Ballantine (1993) uses Arnove's theory to explain this coupling, noting that

A chain of exploitation exists at several levels: metropolitan (developed) countries over peripheral (developing) countries; centers of power in Third World countries over peripheral Third World areas, and so on down to the village level. In this system, the peripheral areas may gain by getting resources, but the price is domination (by the metropolitan or center areas) over local affairs - curricula, texts, and reforms, for example. (p. 337)

As Mayan-descended indigenous groups comprise much of the overall *campesino* population, a review of literature concerning Mayan adult learning was undertaken. In the literature reviewed, studies involving Mayan children's learning experiences were more prevalent than those concerning Mayan adult educational programs, and less literature could be located overall concerning Mayan adult learning. There have been a fair number of studies concerning indigenous education in the Americas as a whole, and more material is available concerning the learning of native groups in North America than in Latin America. The literature located concerning Mayan educational experiences regarding both formal and informal learning describes the educational disparity that Mayans continue to confront.

Stearns (1986) conducted a most revealing analysis of school and community of Yucatan Mayan children. Stearns' study maintains that compulsory school structures, because they are so unaware of the needs of the native learner, create conditions in which there are a host of "incongruities between those values transmitted in the schools and those transmitted in the

indigenous communities. Caught in the middle is the Indian child" (p. 6). Stearns' study was an applied design where the home learning conditions and the classroom learning environment were examined to document if the two were in congruence, and where incongruent, to offer intervention for teachers. Through conducting ethnographies, the author and the teachers themselves ascertained that *ladino* teachers' behavior within the classroom was "foreign" to the indigenous learner. Stearns (1986) maintains that

The Maya child of today must quickly face the problem of cultural dissonance when making the transition from home to school. For the first-year Maya student, it is a problem of being brought up in and around a traditional Maya home, and then being confronted in a classroom by a teacher who reflects a mainstream...world - a world with a different set of culturally defined operants notable differences exist in the learning environment found in the Maya home when compared to the learning environment of their own *Ladino* or mainstream-oriented classroom. In rural Mayan villages, parents typically transmit cultural information to their students with an attitude of respect and an interactional style reflecting cooperation, as if their children had peer status. This democratic attitude and behavior demonstrates the Mayan understanding that no one can own knowledge, just as no one can own the *monte* (the bush, the land immediately surrounding the village). Knowledge, the Maya believe, is to be freely shared for the benefit of all. In the learning environment of the Maya home, then, teaching-learning is an egalitarian process in its contextual development in thought and in its parental dissemination in learning activities for children. (p. 22)

Although this study was conducted with Yucatan Mayan of Mexico, as the population studied was Mayan, it indeed has implications for the study of the Mayan communities of Guatemala. Here, as well, *ladino* teachers have been socialized in mainstream Latin culture, and their teaching methodologies are frequently disharmonious with native learning styles. By the engagement of cultural transference, teachers, as Spindler (1974) notes, may become "intentional agents of cultural discontinuity" (p. 303). The formation of this Latin American

educational environment, primarily the missionary model, has a long history. As Illich (1970) asserts

The creation of the all-pervasive school establishment, tied to industry, government, and the military, is an invention no less original than the guild-centered apprenticeship of the Middle Ages, or the *doctrina de los indios* and the *reducción* of Spanish missionaries in Mexico and Paraguay, respectively, or the *lycee* and *les grandes écoles* in France. Each of these systems was produced by its society to give stability to an achievement; each has been heavily pervaded by ritual to which society bowed; and each has been rationalized into an all-embracing persuasion, religion or ideology The colonialization of Latin America by the catechism was certainly a noteworthy precedent. (p. 112)

Illich's quote highlights several sociohistorical and socioeducational connections. The educational structure of Latin America, modeled after those in Europe, has reproduced a system that limits the educational participation, and in turn, the social participation of those who are marginalized. By using religion as a method of social compliance, educational conformity was ensured as well, and vice versa. While education's association with other aspects of society is today, as Illich notes, tied with industry, the government, and the military, its foundation was given form during the Middle Ages, and in this regard, the structural situation of education today has not advanced much since this time.

The dominant culture, by controlling educational resources and opportunities, may use the classroom as a venue to push for assimilation. Such a social circumstance is able to create a situation wherein the native population develops a fatalistic and helpless attitude towards life, or what Freire (1970) has termed "semi-intransitive consciousness." However scarce, some attempts are being made to address this situation in Guatemala. Wilhelm (1992) documents the counterhegemonic interventions by Guatemalan Mayan teachers to give a new

voice to the Spanish-based curriculum content of the "conquest" of the Mayans, and chronicles the creation of emancipatory propositions and transformative knowledge constructs.

The Mayan Guatemalan population is often included in more expansive examinations of the relationship between socioeconomic conditions and schooling in Latin American indigenous populations. In Patrinos and Panagides' (1994) analyses of these such conditions in Mexico, Peru, Bolivia, and Guatemala, findings indicated that due to the familial economic necessity of child labor, schooling is directly impacted by lowered enrollment and infrequent attendance. Gorman and Pollitt's (1993) assessment of school efficiency in rural Guatemala noted that while enrollment in rural schools does seem to be on the increase, repeating of grades and high drop-out rates affect attainment; girls were found to face greater educational impediment than boys due to early child bearing, child rearing, and domestic activities and because of the prominent belief that boys have more need for schooling than girls. Morelli's (1992) cross-cultural study of child participation in adult community activities found that Mayan children have quite an active role in observation and participation in adult economic activities. Morelli notes that when children are allowed to take part in the mature responsibilities of their community, social customs and skills are more readily available to them and their community roles are more valued despite their young age. This is in contrast to countries such as the U.S., where most economic activity takes place away from the home and immediate surrounding community. Socialization by participating in economic activities helps to contribute to the differences between Mayan learning styles in their indigenous communities and

Westernized *ladino* practices in the classroom, as Mayan children are seen with a more equitable view in their communities than in their *ladinized* classrooms, as Stearns (1986) noted in his study as well.

Within indigenous communities, more emphasis is placed upon the learning that is needed to survive within the community (knowledge of fields, crops, and harvests; weaving; and food cultivation and preparation) than what is necessarily transmitted within the confines of a classroom. Indigenous persons who are able to attend school are readily expected to assimilate. Jonas & Tobias (1974) document the accounts of indigenous girls in Totonicapán (a 95% indigenous area) attending a Normal School who were forced to remove their long traditional clothing to wear shorter Western skirts while in the classroom, a norm until a protest by local families managed to get the rule changed. The authors note that

Some of the girls had gone to great lengths not to lose their identity as Indians, even to the point of bringing the non-Indian clothing to school and changing into it before class and back into Indian attire at the end of the day. (p. 34)

This incident illustrates that it was not only the dress of the indigenous girls that school authorities wanted to remove, but what the dress symbolized about the *indigenas*: their race and ruralness, their “lack” of modernity, and their class, all unattractive to “progressive” *ladino* groups. If the school authorities had been truly concerned about the children’s learning and educational well-being, clothing would not have been an issue.

Although there was a fair amount literature on the traditional and formal education of Mayan children, the literature detailing learning experiences of Mayan adults is particularly lacking, but two noteworthy examples were located.

It is perhaps the personal accounts of the central highland indigenous *campesinos* and their life experiences within their society that are the most revealing of the educational disparity they confront. In *I, Rigoberta Menchú, an Indian Woman in Guatemala*, Menchú (1984) deals with the life and social customs of the indigenous people of the central Guatemalan highlands. Additionally, it is widely regarded as a feminist work. Rigoberta Menchú, who was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1992, is a native Guatemalan activist whose family was murdered by the Guatemalan military. Her work yields an abundance of information on the indigenous culture of Guatemala and while it testifies to persecution, it is also a testament to the endurance and survival of the native population and its culture. In her account of indigenous education, she declares "I never went to school. . . . from very small children we receive an education which is very different from white children, *ladinos*. We Indians have more contact with nature" (pp. 1, 56). Regarding *ladino* educational practices within native villages, Menchú asserts that

The people with access to schools are above all people with money. The majority of Indians have no access to primary or secondary schools. . . . When teachers come to the villages, they bring with them the ideas of capitalism and getting on in life. They try to impose those ideas on us. I remember in my village there were two teachers for a while and they began teaching the people, but the children told their parents everything they were being taught at school and the parents said: "We don't want our children to become like *ladinos*." And they made the teachers leave. What the teacher wanted was for them to celebrate the 15th of September (Guatemalan Independence Day). They had to wear school uniforms and buy shoes. We never buy those things for children. They told them to put on a uniform, to disguise themselves by taking off their own clothes, their costumes, and putting on clothes of all one color. Well, the parents didn't want their children to be turned into *ladinos* and chased the teachers out. For the Indian, it is better not to study than to become like *ladinos*. (p. 205)

Menchú's account concurs with the documented experiences of the students in Totonicapán who were forced to remove their traditional clothing while in school. This is one of the most basic methods of assimilation used to discriminate against indigenous students in the classroom, an attempt to remove material articles of indigenous identity from the classroom. Jonas and Tobias (1974) maintain that

For those who choose to remain Indian, social mobility is almost completely blocked, as is the possibility of acquiring wealth. The only roles open to the few Indians who pass all grades of elementary school have been those of local political figures or *contratistas* (labor contractors) - both roles of mediation between colonialists and subjects. (p. 34)

Additionally, the historical resistance of indigenous communities to colonial Spanish domination is rarely found in textbooks; there are generally only tales are found of the acquiescence of the Indian communities.

In an interview arranged with Casa Guatemala in Chicago, in *Dark Night field notes*, Hobart & Lea (1995) highlight an interview with Estela Ixcop, a Guatemalan highland Kakchikal woman. In this illuminating interview, she recounts her experience with formal education:

Students made fun of me; they called me "dirty Indian". . . . I was present at the births of almost all of my brothers and sisters. Because it was up to me to take care of them and also to help my father in the fields, it was difficult to go to school, but I did. I was the first one in my family to go to school.

I went to school when I was 9 years old; I started 2 years late because I had to work on the land with my father. In Guatemala children normally start school at 7 years old. Because of all my responsibilities at home, I would only go to school two or three days a week, sometimes not even one day. I only went through third grade in elementary school because there wasn't a complete primary school. When I finished third grade, the teacher said, "What a shame that you can't continue studying, because you're very intelligent." I went to my father and I told him, "My teacher said it's too bad I can't continue to study. I want to, but I can't study here because there's nowhere to study. What do you say? I want

to go study in the town." My father said, "Well, what are we going to do? I don't even have money to buy your shoes, your clothes, or your school supplies so you can go study in the town." I said, "Well, I'm going to go like this: barefoot. And I have two dresses: one for working in the field, and one for best." My father was really impressed by the fact that I wanted to go study so much, so he went to the town and talked to the priest to ask for his help. The priest spoke to the nuns who had a school in the town. The nuns said, "Send the girl and we'll give her scholarship." But the scholarship consisted of having to clean all of the class rooms, go to the market, take care of the store, and do everything else that the nuns asked me to. That was the scholarship. The nuns gave me a space without light, without a real bed. The bed I was given to sleep on was like a school table made of rough boards. So I slept on boards, and these boards had bugs that bit me at night. I was on the point of dying because I got a bad fever because of the bugs. Anyway, I accepted this in order to be able to study, but I had to clean all of the rooms and had so many other jobs to do that I still wasn't able to attend all of the classes. The classes began at 8 and ended at 1, but sometimes I wouldn't arrive until 12, so I would study for only one hour. I was eleven when I began classes there. The classes were co-educational, and the children who studied there were children of rich people. They weren't *campesinos* from the country. They accepted me there because I would clean the rooms and do all of the work. I was different from the other children because they were white, with light eyes. I experienced the same discrimination that I took in my village school. In Guatemala we are discriminated against because of our color, our language, our hair - for everything, all the time.

Because of the few number of hours that I attended classes, I had to work really hard to keep up with all the assignments that I didn't get. At night I had to copy my lessons by candlelight because there wasn't any electric light. I copied my lessons from notes from one of my classmates. There was one who liked me, and she helped me. When I was in 5th grade I was honored because I was the highest in my class! But I put in a lot of effort into my school work and had a great desire within to learn. So in that way I was able to get to sixth grade. (pp. 34-36)

As Ixcop's account details, at times the only education that is available for *campesinos* is church-sponsored, and often there are discriminatory conditions for their enrollment, such as having to work in order to attend school. If a *campesino* child is indigenous as well, such as Ixcop, the schooling obstacles are compounded. Making poor children work for the "scholarship" of attending grammar school, to which they are legally entitled, indicates the prejudice that the

poor and indigenous encounter, as they are still viewed for the most part as a ready labor supply. Barry (1992) states that "although there is no tuition charged for elementary education, the high cost of books and materials as well as transportation discourage higher enrollment in rural areas" (p. 175), and tuition is normally charged for private, Catholic schools. Ixcop's experience was compounded by not only her class and race, but her gender as well. I found both Menchú's and Ixcop's educational accounts compelling, and I located similar educational experiences within the stories that were given by the CAPS participants.

As Ixcop's experience with education illustrates, the church is in many ways bound together with educational attainment for Mayans. Illich (1970) examines the legacy of Latin American colonialization and how the school establishment has been teamed with other societal structures to create an atmosphere of educational hardship, and even violence, for the native population. He notes that:

Schools have the effect of tempering the subversive potential of education in an alienated society because, if education is confined to schools, only those who have been schooled into compliance on a lower grade are admitted to its higher reaches. In capital-starved societies not rich enough to purchase unlimited schooling, the majority is schooled not only into compliance but also into subservience. (p. 114)

When the only education that is given merit within a society is seen to originate from schools, those without socially "sanctioned" education are set-up for failure within the wider society. While education does have a subversive potential for marginalized groups, generally only complacency and social obedience are taught within schools to all groups. It is within non-traditional educational settings, such

as CAPS, where subversive possibility and social change become most manifest.

By the time Mayans become adults, with a few possible exceptions, any experience they may have had with formal education has ended. If an indigenous person is able to overcome the odds and acquire a formal education, obstacles still remain. As Perera (1993) maintains,

The weight of responsibility on the hundred or so university-trained Maya leaders is enormous. Not only must they deal with a five-hundred year legacy of suspicion of educated Mayas by their own community, they have to define a space on the margins of ladino society that is incorruptibly Maya, without provoking violent reprisals. (p. 319)

If natives or poor *mestizo campesinos* are introduced to formal educational opportunities as adults, often the Freireian methodology is used, such as that employed by CAPS. The Freireian application of education for marginalized groups shall be examined in more detail in the following section.

Transformative Adult Education

Rural Development

Throughout Latin America, the effects of economic and educational disparity are seen most readily within the rural population. Unemployment is often high; the productivity, wages, and incomes of rural workers and small subsistence farmers are low. The poor of rural areas are often greatly lacking in potable water and housing; technical assistance; and public services for education, health, and legal protection. In addition, they have limited access to credit for advancement. Traditional, bilateral development aid programs offer financial assistance with conditions and "strings" attached. Additionally, money for development has frequently been offered without taking into consideration

the cultural needs of the recipients.

Today, however, grassroots development and local private organizations are becoming more prominent; NGOs are permitting communities to be less dependent on governments and conditional assistance. Self-determination has become recognized as an integral part of the development process, primarily through the participation of local communities. Sustainable development has become a major component of rural development, requiring simultaneous progress in the human, economic, environmental, and technological facets of life. Theoretically, it is a fully integrated process, and one dimension does not advance at the expense of any other (Society for International Development, 1995; World Resources Yearbook; 1995). Concerns with the human aspect of rural sustainable development include population stabilization, a slowing of migration shifts to urban centers through rural development, improving social well-being through ethnic awareness, cultural diversity, investing in human capital and the health and education of women, and improving standards of literacy. As well, there are concerns of intergenerational equity and relative and real poverty. Popular grassroots development organizations have become more active in Guatemala in recent years, but females still continue to suffer the most from social and educational difficulties:

The women's movement in Guatemala is the least developed in Central America, both in terms of organizing at the popular level and among educated women. The profoundly conservative and patriarchal nature of Guatemalan society, along with its stark class, ethnic, and social divisions, have slowed the development of feminism and women's organizations. (Barry, 1992, p. 161)

As much of the work of rural development includes emancipatory educational

development, it has at times been regarded as suspect by those who do not understand that much of its foundational practices (feminist critical studies, critical ethnography, transformative educational methodologies) deal with subjectivity and the stark reality of the oppressed human experience. Such a methodology does not lend itself easily to statistical numbers and scientific rules.

Emancipatory Education

Jack Mezirow is a well-recognized theorist and proponent of transformative, emancipatory education for adults. Mezirow (1991) has based his theory of transformative adult learning on Habermas' work detailing three expansive areas of knowledge: the technical (control and operation of one's environment with empirical knowledge), the practical (learning to communicate better with others and to understand oneself as well as make oneself better understood to others), and the emancipatory (learning how to create change in one's self and one's world perspectives). Rational discourse and critical reflection form the basis of this learning. As Mezirow asserts:

Critical reflection involves a critique of the presuppositions on which our beliefs have been built...learning may be defined as the process of making a subsequent understanding, appreciation, and action. What we perceive and fail to perceive and what we think and fail to think are powerfully influenced by habits of expectation that constitute our frame of reference, that is, a set of assumptions that structure the way we interpret our experiences. (p. 1)

Adults structure meaning through experience, through meaning schemes and meaning perspectives. Similarly, Vygotsky's (1962; 1978) theory of situated learning points to adult learning as being structured within personal experience.

Beyond instrumental learning (learning to do), one method of structuring

meaning perspectives is through communicative learning. As Mezirow (1990) maintains, "of greater significance to most adult learning is *understanding the meaning* of what others communicate concerning values, ideals, feelings, moral decisions, and such concepts as freedom, justice, love labor, autonomy, commitment, and democracy" (p. 8). This requires "a critique of the relevant social norms and of cultural codes that determine the allocation of influence and power over whose interpretations are acceptable" (p. 8). By employing a communicative approach,

Learners who share a transformative learning experience can effect social change in a variety of ways, by affiliating with like-minded persons who are devoted to change within an organization, by changing interpersonal relationships, or by collective political action. (p. 356)

While Mezirow is noted for his transformative educational theories, I find Freire's methods to be more politically situated than those of Mezirow because of Freire's emphasis on praxis. Praxis results not only from a changed theory but moves from theory to a reflective social engagement by participation in activities that attempt to change oppressive, discrepant factors in the social order.

"Popular education" has become particularly associated with social change in Latin America. The Freireian model of educational development has long been predominantly viewed as an effective model for social development through transformative educational advancement. Freire (1993) himself has said "the so-called Paulo Freire Method [is] (a designation I don't like)" (p. 55). However, I do refer to Freire's work as the Freireian "model," "methodology," or "technique," as these are the common usage of reference to Freire's approach to and explanation of pedagogy.

Freire is most noted for his concept of "conscientization" (conscious-raising) or changing one's view of reality with a recognition and belief that one has the resources and capability to change reality as well. Freire became well-known for his literacy group initiatives in his native Brazil and from works in Guinea Bisseau and Chile. His literacy initiatives were designed to move participants beyond mere functional literacy to a more evolved recognitional literacy of their identities and their place within their own spheres of reality. In his classic work *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, Freire (1970b) conceptualizes and critiques what he describes as "banking education," where any knowledge, even the most erroneous of information, is transferred from the teacher and deposited into the minds of the students. Students, as a result, have no opportunity for critical reflection and analytical dialogue to assess what is taking place within the class. For this reason, he underscores the imperative nature of dialogue. Within this view, the need for dialogue is stressed within the learning groups, and afterwards formation of cooperatives, people's councils, or other development groups may take place. Lernoux (1982) illustrates the nature of the Freireian method as it is often used, noting that,

When this sort of discussion is repeated weekly for several years...the impression [that] is made on the people is both profound and revolutionary. It matters not that they are illiterate or that they use their own simple language to describe politics, economics, or social relationships. The important thing is that they understand their reality and, in doing so, attempt to change it. (pp. 374-375)

Hargreaves (1995) has asserted that it is only from "dialogue that understanding of the social world can ever come to approximate valid knowledge" (p. 28). Learning thus becomes transformative through the dialogic relationship of the

facilitator and the participants. Freire (1993) maintains that with the teacher/group leader as a facilitator,

The role of a consciously progressive educator is to testify constantly to his or her students his or her competence, love, political clarity the coherence between what he or she says or does, his or her tolerance, his or her ability to live with the different to fight against the antagonistic. It is to stimulate doubt, criticism, curiosity, questioning, a taste for risk taking, the adventure of creating. (p. 50)

For myself, what stands out about Freire's work is his belief that the pedagogical encounter is never neutral; each student and teacher/facilitator comes to the classroom informed by their life experience. By sharing and incorporating personal experiences within the classroom, a more expansive coconstructed knowledge may be acquired by all involved. Freire's concepts have been criticized by some and viewed as a starting point to move towards an informed critical pedagogy by others. (These views shall be examined in the following chapter).

Consistent with Freire's and Mezirow's transformative concepts, Heany and Horton (1990) also note the relationship between political action and transformative learning, asserting that "transformative learning accompanies historical struggles for change, such struggles being that toward which critical reflection ends and within which contradictions in the social order become apparent" (p. 89). They maintain as well that

The responsibility in emancipatory education, as in all education, is awesome because it is ultimately a political act. And all political acts, however well intentioned, involve risks. Nonetheless, for an educator to do nothing or to merely continue the hegemonic practices of state-sponsored education is also to choose and to risk choosing wrongly. (p. 88)

Merleau-Ponty (1962) has noted that transformation and emancipation are, through conscientization, fundamentally and theoretically positioned in resistance. Hart (1990) has noted in a manner similar to Freire that “the full cycle of consciousness raising therefore includes the actual experience of power on the individual level, a theoretical grasp of power as a larger social reality, and a practical orientation toward emancipatory action” (p. 71).

Through observations of the CAPS program, I viewed the processes CAPS follows in implementing their transformative and emancipatory teaching practices.

CHAPTER III

POLITICAL AND THEORETICAL FOUNDATIONS OF RESEARCH

INTRODUCTION

Before continuing with the remainder of the study, my political position and the theoretical foundations of the research will be presented. The purpose of this chapter is to contextualize my politics and the principal theoretical underpinnings of the CAPS program. I will outline the personal political stance that I have used to address issues regarding CAPS and several situations that I encountered as a researcher during the course of the study. Additionally, the three primary theoretical influences that touch upon 1) my research and 2) the CAPS program will be explored: a) cultural studies, b) critical pedagogy and Freire's concept of liberatory education, and c) feminist pedagogy. CAPS is grounded in liberation theology and, because of its emphasis on Freireian dialogue technique, also by liberatory education and critical pedagogy. Critiques by several feminist scholars about these pedagogical propositions shall also be considered. All of these influences, while being distinct, are also interrelated; it is their association that led to the combination of premises that informed the study. This chapter is to be used to create a familiarity with the suppositions that will later factor in the examination of the study's findings.

The precept of the CAPS program is located within the setting of liberation theology, a wing of social activism of the Catholic church. While being

neither a supporter nor a detractor of liberation theology, my research interest was in exploring how a program like CAPS functions as a vehicle of critical pedagogy and also what its potential is for promoting social justice.

However, before beginning to examine the theories and discourses that have influenced the project, I believe it is important to establish the standpoint I take as a researcher, and this will be outlined in the following section.

A PERSONAL REFLECTION OF THE RESEARCH EXPERIENCE

Position Statement

My position as a researcher is not static; I do not consider myself a “traditional” ethnographer, that is, one who conducts ethnographic research from the conventions handed down from an established anthropological research stance, that of a detached observer, “removed” from the situation, objective, and unbiased. I view my work as a researcher as one who has been influenced primarily by the interests of feminist educators and ethnographers, a location that Kirsch (1995) terms as being characterized by a “concern for connecting the theoretical with the pedagogical, the personal, and the political” (p. 724). I also agree with Hall (1991), the prominent cultural studies theorist, who maintains “there’s no enunciation without positionality. You have to position yourself *somewhere* in order to say anything at all” (author’s italics, p. 18). Here, I will outline my personal “somewhere” that delineates the positions I take as a researcher. These positions are born from the experiences and concerns that have taken me on a path of viewing education as a means of social justice and that influenced the selection of and approach to the topic of this dissertation.

As others' lives are reflected upon, ethnography generally moves the ethnographer to reflect upon her or his own life. Glesne and Peshkin (1992) contend that it is imperative for a researcher to understand the role that subjectivity plays in research. Peshkin maintains

My subjectivity is the basis for the story that I am able to tell. It is a strength on which I build. It makes me who I am, as a person and as a researcher, equipping me with the perspectives and insights that shape all that I do as a researcher, from the selection of the topic clear through the emphases I make in my writing. Seen as virtuous, subjectivity is something to capitalize on rather than to exorcise. (p. 104)

Additionally, together the authors assert that "the goal is to get as fully as possible in touch with the embodied self who performs the acts of research" (p. 104). As I have attempted to further understand the origins of my research interests, the works and discussions of feminist ethnographers have greatly informed my research by making me aware that, as a researcher, I have a personal experiential reference point epistemologically, socially, culturally, and emotionally. Feminist ethnographers maintain that ethnography contains a distinct, inherent component of reflexivity. In Behar's *Translated Woman: Crossing the Border with Esperanza's Story* (1993), the author found that as she delved further into the life of Esperanza, her collaborator, the more she began to examine her own life. She notes:

Esperanza challenged me continually to articulate the connections between who she is as a visibly invisible Indian street peddler and who I am as an academic woman with a certain amount of power and privilege. Inevitably, if you sit facing another woman at the table long enough, you start to feel like mirrors for one another. (p. 302)

Behar notes the tension she confronted in documenting the *historia* of a Mexican Indian woman and details a rich lore of serpent imagery that pervades

the rural Mexican mythic tradition. She notes an allegory of the serpent's tongue as being an important image of speech within this lore. Behar declares her concern about having to pare down and "snip" the events of Esperanza's life to create a document palatable to the North American audience. She asserts

I fear I am cutting out Esperanza's tongue. Yet when I am done cutting out her tongue, I will patch together a new tongue for her, an odd tongue that is neither English nor Spanish, but the language of a translated woman. (19)

The author and the subject engage one another in a dialogue rendered of experience. Behar claims her unease, being a privileged North American academic peering into the life of a Latin American peasant woman. Together, however, the reflexivity of their relationship created a "language" wherein both were recast by the experience. This reflexive circumstance is often confronted and documented by women ethnographers. Bell (1993) maintains that "attention to the structural and epistemological implications of the insider/outsider positioning of the woman ethnographer constitutes a central feature of the...literature" (p. 4) concerning the topic of feminist ethnographers. While recognizing the insider/outsider position, Behar declares as well that "to get beyond the self/other division that has marked Western thinking is the best hope we have for liberating anthropology from the legacy of its links to colonizing domination" (p. 302). I was dependent upon the participants to construct for me an honest account of their experiences; I, in turn, feel I have an obligation to the participants to portray their experiences in as honest and accurate a presentation as possible.

Stanley & Wise (1983) assert that feminism views its efforts as being bound with an experiential supposition. For them, feminism marks a relationship

between theory and practice, creating a link where "the experiences and consciousness of the researcher is an integral part of the research process" (p. 48). This relationship did indeed become an integral part of the process when I was conducting the research for this study. At times I was taken aback by the sheer emotion of the experience of working with the participants. I experienced all too clearly an issue common to discussions of feminist ethnographers, that of emotions being inextricably tied to fieldwork. At times it actually hurt to look at the participants because it made me reflect upon my experiences being from an Appalachian background, and while the cultures are quite different in many respects, there are commonalities in the social, economic, and educational lack of opportunity that exists in both Guatemala and the Appalachian region of the United States. I saw the same worn bodies and tired faces, aching from the struggle to survive. One woman was 39 but could have easily been mistaken for a woman 20 years older. In her, I recognized the same work-worn look of my mother. In every man who told me he had to quit school when he was 9 years old to go to work in the fields to help support his family, or who had experienced the death of a parent, I saw my father, who also at the age of 9 was forced to end his formal education for the same reasons. At times, the experience was intense.

My praxis of working for educational equity as a means of working toward social justice has, in general, been informed by Marxist influences in the discernment of the effects class and economics play in the role of educational inequality and by the influences of feminism and multiculturalism. Feminism and multiculturalism have moved beyond class and economics to include the examination of the effects of gender and race as contributing factors to

educational disparity. I find it contradictory that in a democracy, which both the United States and Guatemala (heavily influenced by U.S. ideals of democracy) purport to be, so many people fall through the educational "cracks" when a hallmark of democracy is touted to be that all members of such societies have access to a participatory citizenry. Educational inaccessibility translates to limited social and economic mobility for those who cannot acquire the "required" amount of formal education dictated by society and therefore learning opportunities for adults are severely limited. Adult educators from Lindeman (1926) to Freire (1970) have emphasized the importance of having an informed participation of the citizenry in a democracy. Bordieu (1977) asserted that participation includes not only economic participation but social and cultural engagement as well. The "degree" game can hardly be played fairly when degrees are denied, both in terms of level and quality; in many cases, the most basic aspects of education, such as literacy, are denied.

When even one generation is denied an adequate formal education, the effects can remain for generations to come. I have seen the effects limited formal education had on my grandparents, my parents, and my generation of cousins and extended family. I have seen how they have felt unable to participate socially, economically, and politically in their local and national circumstances. Here, a lack of formal education is wedded with a fatalism, a sense that their plight has been a destiny out of their control, and the greater part of their lives have seemed to be sacrificed on an altar of work and survival. While I grew up in an urban setting with an adequate number of schools, because I am from a working class family, this socioeconomic situation affected where I lived and limited the access I had to

a quality public school education. The inner city schools I attended for 12 years were primarily comprised of a student population of poor whites and poor African-American students, those who pay the highest price socially and economically for the inadequate education they receive. Walzer (1983) asserts that "schooling guarantees nothing and exchanges for very little, but it provides the common currency of political and social life" (p. 203). From these experiences, I learned early in my life how unfair the entire educational process can be for such an educationally incongruous society as ours -- a society that rewards the educated but denies educational fairness and access to certain population segments. This is a situation that translates to what Walzer (1983) terms the "tyranny of wealth and class over learning" (p. 212). I found that this same situation has dramatic social impact in Guatemala; if education does not liberate, it domesticates (Freire, 1970).

I maintain that a well-informed position of viewing education as a means of working for social justice must include the voices of those most affected by the educational process. I concur with Stone (1996), who asserts that studies of student perceptions of education must "incorporate their pain, their feelings, and their experiences Any study of educational justice that does not seek an understanding of and express the voices of all concerned is incomplete" (p. 87). Walzer (1980) declares that "justice has to do not only with the effects but also the experience of education." It is from the literal voices of the participants that their perceptions of their educational experience originate, such as those that will be found later in the "Participants" chapter.

Reflections on My Research Experience

In outlining my political position, I additionally would like to elaborate upon some of my experiences during the “odyssey” of the study’s research process that I believe are significant. Because the reflexive process of ethnography (the qualitative research approach that was applied to the study), as supported by feminist ethnographers, entails viewing the experiences of the researcher while immersed in the research process, before, during, and after the analysis is completed, I have contemplated my experiences throughout the progression of this study. A more in-depth exploration of ethnography will be given in the following chapter.

During the course of the research project, I became more aware of my gender, race, and nationality as a participant in the overall project. As it is a highly patriarchal society, I was prepared to personally encounter sexism in Guatemala, but I did not; I was pleasantly surprised that I did not encounter this personally. What I did encounter, however, was an academic *machismo* at my university, a suspicion and diminishment of my capability as a researcher - I assume because I am a woman - and I grew tired of consistently having to defend my project to one professor in particular who, astonishingly enough, seriously suggested that I get brown contacts and dye my hair black because I would be a woman working with indigenous people. I assume this suggestion was made in effort to make me be more able to presumably “blend” with people who are “different.” I now see that his treatment of me and his opinion of the study’s participants was not only sexist but racist as well as he (a middle-aged white professor) continually told me of his certainty of how I would be received

(erroneously) by people of whom he knew nothing beyond stereotypes. This person was subsequently removed from my committee and was not involved in the resulting study. In contrast to this first experience, the other professors serving on my committee provided me with a positive learning experience. I now strongly believe that until there is a change in the structure of those who have power and influence over the research of graduate students, I fear that little will be done in the way of creating critical educators and researchers if professors themselves refuse to recognize their involvement in the preservation of disturbingly chauvinistic, sexist, racist, and elitist academic practices. The negativity of my initial experience in this endeavor has made me keenly aware of the necessity to consider the ideas, experiences, and views of students. Without this, the educational process is hindered from the start.

My experience of others objectifying the participants in my study, too, has made me aware of the objectifying nature of language on several levels, particularly the nature of what Morrison (1992) terms the "serviceable other." This can be linked with what Fabian (1983) maintains is the way the European tradition constructed the "primitive" as the serviceable other:

A discourse employing terms such as primitive, savage (but also tribal, traditional, Third World, or whatever euphemism is current) does not think, or observe, or critically study, the "primitive"; it thinks, observes, studies *in terms* of the primitive. *Primitive* being...is a category, not an object, of Western thought. (pp. 17-18)

Sampson (1993) builds on this, noting the concept of Others: [who] "have become serviceable to the dominant groups' interests, desires, and fears. To create a serviceable other, then, is to use representation in a powerful manner designed to accomplish desired qualities for one's own group by constructing a

contrasting other who will be serviceable to that mission" (p. 1226). Postmodern theory has led to the academy paying closer attention to such issues, although as Sylvester (1994) notes:

Postmodernism exposes the smokescreens, and the histories of the screens and the smoke, in brilliant, eye-opening ways. But [it] can also beg the question of whether new-style "progressive" thinkers can have meaningful identities and question them too, or whether we really face a binary dilemma that pits various old-style allegiances against refusals of inherited subject statuses and the bodies of knowledge that promote them. (p. 313)

I think that Western academics have, in this vein, created an undisclosed oppositional relationship with those who are studied: "First" world vs. "Third" world, "primitive," or "backward"; white vs. "colored"; "developed" vs. "undeveloped" or "under-developed"; educated vs. uneducated; researcher vs. researched.

I realize how who I am and what I may have represented could have appeared to the participants in the research situation: a *gringa*, curious or prying, no real investment, here one minute and then gone the next, got what she wanted from us and left - in short, the colonizer's model of research. I tried in every way to be cognizant of this, because this situation has happened before and continues to happen so often. Western feminists have been admonished, and rightly so, for portraying "Other" women in a diminished capacity; as Hondagneu-Sotelo (1993) asserts, "both contemporary social science literature and historical scholarship tend to automatically assume that Third World or racial-ethnic women are necessarily more oppressed and more backward than Western or white women" (p. 197). I have attempted to portray neither the women nor the men in this study (or at anytime) in such a manner.

I do not want to be the *gringa* who sails in, does a quick assessment, and glides out, making harsh patronizing judgements about a country and a culture of which I am not a part or, conversely, to romanticize or render sentimental the CAPS program or the oppressed. However, in some regards I did get what I "wanted" and left, which leaves me with that ever-present anthropological problem, the uncomfortable position of being a researcher who does not want to be a "colonizer" researcher but who, despite this, unavoidably acquires the desired information and "runs with it" anyway by leaving the study site. Although I have kept in contact as much as possible with the CAPS workers, I realize that I was a "visitor" to this site and with these people. To the extent that I did have this position, however, I tried to establish as much rapport with the participants as possible (the steps I took in establishing camaraderie with the participants is outlined in the next chapter, "Methods"). I think that the importance of establishing as much rapport and relationship as possible between the ethnographer and those being studied cannot be underestimated. Bruner (1986) asserts that study participants should be seen as research collaborators, not merely as informers. As I viewed the participants as coconstructors of this study, I felt it was as important for me to foster these working relationships as much as possible, just as I would do when working with anyone in any research situation.

While not being a part of the culture that I studied, I do feel I can make an assessment, to a degree, about the conditions of this segment of Guatemalan society based upon the readings and more immediately and more importantly on the responses of the *campesinos* themselves, and because I have seen the effects

of similar educational inadequacy in not only my own country and region, but within my own family. I was familiar with the societal parallels I saw. Despite their vast differences, Guatemala and the United States have much in common in that they have restricted educational access to certain segments of their populations and, in doing so, have denied social access and participation to these citizens. Because my family has been so affected by some of the similar circumstances the *campesinos* face, I feel that I am in some sense personally, if not morally, obligated to create awareness about this issue in order to effect social justice by unearthing and documenting educational disparity.

I have also considered the role of authorship in ethnography. Behar (1993) notes that of those within the academy who write of authorship,

They don't say that authorship is a privilege to which many of us are not born, but arrive at, often clumsily, often painfully, often through a process of self-betrayal and denial; they don't say that authorship is a privilege constituted by the gender, sociohistorical background, and class origins, or lately, class diasporas, of the anthropologist doing the writing. (p. 338)

I think what Behar is referring to here, with regard to class, is that often social stratification is so strong that there is a widespread societal expectation that persons who are born into lower socioeconomic strata are somehow expected to "stay" there. I identify myself as one in an ambivalent position in academia, one who originated from a socioeconomic and cultural background where one, for all intents and purposes, is not expected to "move up" through the ranks of society by being educated. I have come to view schooling in essence, fairly or unfairly, as an "equalizing" factor in the society in which I live, allowing the educated a social entrée denied to those who lack a formal education. I have never been greatly concerned personally about being upwardly-mobile, downwardly-mobile,

or stationary from a class standpoint with my own country, nor has it ever bothered me to be of a working class origin. What does offend me about the society in which I live is that "lower" classes have so many social avenues denied them because they often have been refused the opportunity to acquire the formal education that is the "admission" required to pursue them. I agree with hooks (1984), who asserts that "being oppressed means the *absence of choices*" (author's italics, p. 5).

In my experience, to educate oneself when surrounded by those for whom schooling was only a dream is not easy; it can be a frustrating, lonely, and differentiating process. While I hope that I have neither marginalized nor romanticized the participants of this study, I must admit that I do think that in some way I had a more heightened sense of their situation because of my own family's rural and disenfranchised class history. I feel as though my entire life I have journeyed daily across the border between academia and the uneducated, speaking two languages of schooling, grammar, and representation. I speak the language of the academy in one world and Appalachian in the other, being a part of both and yet simultaneously feeling fully like a part of neither. For those who have "made it" educationally when the odds were against them, I wonder if the questioning ever fully diminishes. Behar (1993) maintains that this is an indication of the position of

Those whose nationality, racial, ethnic, or class position make them feel. . . . they are donning and removing masks in trying to form a bridge between the homes they have left and the new locations of privileged class identity they now occupy. (p. 338)

I regard critical and feminist pedagogies as having aided my awareness in being

able to recognize, value, and comprehend more of my own socioeducational history and the class from which I came.

As I have outlined my personal position and experiences in regard to this study, I will now turn to examining the theoretical influences that are linked to the study.

THEORETICAL INFLUENCES

Framework of Cultural Studies

Because of my interest in examining issues of social justice in and through education, the premise for the research I conducted for this project is found within the field of cultural studies. Cultural studies allows a researcher to examine and analyze the means by which aspects of culture (education being one such aspect) are revealed. Also, it allows cultural experience to be taken seriously as an indicator of the concerns a society has and how we manipulate, are manipulated by, and negotiate support for or resistance to cultural phenomena. Because it deals generally with subjective human experience, cultural studies tends to favor qualitative research as the investigative method of choice. Qualitative research includes as part of its methodology ethnography, which was the approach used in this study.

Cultural studies has become a burgeoning discourse in academia, society, and politics, particularly in the latter half of the twentieth century. It is difficult to place any one simple definition upon it, as it is an amalgamation of many different theories, circumstances, and representations; it is renowned for being arduously hard to define. As Hall (1992) maintains, cultural studies "has multiple discourses;

it has a number of different histories a whole set of formations...different conjectures, and moments in the past" (p. 278). Hall, in *Cultural Studies and Its Theoretical Legacies*, recounts his experience of watching the formation of and also being a participant within the domain of cultural studies at the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Birmingham University, in England. He notes that within cultural studies discourse there is inherent "tension," and its positions are never completely concrete, final, or resolved.

It is within this "tension" of cultural studies that its growing pains have manifested in the past, as Hall (1992) contends, a tension that has been significant to the origin, growth, and continued development of cultural studies. Western cultural studies often points to the Birmingham school (founded at the above-mentioned Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies) as the location of its theoretical beginnings. Within this arena of cultural studies, Marxism, the New Left, German idealism, Weber, Hegel, art criticism, and deconstruction, among others, have been delineating influences. Language and linguistics have also been crucial to its development. There have been two "interruptions" within Western cultural studies, Hall asserts, that have been "completely revolutionary in a theoretical and practical way" (p. 282): feminism and race. Johnson (1987) concurs here that "the critiques deriving from the women's movement and from struggles against racism have deepened and extended the democratic and socialist commitments that were the leading principles of the new left" (p. 40).

Although the Birmingham school is often given more emphasis for cultural studies beginnings in the West, there are other arenas of global cultural studies and contentions of cultural studies "beginnings" (Wright, 1996). As posited by

Wright (1996), historically, there have been a number of significant precursors to cultural studies, such as African cultural studies. Those engaged in subaltern studies, an Indian/South Asian group engaged in illuminating postcolonial conditions of those that have been colonized, based on a concept by Gramsci (1971, 1978, 1992), are also important voices within cultural studies. Postcolonialism, and increasingly, post-Sovietism or post-communism, are yet other aspects of cultural studies. These examine the social and historical processes of countries that were once colonized by other countries or existed as part of the former Soviet Union or socialist bloc; although now independent or "free," the legacies and effects of colonization and communism remain in such specific countries.

As this study is situated both geographically and culturally in a Latin American country (Guatemala), within the framework of this particular study, consideration was given to Latin American cultural studies. It is the myriad ethnic identities and voices that compose the core of cultural studies, and Latin American cultural studies form a large portion of this nucleus. The hybridity of Latin America's multinational and colonial past have created a cultural setting that is a wealth of plurality and experience. Cultural studies has become such a dynamic voice within Latin America, in large part, because of revolutionary activities within Central and South America. It has become so significant within these regions because, as Dawes (1991) maintains, it "can function as a symbolic arena which gathers together. . . . [an] assortment of feelings images, and myths. . . serv[ing] as a catalyst for forming national identity in revolutionary circumstances in Guatemala, El Salvador, and Nicaragua - all of which combine nationalism and

socialism in their ideology" (p. 1). Through such activities, cultural studies has become prominent in Latin America as a vehicle for examining not only historical conditions, but also for fostering new ideas generated by new realities. A Chilean writer, Ibañez (1993) notes:

Latin America is above all "Baroque;" its countries have multiple and convoluted social, cultural, political and technological levels that overlap and co-exist creating a distinctive ethos, a way of inhabiting the world...Latin American societies have been shaped by this cultural and political tension. (p. 20)

One of the defining aspects of Latin American cultural studies is that Latin America has an abundance of cultural references, which then becomes a route for examining its characteristic social formations and operations. Within this expanding dialogue, the diversity that has given rise to the creation of modern Latin America and such "tensions" cannot be overlooked; it is the great multiplicity of references that Latin America possesses, both historically and within a contemporary sociological matrix, that lend to the richness of its cultural studies.

Ultimately, cultural studies may best be spoken of not in a definitive way, but more in terms of its characteristics. As Grossberg, Nelson, and Treichler (1992) maintain:

The necessarily relational character of cultural studies - its concern with how different discourses and social and cultural domains are articulated together - how they can both restrict and stimulate one another - inevitably means that cultural studies projects often contribute to more than one area of research and debate. (p. 17)

Cultural studies underlies this particular study in that within this analysis I examine the sociocultural phenomena that affects the life of the Guatemalan *campesino*, and in particular, what factors constitute the educational experience

of the *campesino*. By exploring the combinations and conflicts of culture and state in Guatemala, a cultural studies focus is put to use to explore these circumstances.

Critical Pedagogy and Liberation Theology

Critical pedagogy has developed as a discourse in discussions of postmodern educational thought in recent years and evolved as a refinement of liberation pedagogy. It is similar to cultural studies in that it explores issues of social justice and explaining social difference, and is it multidisciplinary. As McClaren and Giroux (1995) assert:

Within the last fifteen years a radical theory of education has emerged in the United States. Broadly defined as "the new sociology of education" or "a critical theory of education," a critical pedagogy developed within this discourse attempts to examine schools both in their historical context and as part of the social and political relations that characterize the dominant society. (p. 29)

Critical pedagogy focuses on examining the power, politics, and public consumption of schooling and, within schools, exploring representational politics, constructs of student subjectivity, and the analysis of discourse. "Critical pedagogy is not physically housed in any one school or university department," McClaren and Giroux maintain, "nor does it constitute a homogeneous set of ideas. Critical educational theorists are, however, united in their attempts to empower the powerless and to transform social inequalities and injustices" (p. 29). The operations of the dominant culture are examined in particular through critical pedagogy. "The project of critical pedagogy," McClaren maintains, "means bringing the laws of cultural representation face to face with their

founding assumptions, contradictions, and paradoxes" (p. 226). It has become noted as well for being an extant method for engagement in the process of working for social justice.

The work of Paulo Freire is often included in discussions regarding critical pedagogy. The emancipatory project of liberatory education (which is most associated with Freire), through reflection and dialogue about the generative themes or critical issues of their lives, can lead people to develop a critical consciousness (Freire, 1970). Through this method of "problem-posing education," or of teacher/facilitator and student analyzing the conditions of their lives, a sharing results that leads to the coconstruction of knowledge. "Liberating education," Freire (1970) contends in *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, "consists in acts of cognition, not acts of transferral of information" (p. 67). The process of "*conscientização*" (conscientization) is one of reflection and action wherein one learns to "perceive social, political, and economic contradictions, and to take action against the oppressive elements of reality (p. 19). "Praxis" is the result of reflection and action, for "discovery cannot be purely intellectual but must involve action; nor can it be limited to mere activism, but must include serious reflection: only then will it be a praxis" (p. 52).

McClaren and Giroux (1995), two prominent figures who work both in cultural studies and critical pedagogy, posit that critical pedagogy may be further utilized as an emancipatory educational project. Through a critical praxis, the emancipatory approach of critical pedagogy for social justice has allowed educators to reconfigure the roles of teaching and learning by recognizing that schooling does not exist outside of the historical, political, and cultural parameters

that have given it shape. As progressive as critical pedagogy may be, however, it has not been able to offer a substantial, overarching theoretical supplant to the more powerful and disempowering forces of education (Giroux & McClaren, 1987). The two declare that "more orthodox radical educational theorists have been unable to move from a posture of criticism to one of substantive vision, from a language of critique to a language of possibility" (1995, pp. 32-33). This often occurs because as Simon (1986) notes, "a transformative pedagogy is oppositional in intent and is threatening to some in its practice" (177).

It is a pedagogy of hope, McClaren and Giroux (1995) maintain, that educators have on the whole failed to see as a viable route to equitability and social justice. The authors assert:

While leftist educators and social theorists have constructed detailed and sophisticated forms and methods of ideological critique, they have, for the most part, failed to develop a radical notion of hope and possibility. Some radical educators have, in fact, argued that the notion of hope as the basis of a language of possibility is really nothing more than a "trick of counterhegemony," and that hope is employed for ideological effect rather than for sound theoretical reasons. In other words, hope as a vision of possibility contains no immanent political project as to be sacrificed on the altar of empirical reality. Ironically, this position makes the very notion of counterhegemony untenable, since all struggle implicitly signifies an element of utopian possibility. . . . The exercise of hope and possibility that we are advocating as part of a critical praxis bears a significant comparison with, and indebtedness to, new developments in liberation theology. (p. 50)

"Hope and possibility" are often not viewed as being rational and productive, so they are often not included within social or educational projects. I think this is initially what intrigued me about liberation theology, a project predicated upon a utopian ideal that may never be realized but whose participants seem to be moving towards it -- however elusive it may be -- the continual engagement with

a project whose conclusion is never realized. Examining the CAPS program appealed to me in this regard; its workers and participants do believe in the hope and possibility of their engagement with a project whose end cannot be seen.

Liberation theology emerged as an attempt to rethink the role the Church has played socially and politically as well as the constitutive role of religious experience. It is the poor who have been the crux of the liberationist debate. Levine (1995) asserts of liberationist activities:

The poor are central to these efforts, but not in the traditional sense of objects of charity or of hope for a better life after death. The idea that the poor shall inherit the earth takes on more immediate and activist tones, with concrete efforts to enhance the role of poor people as legitimate participants in religion, society, and politics. (p. 1)

Davidmann (1994) asserts that liberation theologians view the activities of the Church on a continuum of two opposing ends, wherein:

At one end of this scale is the kind which in effect serves the establishment, that is those in authority such as a government, and this kind teaches that reward will be a better life in a life to come. Liberation theologians advocate...the other end of the scale. They emphasize compassion and leadership in the struggle against the oppressors, in the struggle for a better life here and now in this life. (p. 1)

Within liberationist activities, the poor critique the social ideologies and activities of the Church from their positions as those most affected by both, and believe that if rewards are to come, they should be found in this life where they are most immediately needed. Those engaged within this project gained some measure of success in moving the Church from being an ally to being a critic of the status quo.

However good its initial intentions as a project, liberation theology in particular has come under criticism by those who believe it is yet another attempt

by the Church (in this case, an attempt cloaked in progressive garb) to control and co-opt the oppressed. As a representative and a reflector of the Church, some maintain that liberation theology cannot escape the legacy of oppression that the Church has been party to in Latin America for the last five centuries. Levine (1995), for example, maintains that:

For over twenty years, the central goal of liberation theology has been to make religion and the churches into active agents of change in Latin America. By empowering ordinary people and promoting new social movements, liberation theology has tried to change the assumptions that govern power and change power itself in ways that make a better life possible for the mass of the population. Results have been mixed, and by the mid-1990s, the accumulating weight of defeats and reverses have raised sharp questions about the whole liberationist project...liberation theology has been slow to respond to the changes of the 1990s, slower for example than evangelical Protestants, whose use of mass media and promotion of local talent has drawn them close to the rhythms and concerns of popular culture. (pp. 1-2)

As Levine points out, the success of liberation theology has been impacted and effected by both political and social change. Critics of liberation theology, such as Howden (1993), maintain that liberation theology was devised as nothing more than an attempt by Marxists to indoctrinate poor masses, using the Church as a conveyance; this has been one of the most prevalent criticisms of liberation theology. Issues have also been raised regarding the legitimacy of its continuation as a project. Levine (1995) declares:

Great expectations have been replaced by a host of obituaries for liberation theology, and for the movements it promoted and legitimized. Reading the signs of contemporary events, scholars and journalists have joined religious and political activists in writing obituaries for liberation theology as a vision of faith and action able to inspire and sustain change. Sustained Vatican opposition, the fall of socialism in Europe, the defeat of the Sandinista regime in Nicaragua, and the growth of evangelical Protestantism among groups that liberationists had seen as their core constituency have reinforced a sense that the promise of liberation theology is at best played out, at worst an illusion that never was. (p. 2)

These issues and changes that have taken place in the last decade have led to the questioning of the relevancy of liberation theology. Activist theologians have promoted social movements that confronted social injustices, and through these people, the Church, in what was seen by some as an unusual stance, became a defender of human rights instead of a companion of oppressive governments. The concept of liberation theology has had both strong support and opposition since its inception; whether promissory or illusionary, it has rarely met indifference.

While generally surrounded by controversy and a wealth of differing opinions about it, liberation theology has nonetheless garnered considerable commendation for being a praxis for transformative and emancipatory possibilities when teamed with education. As part of a radical pedagogy of hope, those engaged in this effort voice their positions, not from what McClaren and Giroux (1995) assert is an "ahistorical, decontextualized, and putatively value-free commitment of the Gospel - that is, from the sovereign or authoritative Enlightenment perspective of a fixed reading of scriptural truth - but from a post-Enlightenment understanding of history, class struggle, and patriarchy" (p. 51). By moving beyond socioeconomic theories of poverty and how to overcome it, liberation theology has developed as a method of offering a larger lens through which to examine the social injustices of those affected by poverty, and how these same persons may take an empowering stance in liberating themselves and their lives. Bernstein (1988) maintains that much of postmodernism has pigeonholed the utopianism and metaphysicality of the spiritual tradition, overlooking its viable practice of social analysis and discourse. Bernstein notes of the metaphysical convention that the academy on the whole has ignored or

negated its "commitment to critical encounter and dialogue, and its openness to what is different and other, a willingness to risk one's prejudgments seeking for common ground without any guarantees that it will be found" (p. 271). Bernstein posits that a metaphysical position allows one to move towards an "engaged pluralism" (p. 272) where this encounter is activated. This location purportedly recognizes that assumptions and positions are historically, socially, and contextually located, as are theories and interpretations.

Critical pedagogy may ultimately be included within a utopian project of possibility. McClaren and Giroux (1995) maintain that

Liberation theology has much to offer critical educational theory . . . [it] offers critical educational theory a way of reconceiving hope without falling prey to either cheery optimism or righteous certainty . . . Hope, in this critical sense, is not created simply out of an act of negation or the language of critique, but out of a utopian conception of the future. (p. 51)

The dismissal of the utopian project is rooted in nineteenth century conventions that discounted what could not be empirically proven or confirmed through reason. A major writer on the topic of utopianism, Ernst Bloch, in his work *The Principle of Hope* (1986), calls for the mobilization of the utopian project, as it allows for a greater vision of humanity. Maintaining that utopia is an aspect of "cultural surplus," Bloch asserts of utopia that "it contains the spark that reaches out beyond the surrounding emptiness" (quoted in Rabinbach, 1977, p. 11). Hope is a force of history, and humans attempt to engage in the creation of a better world through the "wishful images" they create in fairy tales, myths, popular fiction, cinema, dance, the visual and performing arts, and medicine and philosophy. Utopian hope will eventually allow humanity to arrive at its "homeland," an anticipatory location where social justice is open to a

transformative future.

McClaren and Giroux (1995) assert that a utopian position, such as Bloch's, has pivotal ramifications for critical pedagogy and its practitioners. The radical pedagogy of hope that may locate a part of its origins in liberation theology is a portion of the liberationist project that has survived to offer the possibility of a praxis for social justice. While changes in social and political climates have to a degree altered the initial utopianism of liberationism, utopianism and the possibility of hope still remain in such representative propositions as critical pedagogy and a radical pedagogy of hope. Just as cultural studies itself is an ongoing process, McClaren and Giroux (1995) assert that "a pedagogy of liberation is one that is necessarily partial and incomplete" (p. 57), and is one that offers no final, definitive answers. This is because "it is always in the making, part of an ongoing struggle for critical understanding, emancipatory forms of solidarity, and the reconstitution of democratic public life" (p. 57). Levine (1995) concurs:

Any society needs utopian visions, if only to remind its members that what exists is not the limit of what can be. Liberation theology arose with a utopian vision from the beginning and has advanced a critical and activist stance, identifying injustice and promoting concrete actions in the pursuit of a better order of things The agenda and the need for liberation remain. (p. 3)

I agree with Levine that the agenda and necessity for liberationist and emancipatory projects persist in numerous social problems that need to be addressed, confronted, and transformed. However, there have been objections raised by several feminist educators that I take into consideration when I view the overall project of critical pedagogy, and these will be the focus of the following

section.

Feminist Pedagogy

While Freireian methodology has had a great deal of success internationally, it, and critical pedagogy, have also drawn relevant criticism for their apparent deficiencies by several feminist theorists. Feminism, like cultural studies, resists an immobile definition, and feminist pedagogy, like other aspects of feminism, reflects the overarching consideration of issues of gender. Before viewing the objections that have been raised regarding both methodologies, I will first outline what are some of the suppositions that are represented within feminist pedagogy.

Feminist pedagogy, as stated by Kirsch (1995), is a "growing, diverse field of inquiry concerned with women's educational opportunities, experiences, and success" (p. 723). There are two related yet distinct traditions that comprise feminist pedagogy, one from education and the other emanating from women's studies. Both are concerned with interrogating the structures and phenomena that women experience in education, and within these locations women represent a whole range of theoretical perspectives that express interventional approaches running from confrontational methods to collaborative strategies. Luke and Gore (1992) maintain, however, that what unites feminist pedagogues in terms of the relationship between feminist pedagogy and critical pedagogy is their "resistance to many unexamined assumptions underlying the discourse of critical pedagogy" (p. 2). It is in examining critical pedagogy that the feminist emphasis of praxis and reflexivity become apparent. Both critical and Freireian pedagogy are widely

held to contain the elements needed to empower students. Gore (1992) maintains that empowerment contains within it problematic areas, such as "an overly optimistic view of agency, a tendency to overlook context, an overly simplistic conception of power as property, the theoretical pronouncement of discourses as liberatory, and a lack of reflexivity" (p. 63). Gore's statement is reminiscent of those of Elias and Merriman (1980) regarding Freireian methodology. These authors note that Freire deserves a good deal of credit for his literacy programs, overall methodology, and relevance of ideas for those groups, emphasizing issues such as "oppression, liberation, consciousness raising, and community political and social action" (p. 165). However, the authors find fault with such radical approaches to adult education that do not account for pluralism; in their opinion, there is "little room in his [Freire's] view for the painful struggling with different views and opposing viewpoints" (p. 153). Additionally, they find Freire's works to be too abstract and idealistic.

Weiler (1991), in supporting feminist pedagogy, maintains that there is a connection between feminist pedagogy and Freireian methodology, for "both feminist pedagogy as it is usually defined and Freireian pedagogy rest upon visions of social transformation; underlying both are certain common assumptions concerning oppression, consciousness, and historical change" (p. 450). However, Weiler asserts a concern about Freire's frequent abstract usage of the words *men* and *oppressed* in his works, for not all oppressed people are men and in any group there will be different individual experiences of oppression undergone by its members. This is similar to an objection raised by Merriman (1991). Weiler also contends that Freireian methodology does not deal with the

tensions many people may face as a result of their engagement in social activism against oppression. Weiler maintains that as these questions are dealt with in a more intricate manner by those engaged in feminist pedagogy, a more liberatory and more complete pedagogy is being developed by feminist pedagogy.

Kirsch (1995) asserts that "feminist *critical* pedagogy, like critical pedagogy, is concerned with questions of power, equity, and authority...but it adds gender as a critical factor into the equation" (author's italics, p. 723). Ellsworth (1989) and Luke and Gore (1992) maintain that critical pedagogy is dominated by male scholars who often fail to take into account in their praxis the crucial factor of gender. Freire, Giroux, McClaren, and Shor are male scholars who have written what are often considered the authoritative critical pedagogy texts; feminist authors assert that these scholars, in effect, create a situation where the oppressed becomes "Other" and these male authors, in essence, overwhelmingly define what is oppression and who constitutes the oppressed. hooks (1984) asserts that

Often brilliant political thinkers have...blind spots. Men like Franz Fanon, Albert Memmi, Paulo Freire and Aime Cesaire, whose works teach us much about the nature of colonization, racism, classicism, and revolutionary struggle often ignore issues of sexist oppression in their own writing. (p. 39)

hooks (1990) also maintains that this leads to a situation where this critical discourse becomes "dominated primarily by the voices of white male intellectuals and/or academic elites who speak to and about one another with coded familiarity" (p. 1), seemingly as if to form a clique. The oppressed, too, are heaped into one monolithic category where, presumably, one liberatory prescription will cure the ills of each oppressed person. Feminist critical pedagogues argue that

each oppressed person comes to the classroom with a different set of experiences of oppression that must be contextualized. When historical context and political position are removed from the classroom, Ellsworth (1989) argues, nothing remains but high level, generic, philosophical abstractions. She maintains that "strategies such as student empowerment and dialogue give the illusion of equality while in fact leaving the authoritarian nature of the student/teacher relationship intact" (p. 306). While its emphasis is on developing empowerment in oppressed students by being student-centered, the teacher/facilitator is seen as the one who will lead the students to find their voice, which lacks a sensitivity to the fact that students may come to class "with oppositional voices already formulated" (p. 311), as "white women, men and women of color, impoverished people, people with disabilities, gays and lesbians, are not silenced in the sense implied by the literature on critical pedagogy" (p. 313).

Middleton (1993) maintains that the "consciousness raising" focus of critical pedagogy has been criticized because it implies that certain persons who are not oppressed may somehow "be conduits to revealed truths for oppressed peoples" (p. 75). However, she continues that

In the course of the research process, people may describe their lives - their circumstances, their choices, their activities, their ideas - in ways they have not done before. In this, they may make connections between the personal (an event or an emotion) and the political or social. A personal problem may be reconceptualized as a social or political issue. (p. 75)

Despite the problematic relationship that remains, feminism and consciousness raising activities may in part be reconciled in such instances. It is the liberatory, "consciousness raising" aspect that all forms of critical pedagogy have in common.

SUMMARY

Just as critical pedagogy is a refinement of liberatory education, I view feminist pedagogy as an advancement of critical pedagogy because it more readily contextualizes oppression and gives greater consideration to the subjective factors that shape each oppressed person. However, I anticipate that critical pedagogy, as envisioned by McClaren and Giroux, will move beyond the objections that have been raised about liberation theology and Freireian pedagogy to address general exceptions that the methodology is idealist and naive; I also hope it will move beyond the more specific charges that it neglects issues such as race, gender, and the complexities of class, issues more multifaceted and complex than what I term as "blanket" oppression. If more specific issues of oppression are not addressed, I am curious as to how much of what is happening in the classroom truly resonates with the sociocultural condition of the participants.

I am in agreement with the initial goals of critical pedagogy, which Ellsworth (1989) states are "a critical democracy, individual freedom, social justice, and social change - a revitalized public sphere characterized by citizens capable of confronting public issues critically through ongoing forms of public debate and social action" (p. 300). If beginning with an oppressed group and its members ultimately arriving at emancipation is the starting point, the residue of colonization in its many forms also needs to be a part of the in-class discourse, I believe. For example, in the CAPS program, Guatemala's long history of and ever-present racial discrimination was never addressed in the courses I observed,

a salient point I think when so many of the program's participants are indigenous persons. I have wondered how people psychologically deal with the harassment and abuse they often confront in their struggle for social change and justice, particularly when living under oppressive military regimes, as is the case in Guatemala. At the same time, I realize that many locations where this methodology is taught are locales where even the very existence of the class meeting is dangerous, so it could be presumptive on my part to speculate that the issues of race or abuse are neglected or overlooked in the overall program; these may be discussed in other courses that I did not observe, or, because of the reasons given, their omission in the courses could be deliberate.

CHAPTER IV

METHODS

INTRODUCTION

This study is predicated upon my investigation of the perceptions of the educational experience of Guatemalan *campesinos* enrolled in formal social development training classes. In this case, the CAPS program in Guatemala City served as the site where I conducted the field work for the study. The data for the research were gathered using the ethnographic field methods of participant observation and interviewing. While participant observation was used to collect additional information about the daily processes of the CAPS program itself, an open-ended structured interviewing procedure was used to conduct participant interviews. The interviews focused on three primary areas: personal formal educational experience, community, and the CAPS program. The findings have been centered upon the participants' perceptions of each of these pivotal areas. The following broad questions guided the overall research:

1. How do the participants describe their perceptions of their formal educational experience?
2. How do the participants depict their lives in their communities?
3. How do the participants characterize their perspectives of the CAPS program and their plans for implementing social change?

The data for the study were gathered in June-July 1996. During the

research fieldwork process in Guatemala, I interacted with and observed 151 CAPS participants; the data were collected via participant observations of the classes and activities on the campus, and through structured interviews with 20 participants using the interview protocol presented as Appendix A.

PARTICIPANT SELECTION AND PRINCIPAL PARTICIPANTS

In order to obtain a broader scope of participant experience and diversity, I tried to garner a wide-range of ages for the study (the youngest person interviewed was 16 and the oldest 62). I interviewed both women and men to get a more comprehensive view of the effects of educational experience by each gender and to discern if they had any perceived similarities of experience. Much of Guatemala is a hybrid culture, neither entirely native nor hispanic, but a blend of the two, and selection was made for racial and cultural diversity as well. *Campesino* communities are comprised of both indigenous persons and *mestizos*, and both are represented in the interviews.

Principal Participants

After observing the participants in class, I based my selection of principal participants to be interviewed on the following factors: participation in class (supposing that those who were active participants in class would offer a greater possibility of being open and communicating in an interview), those who were wearing traditional dress or identified themselves as indigenous (in an effort to have an indigenous representation within the study), and those who would

complete a wide range of ages and provide an equal number of men and women. Their participation, however, was completely voluntary; some of those I invited to be principal participants declined, while others that I had not asked inquired of me if they could be interviewed. Some of these persons became part of the study, and in all there were 20 principal participants, 10 women and 10 men.

METHOD OF ANALYSIS

The data collection of this study was conducted by means of a qualitative approach, namely, interviewing and participant observation. The interviews were conducted to reveal the perceptions of the participants in their own voices; the participant observations were conducted to examine the CAPS classroom environment. The interview method allows for the rich weave of human experience to emerge, for the study is constructed around the responses of the participants themselves. As Hochschild (1981) maintains:

Topics as complex and slippery as beliefs about income, poverty, justice, equality, and the role of government in the economy and vice versa require a research method that permits textured, idiosyncratic responses. The researcher must permit - even induce - people to speak for themselves. (p. 23)

In qualitative studies, as people "speak for themselves," the subjectivity, individuality, and commonality of human experience becomes more readily apparent. When a narrative study is constructed within a framework of the responses of individuals, the interviewee should be seen not so much as an informer but rather as a collaborator (Bruner, 1986), a coconstructor of the study.

In Chapter II, "Review of Literature," works pertinent to the discussion of

these research findings were delineated. While it is appropriate to construct the research question and theoretical frameworks from prior literature (Eisenstadt, 1989), some studies are begun with no *a priori* hypothesis, and such is the case with this study. As an ethnography, it is the participants' perceptions, derived from interviews that were conducted, which formed the themes and categories that comprise the study. While the study is qualitative, I did use a small amount of quantitative analysis in Chapter V to get a picture of the demographic composition of the group of principal participants. The qualitative research method of ethnography and the analytic technique of grounded theory that were applied to the study are outlined in the following section.

The Context of Ethnography

The research model or method that a researcher employs, based on a chosen research paradigm, affects the direction of the research. Because this study was constructed through the lens of educational anthropology, an ethnographic research model was selected to be implemented as the investigative paradigm. Agar (1980), Fetterman (1989), Nanda (1991), and North (1994) maintain that the underlying intent of ethnography is to construct a written depiction of a people's culture, beliefs, and daily activities. Ethnography is primarily used by cultural anthropologists and has a number of definitions. Fetterman (1989) describes ethnography as the science and art of describing culture. Spradley (1980) notes that "ethnography is the work describing a culture. The central aim of ethnography is to understand another way of life from the native point of view" (p. 3). As Varenne (1996) asserts,

The epistemology of ethnography is developed over the recognition that scientific knowledge is not advanced through attempts at abolishing the conditions of the research, but rather in using these conditions as a lever to gain a more critical understanding than is available through common sense participation. Rigor in ethnography consists in clarifying the position of the ethnographer within the process of which he is a part. Productivity in ethnography consists in producing the most relevant "next" utterance in the long range conversation which is in producing our collective understanding of each other. (p. 1)

Ethnographic documentation of educational experience supports efforts for a more "collective understanding" of people's social experience. Because learning is an integral part of social experience, ethnography is now recognized as an important method for documenting individual educational and learning experiences. As applied to education, "the emergence of educational ethnography and ethnographic evaluation as a major philosophical and methodological approach in education has been an important step in the illumination of values in educational research" (Hyde, 1987, p. 131). Agar (1985) maintains that "ethnography is neither subjective nor objective. It is interpretive, mediating two worlds through a third" (p. 19), a view also maintained by Behar (1993).

Participant observation involves viewing the day-to-day activities of the actors in a social situation, usually characterized by the copious taking of field notes describing the ethnographer's observations, concerns, reflections, and questions during the period of observation. The interviews, formed around the accounts of the participants, are constructed through an emic perspective, the "insider" viewpoint wherein the characterizations that are delineated are those that originate directly from the participant.

My fieldnotes were examined to compare both interview and observational data, and to locate intersections of findings. The coding procedure generated with the probing of participant observation field notes and interview transcripts, where the focal point became the themes of personal educational background, community, and the CAPS program.

After analysis of the data, major themes began to emerge and be discerned. Coffey (1993) notes that "when reporting the findings and results from the fieldwork research, narrative vignettes, quotes from interviews, archival records and other documentation are cited to clarify the meaning of the relationships described in the framework and provide evidence that warrant the assertions" (p. 58), thus strengthening internal validity. It is within the write-up that the research data coalesce; as Wolcott (1988) maintains, "It is in the write-up, rather than the fieldwork, that the materials become ethnographic" (p. 199).

In reaching closure of a qualitative study, a researcher comes across what Glaser and Strauss (1967) refer to as "theoretical saturation," or the point in the research process when no new breakthroughs or discoveries are located within the process of analysis. Theoretical saturation and analytical closure were met when, after the iterative process, no new insights emerged from the data.

The Framework of Grounded Theory

Ethnography emerges as a most appropriate methodological lens to examine cultural phenomena, particularly when coupled with grounded theory. As Fetterman (1989) asserts,

[Ethnography] embraces a multicultural perspective because it accepts

multiple realities. People act on their individual perceptions, and those actions have real consequences - thus the subjective reality each individual sees is no less real than an objectively defined or measured reality. [These] studies are generally inductive; they make few explicit assumptions about sets of relationships. Such an approach is the basis of grounded theory. (pp. 15 -16)

Because grounded theory provides a "full-circle" approach when used with ethnography, the data analysis portion of the study is based on this method. Grounded theory is a qualitative research approach developed by Glaser and Strauss (1967) in their work, *The Discovery of Grounded Theory*. Strauss and Corbin (1990) have described grounded theory in the following manner:

A grounded theory is one that is inductively derived from the study it represents. That is, it is discovered, developed, and provisionally verified through systematic data collection and analysis of data pertaining to that phenomenon. Therefore data analysis, collection, and theory stand in reciprocal relationship to each other. One does not begin with a theory and prove it. Rather, one begins with an area of study and what is relevant to that area is allowed to emerge. (p. 23)

Glaser and Strauss (1967) contend that grounded theory's "basic position is a way of arriving at theory suited to its supposed uses" (p. 3). Concepts and categories of meaning are derived within the data that are garnered from the interviews themselves:

In integrating theory it is not the fact upon which we stand, but the *conceptual category* (or a conceptual property of the category) that [is] generated from it. A concept may be generated from a fact, which then becomes merely one of a universe of many possible diverse indicators for, and data on, the concept. (author's italics, p. 23)

The authors draw the analogy of the search for themes, indicators, and key words within interviews and the decision-making process of field work data collection with similar activities that occur within simple library research; "caches" of data may be acquired from both (p. 167). Comparative materials analysis is needed

(notes, interview transcripts, documents, and so forth), and no material should be ruled out too quickly, as one source may lead to other sources of information, for “at every step hypotheses will develop and quickly integrate with each other” (p. 171).

As it allows the researcher freedom to move, as it were, among data and theme development, grounded theory moves beyond structured, formulaic research techniques. By employing this method, one is not wedded to a particular theory and then must endeavor to make all else fit the theory. Here, the theory is flexible enough to be applicable to the research findings. In its application, a well-designed grounded theory will possess four major criteria for the theoretical applicability to phenomena. These requisite characteristics include:

1. It closely fits the area being studied;
2. it is readily understandable to laypersons;
3. it is general enough to be widely applicable within the field;
4. it is flexible but allows its user “partial control over the structure and the process of daily situations as they change through time.”

(p. 237)

Glaser and Strauss maintain that “the presentation of grounded theory, developed through analysis of qualitative data can be applied to and adjusted to many situations with sufficient exactitude to guide...thinking, understanding, and research” (p. 233). As such, ground theory is an analytical technique that can be applied to assess numerous social situations.

Through the grounded technique, research is an inductive approach, because qualitative research is begun with an open-ended problem or question,

not a hypothesis. Qualitative researchers “go about the tasks of understanding this problem by selecting the research methods that will enable them to get at the particular details of human behaviors, experiences, and perceptions” (deMarrais, 1996, draft). This inductive procedure allows the researcher to organize, analyze, and finalize the findings of the research, particularly when there is a good deal of material to analyze -- a situation often found in ethnographic studies.

DATA COLLECTION

Observations

I observed each course for the length of its duration, daily for one week, 8:00 a.m. to 6:00 p.m. For the classes, a more formal log was kept for more direct observations, while outside of class, less formal, more subjective fieldnotes were kept in a separate notebook for observations of outside-class activities and for comments about my own feelings and reflections. While on several occasions I participated in a classroom activity, during classes I sat in the back of the room, a location that gave me a good vantage point to view everything happening in class (and from which my presence overall was less obtrusive). I engaged in participant observation during other activities, and wrote my fieldnotes wherever the activities took place (the dormitories, cafeteria, basketball court, soccer field).

The collection of my fieldnotes for the classroom observations was based upon Spradley's (1979) four-step process for field note collection, which includes:

- 1) taking notes while located in the field;
- 2) expanding the notes as soon as possible after leaving the field;

3) maintaining a separate journal to record personal feelings, commentary, and questions about the time spent in the field, and

4) maintaining a continuous analytical record as the study progresses.

In following this process, for each day while observing the classes I kept a chronicle (a “form” that I designed) that included the following headings (see Appendix B):

- name of class
- professor(s)
- date
- time
- people present
- seating arrangement
- activities
- reflections

For each heading, I would document my daily observations. To augment my field notes, at the end of the day when I returned from the classes I developed the notes from the log and from comments recorded in a separate notebook I maintained. As the research progressed and then the analysis began, I consistently contrasted and compared any material that had been collected. This log helped me to document items and activities that I would observe happening in the classroom, and served as a companion to the other observations I made in class (see notes following log in Appendix B).

Interviews

Before beginning the participant observations of the classes or the interviews, I spoke at length with Father Espinoza and the CAPS teachers to find out more about how the classes were structured. Before interviewing any participant, I checked with the professor to make sure that the time the interview was conducted would not interfere with any activity the student may have needed to attend.

Written permission was obtained from participants for the interviews. After consent was secured, one in-depth, audio-recorded interview was conducted with each participant. A translator, Fernando Escobar, assisted me in directing the interviews, which were conducted in Spanish. I speak Spanish at an intermediate level, but I felt more comfortable having a native Spanish speaker helping with the interviews, knowing that a translator would be better equipped linguistically to catch some of the more subtle nuances of the language. The translator and I each followed a copy of the interview script, with each question delineated in both Spanish and English (see Appendix A). I followed each question, and offered prompts in Spanish when I felt more information was necessary. Each participant read the Spanish version of the "Letter of Informed Consent" at the outset of each interview. This form explained the purpose of the study and what their participation entailed, and the interview began after the consent form had been signed and dated by the participant (see Appendices C and D for both English and Spanish versions). For those who were illiterate, the translator read the consent letter to them; two asked to have their names signed with their consent, and one marked an "x" to indicate his agreement of the terms

of the interview. For participant confidentiality, all participants were assigned a pseudonym identity for the study.

The participants were in general a bit shy during the initial part of the interviews, but a few minutes into the process, all seemed to warm up. Some principal participants' friends or classmates seemed most curious, and some would gather outside while the interviews took place, waiting for the participants to emerge. A few seemed eager to their interview to begin; I once saw a pair of eyes peering over a window belonging to a young man whose interview was next!

While I would have liked to have been able to conduct follow-up interviews with each interviewee, the short duration of the participants' stay on the campus (one week) for class attendance prevented this. However, two participants, Rosa and Gloria, did attend two separate programs, allowing me to talk more with them. I spent time with the participants during class breaks, meals, and evening activities to create a greater rapport with them and to enhance my fieldnote observations.

The interviews took place in the classroom, lunchroom, or CAPS offices, depending upon the time of day and what activities were taking place at the time, and when it was most convenient for the participants. The interviews were conducted after lunch during the mid-day break or in the evening after classes had finished for the day.

Triangulation

In triangulating the interviews, observations, and fieldnotes, I came across related aspects that reinforced and confirmed what the participants told me and what I was viewing. Their expressions about their poverty, by the condition of

their clothing, were not exaggerated; what they said corroborated what I saw. Those who stressed particular issues in their interviews also stressed these in class (Carmen and the issue of equal rights between women and men, Rosa and the indigenous issues of poverty and racism).

In archival and academic readings I found historical documentation about particular incidents that participants mentioned. Rosa stated "We know that the land we live on now is ours, as is the land on the southern coast. What happened is that the rich people took the land from us." This relates a particular incident that happened in a southern department where large tracts of land were appropriated from their indigenous owners and workers, who were forcibly removed.

Some participants told me they were illiterate, and indeed I never saw them writing in class. Roberto said that while he was illiterate, he did learn the alphabet in a government literacy campaign in the 1980s. There was a nationwide literacy campaign (1978-1982) under the Lucas Garcia government. Simon (1987) notes of this venture that

There was a certain irony to the \$300 million government literacy program - [which was] more an exercise in corruption than education...an apparent government effort to improve by day the lot of those whose relatives were abducted at night by men on the same government payroll as those assigned to teach the ABCs. Literacy figures given after the program ended were no higher than those before. (p. 54)

That this literacy program was not greatly successful could in all probability be at least a factor as to why Roberto did not become literate with the aid of this program.

Documentation of these such events is maintained by Glaser and Strauss

(1967) as "materials comparison." While I did not set out to back up nor corroborate what the participants told me with the views of others nor with statistics, what participants related to me about their actual experiences was affirmed in readings (Barry, 1992; Calvert, 1985; North American Congress on Latin America, 1974; Perera, 1993; Simon, 1987).

ANALYSIS

Before I arrived at a consolidated portrait of all the data collected, data were first broken down into themes, categories, patterns, and relationships prior to data interpretation and presentation, a process Tesch (1990) terms as "de-contextualization" and "re-contextualization." The data analysis commenced initially with the first interview and was a constant comparative process of observations and interviews. This inductive procedure is referred to by LeCompte and Preissle (1993) as "analytic induction."

The 20 interviews were transcribed and translated from Spanish to English as soon as possible after each interview took place. While I potentially shaped the participant's discourse through the themes I was interested in investigating, the questions were designed to elicit more commentary than a simple "yes" or "no" response. After reading over each interview several times for familiarization, line-by-line analyses of the interview transcripts were coded and then categorized by the general topic and the participant response. I maintained several electronic versions of each interview: one of the entire interview, one of the interview with the questions removed so only the responses were left, and one copy where

responses falling under a particular topic or heading were placed together. Categories were then refined and some overlaps were then collapsed into integrated categories. Continual reading and coding of data led to theme locations. Following what became a “natural” progression, I analyzed the transcript first by topic; next I divided the responses into broad themes, followed by categories, and then into smaller subtopics (which then could be followed and fitted back into the larger categories and themes). This inductive approach offered emergent themes and relationships to be located, and these were continually separated or matched with each other. When the categories were ultimately defined and sorted, I examined the data for relationship patterns and results.

The findings of the CAPS participant observations and the results and analysis of the participant interviews will be presented in Chapter VI. Prior to this, vignettes of the lives of four participants shall be examined in Chapter V. Here the participants’ responses are given in both Spanish and English; due to the amount of responses for each topic, the responses found in Chapter VI are in English only for the sake of brevity.

CHAPTER V

PARTICIPANTS

INTRODUCTION

The results of this study were based on interviews with 20 participants. This chapter will offer vignettes of four selected participants' lives.

I had initially thought that the CAPS program worked only with the indigenous population; however, when I began my observations of the classes, I learned that not all Guatemalan *campesinos* are of indigenous descent; the *campesino* population is comprised of *mestizos* as well. Of the participants interviewed, four identified themselves as indigenous; Rosa (Kakchikal), Ernesto (Quiche), Margarita (Quiche), and Alfredo (Quiche). All of the participants have faced a great deal of hardship in order to acquire what formal education they have; three of the male participants never received any schooling. Of these three men who were illiterate, one was able to write the alphabet. The participants' individual and collective experiences represent some of the major issues affecting *campesino* life, matters that will be dealt with in more detail later within this study.

Participant demographics may be seen in Table 5.1. For the female CAPS participants interviewed, the mean age was 25.5 years, the mean number of siblings was six, the mean number of children was two, and the mean age that

Table 5.1. Participant Demographics

Participant	Age	No. of Siblings	No. of Children	Age Schooling Ended	Participated in CAPS Before?
1. Ana	16	9	0	10	no
2. Almita	31	7	8	10	yes
3. Blanca	24	6	0	12	no
4. Carmen	24	2	0	13	yes
5. Dora	17	8	0	now in 1st yr. of h.s.	yes
6. Gloria	22	6	0	11	no
7. Margarita	27	5	0	7	yes
8. Marta	34	3	6	7	yes
9. Maritza	39	7	0	13	no
10. Rosa	21	9	1	9	yes
1. Alfonso	47	7	3	no school/illiterate	no
2. Alfredo	19	8	0	15	no
3. Ernesto	35	6	0	10	yes
4. Francisco	20	4	0	now in 2nd yr. of h.s.	yes
5. Jorge	22	8	0	9	yes
6. Mario	17	5	0	in high school	yes
7. Miguel	62	8	4	14	yes
8. Roberto	45	6	8	no school/illiterate	no
9. Santiago	40	13	3	1 yr. post h.s.	yes
10. Victor	35	0	6	no school/illiterate	yes

schooling ended was 10.2. Six out of the 10 female participants had attended CAPS before. For the male CAPS participants, the mean age was 34.2, the average number of siblings was seven, and the mean number of children was four. Two male participants are currently in high school, one has one year of schooling post-high school, three never attended school, and of the remaining four, the average age schooling ended was 12. Seven of the ten men had been prior CAPS students. The youngest female participant, Ana, was 16 while the oldest, Maritza, was 39. At 17, Mario was the youngest male participant; Miguel was the oldest at 62. As may be seen in the chart, almost all of the participants come from relatively large families.

VIGNETTES

In the next sections, vignettes of selected participants' lives will be presented. These serve as an initial presentation of data, as the information from these particular interviews and the interviews of the other principal participants provided the data for the overall analysis. They are also an exhibition of the connection of social and political issues that I am discussing in this study.

"Rosa Benítez"

Rosa, 21, is a Kakchikal *indigena* from the western highland department of Sololá. Separated and with a four-year-old son, Rosa is now involved in the feminist organization CONIC (*Coordinadora Nacional Indígena y Campesina*, or National Indigenous and *Campesina* Coordinating Committee). Everyday,

Rosa wore a *huipile*, a *paz* (waist sash), and a *corte* (a multicolored material used as a skirt in the traditional costume). She told me it took her two months to weave her *huipile*; with a certain pride pointed out the adornments of embroidered plants that she had carefully added to personalize and decorate the blouse. She moves easily between her native Kakchikal language and Spanish in a lyrical accent. I often sat with Rosa during meals. I personally do not like tortillas, and every day at lunch and dinner I gave her mine, which she seemed to relish; at times, she seemed almost insatiably hungry.

Rosa is stocky, and seemed to always be wearing a smile that complemented her hearty, contagious laugh. This, however, cannot belie the pain she has felt as an indigenous woman. She consistently related the difficulties she and her people have faced from the discrimination the indigenous of Guatemala have endured both historically and today.

Like many *campesinos*, Rosa's education was interrupted due to the economic hardship posed by the large number of siblings in her house (nine), and she last attended school when she was nine years old. As she asserted,

El problema que yo tengo es que aunque nosotros queremos estudiar, mi familia no tiene la capacidad de darnos educación, por ese motivo nosotros tenemos que salir a trabajar para ganar un poco de dinero y poder estudiar. Si uno no estudia uno no puede comer, por que nosotros buscamos la manera de ayudar a nuestra a familia. Los indígenas en Guatemala hemos sufrido mucho...Donde yo vivo la mayoría de maestros no nos enseñan todo. Aquí en Guatemala a los hijos de los ricos se les enseñan bien, pero a nosotros los indígenas no nos hacen caso. En nuestro pueblo hemos tratado que los maestros nos enseñen bien, pero no nos tratan bien. Nos tratan como animales.

The problem I had was that I wanted to study but my family could not afford for us to study. My family did not have the capacity to give us education, so we had to go out to work to make a little money and to be able to study. If someone chooses to study, they cannot eat, because we

look for a way to help our family. The indigenous of Guatemala have suffered greatly...Where I live the majority of the teachers did not teach us everything. Here in Guatemala only the children of the rich people are able to get a good education, but the indigenous people do not get much attention. In our community, we tried to make our teachers teach us well, but they did not treat us well. They treated us like animals.

Here, Rosa's statements echo the sentiments reflected in the "Review of Literature" (Chapter II) given by Menchú (1984) and Ixcop (in Hobart & Lea, 1995) regarding the discrimination Guatemalan indigenous children often face in school.

Rosa feels a great responsibility to help her community; while she does not have a great deal of formal education, she believes that knowledge will be key in allowing her to reach this goal:

lo que es importante para mí es ayudar a la gente que está sufriendo en mi pueblo, pero me hace falta más conocimiento si hay ayuda en otros lugares para poder mantener nuestra vida como indígenas. Yo trabajo en una organización, por lo que creo que necesito mas capacitación. Esa es la razón por la cual estoy aquí porque ahora no tengo mucho conocimiento, pero poco a poco voy a adquirir conocimientos para ayudar a la gente de mi comunidad a resolver los problemas que tenemos. Yo voy a trabajar para ayudar a las mujeres de mi pueblo. Hasta el momento mi comunidad sigue siendo la misma que cuando yo nací. Casi ninguna persona se ha levantado, como los ricos aquí en la capital, ellos si han vivido bien, yo me he dado cuenta que ellos si pueden darle estudios a sus hijos y a nosotros como indígenas no nos hacen caso. Ni siquiera nos dicen "hola" o "adios."

What is important for me is to help the people who remain in my community in the face of so much suffering. But I need to know if there is more help in other places to be able to maintain our life as indigenous people. I work in an organization, and that is the reason I think I need more training. This is the reason I am here, because I do not have much knowledge. But little by little I am going to get knowledge to be able to help the people in my community and to solve the problems we have. I am going to work to help the women in my community. My community is in as bad a shape as when I was born there. Almost no one has been able to progress like the rich people here in the capital; here they have lived well. I noticed that they are able to give their children a better education, and we

that are indigenous, they do not pay attention to us. They do not even say "hello" or "goodbye" to us.

While being committed to helping women and others in her community, she draws a distinction between the lives of urban *ladinos* and the neglect she feels indigenous people endure.

When asked what she thinks her role in her family is, she replied:

Yo pienso que mi deber es el de buscar trabajo porque somos bastantes en mi familia, para poder vivir. Yo he pensado que no quiero quemishijos sufran lo que nosotros hemos sufrido. Que tengan más oportunidades de estudiar. Por eso, nosotros como padres tenemos la obligación de mantener a mi hijo.

I think my role in the family is to search for work [because we are so many in the family] to be able to live. I am thinking that I do not want my children to suffer what we have suffered. I want them to have more opportunities to study. For this, we as parents have the obligation to sustain our children.

Here, Rosa emphasizes the need of many indigenous families, that of searching for work for survival; she views educational opportunity as a means of bettering the lives of her children.

Campesino lives are inextricably bound to the land. As an indigenous *campesina*, Rosa is acutely aware of the problems the issue of land poses:

Solamente los indígenas hemos sufrido y no la gente rica. Sabemos que la tierra donde vivimos es nuestra, así como la tierra en la costa sur, es nuestra, lo que pasa es que los ricos nos quitaron la tierra. El problema que tenemos es que no hay donde vivir. Hay muchas problemas por la tierra, o por los productos que se siembran y luego nadie los compra, o se les paga un precio inferior al que debe ser.

Only the indigenous people have suffered and the rich people have not. We know that the land we live on now is ours, as is the land on the southern coast. What happened is that the rich people took the land from us. The problem we have is that we do not have any place to live. There are many problems because of the land, or problems with the sale of our crop products, because we plant them and then nobody wants to buy them, or they buy them but pay lower prices than they should.

As mentioned earlier, the issue of land and land distribution has been a foundational issue in Guatemala's civil war, and no one group has felt the weight of this issue more than *campesinos*, and in particular, indigenous *campesinos*. Because of this land issue, Rosa and her fellow indigenous *campesinos* have suffered, and continued to do so.

Upon meeting Rosa, one is struck by her passion and the commitment she feels to her community and to improving the lives of indigenous women. Using the CONIC organization as a vehicle for change, she desires to see transformation for all of Guatemala.

Yo estoy trabajando en una organización desde hace tres años, y que se llama CONIC. Yo trabajo allí organizando al grupo de mujeres, dando ideas para resolver los problemas de las mujeres indígenas. Yo quisiera que se levanten todos y que tengamos oportunidad para vivir mejor aquí en Guatemala, la mayoría de nosotros hemos sufrido mucho. Deberíamos unirnos para contar nuestros problemas y poder resolverlos.

I have worked in an organization for three years, and it is called CONIC. I work there organizing the women and offering ideas to resolve the problems of the indigenous woman. I wish that all the people could get united and rise up and that we would have the opportunity to live better here in Guatemala. The majority of us have suffered a lot. We should unite to share our problems and to be able to solve them.

Despite her hopes for change, Rosa maintains

Mi futuro miro difícil. Aprender más y el querer ayudar a mi comunidad, para poder tener más oportunidades y salir adelante como pueblo indígena fue lo que me interesó.

My future looks difficult. My interest is in learning more to help my community to be able to get more opportunities and to move ahead as indigenous people.

"Carmen Fernández"

Carmen Fernández, 24, is from the eastern department of Chiquimula. One is immediately struck by her shyness, but more so by the collected manner in which she presents herself. Single, with no children, she lives and works in a community in the municipality of Jocotal with a group of Belgian nuns. Here, they engage in health and education endeavors for the community as well as artisan work. The one aspect that emerged most clearly from Carmen's interview is her strong belief in equality between men and women, which she credits her parents for instilling in her. In describing her life with her parents and in her community, she maintains:

Lo que he aprendido de mi madre es la manera de vestirme, el oficio de hacer tortillas, y lo que es la costura a mano, También me han enseñado lo que es la limpieza, y el orden, y eso es lo que le pienso enseñar yo a mis hijos y a la gente joven. También enseñarles a no dejarse tomar ventaja por otras personas, que tomen conciencia de ello. Mis papás creen en la igualdad de derechos entre hombre y mujer, y esto lo compartimos también con la gente que estamos visitando. Los hombres hacen trabajo de campo, las mujeres hacen artesanías como petates y canastas, y también hacen escobas y lo que es trabajo en la cocina. En algunos lugares los hombres ya ayudan con estas tareas pero aun existe mucho machismo en nuestra comunidad.

Mi comunidad está bien en algunos aspectos, pero el machismo siempre está presente, porque en las organizaciones todavía no van todos los hombres, en cuanto a la educación aún hay mucho analfabetismo. Que la gente se educara más para salir del analfabetismo y que hubiera más organización. También me gustaría ver más igualdad entre hombres y mujeres.

The things that I learned from my mother include the traditional way of dressing, making tortillas, and sewing by hand. My parents also taught me about good hygiene and order, and this is what I want to teach young people. Also I want to teach my children and the young people to not let others take advantage of them and to be conscious about their rights. My parents believe in equal rights between men and women, and these ideas we share with other people. The men work in the fields; the women make handicrafts, like little carpets and baskets and brooms, and also work in the kitchen. In some places men help with this kind of work, but there is still a

lot of *machismo* in our community.

My community is good in some aspects, but *machismo* is always present, because when the organizations get together not all the men go because of *machismo*. In education there is still much illiteracy. I want the people to get more education to get rid of illiteracy and to have more organization. I would also like to see more equality between men and women.

Machismo is an aspect in her community that Carmen believes, if lessened substantially, would go far in changing life for the better for all.

Carmen was able to complete grammar school and three years of high school, in addition to supplementing some subjects through radio courses.

He tenido primero la educación de mi casa. Ellos me educaron a comportarme y no decir malas palabras. Luego en la escuela donde estuve 7 años. Después de esos siete años en la escuela ya no estudié, lo que me gustaba era reunirme con las mujeres en la aldea, y mis padres me daban permiso. Luego trabaje en una casa, y aquí comencé a estudiar otra vez por medio de cursos en la radio para repasar lo aprendido en la primaria, luego realicé los basicos con las hermanas belgas. Los cursos en la radio eran en español. Por la radio también recibí un poco de inglés, pero aprendí muy poco.

My first education was at home with my parents. They taught me to be well-behaved and not to swear. Then I went to school for seven years. When I finished grammar school I liked to get together with the women in the community and my parents did not oppose this. Then I worked in a house. Here I began to listen to radio classes to update my last years of school, so I listened to the radio courses. With the Belgian nuns, I was able to finish grammar school. The radio courses were in Spanish, and by the radio I learned a little English but not much.

Both field and domestic workers in Guatemala often use the radio not only as a medium of entertainment, but also for information and education.

When asked what she believes is important in her life, Carmen mentioned education and equal rights as being equally important, observing that teaching children about equal rights would help diminish the problem of inequality.

Para mí es importante la educación y la igualdad entre hombres y

mujeres practicar todo lo aprendido. Que se termine el machismo, que las nuevas generaciones no tengan la mentalidad del machismo, porque somos todos iguales. Yo pienso que esto se puede arreglar enseñando a los niños que hombres y mujeres tenemos los mismos derechos.

For me what is important is education and equal rights between men and women to practice all we have learned. I hope that *machismo* stops, that the new generation does not have the mentality of *machismo*, because we are all equal. I think that this could be fixed by teaching children that men and women have the same rights.

"Ernesto García"

An indigenous Quiche from the department of Chichicastenengo, Ernesto, 35, is a man who related that he has faced a great deal of hardship in his life. Petite in stature and with delicate features, Ernesto is hardly shy; loquacious and articulate, he contributed substantially to class discussions and seemed to particularly revel in role-playing activities. Unmarried and with no children, in his department he works making handicrafts, small brooms, and sports balls. Raised by his grandparents, Ernesto gives a great deal of credit to them for raising him in a way that taught him to avoid "vices."

Durante mi vida, desde que yo nací yo no conocí a mi papá. Mis padres no estaban casados solamente unidos, y desde ese momento se separó de mi mamá. Fueron mis abuelos los que me criaron, allí crecí sin papa. Mis abuelos me dieron el apoyo. Mi abuelo fue el primero que me educó, y gracias a él no tengo ningún vicio. La educación que yo aprendí de mi abuelo, la orientación de ser honesto. Esto es lo que yo tengo que enseñar, el estar alejado de los vicios, porque por estos vicios uno se puede perder.

During my life, since I was born, I never knew my father. My parents were not married, only united; when I was born my father separated from my mother. It was my grandparents that took care of me. I grew up without a father. My grandparents supported me. My grandfather was the first to educate me, and thanks to him I do not have any vices. The education I learned from my grandfather was his advice to be honest. This is what I have to teach, to avoid vices, because vices can cause one to be lost.

Ernesto's department, Chichicastenengo, is noted particularly for its *fiesta* (celebration) of resistance to Maximón, a conquistador/*ladino* figure (often referred to as "Judas" or "Pedro de Alvarado" - both "betrayers") who represents the attempts of the "betrayer" to corrupt the indigenous communities with "vices" (drinking alcohol, smoking, greed, laziness).

After the death of his grandmother, Ernesto's formal education ended at the age of ten. While having fond memories of his teacher, his thoughts of his experience with friends at the time were mixed.

Mi maestro me cuidó mucho, yo fui por primera vez a la escuela a los 4 años. A veces tenía compañeros que me pegaban y otros me ayudaron a aprender. Mi profesor me animaba mucho para que yo aprendiera. Mis amigos había unos que siempre me ayudaron. Mi escuela era grande. Tenía 4 salones de clase. Tuve muchos amigos.

My teacher took care of me. I first went to school when I was 4 years old. Sometimes I had friends that hit me, but others helped me to learn. My teacher stimulated me very much to learn. My friends always helped me to learn. My school was big. It had four big classrooms. I had many friends.

Ernesto contrasted the education he is receiving as an adult in CAPS with the education he received in school:

Para mí, ha sido un estudio más provechoso que lo aprendido en la escuela, ya que aquí recibimos teoría y practica, porque como lo que hemos visto en este curso lo puedo practicar en mi comunidad.

For me, this type of education has been very important and I took more advantage of it than the education I received in school, because here we receive theoretical and practical courses, because we see that this course can be applied in my community.

Ernesto feels strongly about the importance of his involvement in helping his community and the role communication has in the development process. His words reflect his commitment.

Mi esperanza es que nos convirtamos en una comunidad sin problemas, sin sufrimientos, sin fracasos y no pasar problemas económicos y materiales. En mi futuro espero que obtenga yo superación y que la comunidad se supere y se organice. Lo importante para mí es hablar bien y comunicarme bien con la comunidad, y enseñar todo lo que yo aprenda a los demás. Los cambios que quisiera ver es que cuando las personas se capacitan, éstas ya tienen el poder de realizar cambios en su comunidad, y que esto se convierta en realidad. En un hogar no hay paz si no existe comunicación, ésta se logra de casa por casa, de comunidad en comunidad, de municipio a municipio, hasta llegar a todo el país.

My hope is to convert my community into a community without problems, without suffering, and without failures and to not have economic and material problems. I hope that in my future I obtain more knowledge and that my community gets more developed and organized. The important thing for me is to talk well and to be able to communicate well with my community, and to teach others all the things I learn. The changes I want to see are that when people get training, they have the power to make changes in the community, and to convert them to reality. A home cannot have peace if there is no communication, and this is achieved home to home, community to community, municipality to municipality, until we reach the whole country.

While he believes that the development of his community is crucial, he feels as well that development has brought some changes that, in his view, are less than favorable:

Ahora hay una diferencia, porque antes no había electricidad, ni teléfono ni agua potable. Antes solo había escuela primaria. Ahora ya existe la secundaria. También he visto últimamente que los jóvenes que están estudiando se están perdiendo, porque se interesan por otras cosas, lo cual no nos lleva a ningún desarrollo y falta que los padres los guíen mejor. También se están volviendo los jóvenes más perezosos debido a los avances en la comunidad. Por ejemplo, antes de teníamos que madrugar y caminar bastante para conseguir agua, ahora ya no es así.

Now there is a difference, because before there was no electricity, nor telephone or potable water. Before there was only a primary school. Now there is a high school. Also I have seen lately that young people who are studying now are getting involved in things that take them away from their studies. I think the parents have to guide them better. Also the young people are becoming lazier because of the developments in the community. For example, before we had to get up early in the morning and

walk a long way to get water, but now it is not like that.

Ernesto believes that if his prior formal education had been different, his life would have been different as well, that possibly he may have been a person who would better serve his community in a position of authority.

Si cuando yo fui niño hubiera recibido esta educación, talvez yo no estuviera aquí. Talvez estaría en una institucion mejor o podria haber sido yo un maestro o un orientador. Talvez podría haber sido una autoridad en mi comunidad, porque muchas veces llegan al poder personas que no son capaces para los puestos.

If when I was young I had received this education, maybe I would not be here. Maybe I would be in a better institution and I could be a teacher or a developer. Maybe I could have been an authority in my community, because many times there are people who reach a position in the community who are not well prepared for these kinds of positions.

"Santiago Pérez"

Now a CAPS coordinator for sixteen years, Santiago Pérez, 40, began as a CAPS participant like the other participants. Married with three children, he is tall, broad shouldered, and rugged looking. While he travels much of the time as a CAPS facilitator, he was born and currently lives in the department of San Marcos, an area that endured a great deal of combat during the worst years of the civil war. Santiago is one of fourteen children, and his educational journey was fraught with extreme economic hardships as a child and into his adult years; despite this, however, his amount of schooling in terms of his beginnings could possibly be termed a formal education "success" story.

Somos 14 hermanos. Crecimos en una condición económica pobre. Mi padre era carpintero y mi madre ama de casa, por la cantidad de hijos que éramos la situación era bastante difícil. De pequeños íbamos en la mañana a la escuela y en la tarde buscábamos algún

trabajo para ayudar en la situación económica de nuestra casas, como era limpiar casas, hacer mandados, botando basura. Fui a la escuela ya rande, yo empecé a los nueve años, cuando aquí la ley dice que se debe empezar a los siete años.

Nos costó terminar la primaria, yo salí de 18 años de la primaria. A esta edad yo ya sabía trabajar la carpintería. Luego por iniciativa propia decidí seguir estudiando el básico. Trabajaba por las mañanas y en las tardes como a las seis de la tarde comenzaban las clases. Luego con el sacrificio de mis padres pude salir del municipio para sacar una pequeña carrera, la de maestro de primaria.

We are a family of 14 children. We grew up in a poor economic condition. My father was a carpenter, and my mother was a housewife, and because of the number of family members, my economic situation was very difficult. When we were young we went to school in the morning and in the afternoon we looked for little jobs to do to help get money for my home, like cleaning houses, running errands, and taking out the trash for other people. I went to school later, because the laws say that a child must enter school when he is seven, but I entered when I was nine.

I finished grammar school when I was 18 years old. By that age I was already working as a carpenter. Then by my own initiative I decided to keep on studying in high school. At that time I worked in the daytime and went to school in the evenings. The classes began at 6:00 in the evening. Then, with alot of sacrifice on the part of my parents, I was able to leave the municipality and to have a little career as a grammar school teacher.

Santiago's statements reflect the fact that he faced a great deal of economic hardship to attend school. He elaborated on the path that he took in order in becoming involved with CAPS to the extent that he is now.

Cuando me recibí de maestro a los 24 años, comencé a trabajar con el programa de maestro en casa. Donde íbamos de aldea en aldea enseñando a leer y escribir. Al año de esto comencé a trabajar con CAPS, y era un trabajo que yo soñaba, porque me gusta la proyección social, y es lo que más me gusta, por eso llevo yo trabajando 16 años aquí, y hemos logrado hacer cambios en la gente de las comunidades, haciendo un cambio social, cultural, espiritual y también económico, por eso mi trabajo me gusta. Me he educado mas en la proyeccion social aquí en CAPS, porque he tenido la oportunidad de tomar varios cursos de desarrollo, de salud, de derechos humanos, de ecología y de varios temas más, o sea que aquí es donde me he capacitado más. Yo si obtuve mi título de maestro, pero nunca ejercí, saqué la carrera porque era la única que podía estudiar.

When I finished my career as a teacher at the age of 24, I began to work with a program of home teachers. In that program we went from *aldea* to *aldea* [an "*aldea*" is a small community or village] teaching people how to read and write. I only worked in this program for one year, and then I began to work with CAPS; this was the work that I always dreamed about, because I liked its focus on helping others socially. That is what I like the most about my work. That is the reason I have worked with CAPS for sixteen years. Throughout this time I think we have been able to make many changes and help the people in the communities making social, cultural, spiritual, and economic changes as well. That is why I like my job. I have trained more in social work here in CAPS. Here, I had the opportunity to take different courses about development, health, human rights, sociology, and other subjects; it is here that I have gotten the most training. I only finished my studies to be a teacher because it was all I was able to study.

While Santiago maintains that his work is now fulfilling, his earlier schooling experiences hold quite painful memories for him. However, through his perseverance, he was able to become an educational "example" for others.

En primer lugar me recuerdo que los compañeros de mi escuela nunca pudieron jugar conmigo porque yo no tenía zapatos, siempre estaba de pantalones cortos, luego no llevaba dinero para refacciones. Además los maestros nunca me incentivaron con mis tareas para que yo aprendiera más. En el básico fue muy difícil, porque el trabajar en el día y el estudiar en las noches era muy cansado, y recuerdo que a veces perdía exámenes por estar muy cansado para contestar, y no por no tener la capacidad. Ahora en el diversificado, el mayor recuerdo que tengo es el de haber sido ejemplo para mis compañeros, ya que yo los motivaba a estudiar y los ayudaba a ver la importancia que la educación tiene.

My first memories are that my friends in school did not want to play with me because at that time I did not have shoes, and I always wore shorts, and then, I never had money to go buy snacks. Also, the teachers never gave me the incentive to do my homework, so I did not learn more. Throughout high school it was more difficult, because I had to work all day and study at night. I was very tired. I remember I failed some tests because I was too tired to answer the questions, not because I did not know the subject. My biggest memory from the time I was studying to become a teacher is that I was an example to my friends because I motivated and helped them to study. I was able to make my friends see the importance that education has.

Because of the Guatemalan military's traditional disdain for *campesino* social development initiatives, Santiago's involvement with CAPS has at times been unsafe.

Los problemas principales son las leyes, porque únicamente se aplican a los pobres que resulta en la explotación que enfrentamos aquí en Guatemala. La situación está cambiando un poco, pero la discriminación de parte gobierno siempre existe. El gobierno siempre escoje presidentes que cuidan de los ricos. Otro problema es la presión que ejercen los militares. Con tantos años de guerra civil Guatemala tiene muchos problemas. Mi trabajo pienso que antes era peligroso, y tuvimos muchos problemas. Tuvimos una vez el caso de la desaparición de tres compañeros. Hubo una época en la que yo tenía que informarle al comisionado militar todos mis movimientos y con quien yo había estado todos los días. El ejercito es bastante fuerte en nuestro país porque la gente poderosa les da mucho apoyo. En el ejercito usted ve como soldados solo gente indígena, pero de los oficiales para arriba es gente pudiente, es raro ver soldados de las aldeas o municipios, casi todos son del área rural. La gente que viene a capacitarse aquí no tienen problemas al regresar a su pueblo, pero hubo una época en la que si hubieron bastantes problemas, porque el ejercito los vigilaba, porque el trabajo social siempre ha sido mal visto.

The main problems are the laws, because they only apply to the poor, and the exploitation that we face here in Guatemala. This situation is changing a little, but the discrimination from the government always exists here. The government always chooses presidents who only look out for the rich people. Another problem is the pressure from the army. Guatemala has many problems because of too many years of civil war. I think that my work before was dangerous, and we had many problems. Once we had a case of three of my co-workers disappearing. There was a time that I had to inform the military of all of my movements and all the people I came in contact with daily. The army in Guatemala exists because influential people give the army a lot of support. The majority of the soldiers in the army are indigenous, but the officers and those with higher rank are well off. It is rare to see to soldiers from the *aldeas* or municipalities, they are always from rural areas. The people that come here for training do not have any problem when they return to their community now, but there was a time when they had many problems, because the army was always watching them, and because here in Guatemala social work is viewed with a negative eye.

Santiago frames much of his life within his work as a social developer.

When asked why he became involved in this work, he succinctly stated:

Fue por amor al prójimo, por el deseo de ayudar, para evitar que los demás pasaran lo que yo pasé.

It was love for other people, because they needed help, so that other people would not have to live through what I lived through.

SUMMARY

As these participant profiles demonstrate, *campesinos* in Guatemala struggle throughout their lives with a number of issues. The other participants, regardless of age or gender, also confronted the same or similar issues. In addition to my direct study, before and after the time of my fieldwork in Guatemala, I had informal conversations with as many different Guatemalans as possible (these comments were collected through notetaking). I wanted to speak to other Guatemalans outside of the participants to get different opinions and insights; these perspectives added to my understanding of how life is perceived in Guatemala by those who live there. One wealthy woman in Guatemala in her 60s (who is the daughter of an army general) told me that "those people working with the Indians and *campesinos* at Landívar are *políticos*; they are nothing but troublemakers, Marxists!" This view seemed to be a consensus among the more moneyed, conservative people with whom I spoke. The person working with me as a translator (who is in his 20s), however, told me that he was glad that he had the opportunity to assist in this study, because as he said, "We [*ladinos*] see these people every day [*campesinos*], but we never talk to each other; we have no idea how they live or how hard their lives really are. Their stories are so interesting. I have learned a lot that I didn't know before by talking to them, but I think this is

the first time I have ever spoken directly to a *campesino*." While I cannot generalize the statements of a few, and these comments, of course, are not representative of all *ladinos*, I do think they are indicative of two interesting *ladino* perspectives.

I also have had contact with human rights leaders and one in particular stood out for me: Roberto Navarro, a Mayan political leader, founder of the Mayan Defense Team, and co-founder of the Coordinating Committee of Guatemalan Mayan Organizations. He was also a vice-presidential candidate in Guatemala's last presidential election, representing the leftist coalition party, the New Guatemala Democratic Front (FDNG). I met Navarro while he was on a tour of speaking engagements in the U.S. Like Rigoberta Menchú, he was forced to flee to Mexico to continue his human rights work. He told me

While I have been in the United States I went to the Martin Luther King, Jr., Museum in Atlanta. I saw what the African-American people went through in their struggle for civil rights, and I feel like our situation is very similar, because we are engaged in the same struggle in our country now. We are ready to take what is ours, what has been denied to us for so very long. If the rulers do not want to give this to us we are going to take it anyway, because it is time. It is past time. Even if they kill us, we are no longer afraid. They did it to us before and it was for nothing, but now, we will not stop. The *campesinos* and we indigenous people are the foundation of Guatemala, and we want to participate fairly in what we have built for so long. We have so many plans and ideas; we even have plans for the first Mayan university. There will be no going back this time.

For me, Navarro's comments gave an immediacy and strength to the comments of the principle participants. It would be easy to diminish such comments as grand remarks or wishful thinking if it were not for the fact that these and similar comments are originating from people who are well acquainted with what the obstacles are and know how far the road to justice may be.

The discussion of the results of the study in Chapter VI, "Presentation of Findings," shall illustrate more about the lives of the principle participants and others in the themes that emerged from their responses.

CHAPTER VI

PRESENTATION OF FINDINGS

INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, the major findings of the participant interviews are presented. Garnered from the 20 in-depth participant interviews that were conducted, these findings are presented within the context of the three overriding topics that guided the interviews: education, community, and the CAPS program. This section presents the findings of the participants' descriptions of their observations and experiences with various aspects of these three topics. Within these larger topics, the emergent themes are examined. The University of San Carlos, Guatemala's largest university, in its *Análisis Situacional de la Educación Guatemalteca (Situational Analysis of Guatemalan Education)* (1995) maintains that "la problemática educativa del país es múltiple y compleja" ("the educative problem of the country is multiple and complex"; p. 31). The findings presented here echo sentiments of the numerous complexities found by the University of San Carlos in the educational experience of the Guatemalan *campesino*.

FINDINGS OF PARTICIPANT OBSERVATIONS OF CAPS CLASSES

Observational Setting

The CAPS classes take place in an elongated brick building on the back lot of the university campus, which houses the two CAPS directors' offices, two secretaries' offices, a large general office that several of the CAPS workers share, and a smaller office used by one of the workers. Also in the smaller office, miscellaneous items, such as medical supplies and sports equipment, are stored. The books *The Communist Manifesto*, *The Armed Revolution of Mao Tse-tung*, *Marx and Marxism*, and *What is a Moral Marxist* were on a bookshelf in an office of one of the priests.

The CAPS classroom itself is rectangular shaped, and has two entryways on the left and a row of windows on the right side near the ceiling. At the front of the classroom are two white dry erase boards, between which hung a wooden crucifix. The doors and door frames are painted a bright orange, and there are gray tile floors. The only furniture consists of numerous gray, metal folding chairs (those that are not being used are stacked against the left side of the room), and three small wooden tables that are moved around both in the room and outside, depending upon where the students did their group work. The tables are used on a first-come, first-served basis.

Because the classes I observed took place during the months of June and July, this was during Guatemala's rainy season, and this made for daily extremes in temperature. During the afternoon, when the daily showers would appear, the exceptionally loud thunder on a few occasions briefly made it difficult for

everyone to hear what was being said in class. Several times after lunch, when the storms came and the temperature dropped in the afternoon, I saw some of the women wearing towels wrapped around their shoulders. Towels are often used in place of shawls or jackets by *campesinas*, and are an indication of their lack of material goods, such as adequate clothing.

The grounds of the Landívar campus are well tended, manicured, and decorated with numerous plants, shrubbery, and flowers. Because of the large number of kidnappings, carjackings, and car thefts, as in almost every parking lot found in Guatemala City, armed security guards patrol the parking lots on campus both day and night.

While the CAPS classes take place in a rather nondescript brick classroom, for me, the most interesting aspect I noted about this room was the posters that were placed around the room. Most of the posters in the classroom showed both *ladino* and indigenous *campesinos*, either rendered or photographed, accompanied by strong political messages. The following texts accompanied the posters:

"La paz es producto de la justicia" ("Peace is the product of justice"), with a photo of an indigenous family.

"No se puede encarcelar la inconformidad de un pueblo" ("You cannot imprison the nonconformity of the people"), accompanying a painting of farmers walking up a hill in the background, and in the foreground a farmer is depicted in a prison cell pulling apart cell bars.

"Pasé como migrante y me acogiste" (I passed through as a migrant and you received me), with a photo of a young indigenous girl.

"Jesús nos dice los hechos son la fuerza del amor" ("Jesus told us works are the strength of love"), with a painting of Jesus.

"Existe un muro contrá el cual se estrellan la libertad y la esperanza de

un pueblo...IMPUNIDAD - Derribémoslo!" (There is a wall against which the liberty and hope of a people is shattered...IMPUNITY - Let us tear it down!) with an abstract painting of a screaming face.

Courses and Participants

In the month of observations, three classes were given:

1. *Principales leyes que contribuyen al desarrollo* (Law principals that contribute to development), which dealt with the Constitution, civil and municipal laws, and governmental roles and responsibilities. Of the classes I observed this one had the fewest number of participants, 25 in all, 4 women and 21 men.
2. *Agricultura sostenible* (Sustainable agriculture), which dealt with teaching environmental awareness and preventive and progressive techniques for agriculture. In this group there were 57 total participants, 4 women and 53 men.
3. *Papel y responsabilidad del joven en el desarrollo comunal* (Role and responsibility of youth in communal development), which dealt with community duties of young people, ages 16-27. 33 women and 36 men attended, for a total of 69 participants.

The program day was structured as follows:

7:00 a.m. - 8:00 a.m.	Breakfast
8:00 a.m. - 10:00 a.m.	Class
10:00 a.m. - 10:15 a.m.	Break
10:15 a.m. - 12:30 p.m.	Class
12:30 p.m. - 2:00 p.m.	Lunch and Free Time
2:00 p.m. - 4:00 p.m.	Class
4:00 p.m. - 4:15 p.m.	Break
4:15 p.m. - 6:00 p.m.	Class
6:00 p.m. - finish	Dinner, Free Time, and Activities

No handouts were given, but most participants had small notebooks or pads on which they copied what was written on the board. There were examples (usually cartoons), from which information was drawn for class topics and discussions, and participants could ask to see these after class or during breaks (see Appendix B). A theme would be opened for the discussion by the facilitator (the Freireian method of "problem-posing"), with answers offered by the class. The facilitator would then write the responses on the board. If the class broke into smaller discussion groups, responses were written on large sheets of paper; the leader in the smaller group would hang up the sheet and the groups would discuss what ideas they had developed when the entire class reconvened.

Most of the female participants in each class were quite affectionate with each other, touching often. The facilitators seemed affectionate as well, often touching someone who was offering an answer by placing a hand on the shoulder or a pat on the back. The participants sleep in separate male and female dormitories. These dormitories have bunk beds, and can accommodate up to 70 people each. When there are more participants than this, additional mattresses are put on the floor.

I was always incorrect by a number of years, if not decades, when speculating about participants' ages, based on a first glance. Simon (1987) maintains that

Poor nutrition, harsh physical labor, and years of unrelieved misery have a pronounced effect on physical appearance. While a twelve-year-old Indian is the size of a seven-year-old in the United States, by contrast middle-aged Guatemalans look decades older. Their faces are a map of wrinkles, their bodies doubled over from years of bending to pick coffee and cardamon from four-foot high bushes. (p. 4)

I think that in addition to the reasons mentioned above, the participants appeared to be older than they are because of the distress that comes from simply trying to survive.

Many of the participants' physical appearance and clothing would be considered "dirty" by many North Americans, and some participants wore the same clothing for the duration of the course they attended. For the most part, the men wore blue jeans, work boots or "cowboy" boots, t-shirts or button-up cotton shirts, and, when not in class, a few wore straw hats. The women in general wore brightly colored skirts or dresses and went hatless, wearing their hair long, usually in a braid. The third group of participants were younger (and there were noticeably more women in this group with shorter hair and who wore pants) and appeared to interact more on the whole, unlike the first two classes, who were older and seemed to be more segregated by gender when they socialized. This perhaps reflects the common gender stratification of social groupings that are found in many societies, particularly in those that are patriarchal in nature; it is the characteristic behavior of youths to interact more with their peers. After classes finished for the day, usually some activity would be scheduled for the evening. Overall, the groupings seemed friendly and informal. During the free time in the day, some men and women would go back to their dorms for a rest while others sang or played basketball or soccer.

RESULTS

This section presents the findings of the participants' descriptions of their

experiences and observations of education, community, and their involvement with the CAPS program. The *campesino* population, as represented here, has not had what I would consider "fair" or equal access to the social resource of schooling. This is correlated with their low socioeconomic status within the fabric of Guatemalan society overall. Most examples of the participants' characterizations of their experiences reflect the consequences of being members of this segment of society. Some of the responses, however, were not relevant to the particular question asked, and these were not included.

EDUCATION

As all of the participants were chosen to participate in the CAPS program because of their economic status and geographic locations within Guatemala, there was a fair amount of similarity in their experiences with formal education. The subthemes of education that emerged from the interviews were:

1. family size/lack of economic resources as a causal factor of limited schooling,
2. education as "respect" for others and parents being perceived as primary educators,
3. views of education as a priority for future generations,
4. perceptions of desires for different educational experiences, and
5. perceptions of men and women having equal educational opportunities.

The findings of these perceptions of educational experience shall be discussed in the following section.

Family Size/Lack of Economic Resources as a Causal Factor of Limited Schooling

While there will be exceptions to “rules” for any population segment, being from the *campesino* population in Guatemala usually signifies several characteristics: large families, little formal education, and having what formal education that is acquired end at a relatively early age in order to work to help provide physical labor and financial support for the family. I had learned this from the background research I had conducted about *campesinos*’ relationship with formal education, and I was interested in exploring what the *campesinos* themselves would have to say regarding this. Due to the large numbers of children in their families and because of their families’ occupations in rural settings (primarily subsistence agriculture), many had their formal education interrupted.

The participants revealed through the interviews that the interwoven conditions of rural location and low economic status often made schooling inaccessible, and this was the primary reason why the participants received little or no formal education. As may be seen in the participant responses in Table 6.1, most began working full time when they stopped going to school to help support their families. Several participants (Ana, Marta, and Victor) noted that the death of a parent or, in Ernesto’s case, the death of a grandparent was an additional causal factor of limited formal education. This loss of economic support created a further hardship on the family and curtailed their school attendance. Francisco, however, is somewhat of an exception in that he was out of school for two years

Table 6.1. Family Size/Lack of Economic Resources as a Causal Factor Limited Schooling

PARTICIPANT	RESPONSE
Almita	I was 10 years old when I left school. I left because my parents could not afford to pay more for my education. I felt sad, but there was no more money. I left when I was in second grade of grammar school; because I had little sisters, they too had to go to school, so I left so they could go to school. When I left school I began to work to help in the house.
Gloria	I was in school but it was not much. When I left school I was 11 years old, and I left for economic reasons. When I left school I began to work.
Marta	I went to school but just for two years. I do not remember at what age I began school, but I left school because my mother died and I could not afford school anymore. Because I was so young when I left school I did not feel concern about it at that time. But now that I am an adult, I see the importance of education. When I left school, I started to work with my family.
Rosa	I left school because there were so many in my house and my father could not keep me in school. I had to leave and I felt a little sad, but I understand my father because there were so many in my house, and my father could not afford to pay for my education.
Alfredo	I left school because I did not have more money to continue. I left when I was 15 years old. After I left I felt very sad.
Ernesto	I left school because my grandmother died and I did not have any more economic support to pay for school. I left school when I was 10 years old.
Jorge	I was in school three years. I learned from my teacher because I took part in class alot and I was dedicated. In those years I learned to read and to write. I was nine years old when I left school. I left school because at that time there was alot of work in my home because my father at this time owned six head of cattle, so I had to watch the cattle.
Miguel	I was 14 when I stopped going to school because I had to begin to work to help sustain my younger brothers. I began working and having responsibilities when I was seven years old.

Table 6.1. (continued)

PARTICIPANT	RESPONSE
Santiago	We are 14 children in my family. We grew up in a very poor economic condition because my father was very poor. Because of the number of family members, my economic situation was very difficult. When we were young, we went to school in the morning and in the evening we looked for little jobs to do to help get money for my home. I used to work cleaning houses, running errands, and taking out the trash for other people. I went to school later, because the laws say that a child must enter school when he is seven but I entered when I was nine. For me and for my brothers it was very difficult for us to finish grammar school. I finished grammar school when I was 18 years old.
Francisco	My family is very poor, but I am in school again. Now that I am in school I am in the second grade of high school. When I was seven years old I began school. I was out for two years but I came back and I finished grammar school when I was twelve.
Roberto	My family is large but poor, and I always behaved well, but I never went to school. I learned the alphabet when I was older through the alphabet learning program of the government in the 1980s. I participated in the literacy campaign for three years, beginning when I was 30 years old, but I left because the literacy program ended.
Victor	I do not have any education because my father died when I was one year old and I could not afford to go to school. I learned to read and write a little because I work as a local authority in my community.

but is now attending school again.

There are several contributing factors to formal school being an inhospitable place for the *campesino* child. Ana and Francisco noted that they had been physically struck by teachers. Ana maintained

My first teacher was very good, but the second one hit me a lot, and I hated this, so this is another reason why I left school. I left school when I was 10 years old because it was hard for me to learn since the teacher hit me a lot. I later regretted that I had to leave. When I left school I began to work in my home.

Francisco noted

I had teachers both bad and good. My first teacher was a bad person because he hit us, but then I had a very good teacher because he was more patient.

As Guatemalan society as a whole is patriarchal in its structure, there is a prevalent belief in many rural communities in Guatemala that girls do not have the same necessity to be educated as boys. The gender discrimination that Guatemalan women as a whole face is mirrored in the schooling situation of the *campesina* child; this gender prejudice is compounded by poverty, and this also affects the future labor roles of girls and women. As Barrett (1980) declares,

the notion that women have a dual relationship to the class structure is pertinent The education and training that a woman receives by virtue of her class background provide a highly significant contribution to the position she will occupy in the labour force (p. 139)

Campesinas learn early that there are those who feel they should not attend school. Margarita declared:

I was seven years old when I last attended school. I left because my father would not allow me to go anymore because I was a girl. When I left, I felt very bad because I did not know how to read or write. I then began to work in my home.

While having to leave school for economic reasons, Rosa additionally stated:

My father told me I had to leave school because I had already learned a little and because I was a woman, I had no need to study.

These overall economic and social conditions are indicative of the general reasons that the *campesino* population has difficulty in receiving formal education.

Education as “Respect” for Others and Parents Being Perceived as Primary Educators

For the participants, “education” seemed to be emphasized as a regard for others as much as it signified schooling (see Table 6.2 and Table 6.3). Indeed, a person who does not comport her or himself in a civil manner or who is not courteous to others is commonly referred to throughout the Latin world as someone who has *mala educación* (bad education). This has more to do with behavior as a reflection of the manner in which a person was brought up than the schooling that a person did or did not receive. This is closely tied with the notion of parents being perceived as a primary source of education (see Table 6.3). Family traditions are strong in rural communities (and indigenous communities); because of this, parents are often perceived as the first source of education, and traditions are passed on generationally, particularly the notion of respect.

Each participant in Table 6.2 mentioned the word “respect” in reference to education. Overall, this reflects these particular students’ beliefs that knowledge and development are reflective of a concern for others, and as reference point of personal conduct.

There were other responses that signify different perceptions of education. Rosa, for example, viewed education as a life experience that she, as an

Table 6.2. Education Perceived as "Respect" for Others

PARTICIPANT	RESPONSE
Ana	For me education means respect my friends and to share with other people.
Dora	Education for me is the ability to learn more and to respect others.
Maritza	The word "education" for us is to respect other people and to not speak badly of others.
Alfredo	The main education and tradition in my family is the respect of other people. I think I will teach my children all the good things that my parents taught to me.
Alfonso	To me education means to correct what you do not know. I learned by myself because I did not go to school. I think it is that you have to respect people.
Francisco	I think education means to teach, to have respect for others, and to know how to work.
Jorge	For me, education is to respect my friends.
Mario	Education for me means to be humble, respectful.

Table 6.3. Parents Perceived as Primary Educators

PARTICIPANT	RESPONSE
Blanca	I received a good education and advice from my parents, and that is what I want to give my children.
Carmen	My first education was in the home with my parents. They taught me to be well behaved and to not say bad words. The significance of education for me is what I learned in school and what I learned from my parents.
Marta	I learned good things through the education I received from my parents, and I believe that the important thing we have to teach our children is that they have to be good persons.
Jorge	In my home, from my family, I received a good education; this is the education I want to give my children.
Mario	My mother received her education from my grandparents, and she taught me, because during their lives they have had many experiences, and now they share these with us.
Miguel	For me education is very extense. To be educated is not only to learn in school; education starts in the home with all the things your parents teach you. They teach us to have respect and to be kind to other people.
Santiago	There is a lot of significance of education, but for me education is principally the education from my parents. Then it is the opportunity people have to advance in life, the opportunity to obtain knowledge about the advances in our world. Also, it is to give people the choice to take the right road to be successful.

indigenous person, has been denied. She asserted:

I understand that education is to learn well and to get more opportunities to study more, to advance in life. I do not have many experiences, like the people who have more education. I wish I had been able to study more, to have had more experiences. I think there has to be someone in the community to teach us, because the majority of us are ignorant. We indigenous suffer much from discrimination.

In her statement, Rosa seems keenly aware of the relationship between her limited amount of formal education and her identity as an indigenous person. Blanca, too, viewed education as a means of valuable, utilitarian experience. As she noted

Education is something that everyone should have because it is useful. The educational experience that taught me most was to be able to see that we do not have to get married so young, because I have seen many of my girlfriends marry young, and their lives are very difficult, and when the children come, it is more difficult. Sometimes their children die because of the lack of money to take care of them, so school is important.

While Almita and Marta were not as specific as Blanca about how education affects their decision-making, Alfredo and Alfonso view education as having more abstract qualities. Almita maintained:

For me, education is all the things we learn in school, like how to read and write.

Marta stated:

Now that I am an adult, I see the importance of education. I remember learning the alphabet, and that I learned a little how to read. Those memories are good, because the little education I received is very useful for me. Now that we know the importance education has in life, we send all our children to school. It is easier now to go to school, and all my children go to school. Education for me is to well-educate our children.

Alfredo's vision of education was more conceptual. As he declared:

For me, education is to prepare ourselves to help develop Guatemala.

Alfonso, who never attended school, stated:

The most important thing for me now is to improve my way of living through education and put all the things I learn into practice.

For Ana, education is of great significance. As she succinctly asserted:

For me, education is the most important thing in life.

Table 6.3 mirrors the significance education is given as a customary experience within the family. Santiago, while viewing education as “principally” being from his parents, expanded about this within his response. He included that he sees education as an opportunity to “advance” and “obtain knowledge about the advances in our world,” as well as “to give people the right road to be successful.”

These participants’ perceptions illustrate that education has a wide range of personal meanings for these representatives of the *campesino* population; however, most of the participants’ comments fell under the two themes of education as respect for others and parents being perceived as a primary source of education. I think this social deference for regarding others and the transference of their “primary” education from their parents places the participants’ perceptions in the widely held respect of rural Guatemalans for community and family.

Views of Education as a Priority for Future Generations

As the lack or inaccessibility of formal education was viewed overall as a social inadequacy by the participants, it would appear that a desire for more schooling for their children and future generations would be inherent. Indeed, several did comment about this in response to the question, “What are your

hopes for your children or the next generation of young people in your community?" Education is viewed as being key to a better future for their children or future generations, allowing them to "advance" or "have better opportunities" (see Table 6.4). Additionally, Alfonso asserted that he does not want his children to be illiterate like himself.

Several of the participants cited items other than education that they wanted for their children. Marta expressed a desire that her children "should grow up healthy"; Blanca noted necessities, stating

I wish my children would have electricity, water, and a better infrastructure than we do now.

Carmen expressed a desire for a change of attitude, explaining

I hope that *machismo* stops, that the new generation does not have the mentality of *machismo* because we are all the same. I think that this could be fixed by teaching the young children that men and women have the same rights.

Alfredo and Francisco expressed the desire that their children "live well," while Roberto and Victor hope that their children will reciprocally return the care they have been given when they are older. Jorge expressed his desire for his children's future as being tied to work, stating

My biggest hope is to be able to advance in life so I can be able to give something to my children. In other words, I want to be able to work to get a better life.

Finally, Santiago offered that

The first responsibility is to be a responsible parent and to offer the best example to my children because I do not want my children to have to live the way I lived.

Within this group of participants, many viewed education as being a priority

Table 6.4. Views of Education as a Priority for Future Generations

PARTICIPANT	RESPONSE
Almita	From my community, I learned about union; for my children I want to give them more education. My hopes for my children are that they should be able to advance in life through education.
Ana	I hope to learn more and to teach my children more.
Dora	I hope that Guatemala gets better so our children will have better opportunities through education.
Maritza	The hopes that I have are that my children learn good things and not bad things. I want them to have an education.
Rosa	I think that I do not want our children to suffer what we have suffered. Also, I want my children to have more opportunity to study. We, as parents, have the obligation to sustain our children.
Alfonso	Now all my children go to school, not like me, being that I never had the opportunity to go to school. This is why I want my children to go to school, because I do not want them to be illiterate like me. This is why I want them to study.
Mario	I do not have any children now, but my obligation to young people is to stimulate them to get training and to get an education and to help young people know about justice and their rights.
Miguel	One thing that has given me a lot of satisfaction is that I donated a piece of land to my community and they have built a school for my community there. I want to teach the young people in my community about useful things and the importance of education.
Santiago	For my children I hope God will give me the chance to give them the chance to go to the university so they can get ahead in life; for my community, I hope they will have everything and when they are hungry that they will have something to eat.

acquisition for their children or the next generation in their communities, while others viewed their desire with more material or social considerations. Each participant, however, expressed a desire for more opportunities, reflecting their feelings regarding the opportunities they feel they did not have.

The Desire for Different Educational Experience

Because I was curious as to the effects that the lack of formal education had on the participants, I wanted to know if, as adults, they wish they would have had different educational experience when they were younger. Similar responses are grouped in Table 6.5. Most participants revealed that they wished they had been able to complete grammar school or to have had more schooling in general. Almita viewed schooling as somehow being personally transformative, asserting that she thinks she would be “different by now” if she had completed school. Rosa viewed schooling as having been an avenue that could have provided her more “experiences” in life, and Francisco feels he is now responsible for his own education as an adult.

For some, schooling represented having more options in life. In this manner, Alfonso stated

I would have liked to have had a better education so I could have learned to be able to work in other places besides only working in the fields.

Jorge maintained

I would like to be able to have learned more about Guatemala. I still would.

Possibly as a reflection of his young age (17), only Mario maintained that he had

Table 6.5. Desires for Different Educational Experiences

PARTICIPANT	RESPONSE
Almita	I would like to have stayed in school when I was a little girl, and I think that I would be different by now if I would have been able to have finished my education.
Blanca	I wish I had been able to finish school and to have more knowledge.
Carmen	I like some things I know, but at the same time I would have liked to learn more things, according to the age I had, when I was younger.
Margarita	I would like to have finished all of grammar school.
Rosa	I do not have many experiences, like the people who have more education. I wish would have been able to study more, to have gotten more experiences.
Alfredo	I wish I could have learned more in school.
Ernesto	When I was a child, if I had received this education, maybe I would not be here. Maybe I would be in a better institution, and I could be a teacher or a developer. Maybe I could have been an authority in my community, because many times there are people who reach a position in the community who are not well prepared for these kinds of positions.
Francisco	If my parents could have afforded a better education that would have been better, but that is not the case. Now that I am grown, I am the one who looks for my own education; that is the reason I am in this program.
Miguel	Everybody has always told me I was good with studies, but I did not have the opportunity to keep studying.
Santiago	I would have liked that my teachers had given me more opportunities to participate in class when I was a child. If I had that opportunity when I was a child, I think I would have learned more and reached further.
Victor	If I had the opportunity to study when I was a child, I would not have to study now. Now, it is more difficult to learn.

no desire for a different educational experience. As he said:

I was able to study all of grammar school and I was able to study the first year of high school. I want to keep studying to finish school. My first memories of my grammar school are a little sad, because I did not know how to read or write; but later I learned, and I liked it very much. I think I am a little intelligent because I always take part in school activities, like theatrical plays. The education of children is different than that of adults. I think my education as a child was fine.

There is a recognition in the participants' responses that the learning of adults is "different" than that of children. There was a common reflection that because of increased adult responsibilities, it appeared to them that it is "easier" to attend school when one is a child, for as Victor stated, he feels that "now, it is more difficult to learn."

Perceptions of Whether Men And Women Have Equal Educational Opportunities in Guatemala

Most participants had commented earlier in their interviews that within their communities there were traditional stratifications of work roles according to gender: men worked in the fields; women worked in the homes, and on the whole, within the *campesino* population, girls received less schooling than boys. Keeping this in mind, I wanted to explore if the participants themselves felt that there was an equal opportunity for schooling for each gender. Responses to the question "Do you think you would have received more or less formal education if you had been a woman/man (whatever is opposite to this person)? Please explain" are presented in Table 6.6. The response explanations are important here as the "please explain" request prompted them describe their feelings in detail. In some responses, participants noted the gender stratification of work.

Table 6.6. Perceptions of Whether Women and Men Have Equal Educational Opportunities in Guatemala

PARTICIPANT	RESPONSE	PARTICIPANT	RESPONSE
Almita	yes	Alfredo	yes
Ana	yes	Alfonso	no
Blanca	yes	Ernesto	yes
Carmen	yes	Francisco	yes
Dora	no	Jorge	yes
Gloria	no	Mario	no
Margarita	no	Miguel	yes
Maritza	yes	Roberto	yes
Marta	no	Santiago	no
Rosa	no	Victor	yes
Women: yes - 5 no - 5 Men: yes - 7 no - 3 A response of "yes" indicates that the participant perceived women and men as having the same opportunities for formal schooling in Guatemala; a response of "no" indicates that the participant did not perceive women and men as having the same opportunities.			

Alfonso, for example, stated

I think it is easier for men to attend school, because usually women have to work at home and take care of the family, so they cannot go to school.

Santiago, Margarita, and Marta mentioned gender bias. Santiago maintained

Now men and women do the same things. We now know that men and women have the same rights. Before, that was not the case. Now the women have their own value, although still here in Guatemala men have better opportunities, not just for education, but for everything. But now we are trying to change the mentality about that, but there is still much discrimination about this matter.

Margarita similarly declared:

I think for men it is easier, because many of the fathers in my community think that women are not able to study, so they do not send them to school.

Marta, too, said "I think it is easier for men." While also viewing the question in terms of gender, Carmen had a different view, stating "I think it is the same; for example, my parents never made a difference between men or women to educate us."

While most replied that they do think women and men have the same opportunities, there were several reasons given. This was mostly seen as a reflection of the belief that equal opportunities do indeed exist. Miguel explained

Men and women have the same rights, because we are both the same. *Machismo* does not have to exist, because women are able to do the same things as a man

and Victor maintained "we have the same opportunities, because we have the same rights." Almita and Ana said that the opportunities were the same, and Blanca felt the opportunities were the same because "we all have the same rights and necessities." Maritza viewed opportunity in terms of the CAPS programs, stating

I think that it is the same, because if you do not take advantage of the opportunity to come here, it is a matter of personal decision.

I think the responses to this question proved to be some of the most interesting. More men than women said that they believe women do have equal educational opportunity, while in reality, women have less opportunity. Women are the most effected by this lack of opportunity, and this is reflected in their experiences and responses.

COMMUNITY

Guatemala's long history of social problems are widely known and acknowledged: the long-standing civil war, massive poverty, low-levels of formal education, strict class divisions, *machismo*, and the wide-spread racial discrimination that its indigenous population encounters. I wanted to find out, however, what representatives of the *campesino* population themselves deemed as the most significant. As the CAPS program is designed to help people organize their communities on a grassroots level, community emerged as an important theme. Emergent subtopic themes include:

1. perceptions of community problems and perceptions of problems that confront Guatemala, and
2. how the participants plan to apply what they have learned in the CAPS program to their communities.

Perceptions of Community Problems and Perceptions of Problems that Confront Guatemala

In the problems that the participants identified in both their communities

and Guatemala as a whole, material aspects (water, telephones, roads, electricity) and social issues (education, health care, an increase in crime, *machismo*, violence) were viewed as being the most significant. As may be seen in Table 6.7, the participants' perceptions of their community problems are presented. Similarly, in Table 6.8, the perceptions of the challenges the participants feel that confront Guatemala as a whole are presented. In their comments, the effects of the participants' class may be seen in the concerns they expressed about education, health, infrastructure, social issues, wages, and the overall economic obstacles they face.

While perceptions varied, violence was viewed as a serious problem by Ana, Blanca, Carmen, Dora, Maritza, Alfredo, Francisco, and Mario. Almita and Roberto stated that money is a problem because of devaluation of the quetzal (the country's currency) and as a result, the increased cost of living. Several participants mentioned poverty, and Carmen noted, as she did frequently, that the issue of equal rights between women and men is primary. Several other issues were raised, such as alcoholism (Alfredo), disorganization (Ernesto), the civil war (Francisco) and the issues of land and the poverty of the indigenous population (Rosa). The variety of these responses illustrate that the participants are well-acquainted with the myriad obstacles by which their communities and Guatemala as a whole are challenged. When asked the question about problems that confront Guatemala, with a tense look on his face and in a lowered voice, Alfonso replied "I cannot answer this question." I can only assume that he was not at ease answering this question; although I am not sure why, I can only speculate

Table 6.7. Perceptions Of Community Problems

PARTICIPANT	RESPONSE
Almita	In my community there is no electricity or telephone. We have a few roads and water. We have problems with the roads, with the water, with the drainage system. I would like to see in my community electricity and enough water and drainage to be able to develop more.
Ana	The problems are the lack of electricity and telephone. I would like to see a lot of good changes in my community.
Blanca	My community is very small. There are a few farms. The majority of the people are poor. We now have a little school, but we do not have electricity, water, or telephones. The main problem is the road, because it is not paved, and in winter it is very difficult to get around on this road.
Carmen	A major problem is with the roads, because when they are in bad shape, it is a problem to sell the products so all the community has to get together to fix the roads. My community is good in many aspects, but <i>machismo</i> is always present, and because in the organizations the men do not attend because of <i>machismo</i> . In education there is still much illiteracy.
Dora	My community is small, and almost everyone that lives there is poor. We have roads and water, but we do not have electricity or telephones. We are very poor. I would like to see more opportunities to study in my community, and also I would like that everybody gets what they need to live better.
Margarita	My community is small, and we have water, but we do not have electricity or telephone. The roads are in bad shape too.
Marta	The problems in my community are the lack of resources.
Maritza	In every community you see people that have things to survive, and there are other people who still need many things, because there is a lack of money and land to work, so you see many people suffering from insufficient necessities. The main problem is that people do not have land to work. Also, the winter has been very bad so the harvest was not as good as in years before.
Rosa	The problem we have in our community is that we do not have anyplace to live. We have many problems because of the land. We also have problems with the sale of our crop products, because we plant them and then nobody wants to buy them; or they buy them, but pay low prices. <i>Ladinos</i> get better prices for the same products. We indigenous are always discriminated against.

Table 6.7. (continued)

PARTICIPANT	RESPONSE
Alfredo	My community is big. There are roads, but we do not have electricity or telephone, but we do have water. In my community there are problems related to land, but I do not think we have serious problems.
Alfonso	My community is small, but we have electricity and water, only we do not have telephones. In my community we do not have schools, so the people cannot be educated.
Ernesto	The problems in my community are that there are people who do not want to work with community organizations; they want to work independently.
Francisco	My community is somewhat big. It has good roads, water, electricity, and telephones. I would like to see less violence in my community.
Jorge	The problems are the distance between my community and the municipality, because when we have an emergency, we do not have a way to get to the municipality quickly.
Mario	I think there are robberies, rape, and violence in general.
Miguel	We now have electricity. In the constitution it says that every Guatemalan has the right to have electricity. Because of this statement we demanded electricity, even if we had to pay for it. We have water, but we had to fight a lot to get it. One thing that we have not been able to get is the telephone. I think it is because of political reasons, because only the relatives of the mayor have been able to get telephones. We do not have many educational centers. That is a problem because recently we built our school and we only had one teacher. The children have to walk a long way to get there. We also do not have a community center or a community health center. We always have to travel to other places.
Santiago	The main problem is land, because there are people who have too much and others have too little or nothing. Another problem is the discrimination poor people face, because in my community, the more things you own the more value you have. The discrimination here is for poor people and not for the indigenous, because we do not have an indigenous population where I live. The problems with the land are that the land belonged to the government, and the people with the most influence kept the best land, and left the worst of the rest of it.
Victor	The signing of the peace treaty and democracy are problems.

Table 6.8. Perceptions Of Problems That Confront Guatemala

PARTICIPANT	RESPONSE
Almita	I do not know very much, but I think that the money devaluation is a serious problem.
Ana	There exists too much selfishness and violence.
Blanca	The main problems are violence and poverty.
Carmen	Equal rights and violence.
Dora	I hope that Guatemala gets better, that the new generations have more opportunities than we had. We have the kidnappings and the violence caused by the lack of work in Guatemala.
Maritza	The biggest problem, in general, Guatemala faces is the violence between people. This is the principle thing one sees now. You see much crime in the communities.
Rosa	The most important are the problems about the land and the poverty the indigenous people live in here in Guatemala.
Alfredo	The main problems are violence and alcoholism.
Ernesto	The problems in Guatemala are that there are organizations that want to work alone and others that work at a national level, and these organizations want the people to work with them. This makes the peace process difficult. I think that a home cannot have peace if there is no communication, and this is achieved home to home, community to community, municipality to municipality, until we reach the whole country.
Francisco	There are various problems, like robberies, killings, and violence. Before there was the civil war, but now that the war is over, there are still many killings.
Jorge	Meanness and corruption.
Mario	There are robberies, violence, and irresponsibility.
Roberto	The higher cost of living.
Santiago	The main problems are the laws, because they only apply to the poor, and the exploitation that we face here in Guatemala. This situation is changing a little, but the discrimination from the government always exists here, because the government always chooses presidents who only look out for the rich people. Another problem is the pressure from the army. Guatemala has many problems because of too many years of civil war.

that it could somehow be related to the fear that has been ingrained into the *campesino* population by the military about speaking out about social issues. Because of this, I did not feel it appropriate to press him to further explain his response.

How the Participants Plan to Apply What They Have Learned Through the CAPS Program in Their Communities

The participant involvement of sharing in classroom activities emerged as an activity that the participants wanted to be involved in when they returned to their rural communities. Similar participant responses are found in Table 6.9. Some participants spoke specifically about what they felt was important for them to share with others. For Rosa, sharing with her community is important in order to help the indigenous population there, allowing them to “rise up as indigenous people.” Several saw the training as being an important part of their personal and community “advancement.” They also saw it as a way of becoming familiar with their rights as citizens and making others aware as well. Some saw the utility of the program as being able to provide a certain sense of autonomy; Mario stated that he sees the knowledge the participants’ share as a method for not letting the authorities “take advantage of us.” For Miguel, the program is a route to allow the communities to “take advantage of [their] own resources.”

A major emphasis of the Freireian technique, as it is commonly applied, is to allow adults a forum in which they are able to share, through dialogue, their life experiences and co-create new meaning from this. Because the CAPS program’s intent is to construct knowledge that will enable them in their pursuit of

Table 6.9. How Participants Plan to Apply What They Have Learned in the CAPS Program to Their Communities

PARTICIPANT	RESPONSE
Almita	We have reunions with the womens' group within CAPS, and with the help of the program we could build a stove and now we are looking to buy more machines to keep developing. I think that everything is going to be useful for me, and when I return to my community I plan to give speeches to share all the learning I had here.
Blanca	Here we can participate a lot. I think this program is going to help me a lot. I plan when I return to get together with my friends and share all of my experiences here. I think about getting the young people of my community together and talking about the CAPS program and tell them the program is a good thing to take advantage of. I like this program because it is useful for me and for my family and my community.
Carmen	I think I can make a workplan like they teach us here, and get the people in my community together to work on the plan. I plan to share this by going to the houses in my community. I like all the things I learn here, they are dynamic, and are practical things I can apply to the community.
Dora	I am in an educational organization that teaches people who do not know how to read or write. I believe all I learned I think I can share with my community together with groups and explain all I know.
Margarita	I wish that everybody could study, because is through education that our community is going to began to develop. I think I want to share everything with my friends back in my community.
Marta	I wish that in my community we should be able to obtain better material things like schools and resources to achieve a better living. I also wish that the people in my community would begin to respect each other. I am the president of the women's group in my community. I am going to put into practice everything I learned here.
Rosa	All I have learned I will to share with other people, to be able to rise up as indigenous people.
Ernesto	I would like to see a lot of changes in my community, mainly on the material things like the homes we live and be able to obtain more things to live better. In the past people were different. Before there was no organization. Now we work in groups, not like before when everybody worked seperately. At the present time there are many organizations that helps us to work and to advance ourselves. I think I will share all the things I learned here, because if I do not share it, I will forget some things, and if I share all this, I will not forget and it will be useful for everybody.
Francisco	I think this program is going to be very helpful, and when I go back to my community, I plan to get together with my groups and teach them all I have learned here.

Table 6.9. (continued)

PARTICIPANT	RESPONSE
Mario	I think the most important thing I learned is the training about laws, to find out about our rights and to share this with the people in our community. I got interested because I wanted to get training and education to be able to advance, because if we do not have this knowledge, the authorities will take advantage of us.
Miguel	I became interested in looking for advancement, and to help my community, and to be able to take advantage of our own resources. I have always enjoyed cooperating and participating. I want to share all of my experiences with my community, because what you learn you have to share with the others.
Roberto	I like all the activities, and everything I learned here I want to share. I think that the speeches about marriage and agriculture are important. The marriage speech is important to me because we learned how to behave well when we are married, that we have to respect our wives and live a healthy life.
Victor	The courses of ecology and the civil and municipal codes are the most important because we should know our rights as citizens. The first time I did not understand well, but then I could better express myself and I was able to take part in the activities of the group. This is going to help me, because I will share all the things I learned with my community.

grassroots community organization and development, the participants overwhelmingly felt that their participation in the program entailed their "sharing" of what they learned in the classes with others when they returned to their rural communities. The practicality and applicability of the knowledge acquired in the classes appeared to be one of the most engaging aspects of the classes for the participants. Participants' similar responses are grouped in Table 6.10.

The facilitators' use of simplified explanations allowed the participants to further understand topics that were being emphasized. This, along with the opportunity for involvement in the class, apparently enhanced participants' understanding, motivation, and, as Marta stated, "self-confidence." Alfredo said that although he is illiterate, what he has learned in the classes has allowed him to put his knowledge into practice.

SUMMARY

While there were variations, the participants' experiences and perceptions of formal education and the popular education training they received in the CAPS classes, on the whole, were comparable. Popular education has been described as a method that allows "us [the participants] to be able to express publicly our own ideas for the first time; now we can discuss our experiences, analyze our situation, and organize ourselves to defend our interests" (Vice Ministry of Adult Education, 1981). While most of the participants had their formal school education curtailed or interrupted due to economic circumstances,

Table 6.10. Participants' Perceptions Of The CAPS Program Methodology

PARTICIPANT	RESPONSE
Almita	The teachers are good and I have learned a lot. The things they teach us are important, because we did not know much. I already have two years of participating in these courses.
Ana	Yes, I think I should be able to make some changes in my community because I think I can utilize all I am learning in my community. The main thing is the good education that we received here, and I plan to share it all with my community, giving them speeches about all that I see here.
Carmen	The professors are very good and they teach us with simple words that we understand. For example, they have helped us to resolve problems in our community and because the teachers explain to us in a very simple way we understand everything. Because of that I think they are very good.
Margarita	My opinion is that the teachers are good, because they taught us well. They help a lot to teach the groups in my community, to help to get better. For me all the things I learned are important because there are things we do not know or thing we do not understand well, like the meaning of some words that they explained to us. These are the things I plan to share with my community. For me the activities are important because I have learned a lot. I already participated in another program here in CAPS here in the capital, and also in other adult education programs. There are things I understand and I can participate in the classes. The first time I felt fine because I understood some of the questions they asked me, so I was able to answer some of them.
Maritza	The training that I received gave a lot of self-confidence, so now I am a better person. All the trainings are good. I have participated in other earlier educational programs before. I was interested in coming here because all the things we learned here are very interesting and useful for us. Here we learn things about how to help our community. They are very good, and they motivate us a lot.
Marta	I think my teachers are great, because they explain very well all the things about the crops. I liked all the program, because everything is going to be useful. I feel fine because I am getting good training. I got interested in learning more about crops and the land. In my group of women I learned how to prepare food, sew and to work on the vegetables.
Rosa	The majority of the classes were important to me because I did not have any kind of knowledge before, and because the things they taught us here were different than the things I learned in the school. The things I have learned are things that can be useful to my community.

Table 6.10. (continued)

PARTICIPANT	RESPONSE
Alfredo	For me the teachers are very good, because all the things they taught me I have put in practice, although I cannot read. The first time I was a little bit nervous, because we have to leave our work, and at the same time I was concerned about the program. We learn how to discuss with other persons the ways of solving the problems faced by our community. The first thing is to apply what we have learned and then teach other people what we have learned.
Alfonso	My teachers here in the program have been excellent because they explain everything to us very well, and the things we do not understand they explain to us well. All I have learned has been a good experience. I have already come to CAPS six times to receive training in ecology, planning, organizational development, sustainable development, and this course. For me, this type of education had been very important and I can take more advantage of it than the education I received in school, because here we receive theoretical and practical courses. What we have received in the courses I can apply to my community.
Francisco	The first time was a little hard because I did not understand, but now I understand the classes more. We ask what the meaning is of what we do not understand and they tell us.
Jorge	They are very good teachers. Their opinions are very important to our well-being, to be able to put into practice these ideas in our community. When I came to my first course I felt good, and I left wanting to return, and I was able to return. I felt fine, and I became very motivated to get more training to be able to work in my community.
Mario	They are very good, because in the morning when we are a little sleepy they do activities to wake us up. The important thing is to know about the laws, because if we know our rights, we can claim them. For me the courses are less important that teach things for the women, but the most important are the classes about laws. I felt fine, because sometimes people are a little shy, but I am not, and I like to participate in the activities.
Miguel	The teachers are very good, they let us participate a lot, and we are able to ask them questions and they answer us. For me all are important, because we always learn about new things with this type of education they give us. They treated all of us they same, because we all have the same capacity to learn.
Santiago	Here we learn all the things we are ignorant about. All the courses are updated with the necessities of our country. For example, now we are going to have a course about the signing of the peace treaty, because many people have heard about it, but they do not know all the implications that this is going to have for Guatemala. Here there are people who do not know Guatemala has been in a civil war for so long.

they all perceived the CAPS program a new an opportunity to gain more education. This opportunity is seen as more of a forum where their experiences and knowledge have a relevancy and recognition, that then moves to a praxis of reflection and action, and not so much as a “second chance” at schooling.

The occasion to participate in class had significant value for the participants. The participatory nature of the CAPS classes offer the participants the opportunity to be proactive, not reactive, in the learning experience. From their responses, the participants do seem to have acquired more empowerment on some level. There was a belief that change was possible for some because they had seen change within their communities already; for others, there was a belief that a better future was possible. For some, their thoughts of recognizing the structural societal factors that effect them and their growing awareness of Guatemala’s political makeup reveal the their’ emerging *conscientization*. For example, Alfonso commented that before he was in the CAPS class he was not aware that Guatemala had a constitution or that any rights applied to him. From their analysis, reflection, and decisions regarding their circumstances, the participants are acquiring and learning to implement Freire’s notion of critical consciousness. While neither liberation theology nor Freireian pedagogy were mentioned explicitly to the participants in the classes⁷, both underpin the CAPS program.

7 Although strides have been made in the improvement of the political situation in Guatemala, liberation theology and other social and educational projects with an emancipatory intent are still not often engaged nor discussed openly nor freely; this could be the why the term “liberation theology” itself is not explicitly stated in the CAPS classes, although the classes are in practice liberation theology.

CHAPTER VII

CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF FINDINGS

INTRODUCTION

In Chapter III, "Political and Theoretical Foundations of Research," the suppositions of the study were examined; in this chapter, they will be applied to the outcomes of the previous chapter. The CAPS program and the themes of education and community will be explored in terms of the theories examined in Chapter III. This chapter will examine the participants' responses and the findings, utilizing a hybrid framework comprising cultural studies, critical pedagogy, and feminist pedagogy. Freireian pedagogy will viewed in tandem with critical pedagogy.

Cultural Studies and the CAPS Program

Cultural studies, as a social project, emphasizes the many cultural phenomena that comprise society and moments of social transformation, including moments of contention and intervention, and CAPS is a program that may be seen as a form of intervention for social change and justice. Brown (1996) asserts that "one defining element of Cultural Studies is that intellectual work is done partly as an activist intervention" (p. 3). Alaimo (1994) maintains that "because cultural studies combines the relational study of a cultural object, institution, or issue with

a sense of political purpose," such as CAPS, "the concept of intervention exerts a guiding force on the field" (p. 133). As CAPS attempts to help better the social condition of *campesinos*, the program may be viewed as an effort to bridge the gaps of social class in Guatemala by social intervention through the critical empowerment of its participants. Through this, the participants will potentially be able to acquire a more just distribution of social resources and rights in Guatemalan society. As such, CAPS is more than an academic endeavor, but it is also an interventionist project.

While the issue of class was initially a seminal one in the development of cultural studies, it is today more or less seen as what Wright (1997) has described in conversation as "old style" cultural studies. However, because in Guatemala class still plays such an important role in whether or not people have access to societal participation and social resources, it becomes important here to examine CAPS in terms of class.

CAPS was founded and continues to operate under the auspices of the Catholic church, an institution that is usually considered as supportive of the status quo of the dominant power and in helping maintain a subservient class. Because of this, it would appear that any assistance offered to the marginalized from the church would be paternalistic and somehow designed to perpetuate the status quo. As those who are, in essence, to assist in being the "peacekeepers" of the country, it would appear on the surface that the church would not want to engage in activities that could aggravate political tensions. However, CAPS, since its inception, has been engaged in activities that subvert the status quo. Because of this, within a cultural studies framework and because it draws its

student population from one source, namely, the marginalized *campesino* class, CAPS can be viewed as an intervention of resistance through its social praxis.

As an aspect of cultural studies, the social conditions that are left after colonization, or postcolonization, are also viewed to an extent within the CAPS program. The social and economic marginalization that *campesinos* encounter are residual (but continuing) aspects of being colonized by a dominant power; that they are struggling to have their voices heard and to change their current social situation is a reflection of their efforts to address postcolonial social conditions.

The *campesino* participants of CAPS, because of their marginalized class location in Guatemalan society, face many obstacles in their efforts to obtain an education. Many of these obstacles are reflected in the themes that emerged from the data. In Table 6.1 (p. 118), "Family Size/Lack of Economic Resources as a Causal Factor of Limited Schooling," the CAPS participants overall had their schooling interrupted or halted altogether because they came from large families with no, or exceedingly few, opportunities for advancing economically. Their class is, ultimately, the overwhelming reason for their limited schooling, but their already disenfranchised social position is compounded by the greater economic hardship that large families face. Because a major portion of the day for a *campesino*, if she/he is not working, is spent looking for work, I would say that *campesinos* know a poverty beyond that of being "working class."

The participants viewed education as having egalitarian qualities. In "Education Perceived as 'Respect' for Others" (Table 6.2, p. 122), which is linked with "Parents Perceived as Primary Educators" (Table 6.3, p. 123), the term education is viewed as having characteristics greater than that of attending

school; education is, for the most part, seen as a reflection of respect for others. The importance of what is learned within and from the family is also seen as being significant. While the participants viewed themselves as being part of an oppressed class with a lack of schooling opportunities, they feel that having regard and consideration for others is primary, as is the recognition of the traditional cultural knowledge that is transmitted from one generation to another. I think reflects a "closeness" of family and community that are frequently associated as being symbolic of Latin America as the whole. A few participants, however, deviated from this perspective education being linked to family. Rosa, for example, viewed education as representing an opportunity and experience that she was denied because of her class, gender, and racial identity; almost all of her comments alluded to her convictions that these were reasons why she and so many others like her are discriminated against in Guatemalan society.

While their responses were wide in scope, Tables 6.7 (pp. 135-136) and 6.8 (p. 137 "Perceptions of Community Problems" and "Perceptions of Problems that Confront Guatemala," respectively), reflected both material and social concerns in their lives that they believe are areas that are most problematic. This personal social analysis and these expressed concerns I think mirror what it is like to be positioned in a class that encounters such a level of extreme poverty; the severity of these problems are often seen being more immediate than schooling. What struck me here were the parallels that can be drawn with Appalachia. If the same questions were posed to 20 Appalachian participants in a program similar to CAPS, there would, of course, be differences; I think Appalachian participants, however, would comment in a similar way to the CAPS participants on issues of

concern to them: unemployment, a lack of resources, poor roads, land, and the general consensus that they recognize their poverty as being a massive social obstacle. Cultural studies' overarching recognition of class tensions are readily found within the participants' social circumstances.

Critical Pedagogy and Schooling

Both critical and Freireian pedagogy stress the importance of reflection as an important step in the process of personal and social transformation. Both can be termed as what McClaren (1995) calls a "pedagogy of student experience" (p. 42). What I attempted to do in this study was to draw from the participants their thoughts about their experiences, and their deep-seated reflections about how they perceived their learning experiences both now and in the past.

In keeping with this emphasis on student experience in critical pedagogy, in the participants' comments about their past educational experiences, it becomes clear that they acutely feel not only the effects of the opportunities denied them, but also that there exists the possibility that change can and will take place through new opportunities. CAPS is based on a model of popular education, a format that engages in reflection throughout, and this approach allows for the reading, decoding, and reflection of the worlds of those engaged in this process. CAPS functions in a critical pedagogy capacity in that it not only calls for reflection, but it also offers the collective input by and for its participants for alternative strategies.

In their critical reflections of their schooling experiences, however, there were some recollections that appeared to be painful for the participants. Some of

the participants' discussion of the reasons why their formal schooling ended were disturbing to me. For example, Ana and Francisco describe being struck by their teachers (p. 120). This demonstrates the fact that *campesinos* face both structural exploitation, and, for some, actual physical abuse in schools. Ana's comment that "it was hard for me to learn because the teacher hit me a lot" reveals not only the personal/authority/class power dynamic that poor children often face from teachers in schooling situations, but also the abuse of power by teachers that can occur in the teacher/student relationship.

In "Desires for Different Educational Experience" (Table 6.5, p. 129), the participants expressed their wish to have stayed in school longer. Schooling was viewed as a transformative opportunity that could have provided "experiences" (Rosa); a profession (Ernesto); a life outside of "only working in the fields" (Alfonso, who never attended school); and for Jorge, a place where he could have learned more about Guatemala. Santiago, however, criticized his teachers for not allowing him to participate more in class, which he feels later prevented him from learning as much and advancing in life as much as he could have. This type of critical reflection, as a function of critical pedagogy, allows adults to look back on what areas of their lives (in addition to schooling) they feel have not been sufficient, and how things could have been different. This deliberation, however, is less about hindsight; its more important characteristic is that it allows adults a way of viewing what alternatives and strategies are needed and can be used now to better their lives.

Mario, 17, apparently had and continues to have a more positive experience with school. He noted that he participates as much as possible in

school activities and even noted that he believes he is “a little intelligent” because he does participate so much. He maintained that he has no regrets about the schooling he received as a child and that he is having a beneficial experience with school. Other participants not much older than Mario, however, have not had such an affirmative experience; these dissenting experiences are reflective of the poor state of education overall in Guatemala.

Francisco, whose formal schooling was interrupted for two years in grammar school, is now attending school again; at the age of 20, he is in the second year of high school. Because a *campesino* child’s education is often sporadic, age classifications for grades are not as stratified as they might be otherwise, such as Francisco’s situation, that of being the age of 20 and of being in the grade that would be considered “sophomore” in the U.S.

Tables 6.9 (pp. 139-140) and 6.10 (pp. 142-143, “How Participants Plan to Apply What They Have Learned in the CAPS Program to Their Communities” and “Perceptions of the CAPS Program Methodology”) both echo Freire’s support of and confidence in the concepts of dialogue and praxis. The participation learned in the CAPS classes, in both the classroom and as it had been applied in the community or was perceived as being applied in the future, emerged as being greatly significant. Sharing knowledge and information were viewed as being important as well as practical, for as Ernesto declared, “I will share all the things I learned here [in CAPS], because if I do not share it, I will forget some things, and if I share all this, I will not forget and it will be useful for everybody.” While some noted that at first they felt intimidated and did not understand the class process, in time, as Victor maintained, he “could better

express [himself] and [he] was able to take part in the activities of the group.” The technique offered a method of “simple” but clear, understandable examples whereby the dialoging aspect gave Maritza, for example, “self-confidence” and motivation to be involved in class and in her community. The application of the methodology is putting Freire’s notion of “critical consciousness” into practice, moving Freire’s pedagogical concepts beyond that of only being theoretical, but into a site of praxis.

Critical pedagogy promotes more just communities and democratic society; community, as taught by CAPS, is a place where personal transformation is activated in order to create a better overall living circumstance and a space for a more equitable and democratic social participation. Community was viewed by most of the participants as being not only one’s immediate neighbors in one’s village, but also in a larger sense, that of Guatemala as a whole.

Feminist Pedagogy and Women’s Issues

In viewing the theme findings, several issues arose in the participants’ comments that reflect responses found within the realm of feminist pedagogy. Stromquist (1992) notes that for the most part, educational researchers worldwide “have remained oblivious to the education women receive, and to how women experience and perceive this education” (p. 4). While the feminist movement has gained strength in recent decades within Latin America, Stromquist argues that “the political, cultural, and social features of education have not usually been subject to examination and questioning in [this] part of the world” (p. 4). Women’s educational experiences have not been given the attention they

warrant in many areas of the world, nor have the societal and economic constraints that women face in general that serve as obstacles to obtaining a formal education. This situation in Guatemala exists because as Fink (1992) maintains "societal and family structures in Latin America . . . place a low priority on schooling for young women" (p. 172), and these conditions have a decidedly negative impact on Guatemalan women.

While there are CAPS classes that deal solely with women and women's issues and are taught by women, I did not have the opportunity to view these classes. However, in the classes I did view, the role of women in *campesino* society was discussed in relatively modest detail. The gender makeup of the classes I viewed were overwhelmingly male; however, in the class that had the youngest group and the largest number of participants, the gender composition was almost equal. A fair amount of this discussion in this class focused on the increasing role of women as wage earners and the support that men need to offer women in the expanding roles that women are now occupying in *campesino* society. While there is an assumption of the "maleness" of the *campesino* population (the most prevalent image of the *campesino* is that of a male fieldhand), females also work in the fields. Gloria, for example, does not only work as a homemaker, but leaves after breakfast to join the men in the fields. She even travels across the border with them to work the coffee harvests in Mexico. In the classes, there was emphasis placed on the need for men to respect women within marriage and as mothers. While this appeared to me a bit simplistic in its analysis, I do think this is an important step in recognizing that *machismo* is an issue that must be addressed within *campesino* and Guatemalan society. Father Espinoza

assured me that CAPS is making a concerted effort to have more female participants and to have more classes about specific women's issues.

Feminism as a whole supports emotions and contextualization in the process of critical reflection; also, as noted by Gunby (1997), it "challenges everyone to take a full and active part in social change, and does not sanction certain identities while condemning others" (p. 3). This contextualizing aspect becomes apparent when people voice their perceptions, individualizing their concerns. In the classes I observed, I did not see any persons or groups who were either given preferential treatment or ignored; the full participation of all the participants was encouraged in the classroom.

It has been pointed out earlier in this study that females face more obstacles than males in obtaining an education in Guatemala. Both Margarita and Rosa (pp. 120-121) note that their fathers played a role in the decision to end their schooling. This was an especially painful memory for Margarita, who declared that she felt "very bad" that at the age of seven she could no longer to attend school and she "did not know how to read or write." Almita, in a different vein, noted that education has been a valuable experience for her; it has revealed to her an alternative decision to purely traditional, domestic roles for women. She maintained that "school is important" because it allows women to have a choice other than marrying young and having children, which, in her eyes, often makes women's lives more "difficult."

In Table 6.6 (p. 131), "Perceptions of Whether Women and Men Have Equal Educational Opportunities in Guatemala," several responses indicated that because of women's household duties and responsibilities with children, it is more

difficult for them to attend school. Both men and women stressed that both genders, in theory, should be seen as equals; however, more women than men emphasized the point that opportunities, in reality, are not equal. Santiago maintained:

Women have their own value, although still here in Guatemala men have better opportunities, not just for education, but for everything.

Mario (Table 6.10, pp. 142-143) however, did not seem to be concerned with women's issues in the classes. He noted "For me, the courses are less important that teach things for the women; the most important classes are those about laws." From this quote it would appear Mario has not yet developed enough of a critical viewpoint to see that it is important for him to be aware of women's issues, or it may be he does not have a politics of gender or has not developed a sense empathy with the plight of the *campesina*. It may be that, at this point in his life, he is interested in learning more about laws. If the CAPS program has not stressed enough in its classes that it is important for men to see the significance of women's issues, then the program should take a more engaged role in affecting the perception of women's issues.

hooks (1984) maintains that

As a group, women have been denied (via sex, race, and class exploitation and oppression) the right and privilege to develop intellectually. Most women are deprived of access to modes of thought that promote the kind of critical understanding necessary for liberation struggle. (p. 113)

This perspective of hooks may be seen in operation in specific incidents in the female participants' lives. Demonstrating the widely held belief that women do not possess the same need as men to be educated and when relating a specific incident in her life (as noted above), Margarita declared "many of the fathers in

my community think that women are not able to study, so they do not send them to school." What may be seen from this statement is that the men in her community believe not only that women do not have much right to be schooled, but also that they are seen as not being capable enough intellectually to necessitate being sent to school. If this were not the case, I think girls' school attendance would be given a greater priority.

Summary and Interpretation

The three theories that were used for analysis in this chapter, cultural studies, critical pedagogy, and feminist pedagogy, are all linked by the supposition that education should be used to foster progressive social change and social justice. The project of cultural studies has a close relationship with those of critical and feminist pedagogy, locations that as Bogdan (1993) notes are "where personal and social transformation are implicit and explicit goals" (p. 1). Individual and collective transformation are also goals of critical and Freireian pedagogy. While I do strongly support these goals, I agree with objections raised by feminist educators in that the contexts of personal identities and the struggles for more emancipated identities must be given more space in these progressive forms of pedagogy. This space, however, implicates those who would "guide" others to a position of a liberated identity, for, as Bogdan asks "who is responsible for the psychological costs of such transformations?" (p. 3). As feminist pedagogues affirm, those who would attempt to create universalist identities for the oppressed will be consistently subjected to the contexts of the lives of individuals, even in relatively homogenous classroom populations. Without

taking into account the process that people will undergo on their path to conscientization and political awareness, it becomes easy, Bogdan asserts, "for some to move from pre-feminist or pre-colonial unconsciousness to appropriation without ever having to pass through comprehension" (p. 5). Ultimately, cultural studies and critical and feminist pedagogical stances play themselves out "in the interstices between authority and trust, academic rigor and personal empathy, community and fracture, [and] professional and political responsibility" (p. 1). Reitz (1997) asserts that within these pedagogical intersections, however, in the endeavor for more emancipated identities it must be kept in mind by educators that "no philosophy of teaching or learning is sufficient that does not more fully empower students to be co-investigators with us into the political-economic dimension of the class, race, and gender problems we continue to cope with and seek to overcome" (p. 14).

For educators who have set an emancipatory agenda within the classroom, this can be "scary," as Britzman (1991) asserts, because

More often than not, things do not go according to plan: objectives reappear as too simple, too complicated, or get lost; concepts become glossed over, require long detours, or go awry In short, pedagogy is filled with surprises, involuntary turns, and unanticipated twists. (p. 75)

Freire (1970) too states that a transformative pedagogy is one that is constantly in process. As he notes, "this pedagogy makes oppression and its causes objects of reflection by the oppressed, and from that reflection will come their necessary engagement in the struggle for their liberation. And in the struggle this pedagogy will be made and remade" (p. 33). As Father Espinoza stated (pp. 18-19, the CAPS program has made "wrong guesses" and "blunders" through the years as

the program has developed, which, I think, confirms both Britzman's and Freire's points.

Critical pedagogy advocates a pedagogical encounter with the marginalized Other, an endeavor that has been widely conceptualized as crossing over (or coming up against) a "border." Wright (1995) posits that within this widely held notion in critical pedagogy, the "border crossing" metaphor of critical pedagogical encounter with the Other (whomever the designated "Other" may be), as advocated by Giroux (1991, 1992) and others, for the most part fails to take into account the totality of what a border (or its crossing) may fully signify. Merely viewing a border as a point of delineated barriers is founded, Wright maintains, on a "limited conception of borders . . . it does not address continuity . . . it fails to portray, let alone address, the messiness of cultural politics and pedagogical situations . . . and it deals only with utopian possibility" (p. 68). To counter this, Wright offers instead a "crossroads" pedagogy, whose "characteristics reference the fact that pedagogy can in fact be beyond our control as teachers" (p. 74). A crossroads pedagogy better formulates, and even anticipates, the bends and turns of the pedagogical encounter and cultural work and the difficult elements one confronts on the proposed journey to utopia. A border implies something left to exclusion; a crossroads suggests interchange and activity. A crossroads, rather than a border, seems better quipped to handle the upheavals and curves that many critical pedagogical encounters create. A critical pedagogy, however good its intentions, that remains naive to the potential and real difficulties of the engagement of emancipatory education is fraught with hazards; there are no shortcuts to utopia.

It is these hazards that have been experienced by Father Espinoza in the CAPS program, as previously mentioned, in the program's "wrong guesses" and "blunders."

The longer the participants had been involved with CAPS, the more hopeful they appeared to be about the potential for transformation in their communities, in Guatemala as a whole, and in themselves. The *campesinos* of Guatemala are living in a postcolonial age, but also in a society that, in essence, daily reinscribes a colonial reality for them. Their rights for both personal and political self-determination continue to be a hard-fought battle. One of their greatest challenges in their struggles for change in all areas will be in altering the residual and continuing effects of colonization, which lie at the foundation of their oppression.

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

SYNOPSIS OF STUDY

This study investigated the learning experiences of rural Guatemalans attending formal social development classes. Twenty interviews with *campesinos* were conducted, and the study's participants were 10 men and 10 women who were enrolled in courses through CAPS (*Centro de Autoformación para Promotres Sociales* [Training Centre for Social Promoters]) at Rafael Landívar University in Guatemala City. The study was designed to explore student reactions to the CAPS program and what occurs in classes that use a Freireian methodology, and the participants' perceptions of their early learning experiences and characterizations of their communities. The framework of the results of the study were based upon the responses of the participants through structured interviews and from participant observations of the CAPS classes.

The *campesino* population of Guatemala has in the past faced a great deal of educational inefficiency, and this situation continues. Because subsistence agriculture is so essential for survival in this location, most rural Guatemalan children must work and generally cannot attend school past the third or fourth grade. The *campesinos'* consequent lack of formal education as children limits their economic, social, and political participation in their country throughout their lives.

The following expansive questions guided the research:

1. How do the participants describe their perceptions of their formal educational experience?
2. How do the participants depict their lives in their communities?
3. How do the participants characterize their perspectives of the CAPS program and their plans for implementing social change?

A qualitative research method, ethnography, was used to conduct the research, which consisted of interviews and participant observations. The ages of the participants ranged from 16 to 62. The participants' responses indicated the class discrimination suffered by the *campesino* population in Guatemala; for the indigenous members of the *campesino* population, the racial prejudice that exists was also indicated. There was a good deal of commonality within the results concerning the perceptions of the participants regarding their educational and social experiences.

To summarize the findings, the totality of the individual participants' lived experiences - their socioeconomic status, gender, occupation, and lack of formal schooling - influenced the perceptions of the individuals, as one's life circumstances shape any individual experiential account. All of the participants' responses, however, indicated that they appeared to be acutely aware of how their positions as members of the *campesino* population had effected their educational opportunities and probability for participation within the greater entirety of Guatemalan society. In the conclusion that follows, I will expand upon some of the issues that emerged from the participant responses.

CONCLUSIONS

The CAPS classes are designed to enable its participants to organize on a grassroots level to address community needs and to learn the processes used in the pursuit of transformative community action. While Guatemala has long been the recipient of financial support and development- agency projects, overall life has changed little for the *campesino*. Many of the development projects to which *campesinos* have been introduced have ignored one crucial factor for success: the input of the *campesino*. Huizer (1970) notes that

For the *campesino*, most of the projects with which he[*she*] is personally familiar he[*she*] finds to be useless, "utopian" and "anachronistic" because they try to stimulate voluntary cooperation in a paternalistic way, thus basically trying to keep the people down. (p. 310)

This has led to resistance to such "change which is not really change" (p. 310). Although the marginalized position of *campesinos* has long been fixed in Guatemalan society, the cause of this situation is more a case of control of the dominant, moneyed class and the strong maintenance of those in power who attempt to preserve the status of the rural subordinate class rather than of a lack of a desire for change on the part of the *campesino* population. Through programs that incorporate the local culture, such as CAPS, where *campesinos*, who know their situation better than anyone else and can devise their own strategies, change is not only possible, it is taking place. The changes include a change in outlook (conscientization), improved material and social living conditions, and an increased power in political affairs. According to the participants, the success of the CAPS program is primarily due to their

opportunity for participation. Through the process of organization at the community level, the *campesino* population is gaining an autonomy in the activities and the decision-making processes that influence their lives and communities most.

Freireian Theory and Practice

The *campesinos* of the CAPS program are actively engaged a struggle for social justice. In their efforts, employing dialogue becomes integral. In terms of Freireian pedagogy, which the CAPS program utilizes, a dialogic encounter in the classroom has been widely received as a democratizing step to "level the playing field," as it were, of discourse and to create counter-discourse. To do this requires voice, and issues of what constitutes voice and how to engender people coming to voice are in and of themselves controversial. Harrison (1993) maintains that

Although postmodernist experiments in ethnographic writing highlight difference, Otherness, power and authority - issues originally grounded by Third World and feminist thinkers - many of these experiments reinscribe colonial domination, wherein the other is objectified and appropriated For example, concern with dispersing authority and engaging in dialogue is often reduced to a polyphonic style whereby a form of narrative ventriloquism is performed, creating the magical illusion of the Other's coming to voice. (p. 407)

In "allowing" the Other to speak without an attempt to come to grips with the unequal relationship that is so often present in dialogue, often what is supposed to represent dialogue actually become a monologue. This is because

To have a voice when one is required to speak [only] in the forms allowed by the dominant discourse is still not to have voice, that is, not to have self-determining self-representation. It is merely to speak as the dominant discourse permits, which means either to speak as one has been constructed by that discourse or to speak through its gaze, perspective and standpoint. It is not to have one's own voice but rather to be

restricted to the voice that is given. (Sampson, 1993, p. 1227)

The process by which one "comes to voice" is not as simple as merely giving someone a turn to speak. As Freire & Macedo (1995) have noted, this dialogic methodology is often accompanied by erroneous assumptions, or faulty applications. Because Freireian pedagogy is so often associated with dialogue and joined with utopian, liberatory intent, projects in this vein often become romanticized, sentimental, even illusionary. There is often an assumption of a "universal" truth or freedom that will be easily attained if a group of oppressed persons gather together and converse about their experiences, and a liberatory "prescription" will be easily implemented by these participants to change their oppressive condition.

In classrooms where this method is used, dialogue is often reduced to a kind of "group therapy." To only share experiences without reflection and ideological/political analysis leaves out the most important element of dialogue, the social praxis and political action that separate critical dialogue from mere verbal exchanges. It is not enough to capture the views of the oppressed - critical analysis calls as well for an interrogation of what is expressed. I attempted to do this in this study by examining the perceptions of the *campesinos*. Without the interrogation of what is said by the oppressed, it is easy for those who are not oppressed to fall into the slippage that can lead to romantization, which does nothing for the oppressed but sentimentalize their position. Oppression, in order to be changed, calls for praxis and political involvement.

Often educators who are involved in directing classes centered around dialogue fail to discern the objective of critical reflection, that fundamentally it is

about discussing what the participants experience on all social fronts that contributes to the demanding reality they face. The lived experiences of individuals are fundamental and important, no doubt. However, in order for dialogue about experience to have transformative, political ramifications, the ways in which individual circumstances set the larger context reflecting the subjugative practices that certain people face daily must be examined, moving it to the larger domain outside of the classroom. Freire (with Macedo, 1995) contends "my pedagogical posture always implies rigor, and never a laissez-faire dialogue as conversation orchestrated by facilitators" (p. 385). Freire's pedagogical proposals have been put forth as a means of helping to foster critical learning, and if critical educators are to move beyond turn-taking verbalizations to support a form of dialogue that is discriminating, they must see past formulaic dialogical techniques and instead support critical, purposive dialogue. In this vein, I do think the CAPS program, in emphasizing *campesino* issues, is being successful content-wise and technique-wise in not being focused primarily on the actions of the facilitator.

As mentioned in Chapter III, Freire has not been without his detractors. While I do not intend to engage here in a textual back-and-forth between Freire and his critics, I do think it is important to examine some of the responses Freire himself has given to some of the criticisms leveled at his work and methodology. Jay and Graff (1995) have criticized Freire's pedagogical approaches, asserting that "Freire assumes that we know from the outset the identity of the 'oppressed' and their 'oppressors.' [They] are conceived not as an open question that teachers and students might disagree about, but as a given of Freireian

pedagogy" (p. 203). To such criticisms Freire has retorted that just the opposite is true of his pedagogy. Freire (with Macedo, 1995) contends that in fact there are "intellectuals who engage in the social construction of not seeing" (p. 387) and, thereby, not naming what or whom constitute the oppressors and the oppressed. Macedo (with Freire, 1995) concurs that

the ideological and material conditions that produce oppression cannot be hidden blindly by the refusal to name the oppressor. The existence of oppression does not depend on the refusal or willingness to name the oppressor. The virtue of a radical democratic project is that it provides an ethical referent both for engaging in a critique of its own authority and as a part of a wider expression of authority. In my view, what needs to be pedagogically engaged is not merely who is oppressed, but the social, economic, and cultural conditions that lead to the creation of savage inequalities...those who materially experience oppression have little difficulty identifying their oppressors. (p. 387)

The oppressive conditions raised by the *campesino* participants in this study, the economic, social, and racial discrimination that they articulated, I think supports Macedo's claim that the oppressed recognize their oppressors. Here, Jay and Graff could possibly be interrogating Freire's overall concept of the oppressed and their knowledge, inquiring if the oppressed are able to see beyond the immediate effects of their oppression to the "big picture" of what and who is involved in maintaining their oppression. The participants in this study voiced how they feel they are oppressed in their immediate situation. But the larger question that may be posed by Jay's and Graff's statement that, I think, could be applied here, is: can the oppressed of Guatemala see beyond the government, the military, and *ladinos* to how the interests of the United States (and other "bearers" of "democracy") and the system of global capitalism and multinational corporations have an investment in keeping *campesinos* (and similar populations

worldwide) poor, underemployed, and dependent. This hierarchy of power is complex and not always easily visible, but it exists, and echoing Reagan's "trickle down" theory⁸ in the U.S., even the last drop of such a system that falls upon *campesinos* and others at the "bottom" has insidious and far-reaching consequences. I do not know if all of the participants can see the bigger picture beyond what is immediately present in Guatemala -- just as I think the oppressed in the United States (and people in the Appalachian region I believe have been particularly co-opted by this) cannot always see -- because they have not been allowed to see by those in power, the larger forces that are at work in their oppression.

If *campesinos* do not yet recognize that there are forces working against them outside of Guatemala as well as inside, I believe that as their perspectives expand and are critically interpreted, so too will their knowledge of these forces that help to maintain the oppressive structure so long present there. I was particularly struck by the surprised reaction of Alfonso at the onset of discovering that Guatemala has a constitution and that, by law, he is entitled to be insured human and civil rights. In becoming cognizant of this small fact, he appeared as if a new world had opened up to him. As he becomes aware that he has rights and what those rights are, and he is, he is more in a position to defend them. The incremental process of conscientization may not appear to be overtly

8 "Trickle down" theory is based on the economic theory/policy that was applied during Ronald Reagan's term of presidency (1980-1988) in the United States. Also referred to as "supply-side economics" or "Reaganomics," this position asserted that instead of implementing policies to redistribute wealth throughout society, taxes should be cut for the upper classes to free money for investment; this would thus create economic growth for the establishment of more jobs. These jobs, in theory, would be provided for the working class, which would then create a "trickle down" of wealth for the working class and those in the lowest economic brackets of U.S. society.

stirring, but I think it can dramatically change people's world views; when it affects enough people, it can manifest the potential for social change.

In looking at criticisms of Freire's ideas, I find myself agreeing with Reitz (1997), who notes that problematic areas are "the economically unanalyzed notions of oppression and dehumanization, the a-historical Aristotelian approach to humanization and conscientization, not to mention his [Freire's] generalized appeal to love" (p. 17). What I find myself differing with most are Freire's larger abstractions, his desire for a world emancipation that is so all-encompassing that a specific, situated hope for oppressed individuals can get swallowed in the process. This is why I find the feminist theory that underpins feminist ethnography and feminist critical pedagogy to support fuller portrayals of oppression than critical pedagogy, both in terms of experience and resistance, which is an influence of the wider feminist movement. Vogel (1995) notes that from the coalescence of the women's liberation movement in the 1960s, two trends developed and emerged, radical feminism and social feminism. Radical feminists have argued that

In this view, all men as a group held power over all women and sexual politics was key. Not lack of rights and opportunities but a structure radical feminists eventually named patriarchy was the obstacle to women's liberation. Race and class hierarchies were important, but sex oppression came first, historically and theoretically. (p. 3)

I agree with the supposition of radical feminists that patriarchy, and in particular white, Western patriarchy (and its influences), is largely the foundation of women's oppression, and with this is a link to other forms of oppression (racial, economic), however complex. I think that in essence, however, socialist feminism is more closely related to the feminist critical pedagogy that I advocate here.

While being divergent from the radical movement, socialist feminists have, in a parallel manner, viewed the subordination of women, but done so though the context of social structures. In this argument,

Capitalism (or capitalist patriarchy, as many put it) not only exploited women on the job and in the household, it also oppressed them by means of a pervasive ideological and cultural domination. Working-class women and women of color [bear] a disproportionate burden of capitalist oppression. (Vogel, 1995, p. 3)

Social feminism has allowed for a more complete portrait to be painted of the burdens women face within social constructs and beyond. Rowbotham (1989) maintains that feminism in tandem with socialism allows for an expansion beyond structural inequalities, as class and race cannot be fully considered without taking gender into account. This has helped influence feminist ethnography and feminist critical pedagogy in their efforts to be sensitive to the individual, to contextualize elements of oppression, and has heightened awareness of the individual experiences of oppression brought to the pedagogical encounter by each person.

While feminism is in no way monolithic in neither its practice nor discourse, Golde (1986) maintains that it is women's interest in feelings that make their sensitivities as researchers and anthropologists heightened, which in turn makes women investigators, as Bell (1993) maintains, "reflexively predisposed" (p. 7). It is this reflexivity that made me interrogate my experiences as an "educated" Appalachian, and this reflexivity made hearing about the suffering conditions of the *campesinos* firsthand also made me feel, while examining my past and that of my family's socioeducational history, as if I were looking through a hall of mirrors in Guatemala that reflected Appalachia.

I look forward to the possibility that in the future there will be programs in

Appalachia that function as CAPS does; after undertaking this study, I feel compelled to seek out such programs, advocate them, and support them through participation. In learning about what is considered important to *campesinos*, I came to a greater appreciation of the "unofficial" and greatly subjugated knowledge that exists and operates in marginalized Appalachian communities. I think there needs to be a recognition in public schools in the Appalachian region that Appalachian children often speak a dialect with many differences in grammatical structure and pronunciation than standard operative English. I do not want any more children of Appalachia to be made to feel frustrated, embarrassed, or intellectually less capable, as I often did, because of their dialect or accent, which to many still unfortunately labels them "hillbilly" or "Appy." I never dreamed that I would ever be so curious about or want to protect what I never wanted to be associated with nor be a part of for so long. The *campesino* culture helped me to understand and regard more of the phenomena of my own culture.

CAPS and *Campesinos*

Perera (1993) asserts of *campesinos* that "they are not interested in Liberation Theology or abstract social justice" but in responses that will offer them outcomes to help themselves (p. 125). Although liberation theology is an underpinning theory of CAPS, in this case this supposition is shaped to have a positive social impact for *campesinos* because they have a voice in this process. Through programs such as CAPS, those *campesinos* engaged in the process of social improvement are articulating that they feel they are moving from a location

of constraint to the transformative position of emancipation. According to the participants in this study, the process is working for them. There are those *campesinos*, however, who may not have as positive an experience with the social development process as those I spoke with in the CAPS program; the voices of these people should be considered also.

I experienced what I thought was a vast difference in the application of the Freireian methodology in the CAPS program and in a class here in the United States. For example, I was enrolled in a "reflective" class that was, in theory, based upon Freire's approach to dialogue. It operated, however, in theory only. The professor/facilitator consistently interjected in any conversation and noted that we did not "know how to dialogue," and then proceeded to "coach" us in dialogue technique. All the while, he was confusing us and frustrating himself; if anybody in the class was oppressed, no one could have found out under such circumstances! While all of the class participants were adult students with a considerable amount of personal, professional, and disciplinary experience, the most immediate commonality that existed between us was that we were all graduate students in the same class. The potential transformative implications that dialogue can hold for societal change and social justice were never mentioned, only the processes and mechanics of dialogue. The students in the CAPS classes, however, were united in the same oppressive social circumstances and shared the same common vision for change.

While keeping in mind that no two classes are alike nor can be truly replicated, for myself, having been engaged in such a class and then seeing how the technique was applied by the *campesinos* made the difference in approach

appear overwhelming. The CAPS participants did not engage in discussions that were constructed or coached in dialoging technique; their discussions were unambiguous acknowledgements of their circumstances and what they thought could be done to change them for the better.

A lack of formal schooling does not preclude adults from sharing the experiences of their circumstances, which offers a space for oppressed adults to inform themselves and co-create knowledge for each other that reinforces the social transformation process. However, as Cunningham (1988) posits,

The further question is, can social change be accomplished through education? Many would say no...we do not know if schooling for adults is qualitatively the same as for children, but we do know that by fostering resistance and by resisting within our institutions can we promote change Adult educators can develop programs that encourage the full, active participation of adults building up an opposing body of knowledge to confront the official knowledge, which has its *raison d'être* the maintenance of the system...other knowledge is not official, yet clearly reflects the reality of the nondominant cultures that produce it...this exercising of power through creation of their knowledge can produce interdependence and informed critical thinkers, as opposed to a dependent and "coping" underclass. (p. 137)

While being one of the youngest participants in the study, Mario said that he recognized that "the education of children is different than that of adults." *Campesino* adults are aware of their knowledge-base in terms of what they believe they do and do not know. When gathered together in a forum such as CAPS, people are able to learn from one another as well as teach each other, which in my view is one of the strengths of dialogue.

I would contend that there is no pedagogical encounter or social situation that is entirely black or white. All such encounters and situations are comprised of manifold shades of gray that mirror the complex relationships of society.

Freire's concept of the "culture of silence" manifests itself as the fear the "under" classes have of the dominant classes, and education, or, as in the case of *campesinos*, the withholding of schooling opportunities, serves the interests of the dominant classes and therefore maintains the status quo. In Guatemala, according to Jonas & Tobias (1974), education serves two purposes, which are to

Supply a skilled labor force when needed and to "reproduce" the ideological forms needed in the next generation. The government has no reason to educate large groups of the rural population as long as there is a high demand for unskilled agricultural labor. (p. 35)

While the role of the Catholic church in Latin America has often been one of aiding and abetting the status quo, after spending time with the CAPS workers and participants and viewing how the program works, it appeared to me as though both have a great deal of sincerity and commitment to their cause.

In this case, I do think that the CAPS representatives of the church are exceptionally dedicated to assisting the *campesino* population in bettering their social circumstances; I have no rival hypothesis that explains their involvement. To seek to implement a utopian project in such dystopian circumstances would be neither safe nor simple. As Santiago stated (pp. 103-104), those involved with the program have at times been subjected to harassment and abuse from the military, and personally, I do not think the CAPS program or those involved with it could have survived the worst years of Guatemala's civil war without an extraordinary amount of commitment to the *campesinos'* plight.

Educators who employ the dialogic method are often charged by critics as romanticizing the oppressed and simplifying the many-sided conditions that comprise oppression. Admittedly, ideas of liberation and emancipation are easy to

idealize. The mechanism of dialogue, however, let alone that of liberation, is never that simple. As Macedo (with Freire, 1995) maintains,

[Some] educators invoke a romantic pedagogical mode that exoticizes discussing lived experiences as a process of coming to voice. At the same time, educators who misinterpret [Freire's] notion of dialogical teaching also refuse to link experiences to the politics of culture and critical democracy, thus reducing their pedagogy to a form of middle-class narcissism...it is a process that bell hooks characterizes as nauseating in that it brooks no dissent. (p. 381)

It is in recognizing this "dissent" that hooks notes is the first step forward in the long, arduous journey to critical democracy and social justice. While I had thought initially that I would see a certain level of conflict in the dialogue in the classes, I later began to consider that the participants' contentions did not necessarily have to be seen within the confines of words in the classroom, but in how they live out their lives on a day-to-day basis, because for some each day of the *campesinos'* survival is an act of resistance and of subversion. As Grossberg (1994) maintains, even though dialogic practice has as its goal the allowance of letting the silenced speak, this method often "fails to see that there are real and material and social conditions that have disabled people from speaking at particular places, in particular ways, at particular moments" (p. 16). I had thought I would see more debate in the dialogue of the participants in the CAPS classes. However, silence often discloses as much as it conceals. I think I would have probably observed a wider range of opinions within the classes had the population been more diverse (e.g., a dialogue between *campesinos* and *ladinos*, or even among groups less polarized than these). In the past, *campesinos* have not had a real space for dissent, but as Schwager (1994) asserts about Guatemala, "expression through the popular movement has ebbed and flowed during the

years according to military repression, but now enjoys (relatively) unprecedented political space" (p. 3). However, past polarization of issues must now give way to negotiation on all sides, for, as Schwager continues, "popular groups must also address the charge of both critics and supporters alike that if they [popular groups] do not change, since they have not found a place for themselves within the system, their reason for existence will disappear once the peace accords are signed and issues are begun to be addressed institutionally" (p. 4). It may take time for the CAPS participants to debate, contend, and argue their views more, but as the political space outside of the classroom becomes more unobstructed, I think the space for dissent within the classes will open as well. Because small-group work was employed so much in the CAPS classes, I think this may be where more contention between the participants takes place than in the large class as a whole. Freire's techniques are adapted differently for different reasons and in different locations, and the emphasis on small-group dialogue and then whole group discussion may be CAPS' modification of the method to a construct that seems to work well with its participants.

Because of the long civil war and great economic instability, large portions of the *campesino* population have migrated to larger cities within Guatemala (the capital, Quetzaltenango) and to Mexico and the United States. Because of this, it would appear that the *campesino* population would be functioning at a diminished capacity in terms of morale and possibilities for community development. However, the opposite seems to be true; there are hopeful signs for Guatemala's future. The signing of the peace accord and ongoing peace negotiations have led to the reemergence of popular and community

organization, such as that reflected by the success of the CAPS program.

While this dissertation has looked at some of the criticisms that have been made about Freire's work, it cannot be denied that Freire's educational philosophies have had and continue to have a dramatic influence on critical pedagogical activities in many places in the world. Personal and social transformation are never-ending endeavors, and I do think that Freire's initiatives have been greatly imaginative and important pedagogical advancements. Freire died on May 1, 1997 in São Paulo, Brazil. At the time of his death, he was still engaged in numerous educational projects worldwide.

While it may be easy to look at the more obvious imperfections of critical pedagogy, I think it is as important to remember the contributions that critical pedagogy has given both education and society, and particularly, how important Freire's contributions have been and will continue to be. Although I think we have societies have far to go and still much to learn, liberatory education has advanced our social, educational, and political consciousness tremendously.

THE POSSIBILITY OF PEACE

Guatemala has traveled far from the time, only a few years ago, when military rule and death squads menaced the country. With an estimated 140,000 dead and over a million displaced, healing the country is not going to be a swift nor easy process; destabilization can happen at any moment. Mario Permuth, a Guatemala City-based lawyer who helped negotiate the peace settlement, has stated "I fear it [the peace accord] may not work. People are afraid of change,

and politicians work in their own self-interest. We may squander our greatest opportunity" (1997, p. 6).

The recent long-awaited signing of the peace treaty has occurred, and I hope that this will mean that eventually the CAPS program will be able to move in a direction where an opportunity may be provided for a deeper discourse about the issues of race, gender, and class within their Freireian pedagogical framework in all of their courses. With the signing of the peace accord, this becomes a greater possibility, as does the likelihood for implementing other types of progressive work throughout the country. Although isolated pockets of human rights abuses still continue, overall the abuses that were so widespread before have decreased considerably, and the cultural variety that exists in Guatemala is being recognized to a greater degree. Newspaper columnist and Mayan rights advocate Estuardo Zapeta (1997) maintains, "we need to redefine the country to reflect reality. This is a multicultural, multilingual society, and there's room for everyone if there's mutual respect and equal opportunities" (p. 1). When, and if, all of the citizens of Guatemala can coexist peacefully and engage in social justice work without the fear of penalty, more critical pedagogical spaces can, and I believe will, be given shape and dimension.

REFLECTION AND IMPLICATIONS

This study is obviously limited by the selection of the group examined within it, that is, members of Guatemala's *campesino* population. It is also limited to the number of classes I observed and to the relatively small number of people

who were the principal participants. While all were poor and had limited amounts of formal schooling, these participants did have the opportunity to take part in an adult education program. Those members of the *campesino* population who have not had access to programs like CAPS need to be considered as well, because some communities may be organizing on their own without the benefit of the organizers, trainers, etc., that a formal social development program provides. While the study reflects the thoughts and concerns of 20 students, the CAPS program services approximately 2,000 students per year, so other studies, similar to this one or not, could be conducted with other CAPS students. This study has significance for future similar inquiries in that populations in any geographic location that have been denied the cultural capital of education need to be explored in order to provide a fuller account of how education affects people's lives and their participation (or lack thereof) in society. I think this takes on a particular urgency in societies that refer to themselves "democracies," and Guatemala is a case in point.

I think more investigation needs to be conducted about aid programs that fall under the rubric of "development" initiatives, to the persons who are ultimately supposed to benefit from such programs, as well as what is entailed in "sustainable development" agendas for the *campesino* population. As Agarwal (1993) maintains, there is "much nonsense" about sustainable development in that

Who is to decide what is sustainable? Who can know? Sustainability lies in the speed with which any society can correct its mistakes And those best placed to correct these are those who suffer the consequences of them. Therefore, if you want sustainability, or rather, a higher order of sustainability, you must empower those elements in society who have a

vested interest in self-correction The present system *is* sustainable. The only question is, who will pay the price for the privileged to sustain their riches and their lifestyle? It has to be a question of social, distributive justice. (p. 234)

I agree with Agarwal that the foundational issue of justice is a social one; without taking this into account, the status-quo is perpetuated, and the disparity that exists in Guatemala, the United States, or any country with similar social inequities is indeed sustainable. It is social transformation, not sustainability, that is needed when sustainability is viewed more as an issue of equity and social justice and less in terms of technological development. I think this is perhaps one of CAPS strongest features, that the program does seem to be far-sighted enough to see that societal change must begin with people's concerns at the individual and then community level.

I began this study as a proponent of the view that education is a means of working for social justice, conducting this study has only underscored this view for me. While "true" democracy may not exist, I contend that to deny education to entire populations is deeply anti-democratic. As Weiler (1993) asserts, "the struggle over the meaning of education and democracy in the post-modern world continues a long battle between those who would restrict access to knowledge and power to elites and those who would seek a more equal and participatory society" (p. 210).

Just as adult education implies investment for the unschooled adult, critical theory has implications for the academy by pointing to the recognition that "what is missing is an intellectual effort to move back and forth between the overarching critical-theory framework of emancipation and various perspectives

of excluded groups" (Sylvester, 1994, p. 210). This makes me doubt how much of a valid picture of oppression is actually drawn if those who are excluded are not more engaged. I think it would be more beneficial if the academy would not intellectualize oppression so much amongst themselves and would begin a more direct conversation with the oppressed -- if this project is indeed to be a "pedagogy of the oppressed," as it is readily referred to in circles of critical and Freireian pedagogy.

I realize that my interpretation of the *campesino* experiences of this study are limited to the analytic perspective of that of a Western, female academic. I have detailed my educational background in this study, and the CAPS participants recounted their educational experiences; in both, the relationship of family social position and schooling are connected. I have seen how education has crossed over into my family "lore" and how it has affected life for both my family and myself. The interrogation of the discursive site of education and family has been beneficial for me, and I would argue that investigating this relationship could provide a source of study and reference for others. By foregrounding my positionality, it was my hope to set the context of my socioeducational experience and its relationship to the study.

"Oppression" is a value-laden term, and those who are oppressed and those who are not are often presented in a simplistic binary relationship; it is hardly that simple. Further interrogations of what and whom constitute the oppressed could shift and/or restructure how the oppressed see themselves and construct their own identities as well as in what manner others construct identities of the oppressed (particularly how identities of the oppressed are

adulterated by others). As the CAPS participants in this study demonstrated, formal educational attainment is also affected by oppressive social circumstances; when a populace cannot obtain an adequate formal education, this signifies the wider social inequality that such a population encounters.

This is a decisive time for Guatemala on all fronts. If the *campesinos*' social situation improves, so to will the likelihood of their having a more equitable and productive experience with formal education. Ultimately though, only time will tell what the future will bear for Guatemala's *campesinos* as their story continues to unfold.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Interview Guide

These questions are designed to let you talk about the things you think are important in your life and your education. You are welcome to respond to them however you would like.

Estas preguntas estan diseñadas para permitirle a usted hablar de las cosas que cree que son importantes en su vida y en su educación. Puede responder a las preguntas de la manera que más le convenga.

A. Personal Information/Información Personal

- 1 Tell me about yourself and your family.
Cuénteme acerca de usted y de su familia.
- 2 Where were you born? How old are you?
¿Dónde nació usted? ¿Cuántos años tiene?
- 3 Do you still live in the department or village as the one you were born in?
¿Sigue usted viviendo en el departamento o pueblo donde nació?
- 4 Are you married? How old were you when you got married?
¿Es usted casado/a? ¿Cuántos años tenía cuando se casó?
- 5 Do you have any children? How old were you when your first child was born?
¿Tiene usted niños? ¿Cuántos años tenía cuando tuvo su primer hijo?
- 6 Do you have any brothers or sisters?
¿Tiene usted hermanos o hermanas?
- 7 Tell me about what you think your role in your family is.
Dígame cuál cree usted que es su papel en la familia.
- 8 Tell me about your occupation.
Hábleme acerca de su trabajo u ocupación.
- 9 What traditions did you learn from your family that you believe are important? What traditions do you think are important that you teach to your children or younger people in your village?
¿Que tradiciones aprendidas de su familia cree usted que son importantes? ¿Qué tradiciones, que crea usted importantes, enseñaría a sus hijos o gente joven en su comunidad?
- 10 What are the kinds of things that women/girls do in your village?
What are the kinds of things that men/boys in your village do?
¿Qué tipo de cosas hacen los hombres/muchachos en su comunidad?
¿Qué tipo de cosas hacen las mujeres/muchachas en su comunidad?
- 11 Tell me what's important to you, what's important in your life.
Dígame qué es importante para usted; qué es importante en su vida.

12 What are your hopes for your children or the next generation of young people in your community?
¿Qué esperanzas tiene usted para sus hijos o las nuevas generaciones en su comunidad?

13 How do you imagine your future?
¿Cómo imagina usted su futuro?

B. Education/Educación

1 Tell me about any schooling you have received as a child, a teenager, or an adult.
Hábleme acerca de la educación que ha tenido durante las diferentes etapas de su vida.

2 How old were you when you last attended school? If you were not able to complete school, for what reason did you have to stop going to school? How did it feel to leave school? What did you do after leaving school?
¿Cuántos años tenía usted cuando asistió a la escuela por última vez? Si usted no terminó la escuela, ¿cuál fue la razón de su retiro? Cómo se sintió al dejar la escuela? ¿Qué hizo después de dejar la escuela?

3 What are your earliest recollections about school? Your happiest memories? Your saddest memories?
¿Cuales son las memorias más antiguas que tiene de su escuela? ¿Cuáles son sus memorias más alegres? Cuáles las más tristes?

4 What are some other memories of school?
¿Qué otras memorias recuerda de su escuela?

5 What do you remember about:
Teachers?
School facilities?
Friends in school?
Que recuerda acerca de:
¿Profesores?
¿Instalaciones escolares?
¿Amigos en la escuela?

6 Are there more opportunities for children to attend school now in your village than when you were a child? If you have children, do they regularly attend school?
Existen ahora más oportunidades de ir a la escuela que las que tuvo usted en su niñez en su comunidad? Si usted tiene niños, asisten ellos regularmente la escuela?

7 Describe what the word "education" means to you.
Describa, por favor, cuál es el significado que la palabra "educación" tiene para usted.

8 What experiences in your life have taught you the most?
¿Qué experiencias de la vida le han enseñado más a usted?

C. Community/Comunidad

- 1 Tell me about your village. If I went there, what would I see?
Cuénteme acerca de su comunidad. Si yo fuera a su comunidad, ¿que vería?
- 2 What do you think are some of the problems your community faces?
¿Cuáles cree usted que son algunos de los problemas que enfrenta su comunidad?
- 3 What do you think are the biggest problems Guatemala as a whole faces?
¿Cuáles cree usted que son los mayores problemas que enfrenta Guatemala?
- 4 What changes would you like to see in your community?
Qué cambios le gustaría a usted ver en su comunidad?
- 5 Think back to what you did when you were growing up in your village. What was it like? How is it different for young people there now?
Piense en las cosas que usted hacía cuando era niño en su comunidad. ¿Cómo era la misma? ¿Cómo difiere ahora?
- 6 What changes have you seen take place in your village in your lifetime?
¿Qué cambios ha visto usted que han ocurrido en su comunidad durante su vida?
- 7 What holidays are important in your community and how do you participate in them?
¿Cuáles son los días o feriados importantes en su comunidad y cómo participa usted en ellos?

D. The TCSP Program/El Programa CAPS

- 1 Are there any adult education programs in your village?
¿Existe algún tipo de educación para adultos en su comunidad?
- 2 Are you involved in any social development organizations in your village? Please tell me about them.
¿Esta usted involucrado en algún tipo de organización de desarrollo social en su comunidad? Por favor, explique.
- 3 Did you know any of the other students before you came here? Have you made friends while you've been here? Will you keep in contact with them?
¿Conocía usted a alguno/s de los estudiantes del programa antes de venir acá? ¿Ha hecho usted amigos durante su estancia en el program? ¿Mantendrá usted contacto con ellas/ellos en el futuro?
- 4 What did you think of the teachers?
Qué opinión tiene usted acerca de sus profesores?
- 5 What activities did you like in class? What was the most worthwhile? The least worthwhile?
¿Qué actividades de clase prefiere usted? ¿Qué actividad ha sido la más importante? ¿La menos importante?
- 6 Did you dislike anything you did in class or talked about in class? Explain.
¿Hubo alguna actividad o discusión en clase que le haya disgustado? Explique.
- 7 How did you find out about CAPS? How were you selected to come here?

- ¿Cómo se enteró usted del programa CAPS? ¿Cómo fué usted seleccionado para este programa?
- 8 When did you decide to take part in CAPS? Have you taken place in any other adult education programs before?
¿Cuándo decidió usted participar en CAPS? ¿Ha participado usted anteriormente en algún otro programa de educación para adultos?
- 9 How did you feel about your decision to enroll in the program?
¿Cómo se sintió usted acerca de su participación en CAPS?
- 10 How did you feel the first few times you were in class?
¿Cómo se sintió usted las primeras veces que asistió a las clases?
- 11 Do you think attending the CAPS classes will help you make changes in your community? How?
¿Cree usted que el participar en el programa CAPS le ayudará a hacer cambios en su comunidad? Explique.
- 12 Did you encounter any problems once the classes began? What kind of problems? How did you solve them?
¿Encontró usted algún tipo de problemas al comienzo de las clases comenzaron?
¿Qué tipo de problemas? ¿Cómo los resolvió?
- 13 What do you think you learned in the classes that was of the most value to you? How do you plan to use what you learned in these classes with others, to share what you learned with others?
¿De lo aprendido en clases, ¿qué tiene más valor para su persona? ¿Cómo planea usar o compartir con otras personas lo aprendido en las clases?
- 14 Do you think you would have received more or less formal education if you had been a woman/man (whatever is opposite to this person)? Please explain.
¿Cree usted que hubiera recibido más o menos educación formal si usted fuera del sexo opuesto?
- 15 Do you have any opportunity to take place in any further adult education programs?
¿Cree usted que tendrá oportunidad en el futuro de participar en otros programas de educación formal?
- 16 Do you wish your educational experiences growing up would have been any different? If yes, how so?
¿Hubiera usted deseado que sus experiencias de educación hubiesen sido diferentes en su niñez? Si la respuesta es afirmativa, ¿cómo le hubiese gustado que fuera esa educación?
- 17 What caused you to come to take part in CAPS?
¿Qué fué lo que le indujo a tomar parte en el programa de CAPS?

APPENDIX B

Observation Log, Notes, Examples Used in Class

CLASS LOG

Name of Class:

Professor(s):

Date:

Time:

People Present:

Seating Arrangement:

Activities:

Reflections:

CLASS LOG

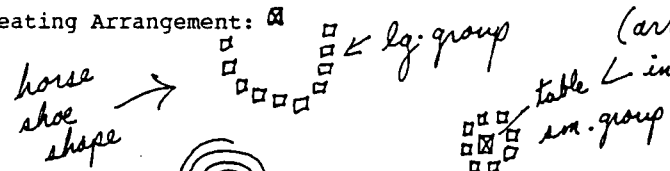
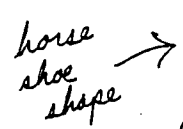
Name of Class: *Laws That Contribute to Development (Week 1)*

Professor(s): *Aldana & Escalante*

Date: *6/11*

Time: *8-6*

People Present: *Aldana & Escalante, a visiting teacher (for 1 segment on laws), entire class, myself / occasionally, another teacher might sit in the back of the class to observe for a while*

Seating Arrangement:  *lg. group* (arrangement when class breaks into smaller group)
horse shoe shape 
table  *sm. group*

Activities:  *(ex. of info dissemination)*
role-playing (demonstrating leadership roles w/in the community) - very engaging - participants very involved w/it / lecture / sm. gp. w/ discussions
after role-playing activity, the class seemed charged up & excited about their wk. (afterward, a very animated discussion)

Reflections: *Because the whole civic / govt. / constitutional process is so new to them, they are excited about the topic. Before lunch, dictionaries were passed out to the sm. gps - were told that if they didn't know or understand the meaning of any words, to look them up in the dictionary & they wld. be discussed - exchnt. idea to get the participants initially familiarized w/ words & concepts*

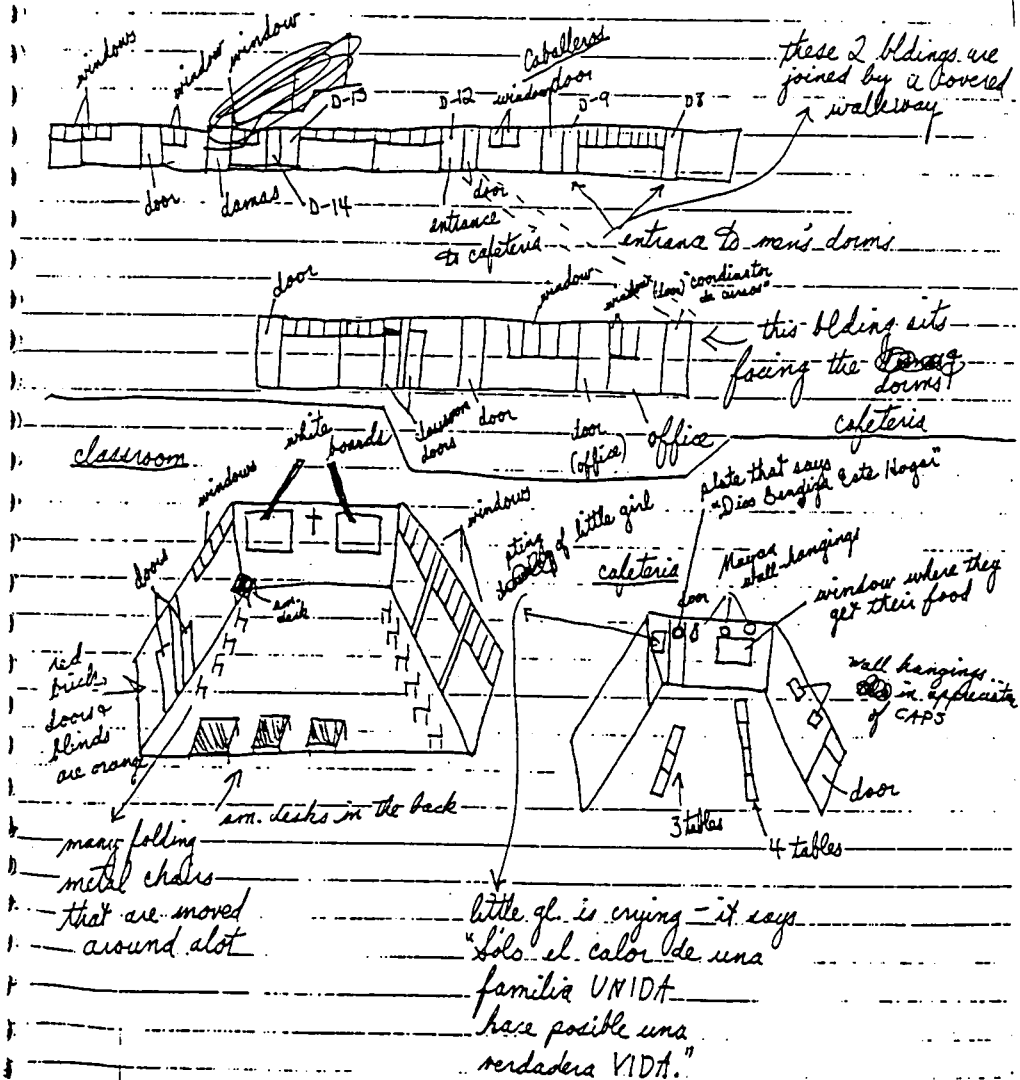
Week 2 / Day 2
6/25

This class, b/c it is about agriculture and the people here work in agriculture, is quite animated, i.e., they know something more about the subject matter, whereas most of the last class was totally new to the idea of civil laws & codes.

The women in this class are totally different than the last class. While again there are only 4 of them, ⁱⁿ the last class they were warmer & more outgoing. I have a feeling that to a certain extent they have been exposed to more "experiences," however limited, ^{beyond their comm.} Two of them declined to be interviewed. This was a bit disappointing, but they just seemed extremely shy.

For their after dinner activities, they sang for a long time (and quite well!) They were really having a good time.

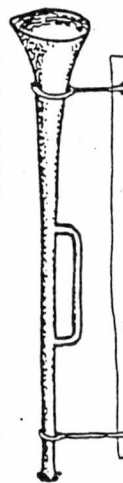
Layout of CAPS Facility - near the entrance, but in the back of the VRL campus.



CUANDO UN HECHO SE CONSIDERE COMO NOTOLIO, EL TRIBUNAL LO PODRÁ DECLARAR COMO COMPROBADO SIN TENER QUE RECURRIR A LAS PRUEBAS ORDENADAS PARA DEMOSTRARLO.

ARTÍCULO 184

★ ESTE ESTÁ RELACIONADO CON LAS ANTERIORES.



SE PODRÁN UTILIZAR OTROS MEDIOS DE PRUEBA DISTINTOS SIEMPRE QUE NO DAÑEN LAS GARANTÍAS Y FACULTADES DE LAS PERSONAS O ATENTEN EL SISTEMA INSTITUCIONAL.

O SEA QUE, SI SUZQUIERA UN MEDIO DE PRUEBA QUE NO HABIA SIDO PREVISTO, ÉSTE PODRÁ INCORPORARSE AL PROCEDIMIENTO.

Art. 185

Por último..... EL CÓDIGO PROCESAL PENAL DICE EN SU ARTÍCULO 186

“TODOS LOS MEDIOS DE PRUEBA QUE SE HAN INCORPORADO, SE VALORARÁN CONFORME A LA SANA CRÍTICA RAZONADA * Y NO PODRÁN SOMETERSE A LIMITACIONES LEGALES QUE NO SEAN LAS PREVISTAS EN EL CÓDIGO PROCESAL PENAL

Y la Constitución

* JUICIO QUE SE FORMA EN BASE A TODO LO OBSERVADO.

Hever Villalobos

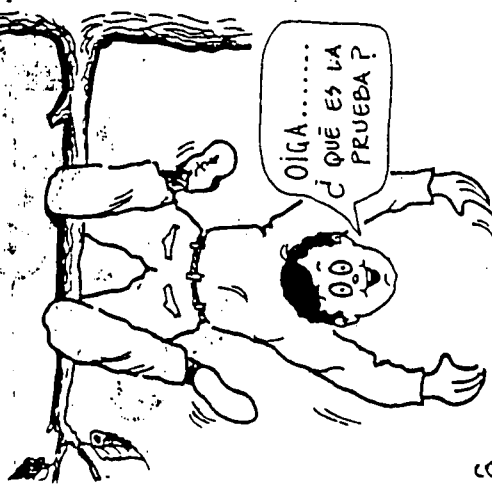


La Reforma Penal

En el Código Procesal Penal 1994

UNIDAD DE PLANIFICACION Y TRANSFORMACION DE LA JUSTICIA PENAL
SECRETARÍA ADJUNTA
Gastón, C. A.

La prueba



SON LOS MEDIOS CON LOS QUE SE DEMUESTRA LA CULPABILIDAD O FALTENIA DE UNA PERSONA QUE ES ACUSADA DE HABER COMETIDO UN DELITO.

CON EL FIN DE ESCLARECER LA VERDAD, IMPORTANTE QUE LA PERSONA QUE PRESENTE LA COMISIÓN DE UN DELITO, CLARAR, LO CUAL NO TENDRÁ NUNCA EFECTO EN SU CONTRA.

1

VEAMOS QUE DICE EL CÓDIGO PROCESAL PENAL EN RELACIÓN A LAS PRUEBAS.....



EL MINISTERIO PÚBLICO Y LOS TRIBUNALES PROCURARÁN, POR SI, LA AVERIGUACIÓN DE LA VERDAD A TRAVÉS DE LOS MEDIOS DE PRUEBA PERMITIDOS POR LA LEY. (Testimoniales, documentales, periciales* y otros).

PUENTE EL JUICIO LOS TRIBUNALES SÓLO PODRÁN INCORPORAR PRUEBAS NO OFERTAS POR LAS PARTES EN LAS OFERTAS Y CONDICIONES QUE FIJA LA LEY.

PODRÁN PROBARSE TODOS LOS HECHOS Y CIRCUNSTANCIAS QUE SEAN DE INTERÉS PARA LA SOLUCIÓN CORRECTA DEL CASO POR CUALQUIER MEDIO DE PRUEBA LEGAL.

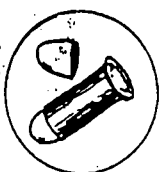
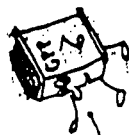


Artículos 181 Y 182

* Realizadas por especialistas.

2

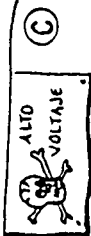
EL ARTÍCULO 183 TAMBIÉN MENCIONA LO SIGUIENTE.....



LOS MEDIOS DE PRUEBA DEBEN REFERIRSE AL OBJETO DE LA VERIFICACIÓN Y SER ÚTILES PARA EL DESCUBRIMIENTO DE LA VERDAD.



CUANDO LOS MEDIOS DE PRUEBA SEAN ADECUADOS, LOS TRIBUNALES PODRÁN LIMITARLOS.



(Sala de Torturas)

NO TIENEN VALIDEZ LAS PRUEBAS OBTENIDAS POR MEDIOS PROHIBIDOS COMO TORTURAS, INTERROGATORIO EN DOMICILIO, CORRESPONDENCIA, COMUNICACIONES, DOCUMENTOS Y ARCHIVOS PRIVADOS.

3

APPENDIX C

Learning Experiences of Rural Guatemalans Engaged in Formal Social Development Training

INFORMED LETTER OF CONSENT

Rosemarie Mincey
Training Centre for Social Promotion (CAPS)
Universidad Rafael Landivar
Vista Hermosa III, Zona 16
01915 Apartado Postal 39 C
Guatemala City, Guatemala
Telephone: 499802

You are being asked to participate in a research study for a project that will be used in the United States. The purpose of this project is to help others understand more about your experiences as a native Guatemalan and what educational experiences you value most in your families and your communities. In order for you to take part in this study, I need your permission to allow me to talk to you about the things in this study.

As a participant, you will be interviewed for about an hour about your learning experiences. There are no anticipated risks involved in your participation in this project. If any of the questions make you feel uncomfortable, you do not have to answer them. Your involvement in this project is only if you want to participate, and you may choose to stop at any time. With your permission, interviews will be taped on a cassette recorder; you have the option to have any portion of the tape erased if you do not like what you have told me or if you want to say it in other words. Your interviews will then be written down and translated into English. I also need your permission to observe you inside the classroom during your classes and outside of class when you have free time. While I do this, I will be writing notes about the things I see. This is also so I can learn about the ways you learn in class and what you like to do outside of class. If you have any questions regarding this research or your rights as a participant, please ask me or Padre Espinoza for more information.

I have read or someone has read this letter to me and I understand the explanation of this project and I agree to participate.

Signature

Date

APPENDIX D

(Informed Letter of Consent in Spanish)

Experiencias de Aprendizaje de la Población Rural Envuelta en la Capacitación Formal para el Desarrollo Social

Rosemarie Mincey
Centro de Autoformacion Para Promotres Sociales (CAPS)
Universidad Rafael Landivar
Vista Hermosa III, Zona 16
01915 Apartado Postal 39 C
Ciudad Guatemala, Guatemala
Teléfono: 499802

Se les pide en forma muy cordial su participación en un estudio de investigación para un proyecto que va a ser usado en los Estados Unidos. El propósito de este proyecto es ayudar a otras personas a conocer más acerca de sus experiencias como personas nativas de Guatemala, y también, conocer qué experiencias educativas ustedes valoran más en sus familias y comunidades. Para que ustedes puedan participar en este estudio, necesito antes que nada, que usted me permita a mí que le hable acerca de este estudio en particular.

Como participante, se le entrevistará por aproximadamente una hora acerca de su experiencias de aprendizaje. No existen riesgos anticipados por la participación suya en este estudio. Si alguna de las preguntas que se hacen, lo hace sentir de alguna manera molesto, por favor no contestarla. Su participación en este estudio es estrictamente voluntaria, y usted puede retirarse en cualquier momento si así lo desea. Además, si usted accede, la entrevista será grabada en un cassette. También, si desea que se borre alguna parte que ha sido grabada porque a usted ya no le pareció lo que dijo con anterioridad, entonces esta parte puede ser borrada sin ningún problema. Su entrevista será posteriormente escrita y luego traducida al idioma Inglés. También deseo pedirle permiso para observarlo durante el transcurso de una clase o periodo de instrucción y también fuera del salón de clases, en su período libre. Al hacer este tipo de observación, estaré escribiendo notas acerca de lo que pasa. El objeto de esto es el comprender la forma en que ustedes aprenden en las sesiones de clase y lo que a ustedes les gusta hacer fuera de clase. Si usted tiene alguna pregunta acerca de este estudio, o acerca de sus derechos como participante, por favor preguntarme a mí o al Padre Espinoza.

He leído detenidamente esta carta, y entiendo plenamente la explicación del proyecto de estudio con el cual estoy de acuerdo en participar.

Firma

Fecha

VITA

Rosemarie Mincey was born in Knoxville, Tennessee on January 20, 1967. She attended public schools in the Knoxville city school system and graduated from Fulton High school in June 1985. She entered the University of Tennessee (Knoxville) in 1985 and received a Bachelor of Fine Arts (B.F.A.) in graphic design in 1989. After teaching English in Bangkok, Thailand for the USIA (United States Information Agency), she returned to the University of Tennessee (Knoxville) to study for her Master of Science (M.S.) degree in educational curriculum. She then went on to complete her doctorate in the Cultural Studies Unit of the College of Education.

At the University of Tennessee's (Knoxville) Energy, Environment, and Resources Center (EERC), she worked as a subcontractor in Oak Ridge with the Oak Ridge National Lab (ORNL) and other contractors doing computer graphics and conducting environmental educational projects. She has also worked at the University's Department of Broadcasting.

Ms. Mincey continues to do community work tied to addressing issues concerning educational and social justice both in the U.S. and elsewhere. She has traveled to 45 countries and maintains an interest in the culture and events of Latin America, particularly those in Guatemala.